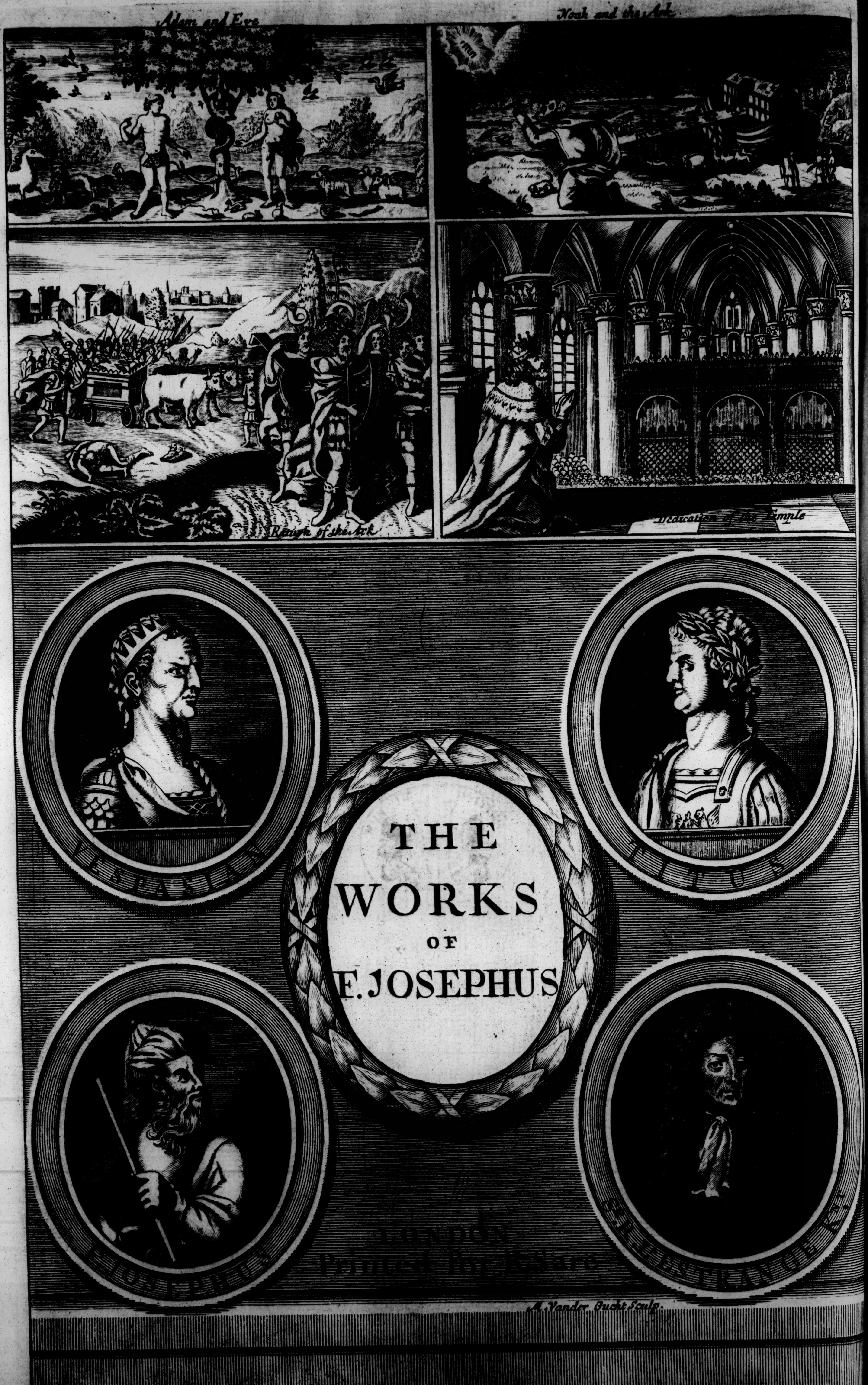
Adam and Eve
Noah and the Ark
Return of the Ark
Dedication of the Temple
VESPASIAN
TITUS
F. JOSEPHUS
SIR R. L'ESTRANGE Kt.

THE WORKS OF F. JOSEPHUS

LONDON
Printed for R. Sare

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THE WORKS OF Flavius Joſephus:

K

Tranſlated into Engliſh

By Sir *ROGER L'ESTRANGE*, Knight.

VIZ.

I. The Antiquities of the *Jews*, in twenty Books.
II. Their Wars with the *Romans*, in Seven Books.
III. The Life of JOSEPHUS written by himſelf.
IV. His Book againſt *Apion*, in Defence of the Antiquities of the *Jews*, in Two Parts.
V. The Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*. As alſo;
VI. *Philo*'s Embaſſy from the *Jews* of *Alexandria* to *Caius Caligula*.

All carefully revis'd, and compar'd with the original Greek

To which are added,

Two Diſcourſes, and ſeveral Remarks and Obſervations upon *JOSEPHUS*.

Together with

MAPS, SCULPTURES, and Accurate INDEXES.

The Fourth EDITION, with the Addition of a new Map of *Palæſtine*, the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, and the Genealogy of *Herod* the Great; taken from *Villalpandus*, *Reland*, &c.

LONDON,
Printed for the Executors of R. SARE: And ſold by J. DARBY, A. BETTESWORTH,
F. FAYRAM, J. PEMBERTON, C. RIVINGTON, J. HOOKE, F. CLAY,
J. BATLEY, E. SYMON, and R. WILLIAMSON, MDCCXXV.

THE

PREFACE.

THE Reader *will expect perhaps, upon the* Publication *of theſe* Papers, *to find ſomewhat here by way of* Preface *and* Recommendation, *as is uſual in ſuch Caſes; but the* Work *being long of* it ſelf, *I will not make it more* tedious *than needs muſt. And therefore, I ſhall paſs over all* unneceſſary Niceties; *as the* Time *that has been ſpent upon it, the* Books *and* Friends *I have conſulted upon the* Text, *the Difficulties that* frequent *Troubles and* ill *Health, have thrown in my Way, and ſeveral more of the ſame Kind: To ſay nothing finally of the* Corruptions *in the* Original, *the* Bulk *and* Compaſs *of* it, *and how careful I have been in the* Menage *of my Commiſſion: For all Men will at laſt judge for* themſelves.

But there is one Thing ſtill, which in Honour and Juſtice I ought not to omit; and that is, to return my hearty Acknowledgments to my worthy Friend the Reverend Dr. Hudſon, *Chief Keeper of the* Bodleian Library, *for his kind and generous Aſſiſtance in this Performance: And here I muſt profeſs my ſelf particularly obliged to him (as the* Commonwealth of Letters *is in other Reſpects) for the Pains he has been pleaſed to take in* reviſing *and* comparing *the* Tranſlation *with the* Greek, *and for the learned and critical* Remarks placed here and there, at the Bottom of the Page; and many other Advantages of Uſe and Ornament, towards the gracing of the whole. I could wiſh his more important Affairs had left him at Liberty to take a ſtrict Review of all the Sheets, one after another, as they came from the Preſs: But I hope however, that reaſonable Care hath been taken to prevent either many or groſs Errors: And of this alſo, the Readers are at Liberty to judge for themſelves.

I think my ſelf likewiſe obliged upon this Occaſion to make a grateful mention of the late worthy and learned Dr. Willes, for his two excellent Diſcourſes prefixed to the Antiquities: And tho' they had not the good Fortune to have his laſt Hand to them, are now however at length (I preſume) by the Care and Skill of Dr. Hudſon, digeſted into a proper Method; with the Addition of ſuch Notes, &c. as highly tend to illuſtrate and render them compleat.

And I am now, alſo, to thank my other worthy Friends in general, for the good Offices they have done me towards the gaining of my Point.

January 28.
1702.

ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

TWO DISCOURSES
UPON
JOSEPHUS.

DISCOURSE I.

By way of Enquiry into the Life and Religion of Joſephus: *Wherein an Account is given of that famous Paſſage relating to our bleſſed Lord and Saviour.*

IN this preliminary Diſcourſe I ſhall principally enquire into the Life and Religion of *Joſephus:* Upon the right Underſtanding whereof ſome Obſcurities in him will be clear'd, and that remarkable Paſſage about our Saviour freed from the Objections that have been made againſt it.

We have his [a] Life written by himſelf when he was 56 Years old; in which he relates his being of the Stock and Lineage of [b] *Aaron*, and by his Mother's Side deſcended from the *Maccabees*, and of the Courſe of *Jojarib*, the firſt of the twenty four Orders of the Prieſts. He ſaith that he was born in the firſt Year of *Caligula*, (*A. D.* 37.) he made Tryal of the three famous Sects that were then amongſt the *Jews*; *Phariſees*, *Sadducees* and *Eſſenes*; and leaving them at 16 Years of Age, he ſpent three Years in the Wilderneſs of *Judæa* with a famous Maſter call'd *Bani*. *Serrarius* took him for an *Eſſene*, *Druſius* and the Author of *Juchaſin* for a *Phariſee:* But they are all miſtaken, ſince *Joſephus* in that very Place diſtinguiſheth him from the three Sects he had before made tryal of. It's more probable that he was one of St. *John Baptiſt's*, or *Chriſt's Diſciples*. The *Talmud* mentions one of *Chriſt's Diſciples* by the Name of *Bani* or *Buni*. But whoever he was, after three Years *Joſephus* left him alſo: And being now 19 Years old return'd to *Jeruſalem*; where having ſpent ſeven Years, he went to *Rome*, being 26 Years old: And there he became acquainted with [d] *Nicanor* (who was afterwards a *Colonel* in *Veſpaſian's* Army) and with *Alityrus* one of *Nero's* Favourites, and by his Intereſt with *Poppæa* the Empreſs, from whom he receiv'd many Favours. After two Years ſpent at *Rome* he return'd to *Judæa*, the War being now ready to break forth: In which War *Joſephus*, being 30 Years old and a Governour in *Galilee*, bravely reſiſted the *Romans*, till at laſt being overpower'd he yielded (or as his Enemies ſay revolted) to them. At this Time he told *Veſpaſian*, that he ſhould be Emperour of the *Romans*. And when *Joſephus* ſaw his Prophecy fulfill'd, and the whole Nation of the *Jews* conquer'd by him, he took him for the *Meſſias* and King of the *Jews*, whom the *Prophets* foretold. Upon theſe Accounts he was much eſteem'd by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, and from them took the Name of *Flavius*. And becauſe this is ſo memorable a Part of the Life of *Joſephus*, it may not be improper to read it in his own Words. *Nothing ſo much ſtir'd up the Minds of the* Jews *to the preſent Wars, as an ambiguous Prophecy found in their* ſacred Books; *that about that Time one of their Country ſhould be Ruler of the whole World.* ------- *By this Oracle the Empire of* Veſpaſian *was foretold, which began in* Judæa. Alſo ch. 14*th*, he ſaith, *that God ſhew'd him in a Dream the Deſtruction of the* Jews *and their Conqueſt by the* Romans, *and what ſhould happen to the* Roman *Emperours*. For being a *Prieſt*, he underſtood how to explain the *ſacred Books* of the *Prophets*, and to interpret Dreams. He often ſuggeſted to the *Jews*, that God had forſaken them, and was gone over to the *Romans*; that the *Jews* in fighting, not only reſiſted the *Romans* but God alſo; and that from the Writings of the *Prophets* it was evident that *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroy'd about that Time; and that God had long ſince decreed it. From the Waters of *Siloam* being dry'd up, when the *Jews* could come at them, and flowing plentifully when in Poſſeſſion of the *Romans*, he concluded that God had left the *Jews*, and was gone over to the *Romans*. When the War was over, and all Things had happen'd according to *Joſephus*'s Predictions: he reſolv'd to make the *Hiſtory* of it Publick: Which he did firſt in his own Language in *Hebrew*, for the Uſe of the *Eaſtern* Nations (a Book long ſince loſt;) and afterwards coming to *Rome* with *Titus*, he there publiſh'd theſe Books in *Greek*, which are now extant. But this was not done immediately upon his coming to *Rome:* For firſt the Triumph of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* over the *Jews* was paſt, which *Joſephus* in thoſe Books deſcribes: Many alſo had publiſh'd [a] falſe Accounts of that War, before he publiſh'd his. And it was after the 4th Year of the Empire of *Veſpaſian*, which he expreſly mentions in his 7th Book of the Wars of the *Jews*; and after the Building of the Temple of *Peace* at *Rome*, which he alſo mentions, and which, as appears from *Dion*, was dedicated *A. D.* 75. that is 5 Years after the War was ended: And yet it was before the Death of *Agrippa*, who highly approv'd of it, and commended it in ſeveral Letters written upon that Occaſion. *Agrippa* came to *Rome* and receiv'd new Honours from *Veſpaſian*, and that very Year that the *Temple* of *Peace* was dedicated (as appears from *Dion*;) beſides the Teſtimony of ſeveral Coins. *Euſebius* in his *Chron.* and the *Author* of the *Paſchalion* ſay, that he reign'd 26 Years, that is, till the 7th Year of *Veſpaſian*. All which I the rather take Notice of, becauſe [b] two very learned Men of this Age place his Death in the 3d Year of *Veſpaſian*. From hence 'tis evident, that *Joſephus* publiſh'd his Book of the Wars of the *Jews* betwixt the 5th Year of *Veſpaſian*, when the [c] *Temple* of *Peace* was dedicated, and the 7th Year of *Veſpaſian*, when [d] *Agrippa* dy'd.

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[a] As to the Time of its being written, and how 'tis to be plac'd in his Works, See *Valeſius*'s Notes upon *Euſebius*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. [b] See the Wars of the *Jews*. *Lib.* 3. *Cap.* 14. [c] *Sanhedrim*, *Cap.* 6. *F.* 43. *Lib.* 1. [d] Wars of the *Jews*. *Lib.* 3. [e] Wars of the *Jews*, *Lib.* 7. *Cap.* 31.

He wrote theſe Books for the Sake of the *Romans*, among whom he liv'd, and from whom he had receiv'd many Honours; for he was made Free of *Rome* by *Veſpaſian*, dwelt in the *Palace*, and had a yearly *Penſion* allow'd him by the *Emperour*; and having preſented his Books of the *Jewiſh War* to *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, the firſt took Care to have a Statue erected to him at *Rome*, the [e] latter approv'd them with his own Hand, and order'd them to be kept in all the publick Libraries. As the *Romans* extoll'd him, ſo he conſtantly magnifieth and flatters the *Romans*, and gives wicked Characters of the *Jews:* for which the *Jews* generally condemn his Books as falſe and partial. [f] *Abarbanel* ſaith, that he perverted the Truth to magnify the *Romans*, whom he was afraid to diſpleaſe; and wrote as they would have him. And tho' theſe Cenſures of the *Jews* are very groundleſs; yet I cannot but obſerve, that he ſo far comply'd with the Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, that *Minucius* [g] *Felix* in the very next Age after took him for a [h] *Roman: De Judæis ſcripta eorum relege; vel, ſi Romanis magis gaudes, Flavii Joſephi, vel Antonii Juliani de Judæis require.* i. e. *Concerning the* Jews, *either read their own Writers, or, if you would rather read* Romans, *inquire for* Joſephus *or* Antonius Julianus. This latter was undoubtedly the ſame *Antonius Julianus* that was Procuratour of *Judæa* in the very Time of the War, and is mention'd by [i] *Joſephus*. He was a *Spaniard* by Birth, a Man of great Eloquence and Learning, and publickly taught Rhetorick at [k] *Rome*. When *Joſephus* therefore wrote his Books of the Wars of the *Jews*, he was of Opinion, that *God* had forſaken their Nation, and was gone over to the *Romans:* He had ſeen his Country ruin'd by a War that had deſtroy'd above 1100000, the holy City lay'd Waſte; and *God*'s Temple ſo utterly deſtroy'd, as that there was ſcarcely one Stone left upon another; the ſacred Books of *Moſes*, and the holy Veſſels of God's Houſe, firſt made Part of the *Roman* Triumph, and afterwards furniſh'd the Temples of *Jupiter Capitolinus* and that of *Peace*; and the very Shekels, which were formerly pay'd by the *Jews* all the World over to the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*, were now pay'd to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. By which and many other Circumſtances, *Joſephus* was much confirm'd in his Opinion, that *God* had forſaken the *Jews*, and was become the *God* and Favourer of the *Romans*, and that *Veſpaſian* was the promis'd *Meſſiah*. His Opinion about *Government* was, that no one could be advanc'd to a Throne but by *God's* ſpecial Favour, and he makes King *Agrippa* thus ſpeak to the *Jews*. [l] *It's evident that God is now gone over to the* Romans: *For it's impoſſible that ſo great an Empire ſhould be eſtabliſh'd without God.* For theſe Reaſons *Joſephus* thought favourably of the *Religion* of the *Romans*, and was pleas'd that many of the [m] *Jewiſh* Opinions agreed with theirs. The Prodigies, that he ſaith happen'd before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, would agree better to *Livy* or *Tacitus* than to a *Jewiſh Hiſtorian*. And he could not tell whether he ſhould aſcribe his great Deliverance at *Jotapata* to *Chance* or *Providence*. And when *Judas* an *Eſſene* foretold the Death of *Antigonus* at *Strato's Tower*, the Prophecy was not fulfill'd at *Cæſarea*, which was famouſly ſo call'd, but at another [a] obſcure Place of that Name; Which ſeems copy'd from the Fable of the Death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus* at *Pandoſia*, as it's recorded by *Livy* and others. And what he relates of the [b] Apples of *Sodom* and the *ſabbatical River* is more like a *Romance*, to entertain his Reader, than any Regard to Truth: And the ridiculous Story of the Root *Baras* [c] ſeems borrow'd from the *Moly* of *Homer* or *Circea* of *Dioſcorides* and *Theophraſtus*. The four Colours of the *Veil* of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*, he makes to be an imitation of the four *Elements*, and the ſeven *Candleſticks* a Reſemblance of the ſeven *Planets*. The flying open of the great Brazen Gate of the *Temple*, is the ſame as happen'd at *Thebes* juſt before the great Battle of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*, when the great Gates of the *Temple* of *Hercules* open'd of themſelves without any ones touching of them. [*Cic.* de *Divinat.*] I omit many other Things of the like Nature, from whence it's evident that *Joſephus* endeavour'd to Greciſe and ſhape the Hiſtory of the *Jews* as like as he could to thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

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[a] Pref. of his Antiq. and the 1*ſt* Book againſt *Apion*. [b] Bp. *Pearſon* and Mr. *Dodwell*. This they were not aware of, but *Dio* ſeems plain, *Agrippa* therefore with his Siſter *Berenice* came to *Rome* A. D. 75. *Spanhemius* mentions a Coin with the XXXIX*th* Year of *Agrippa*, this will end A. D. 78. In *Photius* therefore perhaps the better Reading will be ἐννάτῳ inſtead of τρίτῳ. The IX*th* of *Veſpaſian* ends in *Jul.* A. D. 78. *H. D.* [c] This Dedication of the Temple of *Peace* mention'd by *Pliny*, *N. H. l.* 12. *c.* 19. [d] *Harduinus de Num. Herod.* hath Coyns of the 26, 27, 28, 29 Year of *Agrippa*, but no farther. And Coyns ſhew another King *Agrippa* beginning *A. D.* 80. or 81. and have his 14*th* Year about *Domitians* 14*th H. D.* [e] St. *Hierom.* [f] *Com.* on *Daniel.* In Favour of their own Forgery under the Name of *Ben. Gorion*: That is extravagant in Praiſe of the *Jews*. Where therefore the true *Joſephus* ſpeaks more likely and modeſtly, the latter *Jews* aſperſe him with Partiality to the *Romans. H. D.* [g] *P.* 36. [h] *Joſephus* was legally a *Roman* as far as Incorporation could make him ſo. *H. D.* [i] *L.* 7. *c.* 9. [k] *A. Gellius l.* 19. *c.* 9, if the ſame. & *l.* 1. *c.* 4. & *l.* 20. *c.* 8. [l] *L.* 2. *c.* 16. [m] Wars of the *Jews*, *L.* 2. *c.* 7.

And thus I have briefly given his Sentiments when he wrote the *Wars of the Jews*; but he did not write his Books of *Antiquities* till the 13th Year of *Domitian* the *Emperour*, when he had loſt his three great *Patrons*, two *Emperours* and a *King*, and now betook himſelf to the Favour of *Epaphroditus*, to whom he dedicates his twenty Books of *Antiquities*, his own Life, and two Books againſt *Apion*. He had now ſeen his *Meſſiah* die without doing any Thing for the *Jews*; or anſwering the *Characters* given him by the *Prophets*; by which Means he ſeems now to have chang'd his Opinion, and to be grown very looſe in his Sentiments about the *Myſteries* of *Religion*, a great *Latitudinarian*, and chiefly addicted to the general Opinions of the excellency of Virtue and Goodneſs, and the Agreeableneſs of true Religion to the Nature of *God*, and ſuch other moral Sentiments: Wherein the wiſeſt of the *Jews*, *Heathens* and *Chriſtians* were agreed, without any religious Eſteem of ſuch Things as had been reveal'd to the *Jews* by *Moſes* and the *Prophets*. And of this it may be neceſſary to give ſome Inſtances. *Circumciſion* was one of the moſt ſacred *Rites* of the *Jews*, which *God* gave *Abraham*, and by which they were known to be his Seed: And yet when *Joſephus* is ſpeaking of the *Antiquity* of it, he leaveth the Matter doubtful betwixt *Herodotus* and *Moſes*, whether the *Ægyptians* borrow'd it from the *Jews*, or the *Jews* from the *Ægyptians*. [d] He expreſsly ſaith, that one might worſhip *God* without *Circumciſion*: So that he reſolv'd to obſerve the *Jewiſh Laws*, that this was far better than *Circumciſion*, and that *God* would eaſily pardon one that did omit it for Fear of *Perſecution*. [e] And in this it's evident that *Joſephus* comply'd with the bad Circumſtances the *Jews* were in under the *Emperour Domitian*, by Reaſon of their *Circumciſion*; of which *Suetonius* hath theſe Words: *Judaicus fiſcus acerbiſſime actus eſt. Interfuiſſe me memini cùm à Procuratore frequentiſſimo concilio inſpiceretur nonagenarius ſenex, an circumſectus eſſet.* i. e. *The Jewiſh Tribute was ſeverely collected. I remember that I was preſent when an old Man of ninety Years of Age was in a great Aſſembly inſpected by the* Procurator, *whether he was circumciſed or not.* When *Joſephus* relates the miraculous Paſſage of the *Iſraelites* through the *Red Sea*, he adds very diffidently, *that he relates every Thing as it was in the* holy Books, *and doubted whether the Sea went back of its own Accord, or by* God's *ſpecial Command*; *and ſeems inclin'd to think it nothing elſe than what happen'd to* Alexander's *Army at* Pamphylia: In Concluſion he adds, [f] *that every one might think of it as he pleas'd.* When he gives an Account of *God's* coming down to [g] *Mount Sinai*: He ſaith, *let every one believe of it as he pleaſeth: But he related no more than he found in the* holy Books. When he ſaith, *that* God *was the Author of the* Law *of* Moſes, he adds, *but* [h] *let every one think of theſe Things as he pleaſeth.* And the like Reflections he makes upon *Jonas's* being ſwallow'd by a Whale, and *Nebuchadnezzer* being ſeven Years in the Wilderneſs with the Beaſts. In his ſecond Book againſt *Apion*, he ſaith, *that* Moſes *from his Juſtice and Piety might very well judge that he had* God *for his Guide: And when he was once perſuaded of that himſelf, he did well to perſuade the People to think ſo too*; *juſt as the* Greeks *pretended to have their Laws from* Apollo, *whether they really thought ſo, or thought that the beſt Way to make them receiv'd of the People.* He ſaith, *that the* Jews *keep their own Law and never cenſure others, and do not laugh at or ſpeak againſt thoſe that are thought* Gods *by others*: Of which Place *Grotius* [i] obſerves, that he undoubtedly flatter'd the *Romans*: And long before him *Philoſtorgius* made the like Obſervation [k] that *Joſephus* was like one fearing to offend the *Gentiles*, and taking great Care in his Books not to diſpleaſe them.

Now the Diſeſteeming the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Law* of *Moſes*, and ſetting ſo great a Value upon the Precepts of *Morality*, are two conſiderable Steps that *Joſephus* made towards the Doctrine of Chriſtianity: And whereas of all the *Sects* of the *Jews*

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[a] Wars of the *Jews*, *l.* 1. *c.* 1. [b] Theſe are like the Prodigies mention'd by *Jaſon* the *Cyrenian*, 2 *Maccab.* v. 2. 3. [c] Wars of the *Jews*, *l.* 7. *c.* 25. [d] Antiq. *l.* 8. *c.* 10. [e] *L.* 20. *c.* 2. [f] *L.* 2. *c.* 16. [g] *L.* 3. *c.* 4. [h] *L.* 3. *c. ult.* [i] De Jure Belli & Pacis. *p.* 606, 607. [k] *Suidas* voce φλέγων.

Joſephus gives the beſt Character of, and ſeems to have the greateſt Eſteem for the *Eſſenes*, ſo it's obſervable, that of all the *Sects* of the *Jews*, they came neareſt to the *Chriſtians*. The *Eſſenes* were forbidden to keep any Changes of Coats or Shoes, as *Chriſt* alſo forbad his Diſciples, *Matth.* x. 10. The *Eſſenes* were forbidden to ſwear, as *Chriſt* alſo forbad the *Chriſtians*. The *Eſſenes* excommunicated Perſons that liv'd unworthy of their Profeſſion; and of ſuch it was obſerv'd by them that they uſually came to ſome untimely End: Juſt as St. *Paul* obſerves of thoſe that prophan'd the *Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, in thoſe pureſt Times of *Chriſtianity*, that it often happen'd, that they were deliver'd to *Satan*. The *Eſſenes* never troubled themſelves with *Sacrifices*; but faſted often, and readily became *Martyrs* for their *Religion*. All which Things are very agreeable to the Precepts of the *Goſpel*. Of the *Eſſenes*, *Joſephus* particularly obſerves that they had the Gift of *Prophecy*, and could foretell Things to come: And I will add in the laſt Place of them, that tho' *Chriſt* vehemently cenſures the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*, yet he never ſpoke one Word againſt the *Eſſenes*. And when *Joſephus*, at the End of his ſecond Book againſt *Apion*, makes the *Jewiſh Religion* to conſiſt in Piety, Juſtice, Concord, and obſerving *God* and his Providence, he comes very near the Deſcription of *Chriſtianity*.

And having thus far obſerv'd *Joſephus*'s Sentiments of *religious* Matters, when he wrote his *Antiquities*; let us ſee in the laſt Place, whether there is any Thing in that famous Account he gives of our *Saviour*, that is not very agreeable to *Joſephus*, and the Time when he wrote. The Place is *Antiq.* Book 18. ch. 4. *There was about that Time one* Jeſus *a wiſe Man, if yet it be lawful to call him a Man: He was a Worker of ſtrange Miracles, a Teacher of ſuch Men as would readily embrace the Truth, and had many Followers both of* Hebrews *and* Helleniſts: (*i. e.* Jews *and* Proſelytes:) *This was the famous* Chriſt, *who upon the Accuſation of the principal Men of the* Jews *was crucify'd by* Pontius Pilate; *and yet thoſe that firſt lov'd him did not forſake him; for he appear'd to them the third Day alive again. Their holy Writers have declar'd theſe and many thouſand other wonderful Things of him. The Race of Chriſtians, which are ſo call'd from him, remain to this Day.* In all which I ſee nothing but what may agree to a *Jew*, giving an *hiſtorical* Account of the *Affairs* of his own Nation to the *Heathens*; eſpecially what may agree to *Joſephus*, who [a] frequently tells his *Reader*, that he did not affirm the Truth of every Thing he related, but faithfully tranſcrib'd what he found in their Books; and ſo indifferently related the Opinions of the *Phariſees*, *Sadducees*, *Eſſenes*, and of the Followers of *Judas Galilæus*, and gives a particular Account of St. *John Baptiſt*, and St. *James* the Brother of *Chriſt*. So that it would have been very ſtrange if *Joſephus* ſhould have paſs'd by *Chriſt* and the *Chriſtians*, without taking any Notice of them, eſpecially at the 13th Year of *Domitian*, when they were grown ſo very numerous. At the End of *Nero*'s Reign, *Hermas*, *Clement*, *Tacitus*, *Lactantius*, and *Sulpitius Severus* call them a *great Multitude*; but at the End of *Domitian*'s Reign, moſt Countries were full of *Chriſtians*. *Oroſius* [b] calls the *Chriſtian Church* at that Time, *Confirmatiſſimam toto Orbe Eccleſiam, a Church firmly eſtabliſh'd in all the World*. *Pliny* not long after ſhews that *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were full of *Chriſtians*; and even at *Rome* there were ſo many, that *Domitian* was afraid of them, and their ſetting up of *Chriſt*'s Kingdom: And for that Reaſon rais'd a Perſecution againſt them. But becauſe ſo many learned Men have employ'd their Pens to cenſure this *Paragraph* in *Joſephus* as none of his; I will examine it yet more particularly.

There was about that Time one Jeſus (Ιησοῦς τις.) This is the proper Language of the *Jews* us'd by *Tryphon* in [c] *Juſtin Martyr*, (where *Chriſt* is call'd *Jeſus*, Ιησοῦς τις) and by *Joſephus* upon other Occaſions, as in his *Wars of the Jews*, *l.* 7. *c.* 11 *and* 12. Ιησοῦς τις: And even of *Zenodorus* a *Tetrarch*, *Ant.* *l.* 15. *c.* 13. Ζηνόδωρός τις. He calls *Banus*, τίνα Βανοῦν; alſo *Hyrcanus*. *l.* 18. *c.* 8. *Theudas* *l.* 20. *c.* 4.

A wiſe Man (σοφὸς ἀνὴρ) the old *Appellation* of a *Philoſopher*; and no more than what the ſame *Joſephus* ſaith of St. *John Baptiſt*, who is call'd by him a good Man (ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ.)

If he may be call'd a Man who was a Worker of Miracles, (εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή.) *Joſephus* means that he ſeem'd more than a common Man. So when *Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius*, it was *de Chriſto Deo*. *Tertullian* and *Pliny*, that the *Chriſtians* ſang *Chriſto quaſi Deo*. That he did *Miracles*, is what the *Jews* own'd, *John* xi. 47. *They ſaid, what do we? For this Man doth many Miracles.* In *Juſtin Martyr*'s [d] Dialogue with *Tryphon* the *Jew*, the *Jews* own that ſuch *Miracles* ſeem'd to have been done, but imputed them to *Magic*; and both *Celſus* [e] and *Porphyry*, tho' bitter Enemies to the *Chriſtians*, confeſs'd that *Chriſt* did *Miracles*. *Phlegon* owns that *Chriſt* [f] foreknew future Things. *Pilate* gave the Emperour *Tiberius Nero* an Account of our *Saviour's Mira-*

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[a] Pref. and Concluſion of his Antiq. alſo *l.* 10. *c.* 12. [b] *L.* 7. *c.* 10. [c] *P.* 335. [d] *P.* 296. [e] *Origen.* contra *Celſum.* *Cyril.* contra *Julian.* *lib.* 10. *Hieron.* adv. *Vigilant.* [f] *Orig.* contra *Celſum*, *lib.* 2.

cles; as we are aſſur'd by *Tertullian* and *Euſebius*. And from that Account he underſtood, *that he was a wiſe Man and*[a] *Doer of Miracles* (φιλόσοφος ϗ θαύματα ποιῶν.)

A Teacher of ſuch Men as would embrace the Truth. (διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τ᾽ἀληθῆ δεχομένων.) *Porphyry* quotes many *Oracles* in the Praiſe of *Chriſt*, that declare him to be Religious and Immortal: To which *Porphyry* adds [b] that *Chriſt* was pious and carry'd to Heaven, and yet blames the *Chriſtians*.

Trypho [c] a *Jew* commended the holy Lives of *Chriſtians*, and [d] *Galen* an *Heathen* ſaith of the *Chriſtians*, *that they were chaſte*, *much addicted to Prayer and Faſting*, *abſtain'd from Injuries*, *&c.* Nor is it a leſs advantagious Character that *Pliny* gives of them in his Epiſtle to *Trajan*: And *Joſephus* alſo in giving an Account of the Martyrdom of St. *James* highly commends him, and thoſe that took his Part, as *Men moſt juſt and accurate about the Obſervance of the Law.*

This was the ſamous Chriſt (ὁ Χριςὸς ȣ̃τος ἦν) viz. *He that was the Author of Chriſtianity:* For *Joſephus* wrote thoſe Books to inform *Epaphroditus* and the *Heathens*, who [e] knew him beſt by the Name of *Chriſt:* For ſo he is call'd by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus* and *Pliny*, and they ſay expreſsly that the *Chriſtians* were ſo call'd from him. It's beyond the Senſe and Deſign of *Joſephus* to expound theſe Words of true and ſaving Faith in *Chriſt*; for *Joſephus* was (τῶν ἀπίςων Ἰησȣ̃ ὡς Χριςȣ̃) among thoſe that did not believe *Jeſus* to be the true *Meſſias*, as we are told by [f] *Origen*: But *Joſephus* deſign'd no more only to let us know, that this *Jeſus* was the ſame that was uſually [g] call'd *Chriſt*, and was the Author of *Chriſtianity:* Thus [h] elſewhere he tells us that St. *James* was Brother τȣ̃ λεγομένȣ Χριςȣ̃, *to him that is call'd Chriſt.*

He was crucify'd by Pontius Pilate. [i] This is a plain hiſtorical Truth recorded alſo by *Tacitus*, and the *Acts* of *Pilate:* The Truth is, that *Tacitus*'s Account of *Chriſt* is very agreeable to this of *Joſephus: Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui per Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat.* i. e. Chriſt *was the Author of the Sect of the* Chriſtians, *who was crucify'd by* Pontius Pilate. And ſince it's evident that *Tacitus* had read *Joſephus*, (for in his Hiſtory *l.* 5. he ſaith, *Expanſæ repentè delubri fores*, *&* *audita major humanâ vox excedere Deos*, which is taken from *Joſephus*, *l.* 1. *c.* 6. μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν, &c.) it's more probable that he took his Account from *Joſephus* than from the *Goſpel*, and ſo he will be an early Evidence of the Authenticknels and great Antiquity of this Paragraph in *Joſephus*.

He appear'd to them the third Day alive again. *Joſephus* here doth not relate his own but the *Chriſtians* Faith: And this is what he might not only learn from their *Goſpels*, but even from the *Letter* which *Pilate* ſent to *Tiberius*, and is in Part exſtant in *Juſtin*, *Tertullian* and *Oroſius:* In which we have an expreſs Narrative of *Chriſt's* riſing from the dead the third Day: Beſides *Celſus* witneſſeth that *Chriſt* appear'd to his Followers after his Death.

Their holy Writers have declar'd theſe and many thouſand wonderful Things of him (τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε ϗ ἄλλα μύρια περὶ αὐτȣ̃ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων.) Theſe Words having Reference to *them*, i. e. the *Chriſtians* in the former Sentence, ought properly to be expounded of the Writings of the *Prophets*. Thus *Joſephus* reckons the Books of *Maccabees* among the *Jewiſh Prophets*, and the holy Books of the *Eſſenes* he calls (προφητῶν ἀποθέγματα) *the Doctrine of their Prophets:* And this Senſe is here much confirm'd by the Word εἰρηκότων, which hath no Relation to the foretelling future Things, but properly ſignifieth *hiſtorically declaring*; thus *Euſtathius* upon *Homer* explains εἰρῶ by ἀγγέλλω, from whence cometh the Word *Evangeliſt*. And ſince the Books of the *Goſpels* were now generally receiv'd in the Chriſtian Churches, it may not ſeem ſtrange that *Joſephus* ſhould have ſeen ſome of them. *Tryphon* the *Jew* tells *Juſtin Martyr* that he had read them, and ſo the modern *Jews* do now. It's plain that he uſeth the Language of the *Chriſtians*, and the new *Teſtament* elſewhere, as when he calls St. *John* the *Baptiſt*, St. *James* the *Brother of Chriſt*.

So that I ſee nothing in all this Account of Chriſt but what may well agree with *Joſephus*. And indeed it would be more ſtrange if ſuch an accurate *Hiſtorian*, and one that gives ſo full an Account of St. *John Baptiſt* and St. *James* ſhould ſay nothing at all of *Chriſt* himſelf: And when afterwards he calls *James* the Brother of *Chriſt*, it may very well be ſuppos'd, that he had given ſome Account of *Chriſt* before. And laſtly it may be probably gueſs'd, that at the Writing of his *Antiquities*, he began to think favourably of the *Chriſtians*. He commends St. *John Baptiſt* and St. *James* as well as *Chriſt*, whom in his *Wars of the Jews* he never mention'd; and never ſaith one Word of *Veſpaſian*, whom he had before magnify'd as the *Meſſias*. He thought formerly that the Murder of ***Ananus*** and ***Jeſus*** were the true Cauſe of *God*'s Anger againſt the *Jews*, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But in his *Antiquities* he makes the Murder of St. *James* the Apoſtle to have been the Cauſe of it, if we may give Credit to [a] *Origen* and *Euſebius*. It cannot ſeem ſtrange that *Joſephus* ſhould ſay ſo of St. *James*, when [b] *Maimonides* himſelf declares that *this* Jeſus, *who was put to Death by the* Sanhedrim, *was the Cauſe of the Deſtruction of the Nation of the* Jews *and was propheſy'd of by* Daniel. Now, whereas *Chriſt* is call'd by the *Chriſtians*, the *Stone cut out without Hands*, from *Dan.* ii. 45. (a Place which many [c] *Jews*, and particularly *Tryphon* in [d] *Juſtin Martyr* confeſs'd to belong to the *Meſſiah*) *Joſephus*, when he comes to ſpeak of the Meaning of it, plainly ſaith [e] *that it was ſuch as he had no Mind to publiſh*, and ſo tacitly hints the owning of *Jeſus* to be the *Meſſiah*, though he would not openly confeſs it. But be this as it will, it's certain that tho' *Joſephus* often condemns the *Sadduces*, accuſeth *Theudas*, *Judas*, and others, that ſet up for ***Prophets*** to draw People after them, yet he never once accuſeth *Chriſt* or the *Chriſtians*.

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[a] *Jo. Malela p.* 323. [b] See *Euſeb. Dem. Evangel. p.* 134. [c] *Juſt. Mart. p* 316. & 227. [d] In *Abulpharajus*, *p.* 78. [e] Both *Jews* and *Heathens* did Miracles by the Name of *Chriſt*. [f] Contra *Celſum*. [g] The *Heathens* call'd him *Chriſt*, *Lactant. p.* 367. [h] Antiq. *l.* 20. *c.* 8. [i] The *Jews* ſay that *Chriſt* was *propinquus Regni*, and crucify'd on the Eve of the Paſſover, which they learn'd from the Goſpel that they had in *Hebrew*.

Upon the whole I cannot ſee the leaſt Reaſon to think this Paſſage ſuppoſititious, it's quoted in the very ſame Words by *Euſebius*, St. *Jerome*, *Iſidorus Peluſiota*, *Sozomen*, *Rufinus*, *Sophronius*, *Cedrenus*, *Freculphus*, *Suidas*, *Joan. Sariſb. Hegeſippus*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Nicephorus*, and many other ancient Writers: It's extant in all Copies and MSS. of *Joſephus* in the World, and in all Tranſlations; particularly that made by St. *Ambroſe*, and which goeth under the Name of *Hegeſippus*, hath it at large twice, *viz.* in the ſecond Book, and again in the *Anacephalæoſis*. So that *Tanaquil Faber*, the great Oppoſer of this Paſſage of *Joſephus*, ſeems very aſſuming, when he ſays of this *Hegeſippus*, that *Joſephum eo accuſat nomine quod Reſurrectionis Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti non meminerit.* i. e. Hegeſippus *accuſeth* Joſephus, *for not Mentioning the Reſurrection of Chriſt*, [f] which is not only abſur'd upon the Account that *Hegeſippus* is nothing elſe but a Corruption of the Word *Joſephus*, and that Book a free *Tranſlation* of it: But alſo that this Paſſage about our *Saviour* is twice read at large. *Ludovicus Vives* was the firſt I met with that diſcover'd St. *Ambroſe* to have been the true Author of the *Tranſlation* that goes under the Name of *Hegeſippus*. His Words in his Book *De Tradenda Diſciplina* are theſe: Hegeſippus *Latinus factus ab Ambroſio Mediolanenſi Antiſtite*, *i. e.* The *Latin Hegeſippus* was made by St. *Ambroſe* Biſhop of *Milane*. The old *Latin Verſion* of his *Antiquities* made by the Care of *Caſſiodorus* hath this Place alſo. This *Verſion* hath been falſly father'd upon *Rufinus*, and tho' the old Copy at *Milane* hath been by ſome [g] learned Men thought as old as *Rufinus*, if not the very ſame Copy; yet it's evident from [h] *Caſſiodorus*, that it was not at all tranſlated into *Latin* till 150 Years after *Rufinus* by *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*. And laſtly the *Hebrew Verſion* of ſome Parts of *Joſephus* uſually publiſh'd under the Name of *Ben Gorion* hath this Paſſage of *Joſephus* about our *Saviour*; for tho' it be not in the imperfect Edition of *Munſter*, which is but Part of that Work, yet it's certain that it was in the compleat Copies of that Book. *P. Fagius* in his Edition of the *Tisby* of *Elias Levita*, at the Word ושך puts down the whole Paragraph with this Preface to it. *Ego Paulus Fagius interpres hujus Libelli, in honorem Chriſti & Redemptoris noſtri, huc referam quæ ſcripta inveniuntur in libro Joſephi filii Gorion, cujus hæc ſunt verba: Fuit iiſdem temporibus Jeſus, &c.* i. e. *I* Paul Fagius *Interpreter of this Book will relate here, for the Honour of* Chriſt *and our* Redeemer, *what is found written in a Book of* Joſephus *the Son of* Gorion *in theſe Words: There was at that Time one* Jeſus, *&c.* and there inſerts this whole Paſſage as it is in the *Greek Joſephus*. *Baronius* mentions an old *Hebrew* Copy of *Joſephus* in which this Paſſage appear'd, but eraſed: And even our old *Engliſh* Tranſlation of that Book by *P. Moriſyn* hath this Paragraph at large: And moreover [i] *Giraldus Cambrenſis* tells us, that *Robertus Canutus* (the *Fryer* of St. *Frideſwide*, who liv'd about the Year 1171, and was well skill'd in *Hebrew*) declar'd that he found this *Teſtimony* concerning our *Saviour* in two *Hebrew* Copies of *Joſephus*; and that it was eraſed in others; as he made it appear to ſome *Jews* then living in *Oxford*.

So that in Fine, there ſeems as much Evidence for the Truth and Sincerity of this Place in *Joſephus* as of any other in all his Works: And it would have been far more ſtrange, if in his Circumſtances and Time when he wrote, he ſhould have ſaid nothing of *Chriſt*, than that he ſaith what he doth. Yet if any one deſires to be more fully ſatisfy'd in this particular, let him conſult *Andreas Boſius*'s *Exercitationes Hiſtor. Critic*: *Chr. Arnoldus*'s Collection *of Letters* concerning the *Teſtimony* of *Joſephus*: *Voſſius*'s *Chronologia Sacra, cap.* 17: *Huetius*'s *Demonſtratio Evangel. prop.* 3: *Bp. Parker*'s *Demonſtration* of the *Divine Authority* of the *Law* of *Nature* and the *Chriſtian Religion*, *p.* 222. *&c.* and Dr. *Cave*'s *Hiſtoria Literaria*, Part the 2*d. p.* 17. *&c.*

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[a] *Origen* againſt *Celſus*, *p.* 35, 36. *Euſeb. H. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 23, &c. [b] De *Reg. c.* 11. [c] *Pirk. R. Eleazar, p.* 26. [d] P. 254. [e] I do not remember this in *Joſephus.* [f] The ſame Miſtake is in *Spanheim*'s *Dub. Ev. p.* 537, 538. and in *Sixtus Senenſis.* [g] *Mabill. It. Ital. p.* 12. & Dr. *B.* [h] *De Inſtit. c.* 17. [i] See Dr. *Cave*'s Hiſtoria Literaria, *Tom.* 2. *p.* 18.

DISCOURSE II.

By Way of Enquiry into the Chronology of JOSEPHUS *in his* ANTIQUITIES.

SINCE the Copies of *Joſephus* have been alter'd and corrupted, the beſt Method that I can propoſe for the Diſcovery of his *Chronology*, is to make an exact Collection of ſuch Paſſages of *Joſephus*, as were antiently quoted from him within two or three hundred Years after he wrote, and in thoſe Books remain unalter'd; together with a diligent Peruſal of the other Works of *Joſephus*, which, being written upon other Subjects, and not containing the Hiſtory of the *Bible*, are not ſo likely to be alter'd to comply with either *Verſion*. In Purſuance of this Method, the firſt Place that I ſhall pitch upon is that of *Euſebius* in his Hiſtory *l.* 3. *c.* 10. where he quotes a large Paragraph out of *Joſephus*'s firſt Book againſt *Apion*, which aſſerts that from the Beginning of the World to the Death of *Moſes* was almoſt 3000 Years; his Words are οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν. Which Words *Valeſius* obſerves to be in all his old MSS. of *Euſebius*. Theſe ſame Words are alſo quoted by *Nicephorus* (*Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 1. *p.* 162.) and are at this Day to be read in all Prints, MSS. and Verſions of *Joſephus*: nor was this alter'd to comply with *Greek* and *Hebrew Chronology*; ſince it manifeſtly agrees with neither. Our preſent *Latin Joſephus* tranſlates thoſe Words thus, *Hoc tempus de tribus millibus annorum paululum minus eſt.* In the Verſion uſed by *Bede* [a] and *Hermannus Contractus*, and which was probably that made by *Epiphanius*, they are tranſlated thus, *Qui paulo minus ad tria millia annorum continentiam gerunt.* The Word *continentia* is uſed after the ſame Manner by *Epiphanius* in the Preface to the *Antiquities*. Theſe ſame Words of *Joſephus* are twice quoted by *Bede* in his Book *de Ratione Temporum*, and his *Apologetick Epiſtle*, and alſo are in *Hermannus Contractus* A. M. 2493. From all which we have a great Aſſurance that this was the genuine Text of *Joſephus*, and may receive farther Confirmation from *Joſephus* in other Parts of his Works. In the Preface to his *Antiquities* he ſaith, *that the holy Books of the* Jews *contain'd the Hiſtory of* 5000 *Years*; and that he meant from the Beginning of the World to his Time, appears partly from the Concluſion of his *Antiquities*, where he ſaith of his whole Hiſtory, that *it was taken from the ſacred Writings*: and more fully from the Beginning of his firſt Book againſt *Apion*, where he ſaith, *that his Books of Antiquities contain'd the Hiſtory of* 5000 *Years*. And to take away all Doubt, *Joſephus* in [b] three ſeveral Places, where all Copies agree, accounts 2000 Years from *Moſes* to his Time, as [c] *Philo* doth likewiſe. Now if we add theſe 2000 Years from *Moſes* to his Time to the almoſt 3000 Years from *Adam* to *Moſes*, it makes up the Sum of almoſt 5000 Years from *Adam* to the Time of *Joſephus*. [d] *Origen* alſo ſaith, *that from* Adam *to the* 70th *Year of Chriſt's Oeconomy was* 4900 *Years*, and tho' he doth not there quote *Joſephus*, yet it's manifeſt that he took it from him. For 1*ſt*, that Number is widely different from the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, but agreeth with *Joſephus*. 2*dly*, In that ſame *Homily* he twice quotes the *Hiſtory of the* Jews, and the *Wars of the* Jews, and undoubtedly meant thoſe of *Joſephus*. 3*dly*, The 70th Year of *Chriſt's Oeconomy* is the very Time where *Joſephus*'s Books End. And, to ſhew that there is no Miſtake in that Number of *Origen*, he adds in the ſame Place, *that it was* 4830 *Years from* Adam *to* Chriſt. From all which it ſeems evident that *Joſephus* accounted almoſt 3000 Years from *Adam* to the Death of *Moſes*, and almoſt 5000 Years from *Adam* to his own Time.

The next Place I come to conſider, is in the ſame Book of *Origen*, *Hom.* 10. *f.* 25. where he obſerves, that it was as long from *Adam* to *Noah* (*i. e.* the *Flood*) as from *Moſes* to *Chriſt*. Now if with *Origen* we aſſign 4830 Years from *Adam* to *Chriſt*. And if according to the [e] *Hebrew* we account 1656 Years to the *Flood*, we ſhall find juſt ſo many Years in *Joſephus* to *Chriſt*. And becauſe I would not yet make Uſe of the preſent Copies of *Joſephus*, we may take this Period out of *Clem. Alex. Strom* 1. *p.* 250. where he quotes *Joſephus* from a yet elder Author that flouriſh'd under *Antoninus Pius*, and ſo near to *Joſephus*'s Time, viz. *that from Moſes* (*i. e.* the coming out of *Ægypt*) *to David was* [f] 585 *Years, from David to the* 2*d of Veſpaſian* 1179 *Years*, both together 1764 Years. Now if from that Sum we take 40 Years that *Moſes* was in the Wilderneſs, and 70 Years of *Chriſt's Oeconomy*, there will remain 1657 Years from *Moſes*'s Death to *Chriſt's* Birth: Which he thus takes from *Joſephus*, and which demonſtrates that in the Time of *Origen*,

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[a] De Nat. rerum, *fol.* 76. [b] *Viz.* in the *Preface* and *Concluſion* of his *Antiquities* and in his 1*ſt* Book againſt *Apion*. [c] In *Euſeb.* de *Præp. Evang. l.* 9. [d] *Homil.* on *Matth.* 29. [e] In the *Samaritane Chron.* from *Moſes*'s *Exodus* to the *Æra vulg.* are 1671 Years, if the *Æra Chriſti* were 4 Years ſooner than it was to that 1657 Years juſt as *Origen* is. [f] In the firſt Sum is a ſmall Miſtake of ί for ή, 5 for 8, and then both will be 1767.

gen, *Joſephus* before the *Flood* agreed with the *Hebrew*. And if we ſubſtract twice 1656. *i. e.* 3312 out of 4830, there will remain for the Space betwixt the *Flood* and the *Death* of *Moſes* 1518 Years, which is very near what we now read for that *Period*. And if we put all this together, the *Chronology* of *Joſephus* will ſtand thus:

From *Adam* to the *Flood* 1656 Years, to the *Death* of *Moſes* 1518, to the *Birth* of *Chriſt* 1656, to the 12th of *Nero* 70 Years, in all 4900 Years, or according to *Joſephus*, almoſt 5000 Years from *Adam* to his Time at the 13th Year of *Domitian*.

Before I proceed to a more diſtinct Conſideration of Particulars, it will be neceſſary to ſhew what Evidence there is ſtill left in the preſent *Copies* and *MSS.* of *Joſephus*, that he follow'd the *Hebrew* before the *Flood* and the *Greek* after it.

The *Period* before the *Flood* agreeth with the *Hebrew*. 1*ſt*, in the Age of *Lamech's* begetting *Noah*, the *Hebrew* is 182, the *Greek* 188, the Difference only in the laſt Figure. Now all *Copies*, *Verſions*, and *MSS.* of *Joſephus* have *two* in the laſt Place according to the *Hebrew*, and not *eight* according to the *Greek*. 2*dly*, In the Age that *Enoch* begat at, the *Hebrew* is 65, the *Greek* 165. Now the *Copies* and *MSS.* of *Joſephus* here agree with the *Hebrew* againſt the *Greek*. 3*dly*, The *Hebrew* accounts to the *Flood* 1656 Years, the *Greek* 2242 Years. Now there are no Copies of *Joſephus* that agree with the *Greek*: But they have either 2656 or elſe 1--56, the Number of hundreds being wanting: And either Way there are manifeſt Footſteps of Agreement with the *Hebrew*. Laſtly, *Joſephus* ſaith of this *Period*, that he tranſcrib'd the Years from the *holy Books* with great Accuracy; where by *holy Books*, he meant the *Hebrew*. And ſo in his *Preface* to his *Antiquities*, tho' the 70 tranſlated the Books of *Moſes*, yet there are many more Things in the *holy Writings* (that is the *Hebrew*) which he deſign'd to explain. And againſt *Apion*, *l.* 1. he ſaith, that he wrote his Hiſtory in *Greek* from the *holy Books*, *i. e.* the *Hebrew Books*: And again he ſaith, that he tranſlated his *Antiquities* from the *holy Books*, as underſtanding thoſe Letters, *i. e.* the *Hebrew* Books and Letters.

The *Period* next after the *Flood* agreeth with the *Greek*. For 1*ſt*, moſt of the preſent *Greek Copies* here follow the 70. 2*dly*, The *old Greek Copy* of *Epiphanius* here certainly follow'd the 70, for ſo *Freculphus* about A. D. 800, in *Chron.* T. 1. l. 1. cap. 35. *De numero Annorum à Diluvio uſque ad Nativitatem Abrahæ aliter Joſephus atque* 70 *interpretes & Euſebius ſentiunt quam in Hebraica Veritate continetur*; and afterwards adds, that the *Hebrew* has 292 Years, the 70 and *Euſebius* 942 Years, *à quibus Joſephus non longe exorbitat*. 3*dly*, *Joſephus* ſaith that *Phaleg* was born at the *Diviſion of Tongues*: But thoſe that follow the *Hebrew* ſay, that it was at the Death of *Phaleg*, finding a 100 Years too few for the peopling of the World. 4*thly*, They that follow the *Hebrew* make *Sem* to be *Melchiſedech*, as being then alive in the Days of *Abraham* according to their *Chronology*. But *Joſephus* [a] ſaith that he was a *Chanaanitiſh* King, and hath not the leaſt Hint of ſo ſtrange a Thing, that *Abrahams* great Grand-Fathers great Grand-Father's Grand-Father *Sem* ſhould be then alive to bleſs him. 5*thly*, Since *Jocktan* in *Joſephus* is Elder Brother of *Phaleg*, and had 13 Sons at the Building of *Babel* that gave Names to Countries, it's impoſſible that *Phaleg* ſhould be born in the 30th Year of *Heber*, but muſt be at leaſt born according to the 70 in the 134th Year of his Father. And laſtly, in this *Period* of Time *Joſephus* hath no Intimation that he took his Years from the *Hebrew*, as he had of the *Period* before the *Flood*. From all which it is very probable that *Joſephus* follow'd the *Hebrew* before the *Flood*, and the 70 after it. Yet he ſeems to have differ'd both from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* in one Inſtance before the *Flood*, and one after it. In the *Period* before the *Flood* he differs from the *Hebrew* in the Age of *Jared's* begetting *Enoch*, and inclin'd to the *Samaritan*, and had 62 inſtead of 162, and thereby made that Number more ſuitable to the reſt, as may appear by this *Table*.

	Samaritan	*Hebrew*	*Septuagint*
Adam	130	130	230
Seth	105	105	205
Enos	090	090	190
Kainan	70	70	170
Maleleel	65	65	165
Jared	62	162	162
Enoch	65	65	165

In this *Table* the *Samaritan* and *Hebrew* agree in all but the Age of *Jared's* begetting *Enoch*, the *Septuagint* exceed the *Hebrew* by an hundred Years in every one but in that of

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[a] *Wars* of the *Jews l.* 7. *c.* 18.

Jared. So that in the *Hebrew* Copies which they uſed, it was 62. *Joſephus* here made *Jared*'s begetting proportionable to that of his Son after him at 65, his Father at 65, his Grand-Father at 70, and his great Grand-Father at 90. And that this was really the Mind of *Joſephus* will appear: *Firſt*, From the adjuſting the Particulars to the general Sums I have laid down, and making them to the Death of *Moſes* to be almoſt 3000 Years. *2dly*, From *Joſ. Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 10. where it is ſaid that the *Temple* was deſtroy'd 1957 Years after the *Flood*, and 3513 Years after *Adam*. Taking the firſt Sum from the ſecond we leave 1556 Years betwixt *Adam* and the *Flood*, that is one hundred leſs than the *Hebrew*. And in theſe Numbers there is a great Agreement of *Greek* and *Latin* Copies: So *Zonaras* read the *Greek* in his Time, and ſo *Freculphus* read the *Latin* in his Time; and the Numbers, though falſe, yet are proportionable, and have juſt 500 wanting in each of them. *3dly*, All the *Greek MSS.* of *Joſephus*, even thoſe that follow the *Septuagint*, give but 65 Years to the Age that *Enoch* begat at. They have left out 100 Years from *Enoch*, which ſhould have been taken from his Father *Jared*, as in the Ages after the *Flood* in almoſt all *MSS.* of *Joſephus*: And the Years of *Ragau* and *Saruch* are interchang'd, who are the 6th and 7th Patriarchs after the *Flood*, as *Jared* and *Enoch* are the 6th and 7th before the *Flood*.

In the *Period* next after the *Flood*, there is no Diſagreement of *Joſephus* from the LXX except only in the Age of *Nachor*'s begetting *Terah*; and here is ſo great Variety that it's hard to diſcover what to follow.

Some *Editions* of the LXX, as that of *Complutum* and *Rome*, have	179
Other *Editions* of the LXX have only	79
Theophilus ad *Autolycum*	75
The *Hebrew*	29
The *Samaritan*	79
The *Vulgar Latin* and ſome Copies of *Joſephus* have	28
The uſual *Greek* Copies of *Joſephus*	120
As corrected by *Voſſius*	129
Freculphus Lexov. read in *Joſephus* ſome Number above	79
Origen in the Place above cited	109

For ſince *Origen* accounted 1518 Years from the *Flood* to the Death of *Moſes*, and *excluſively* of the Year of the Death of *Moſes* 1517 Years, and the LXX leaving out *Chanaan* the 2d (as *Joſephus* did) account only 1487 to that Space, it's evident that in *Origen*'s Copy of *Joſephus* he read 40 Years more than the LXX, and inſtead of 79 read 109 ἔννατον ϗ ἑκατοστόν. Amidſt this great Variety and Uncertainty, if we read in this one Place inſtead of *Origen*'s ἔννατον ϗ ἑκατοστὸν (with very ſmall Alteration) ἔννατον ϗ εἰκοστὸν, which is conſonant to the *Hebrew*, *Joſephus* will agree exactly with all the Obſervations I have made: And from *Adam* to the Death of *Moſes* will be 2993 Years, *i. e.* almoſt 3000 Years.

Theſe Things being conſider'd, the Chronology of *Joſephus* before and after the *Flood* will ſtand thus:

Adam	130	Sem	2	To the *Promiſe* made to *Abraham.*	75
Seth	105	Arphaxad	135		
Enos	90	Sala	130		
Kainan	70	Heber	134	To the *Coming* out of *Ægypt.*	430
Maleleel	65	Phaleg	130		
Jared	62	Ragau	132		
Enoch	65	Saruch	130	To the *Death* of *Moſes.*	40
Mathuſelah	187	Nachor	29		
Lamech	182	Terah	70		
Noah	600				
	1556		892		545

All three Sums together 2993, and ſo according to *Joſephus* ἔτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν, i. e. *This Space is but a little ſhort of* 3000 *Years*. The Sums of the four firſt Books (uſually printed at the Beginning of *Joſephus*) have 3093. Now if we caſt away one hundred from the Age of *Jared*, which ſeems to have crept into the *Text* even before *Origen*'s Time, we have this very Sum of 2993 Years.

Several Things might incline *Joſephus* to follow the *Hebrew* before the *Flood* and the LXX after it: (which is a Sort of *Chronology* affected by St. *Auſtin*, *De Civ. Dei l.* 15. *c.* 13. and which he moſt probably took from *Joſephus*.) But the Principal are theſe:

Firſt, That he being well skill'd in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and having a great Eſteem for both *Editions* of the *Bible*, did indifferently make Uſe of both, and ſometimes follow'd one and ſometimes the other.

2*dly*, *Hebrew* was his own native Language: he wrote his *Hiſtory* of the *Jewiſh Wars* in *Hebrew* firſt, and made ſeveral Speeches to the *Jews* in *Hebrew* to perſuade them to ſurrender, and in many Places (where all *Copies* agree) followeth the *Hebrew Bible*, where it differs from the *Septuagint*. As *Firſt*, *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* leave out the 2d *Chanaan* Son of *Arphaxad*, who is in the LXX. 2*dly*, *Gen*. xlvi. 22. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 14, the *Greek* 18. 3*dly*, *Gen*. xlvii. 27. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 70, the *Septuagint* have 75, and ſo are quoted by St. *Luke*, *Acts* vii. 14, 15. 4*thly*, *Gen*. xxii. 2. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have the *Land of Moreah*, the LXX have τὴν γῆν ὑψηλήν. 5*thly*, *Numb*. iv. 3. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 30 Years old, the *Greek* 25 Years old. 6*thly*, 2 *Sam*. xxiv. 13. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 7 Years *Famine*, the *Greek* 3 Years. 7*thly*, 1 *Sam*. iv. 18. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have *Eli govern'd* 40 Years, the *Greek* has 20 Years, obſerv'd formerly by *Syncellus*, *p*. 176. 8*thly*, 1 *Kings* iv. 32. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 1005. the *Greek* 5000. 9*thly*, 1 *Kings* xv. 2. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 3 Years, the *Greek* 6 Years. 10*thly*, *Eſther* i. 5. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 7 Days, the *Greek* 6 Days. 11*thly*, *Eſther* ix. 16. *Joſephus* and the *Hebrew* have 76 *Thouſand*, the *Greek* 15 *Thouſand*.

3*dly*, He underſtood *Greek* alſo, had a great Veneration for the *Verſion* of the LXX, and relates the whole *Hiſtory* of it from *Ariſtæas*, and frequently made Uſe of it in his *Antiquities*. As *Firſt*, *Gen*. vii. 11. *Joſephus* and the LXX have the 27th Day, the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* the 17th Day. 2*dly*, *Exod*. xii. 40. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have the *Iſraelites* in *Chanaan* and *Ægypt* 430 Years, the *Hebrew* in *Ægypt* 430 Years. 3*dly*, 1 *Sam*. xi. 8 *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *Judah* 70000, the *Hebrew Judah* 30000. 4*thly*, 1 *Sam*. xv. 4. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *Gilgal*, the *Hebrew Telaim*. 5*thly*, 1 *Sam*. xv. 4. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *Iſrael* 400000, the *Hebrew Iſrael* 200000. 6*thly*, 1 *Sam*. xv. 4. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *Juda* 30000, the *Hebrew Judah* 10000. 7*thly*, 1 *Sam*. xxii. 18. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have 305 Prieſts, the *Hebrew* 85 Prieſts, obſerv'd by St. *Hierom*, *Tom*. 3. *p*. 71. 8*thly*, 2 *Sam*. viii. 13. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *Idumæans*, the *Hebrew Syrians*. 9*thly*, 2 *Sam*. xxv. 15. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have *till Dinner Time*, the *Hebrew* till the Time appointed. 10*thly*, *Eſther* ix. 26. *Joſephus* and the *Greek* have Φρουραὶ, the *Hebrew* Purim. 11*thly*, *Joſephus* relates the Contention of the *Jews* before *Darius* about what is the ſtrongeſt, which is not at all in the *Hebrew* but *Greek Eſdras*.

4*thly*, *Joſephus* many Times differ'd from them both: As *Firſt*, *Gen*. xiii. 18. the *Hebrew* has the Plain of *Mambre*, the *Greek* the Oak of *Mamre*, but *Joſephus* the Oak of *Ogyges*. 2*dly*, *Gen*. xxxv. 28. the *Hebrew* and *Greek* have *Iſaac* dy'd 180 Years old, *Joſephus* ſaith *Iſaac* dy'd 185 Years old. 3*dly*, *Numbers* iii. 39. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 22000, *Joſephus* 22880. 4*thly*, 1 *Sam*. xviii. 25. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 100 Foreskins, *Joſephus* 600, not Foreskins, but Heads, κεφαλάς. He thus alter'd it to make it more compliable to the Way of the *Romans*. 5*thly*, 2 *Sam*. iii. 14. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* heve 100, *Joſephus* 600. 6*thly*, 2 *Sam*. xv. 7. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 40 Years, *Joſephus* 4 Years. 7*thly*, 1 *Kings* vi. 1. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 480 or 440, *Joſephus* 592. 8*thly*, 1 *Kings* xii. 33. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* the 8th Morth, *Joſephus* the 7th. 9*thly*, 1 *Chron*. xxii. 14. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 100000 Talents of Gold, *Joſephus* 10000 Talents of Gold. 10*thly*, 1 *Chron*. xxii. 14. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 1000000 Talents of Silver, *Joſephus* 100000 Talents of Silver. 11*thly*, *Neh*. ii. 1. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have the 20th of *Artaxerxes*, *Joſephus* the 25th Year of *Xerxes*. 12*thly*, *Neh*. xiii. 6. the *Hebrew* and *Greek* have the 32d Year of *Artaxerxes*, *Joſephus* the 38th Year of *Xerxes*. Not to mention his making *Solomon* reign 80 Years, and is therein follow'd by *Theodoret* on 1 *Kings* ix. 37. and *Procopius* on the ſame Place, *&c*.

5*thly*, To reconcile Numbers that were different he took a middle Proportion. As 2 *Sam*. viii. 4. the *Hebrew* has 700 Horſemen, the *Greek* 7000 Horſemen, in *Joſephus* 5000 Horſemen. 2 *Sam*. xxiv. 9. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have *Iſrael* 800000, but 1 *Chron*. xxi. 5. the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* have 1100000, *Joſephus* hath *Iſrael* 900000.

From all which it's evident that in compiling of his *Hiſtory* he had both the *Hebrew* and *Greek* of the *old Teſtament* before him; and ſometimes made Uſe of one, ſometimes the other: And when he thought there was Reaſon did not ſcruple to recede from both.

The next conſiderable *Period* is, from the Death of *Moſes* to the laying the Foundation of *Solomon*'s *Temple* in the 4th Year of *Solomon*, 552 Years: To which add the 40 Years in the *Wilderneſs*, and it will be 592 Years from the coming out of *Ægypt*: And ſo *Joſephus* hath it expreſsly in the 8th Book of his *Antiquities* and the 3d *Chap*. Again from *Joſhua* to *David*'s taking *Jeruſalem* are 515 Years, *Antiq*. *l*. 7. *c*. 3. add 33 of *David* and 4 of *Solomon*, and we have 552 Years. Add the 40 in the *Wilderneſs*, and they make 592 as before. Again *Antiq*. *l*. 10. *c*. 11. *Nebuchadnezzer* burnt the *Temple* in the Year 470 after its Building by *Solomon*, and in the Year 1962 after the coming out of *Ægypt*. Take the firſt Number out of the ſecond, and there will remain 592 from the coming out of *Ægypt* to *Solomon*'s *Temple*. Again, the Sum of the 5th Book is 476. of the 6th Book 32. of the 7th

Book 40. and 4 Years of *Solomon*. All which make 552. So that if we add 40 in the *Wilderneſs*, the whole will be 592. *Clem. Alex.* in *Strom.* 1. *p.* 250. quotes *Joſephus* for ſaying that from *Moſes* (*i. e.* the Coming out of *Ægypt*) to *David* are 588 Years. Add the 4 Years of *Solomon* and you have again 592 Years. *Sulpicius Severus* omitting the 4 Years hath for that *Period* only 588 Years.

Now to make all this more evident I will inſert the Particulars thus:

	yrs.		*yrs.*
Moſes in the *Wilderneſs*	40	Samuel and Saul	32
Joſhua	26	David	40
Othoniel	40	Solomon	3
Ahod	80	In all	480
Deborah and Barach	40	Servitudes under	
Gedeon	40	Cuſhan	08
Abimelech	03	The Moabites	18
Thola	23	Jabin and Chanaanites	20
Jair	22	Madianites	07
Jephthe	06	Ammonites	18
Ibſan	07	Philiſtins	40
Elon	10	In all	111
Abdon	08	The 4*th* Year of *Solomon*	1
Sampſon	20	To which add	480
Eli	40	And the whole will be	592

The *Greek* Copies of *Joſephus* ſay that *Saul* reign'd 22 Years after *Samuel*, and ſo *Zonaras* read it; but *Epiphanius* and the *Latin Verſions* have only 2. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Strom.* 1 *p.* 238.) ſaith that *Saul* dy'd two Years after *Samuel*, and *Theophilus ad Autol.* giveth *Samuel* 12 and *Saul* 20, together 32 Years according to *Joſephus*. The *Jews* in *Seder Olam* and other Books give *Saul* only 2 Years, that is, after the Death of *Samuel*. That *Saul* reign'd in all but 20 Years is expreſs'd in *Joſephus*, *Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 10.

Some few Things may be objected againſt this Number of Years for this *Period*, which muſt be conſider'd.

I. 'Tis objected that after the Death of *Joſhua* they were 18 Years without a Prince. *Joſ. Antiq. l.* 6. *c.* 5.

It may be anſwer'd, that it ought to be read only 8 Years; and is to be underſtood of their Servitude under *Cuſhan*.

II. 'Tis objected that according to *Joſephus* (*Antiq. l.* 20. *c.* 18) from the Coming out of *Ægypt* to *Solomon*'s *Temple* are 612 Years, and juſt ſo it is read in *Photius* and *Hegeſippus*, *l.* 2. *c.* 13.

I anſwer, *Joſephus* here gives an Account of the Time from the coming out of *Ægypt* to the Dedication of the *Temple*, and the firſt Prieſts that ſerv'd in it and left off the *Tabernacle*. Now that was juſt 20 Years from the *Foundation* of it laid by *Solomon*. (Compare 1 *Kings* ix. 10. and 2 *Chron* viii. 1. and the *Septuagint* 1 *Kings* viii. 1.) So that if to the 592 Years to the laying the Foundation of *Solomon*'s *Temple* we add 20 we have this very Sum of 612 Years. So alſo *Sulp. Severus p.* 187. *Cœptum Templi opus vigeſimo anno explicuit.*

The next *Period* is from the Foundation of the *Temple* to its Deſtruction by *Nebuchad.* *viz.* 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. *Joſephus* is expreſs as to this, *Antiq. l.* 10 *c.* 10. in which Place alſo from the Children of *Iſraels* going out of *Ægypt* to the Deſtruction of the *Temple* are 1062 Years. Take out thence the Space to the Building of the *Temple*, 592 Years; and there will remain for the Duration of the *Temple* 470 Years: And the Reading of that Place is confirm'd by *Zonaras* and *Freculphus*. Again *Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 10. the *Kings* of the Race of *David* reign'd 514 Years 6 Months and 10 Days: From which Number take away 40 of *David* and 4 of *Solomon*, and there will remain 470 Years, 6 Months and 10 Days. Again *Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 4. the *Kings* reign'd 533 Years. Take away for *Saul* 20, *David* 40, and *Solomon* 4, there will remain from the Foundation of the *Temple* to the *Captivity*, 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. There is (I confeſs) a ſmall Difference in the *Latin Edition*, and in that of *Freculphus* and the *Greek* of *Zonaras p.* 126. who have but 532 Years 6 Months and 10 Days.

The Particulars of this Sum we may make up from ſeveral Parts of *Joſephus* eaſily thus:

From *Solomon*'s Laying the Foundation of the *Temple* to his Death. *Joſ. l.* 8. *c.* 7.	77 Years.
From *Rehoboam* to the *Captivity* of the *ten Tribes*. *l.* 9. *c.* 15.	260 Years, as it ſhould be read.
From thence to the *Captivity* by *Nebuchadnezzer*. *l.* 10. *c.* 11.	133 Years, corrected ſo by *Voſſius*.
In all	470 Years.

In moſt of the preſent *Copies* of *Joſephus*, *l.* 9. *c.* 15. there is 240 inſtead of 260. and in *l.* 10. *c.* 11. we have 130 inſtead of 133.

Again the *Sum* of the 8th Book 163 Years }
of the 9th Book 177 Years } So *Voſſius*, the *Greek* 182,
of the 10th Book 203 Years } the *Latin* 230.
543

Take away three Years of *Solomon*, }
and 70 Years of the *Captivity*, } 73

There remains from the *Building* to }
the *Ruine* of the *Temple* } 470 Years.

It may be objected, that *Antiq. l.* 20. *c.* 18. we have from *Solomon*'s *Temple Built* to its *Deſtruction* 466 Years.

To which is anſwer'd, that the Tranſlation by *Ambroſe* had in this Place of *Joſephus* 460 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. It ſhould be 450 Years 6 Months and 10 Days, and there are to be accounted from the *Dedication* of the *Temple* 612 Years after the Coming out of *Ægypt*.

It is obſervable that whenſoever *Joſephus* gives the Time of the *Burning* of the *Temple*, whether from *Solomon*'s *building* it from the *Flood*, or from *Adam*, yet ſtill he adds to the Sum 6 Months and 10 Days: Whereas it is certain that the *Temple* was *burnt* the 10th Day of the Month *Ab*, which is the 5th Month. *Joſephus* therefore is to be underſtood according to the Order of the Months among the *Romans*, for whoſe ſake he wrote, and ſo calls *Adar* March, *Niſan* April, *Jiar* May, *Sivan* June, *Tamuz* July, *Ab* Auguſt, or *Sextilis*, the 6th Month among the *Romans*; and therefore in his *Wars of the Jews*, *l.* 7. *c.* 9. he ſaith the *Temple* was *burnt* Auguſt the 10th, and in his *Wars with the Jews* April is *Niſan*.

In *Joſephus* (*l.* 10. *c.* 11.) the *Greek* and *Latin Copies* ſay that from *David* 21 *Kings* reign'd to the *Captivity*, 514 Years 6 Months and 10 Days. Take away 44 for *David* and *Solomon*, and there are 470 Years 6 Months and 10 Days.

Voſſius p. 129. Saith that the old *Paris MSS.* of *Joſephus* hath from *Adam* to the *Burning* of the *Temple* by *Nebuchadnezzer* 4000 Years. According to my Account it comes to 4015, and perhaps the odd 15 may be in the *MSS.* tho' omitted by *Voſſius*.

From the *Burning* of the *Temple* to the firſt of *Cyrus*, *Joſephus* hath 70 Years: For

Firſt, *Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 1. The firſt of *Cyrus* is the 70th Year from the Beginning of the *Captivity*. Now the *Captivity* began at the *Burning* of the *Temple*. For (*l.* 10. *c.* 11.) the 23d Year of *Nebuchadnezzer* is the 5th Year of *Iſrael*'s *Captivity*.

2dly, *Antiq. l.* 17. *c.* 18. Seventy Years after the *Burning* of the *Temple* they return'd from *Babylon*, and that undoubtedly was the firſt Year of *Cyrus*.

3dly, *Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 1. From *Iſaiah* to the *Burning* of the *Temple* by *Nebuchadnezzer* 140 Years: From *Iſaiah* to the *1ſt* of *Cyrus* 210 Years: Therefore from the *Burning* of the *Temple* to the *1ſt* of *Cyrus* are 70 Years.

4thly, *Antiq. l.* 20. *c. ult.* From the *Burning* of the *Temple* by *Nebuchadnezzer* to the firſt of *Cyrus*, when the *Jews* return'd from *Captivity*, are 70 Years.

5thly, *Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 11. The *Temple* lay deſolate 70 Years, and they ended the firſt of *Cyrus*.

6thly, *Joſephus* (*Antiq. l.* 10. *c.* 12.) hath the Particulars thus:

Nebuchad. 43 Years. *Evilmerodoch* 18 Years. *Niricolaſſar* or *Egreſſarius* 40 Years. *Laboſadarchus* 009 Months. *Balthaſar* or *Nabonidus* 17 Years. *Cyrus* 1. In all 119 Years and 9 Months. So that if we take out 17 Years of *Nebuchadnezzer*, there will be left for the *Captivity* 102 Years 9 Months, which is certainly [a] falſe and ſhould be thus: *Nebuchadnezzer* 43 Years. *Evilmerodoch* 12 Years. *Niriglіſſor* 14 Years. *Laboſadarchus* 009 Months. *Nabonidus* 17 Years. *Cyrus* 1 Year. In all 87 Years and 9 Months. If we then take out 17 Years of *Nebuchadnezzer*, there will remain 70 Years and 9 Months. So that the firſt Year of *Cyrus* was the 70th of the *Captivity*: And this Account, tho' falſe, yet agreeth with *Joſephus*, and was taken thence by that *Anonymous Author* whom *Sulpicius Severus l.* 2. *c.* 31. hath tranſcrib'd thus: *Nebuchadnezzer* 43. *Evilmerodoch* 12. [b] *Belthazar* 14. *Darius Medus* 18. *Cyrus* 01. In all 88.

From the firſt Year of *Cyrus* to the Time of *Alexander*'s conquering *Darius* (*i. e.* the whole Space of the *Perſian Monarchy*) *Joſephus* hath 246 Years. So *Antiq. l.* 12. *c.* 10. from the *Prophecy* of *Daniel* in the firſt Year of *Darius* (who with *Cyrus* took *Babylon*) to the *Deſtruction* of the *Temple* by *Antiochus* are 408 Years, as 'tis quoted by *Cedre-*

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[a] *Joſephus* enumerando *Reges Bab.* (ſi tamen ipſe ſic ſcripſit, & nou codex fallit mendoſus) ſeribit *Neb.* 43. *Evilm.* 18. *&c.* ut habet *Hermannus Contractus* in *Chron.* ſic & *Freculphus Lexov.* & *Beda* de *Nat. Rerum*, *fol.* 76. [b] *Cyprian* in Comp. de *Paſch.* p. 68. differs only in giving *Balthaſar* but 4 Years, an Error of the *Copies*.

nus, *p.* 191. Now that *Prophanation* by *Antiochus* was in the 145th Year of *Seleucus* (*Antiq. l.* 12. *c.* 10.) which *Æra* began the 18th Year after *Alexander*'s Conqueſt of *Darius*. If we therefore take 144 and 18 (*i. e.* 162.) from 408, there will remain 246 Years for the Duration of the *Perſian Monarchy*.

2dly, *Antiq. l.* 20. *c.* 18. From the firſt of *Cyrus* to *Antiochus Eupator* are 414 Years; which Words are quoted from *Joſephus* by *Photius* and *Hegeſippus*. Now *Joſephus* ſaith of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, that he, dying in the 149th Year of *Seleucus*, left the Kingdom to *Eupator*, *Antiq. l.* 12. *c.* 13. and *Eupator*'s firſt Year was the 150th of *Seleucus*, to which add 18 from the Conqueſt of *Alexander* over *Darius* (*i. e.* in all 168) and take that out of 414, there will remain for the *Perſian Monarchy* 246 Years.

3dly, The Sum of the 11th Book is 253 Years, and contains the Space from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the Death of *Alexander*. Now from *Alexander*'s Conquering *Darius*, and putting an End to the *Perſian Monarchy* were 7 Years; if therefore we take 7 from 253, there will remain for the *Perſian Monarchy* 246 Years.

Now it is certain that the Duration of the *Perſian Monarchy* was not ſo long; but *Joſephus*, taking him to be *Xerxes*, in whoſe time *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem* and built the Walls of it, (making *Nehemiah* Cup-bearer to *Xerxes*) it was neceſſary for him to make him reign above 32 Years: Which we find mention'd *Neh.* xiii. 6. *Joſephus* mentions the 9th Month of the 38th Year of his Reign, and added 20 Years to his Reign, as he did 40 to *Solomon*'s. The *Chronology* of *Joſephus* as to thoſe *Perſian Kings* ſeems to have been thus:

Cyrus	30	Darius	19
Cambyſes	06	Artaxerxes	46
Magi	01	Ochus	21
Darius	36	Arſes	02
Xerxes	41	Darius	04
Artaxerxes	41	In all	247

All theſe are agreeable to the *Canon Ptolemaïcus*, except one Year wanting to *Cambyſes* and the *Magi*, and 20 added to *Xerxes*. So that if we caſt away the firſt of *Cyrus*, which was accounted to the 70 Years *Captivity*, there were juſt 246 Years,

Some *old Authors* make the *Empire* of the *Perſians* to laſt 248 Years, including the firſt of *Cyrus*; and ſo *Euſeb. Dem. Ev. p.* 393. but they were to be underſtood of the whole Space from the *1ſt* of *Cyrus* to the *1ſt* of *Seleucus* or the *Æra Seleuci*.

From *Alexander*'s Conquering *Darius* to his own Death are 7 Years: For if we take 246 (the Duration of the *Perſian Monarchy*) out of 253 (the Number of Years from *Cyrus* to the Death of *Alexander*, as in the Sum of the 11th Book) there will remain 7 for the Number of Years betwixt the *End* of the *Perſian Monarchy* and the *Death* of *Alexander*.

From *Alexander*'s Death to the Beginning of the *Æra Seleuci* are 11 Years, as is evident thus. *Joſephus* gives from the firſt of *Cyrus* to *Antiochus Eupator* 414 Years, and his firſt Year was the 150th Year of *Seleucus*. Now if we take the 150 and 253 (from the firſt of *Cyrus* to the *Death* of *Alexander*) out of 414, there will remain 11 Years betwixt the *Death* of *Alexander* and the beginning of the *Æra Seleuci*.

From the *Æra Seleuci* to the *Maccabees* 146 Years, for ſo we read in *Antiq. l.* 12. *c.* 7. and *c.* 8. that *Mattathias* and *Judas Maccabæus* began to prevail in the Year of *Seleucus* 146.

From the *Æra Maccab.* in the Year of *Seleucus* 146, to the *Beginning* of *Herod* are 126 Years, as *Antiq. l.* 14. at the End: Or if the *Æra* of the *Maccabees* began the next Year after, *i. e.* in the Year of *Seleucus* 147, then *Joſephus* aſſigns them but 125 Years, as *l.* 18. *c.* 8. which therefore muſt end in the Year of *Seleucus* 272; for *Herod* was made *King* at *Rome* in the Year of *Seleucus* 273. And yet *Joſephus* makes theſe end at the Death of *Antigonus* (in the Year of *Seleucus* 276.) and ſo accounts 3 or 4 Years ſhort, as is evident to any one that ſhall add the Particulars.

Ariſtobulus (*Joſeph. l.* 14. *c.* 18.) began to put on a *Regal Diadem* 471 Years after the Return from the *Captivity*; ſo likewiſe in his *Wars of the Jews*, *l.* 1. in *Freculphus* it is falſely read 475, in the preſent *Greek* and *Latin Copies* 480. But the 471 Years are thus made out, *viz.*

From the firſt of *Cyrus* to the *Æra Seleuci*	264 Years.
Thence to *Jonathan*'s High-Prieſthood	160 Years.
To *Simon*'s High-Prieſthood	[a] 010 Years.
Simon's High-Prieſthood	[b] 007 Years.
Hyrcanus's	[c] 029 Years.
In all	470
Ariſtobulus began in the Year	471

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[a] 1 *Macc.* xiii, 41. *Joſ. Wars* of the *Jews*, *l.* 1. *c.* 1. [b] 1 *Macc.* xvi. 14. [c] In *Joſephus* 31.

From the *Beginning* of *Herod*, after the *Death* of *Antigonus*, to the *Deſtruction* of the *Temple*, in the ſecond Year of *Veſpaſian*, are 107 Years, *Joſ. Antiq. l.* 20. *c. ult.*

Theſe laſt Sums put together ſtands thus:

From the firſt of *Cyrus* to the *Æra Seleuci*	264 Years.
From the *Æra Seleuci* to the *Maccabees*	146 Years.
The *Duration* of the *Maccabees*	126 Years.
The *Duration* of the *Herods* to the 2*d* of *Veſp.*	107 Years.
In all	643 Years.

The Sums of the 10 laſt Books are thus:

	y m d.		*y*
11*th* Book	253 5 0	16*th* Book	012
12*th* Book	170	17*th* Book	014
13*th* Book	082	18*th* Book	032 *m d*
14*th* Book	032	19*th* Book	003 6 10
15*th* Book	018	20*th* Book	022
		In all	638 *y.* 11 *m.* 10 *d.*
From the 12*th* of *Nero* to the 2*d* of *Veſpaſian*			004 complete Years
		The whole Sum	642 *y.* 11 *m.* & 10 *d.*

The Sums in the *old Latin Joſephus* are almoſt the ſame, and differ but in 3 Years and 5 Months.

The whole *Chronology* of *Joſephus* will be thus:

From *Adam* to the *Death* of *Moſes*	2993
To the *Building* of *Solomon*'s *Temple*	0552
To its *Deſtruction* by *Nebuchadnezzer*	0470
The *Babyloniſh Captivity*	0070
From the 1*ſt* of *Cyrus* to the 12*th* of *Nero*	0639
Sum total	4724
From the 12*th* of *Nero* to the 13*th* of *Domitian*	0028
In all	4752

And that Sum *Joſephus* accounted *numero rotundo* to be 5000 Years. There are alſo in *Joſephus* many Sums of Years which are certainly falſe, as *Antiq. l.* 7. *c ult.* From *David* to *Hyrcanus*'s opening of his *Sepulchre*, when *Antiochus* beſieg'd *Jeruſalem*, are 1300 Years: And ſo *Freculphus* alſo read it, *T.* 1. *l.* 3. *c.* 3. and yet this was but 884 Years. *Joſephus* (againſt *Apion*, *l.* 2.) ſaith that the *Jews* had been a free People, under the *Maccabees* to *Pompey*'s taking *Jeruſalem*, for 120 Years. It's plain that it ſhould be only 102 Years: For it was in the Year of *Seleucus* 230, which was 102 Years after *Judas*'s Defeating of *Antiochus* and Purging the *Temple* in the Year of *Seleucus* 148.

AN APPENDIX TO THE Two foregoing DISCOURSES.

BESIDES the Reaſon already given, there are many others that make the *Chronology* of the *Septuagint* in the *Ages* after the *Flood* more probable than the *Hebrew*.

Firſt. It is not probable that the 7 firſt *Patriarchs* after the *Flood*, who liv'd 300 and 400 Years, ſhould beget at 30 or thereabouts, as the preſent *Hebrew* is: And yet the following *Patriarchs*, that did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their firſt born till double the Age: *Terah* at 70, *Abraham* at 87, *Iſaac* at 60, *Jacob* at 84, *Levi*, *Chaath* and *Amram* at about 60 each of them: For from the Birth of *Levi* to the Birth of *Moſes* the Son of *Amram* were about 180 Years.

2dly. It is not probable that *Noah*, who liv'd 600 Years before the *Flood*, ſhould ſee *ten Generations* ſucceed each other after the *Flood*, and live till the 58th Year of *Abraham:* That *Sem* ſhould ſee *nine Generations* after him ſucceſſively die, and live many Years after the Death of *Abraham*, the 9th Perſon lineally deſcended from him; who yet dy'd in a good old Age, an old Man, *Gen*. xxv. 8. That *Sala* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech*, *Nachor*, *Terah* and *Abraham* for *ſix Generations* lineally deſcended from him; and even the laſt of them liv'd to be an old Man: That *Heber* ſhould outlive *Phaleg*, *Ragau*, *Lamech*, *Nachor*, *Terah*, *Abraham* and *Iſaac ſeven* ſucceſſive *Generations* that deſcended from him, and yet *Abraham* and *Iſaac* ſhould both live to be old Men, *Gen*. xxv. 7. and xxxv. 29.

3dly, It is not poſſible that *Jocktan* ſhould have 13 Sons when *Phaleg* was born, at the *Diviſion* of *Tongues*, if *Phaleg* was born at the 34th Year of *Heber*, as it is in the *Hebrew*. And to fanſy *Phaleg* firſt call'd ſo at the Time of his Death is ridiculous, and expreſsly contrary to *Joſephus*. At the *Diviſion* of *Tongues* we are told that *Mizraim*, *Chanaan*, *Sidon*, *Elam*, *Aſſur*, *Aram*, &c. gave Names to Countries, and yet they dy'd before *Phaleg*. *Sem*, *Arphaxad*, *Salah*, *Heber*, &c. according to the *Hebrew*, were alive when *God* inſtituted *Circumciſion*; and yet none of them order'd to be *circumcis'd*, which was then the Sign of being in *Covenant* with *God*.

But however evident it may ſeem that the *Septuagint* are in this *Period* to be prefer'd to the *Hebrew:* Yet I foreſee ſeveral Things that may be objected, and which it may be neceſſary to conſider.

Firſt, 'Tis objected, that it is not probable that the *Ante-diluvian Patriarchs*, who liv'd to be 900 Years old, ſhould beget their *firſt born* at 60 or 70 Years old, as it is in the *Hebrew* and in *Joſephus*; and yet thoſe after the *Flood*, who did not live half ſo long, ſhould not beget their *firſt born* till about 130 Years old.

It may be anſwer'd, that if we were ſure that theſe mention'd after the *Flood* were the *firſt born*, the Objection would be of great Moment. But it's much more probable that they were not. For *Sem* was younger than *Japhet*, *Gen*. x. 27. And therefore *Japhet* takes the firſt Place in the *Genealogies*, *Gen*. x. 2. and 1 *Chron*. i. 5. *Arphaxad* younger than *Elam* or *Aſſur*, 1 *Chron*. i. 5. *Gen*. x. 2. vi. 21. *Phaleg* younger than *Joktan*, who at *Phaleg*'s Birth had 13 Children, *Gen*. x. 25, 26, &c. *Abraham* younger than *Haran*, *Haran* born at the 7th, and *Abraham* at the 130th Year of *Terah*, *Gen*. xi. 27, 28, 29, 32. *Acts* vii. 4. and *Abraham* marryed *Haran*'s *Daughter*.

It's very probable that it was ſo alſo in the other *Patriarchs* (tho' we cannot prove it from *Scripture*, where the *Hiſtory* we have of them is very ſhort) becauſe *God* kept on this *Method* afterwards. *Iſaac* was younger than *Iſhmael*, *Jacob* than *Eſau*, *Judah* than *Reuben*, of whom it is obſerv'd 1 *Chron*. v. 1. *Now the Sons of* Reuben *the firſt born of* Iſrael: (for he was the Firſt-born, but becauſe he defiled his Father's Bed, his Birthright was given to the Sons of *Joſeph*, and the Genealogy is not to be reckon'd after the Birthright, *&c.*) St. *Auſtin*. de Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 15. obſerves of the *Patriarchs* after the *Flood*, that *gis credibile eſt non hic primogenitos commemoratos, ſed eos per quos ſucceſſionis ordo duceretur*.

2dly, 'Tis objected, that the *Jews* were ſo exact in tranſcribing the *Law*, that if ever the *Hebrew* had agreed with the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* they would not have alter'd it.

I anſwer, that the Words of *Philo* (in *Euſeb. Præp. Ev. l.* 8.) and of *Tryphon* (in *Juſtin Mart.*) are certainly to be underſtood of the *Septuagint*, and not of the *Hebrew:* And what *Joſephus* ſaith to the ſame Purpoſe muſt either be underſtood of the *Septuagint*, or underſtood in ſo large a Senſe, as that according to him the LXX *Tranſlators* were *Prophets*, and did not change or alter any Thing. And indeed whatever is to be met with in other Books to this Purpoſe is taken from *Deut*. iv. 2. and xii. 32. and is to be underſtood of their not adding to or diminiſhing the Precepts of the *Law* of *Moſes:* And it's evident that the [a] *Verſion* of the *Septuagint*, the [b] *Targum* of *Onkelos*, the Books of *Irenæus*, *Euſebius*'s Chronicle and *Ruſinus* had ſolemn Adjurations added to them of not altering or changing any Thing: And yet it's certain that they have been much corrupted. The *Rabbies* mention 13 Places chang'd by the LXX *Interpreters*, and not one of them relates to the *Chronology* of the *Patriarchs*. The preſent *Hebrew Bibles* in 26 Places leave a Space to ſhew that ſomething is wanting, which is ſupply'd by the LXX. The *Marginal Readings* differ from the *Text* in 848 Places, and they are uſually accounted the trueſt. *Ezra* vii. wants one whole Verſe which is in 1 *Chron*. vi. tho' the *Genealogy Neh*. vii. is only a *Tranſcript* of that we find *Eſra* ii; yet it's very different from it. And in *Pſ*. cv. betwixt ℣. 13 and 14, is a whole Verſe wanting, as appears by the *Alphabet* in that *Pſalm*, which was in the *Text* when the LXX tranſlated it. So that it's evident that there are Corruptions of the *Hebrew Text* of the *Bible*, and many of them ſince the Time that the LXX tranſlated it. And ſince it's evident that in the Time of *Origen*, when he compil'd his *Hexapla*, the *Hebrew Text* was the ſame as now, it's certain that theſe Alterations were made in the *Hebrew Text* before that Time, and as it ſeems moſt probable about the Time of *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. The *Hebrew* of the *Bible* was at, and after the Time of our *Saviour* a learned Language, and not underſtood but by *Scholars:* The common Language of the *Jews* being at that Time *Syriack*, intermixt with *Chaldee:* And the *Jews* admir'd how *Chriſt* underſtood *Letters*, having never learn'd, *John* vii. 15. And *Luke* x. 26. *Chriſt* ſaid to one of the *Scribes* (as being his peculiar Skill) *how readeſt thou?* And there was not uſual Reading of the *Law* in *Hebrew* in the *Synagogues*, without an *Interpretation* of it, which they read alſo. Now their *Scholars* and *Bibles* were generally deſtroy'd by the *Perſecutions* that came upon them in the *Ages* after the *Apoſtles*. *Veſpaſian* deſtroy'd 460 [c] *Synagogues*. And *Trajan* forbad the *Jews* the [d] Reading of their *Law*. And in his Time *R. Ananias* was burnt and the [e] Book of the Law with him. *R. Akiba* had 2400 *Scholars* kill'd by *Adrian*, in the [f] *Rebellion* of *Cochab:* And *R Simeon*, the Son of *Gamaliel* had [g] 250000 *Scholars* kill'd, not one remaining. And the Reading of the *Law* had been loſt had not *R. Judah* the Son of *Baba* with the Expence of his own Life preſerv'd [h] five by hiding of them. For *Adrian* made a *Law* by which it was Death to [i] ordain *Doctors* and continue their Schools; and Learning was at the ſame Time ſo much deſtroy'd at *Babylon*, that two of *Juda*'s Scholars were ſent thither to inſtruct them: And the very Reaſon why *R. Juda* collected the *Traditions* into the Book of the *Miſna*, was, that Learning was likely to be [k] loſt, and the *Law* made void. Moſt of the *Moſaick* Rites ended with the *Temple*, and thereby the Book of the *Law* was leſs valu'd, and the *Jewiſh* Learning was become little elſe than a Multitude of idle *Traditions*. *R. Judah* took great Care, that in all the Cities of the Land of *Iſrael*, there ſhould be ſuch as [l] taught *Traditions*. *Alting*. tells us that *Tanta fuit Miſnæ auctoritas, etiam vivo Auctore, ut ſepoſitis Codicibus propheticis, in hoc uno explicando & interpretando omnem operam collocaverint*. So that here was a very fair Opportunity for the few Scholars that were left to alter the *Hebrew Text* as they pleas'd, and for the few *Hebrew Copies* that were then exſtant to be corrupted. The *Jews* in their Diſperſions generally acquainted themſelves with *Greek*, and in their *Synagogues* us'd *Aquila*'s *Verſion*, and the *Hebrew* was in a great Meaſure neglected. And to make all this plain I will give ſome Inſtances of the *Jews* altering the *Text* and changing their Opinions, as to the Matters I am ſpeaking of, after the *Deſtruction* of the *Temple* and before the *Compoſing* of the *Miſna* in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, or at leaſt before *Origen* publiſh'd the *Hebrew*.

1*ſt*, *Gen*. ii, 24. the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* have the Word *two*, and *Mat*. xix, 5, 6. our *Saviour* preſſeth the Force of that Word upon the *Phariſees:* And they, tho' they underſtood *Hebrew*, were not able to anſwer the Force of the Argument; which ſheweth that it was then in the *Hebrew*, tho' not now; and probably left out by *R. Akiba*, in the Age I am ſpeaking of, [m] who allow'd the *Jews* to marry any Woman they ſaw fairer than their own Wife.

2*dly*, *Pſalm*. xxii. 16. *They pierc'd my Hands*. So the *Septuagint*, *Syriack*, *Arabick*, *Æthiopick* and ſome few *MSS*. of the *Hebrew*. *Aquila* read it ſo alſo, for he tranſlates it by a *Verb:* But the *Rabbins*, to avoid ſuch a plain *Prophecy* of our *Saviour*'s Crucifixion, alter the Word of the *Text* and read *as a Lyon*.

3*dly*, *Joſh*. xv. ℣. 59, &c. there are two Verſes in the LXX that ſhew *Bethlehem* to be in the *Tribe* of *Juda*, wanting in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom*, on *Micah* the vth, thinks them eraſed by the *Jews*, ſince the Time of our *Saviour*, that it might not appear that *Bethlehem* was in the *Tribe* of *Judah*.

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[a] See *Ariſtæus*. [b] See Dr. *Lightfoot* on 1 *Cor*. *p*. 85. [c] *Selden* de Succeſſ. Prolegom. *p*. 22. [d] *Juchaſin* apud *Cunæum p*. 126. [e] *David Ganz*. *p*. 103. [f] *Id*. *p*. 99. [g] *Lightfoot H. N. T. p*. 185. [h] *Ganz*. *p*. 103. *Gem. San*. *p*. 261. hath the Account of *R. Judah ben Baba* ordaining 5 *Rabbies*. [i] *Lightfoot H. N. T. p*. 115. and *Alting. Hiſt. Acad. p*. 42. [k] *Ganz*. *p*. 107. [l] *Lightfoot H. N. T. p*. 87. [m] *Hiſt. Acad. p*. 43. [m] *Miſna* in *Gittin*. *c*. 9. and *Lightfoot* in *Matth*. *p*. 79.

4thly, After the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and before the *Seder Olam Rabbah* was made by *R. Joſe* in the Days of *Adrian*, the *Jews* ſo curtail'd the *Perſian Monarchy*, as to make *Daniel*'s Weeks to begin with the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, and end at the *Deſtruction* of the *Temple*. *Joſephus* knew of no ſuch *Chronology* in his Time, and it could not be Chance, but a Contrivance of the *Jews* after the ſecond of *Veſpaſian*, that with the Loſs of 200 Years made *Daniel*'s 490 Years exactly end at that Time.

5thly, The great difference of the Opinions of the *Jews* before and after the *Deſtruction* of the *Temple*. Before that Time the *Verſion* of the LXX highly eſteem'd by *Philo* and the *Ægyptians* (who kept a Feaſt yearly in Memory of it) and by the *Jews* in all the *Greek* Diſperſion, and at *Nazareth*, *Luke* iv. 16, 17, 18, 19. and by thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, as appears by *Joſephus*, who magnifieth it, and the Account given by *Ariſteas*. In *Adrian*'s Time the LXX were rail'd at [a] by the *Jews*, and the *Jews* kept a *Faſt* upon the Day it was tranſlated, *viz.* *Tebeth* the 8th, and made another *Greek Verſion* to oppoſe it, and deliver'd it as a *Tradition*, that Darkneſs overſpread the World for three Days after the *Verſion* of the LXX was made, and that it was as ill a Day to the *Jews*, as when the *Golden Calf* was made.

6thly, *Phaleg* was born at the *Diviſion* of *Tongues*, ſaith *Joſephus*, according to the Opinion of the *Jews* that then prevail'd; but the following *Rabbins* tell us, that he died at that Time.

7thly, *Melchiſedech* was a *Canaanitiſh* King, ſaith *Joſephus*, according to the Opinion of the *Jews* of that Age, and 'tis agreeable to St. *Paul*; but the following *Jews* fanſied him to be *Sem*.

8thly, *Daniel*'s Weeks, according to *Joſephus*, ended at the *Deſolation* of the *Temple* by *Antiochus*, which was according to him 408 Years from the firſt Year of *Darius*; to which add the 70 Years from the *burning* of the *Temple*, and it comes very near to *Daniel*'s Number; but the following *Jews* curtail the *Perſian Monarchy*, and tho' they begin the Weeks at the beginning of the *Babyloniſh Captivity*, yet they end them at the ſecond of *Veſpaſian*.

Some will object, what End or Deſign ſhould the *Jews* have in ſhortening the *Period* betwixt the *Flood* and the *Birth* of *Abraham*.

1ſt. It may be anſwer'd, that it might be for the eaſier bringing down their pretended *Traditions* from *Adam*, *Noah*, *&c.* for ſo the *Jews* boaſt, in *Seder Olam Rabbah*, *that ſeven Men meaſure the World*, Adam, Methuſelah, Sem, Jacob, Amram, Ahaja [b] Salonites, *and* Elias, *who is ſtill alive*; when as, according to the *Chronology* of the *Samaritan Septuagint*, and *Joſephus*, there muſt be added at leaſt *Heber*, *Saruch*, and *Abraham*, betwixt *Sem* and *Jacob*; and even ſo *Saruch* would be but eight Years old at the Death of *Heber*, and *Jacob* but 15 Years old at the Death of *Abraham*; ſo that there would be need of two more Perſons to be inſerted for carrying on their *Traditions*, and ſo from *Sem* to *Jacob* would be as many Perſons as they made in all the World. *2dly*, That it might be done to obviate the *Prophecy* of the Houſe of *Elias*, that *Chriſt* ſhould come at the beginning of the fifth *Millenary*. Now ſince the fourth *Millenary*, according to the *Jews* preſent Account, ended *A. D.* 242. it's evident that this curtailing their *Chronology* was long before that Time, in which they expected the *Meſſiah*. But when they found themſelves miſtaken alſo in the Account, they took up that Saying, [c] *Curſed is he that numbreth the Times*. *3dly*, That it might be done to anſwer the Argument that St. *Paul* preſſed againſt the *Hebrews*, that *Melchiſedech*'s Prieſthood was above *Aaron*'s; which we find urged alſo by *Juſtin Martyr* againſt *Tryphon*, by *Tertullian* and other early *Chriſtians*. For if *Melchiſedech* be *Sem*, then *Aaron*, who was lineally deſcended from him, inherited his *Prieſthood* alſo; and ſo St. *Paul*'s and the *Chriſtian's* Argument of a *ſuperior Prieſthood* to the *Aaronitical* would be deſtroy'd. And here it's probable, that as the old *Rabbies* talk'd much of the Schools of *Sem* and *Heber*, and that *Jacob* ſtudied in them; ſo at firſt they deſigned *Heber* to be *Melchiſedech*, and cut off the Years only of the *Patriarchs* after him; for the preſent *Hebrew* ſaith, that he lived after he begat *Phaleg* 430 Years, where the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint* agree in the Number of 270 Years; and, if after *Heber* we follow the preſent *Hebrew*, *Heber* lived to the 105th Year of *Abraham*. And to this agreeth what *Epiphanius* tells us in the *Hereſy* of the *Melchiſedechians*, that ſome

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[a] *Juſt. Mart. p.* 294, 297.

[b] Al. *Silonites.*

[c] *Lightfoot* in *Matth. p.* 25.

Hebrew Copies, from the Birth of *Sem* to the Time that *Melchiſedech* met *Abraham* in the eighth or ninth Year of *Abraham*, have about 628 Years, thus:

Sem	102	Ragau	32
Arphaxad	100	Saruch	30
Sala	100	Nachor	29
Heber	150	Terah	70
Phaleg	030	Abraham	85

In all 628.

But this Project not taking, they choſe rather yet to ſhorten this *Period*, and make *Sem* to be *Melchiſedech*. For ſince the *Chaldee Paraphraſe* ſaith that *Rebecca* conſulted the *Schools* of *Sem*, and the *Rabbies* added that *Jacob* ſtudied in the *Schools* of *Sem*, they the eaſier concluded that *Sem* was alive in the Time of *Jacob*. Now that this was contrived after the Deſtruction of the ſecond *Temple*, appears in that, not only *Joſephus* tells us that he was a *Canaanitiſh* King, but that it is impoſſible for the *Samaritan* or *Septuagint*, or ſuch as uſed either of thoſe *Pentateuchs*, to take him for *Sem*. Indeed all the early *Fathers* that mention him (*Irenæus*, *Hippolytus*, *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Hieronymus*, *Theodoret*, &c.) agree with *Joſephus* in making him a *Canaanitiſh* King; and St. *Paul*, when he wrote to the *Hebrews*, ſeems never to have heard of this Fancy of making *Melchiſedech* to be *Sem*, but all along takes it as a thing agreed on, that he was not concerned in the *Genealogy* of *Aaron*; and ſo according to the *Laws* of the *Jews* could have no right to the *Prieſthood*.

Some others of the *Jews* endeavoured to avoid St. *Paul*'s Argument, by making *Melchiſedech* an *Angel*; an Opinion that *Origen* and *Didymus* borrow'd from them, and which St. *Ambroſe* (*de Fide* l. 3. c. 5.) calls *Judaicum Ludibrium*.

But the ſubterfuge, which chiefly prevail'd among them, was the curtailing the *Period* of the *Poſt-diluvian Patriarchs*, and making *Sem* to be *Melchiſedech*, and then *Aaron* lineally deſcending from him to inherit his *Prieſthood* alſo. And to make this probable, it may not be improper to obſerve what Pains the *Jews* have taken to pervert the *Hiſtory* of *Melchiſedech*, and anſwer St. *Paul*'s Argument taken from him.

1ſt, They tell us that *Melchiſedech* was a *Baſtard*; and, becauſe his Name was not inſerted in the *Genealogies*, therefore ſaid to be without *Father*, *&c.* (ſee *Epiphanius* of the *Hereſy* of the *Melchiſedechians*, §. 7.) But how this will agree with his being *Sem*, I do not underſtand.

2dly, They deny'd *Melchiſedech*'s Prieſthood, and tranſlated כותי *Prince*; contrary to the Opinions of the Seventy *Jews* that tranſlated it ἱερεὺς, to *Eupolemus* in *Euſebius*'s *Præp. Ev. l.* 19. *c.* 17. to *Philo* the *Jew* in his Book of *Abraham*, to *Joſephus* in *Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 18. to ſeveral *Jews* in *Epiphan. T.* 1. *p.* 473. and to St. *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to them, *c.* 7.

3dly, They make *Sem* elder than *Japhet*, and to inherit the *Prieſthood* by right of *Primogeniture*, contrary to the LXX. *Gen.* x. 21. and to *Joſephus*, *l.* 1. *c.* 14. who calls *Sem* the third Son of *Noah*.

4thly, They expound the Text ſo as to make *Melchiſedech* pay Tithes to *Abraham*, contrary to the *Septuagint*, to *Joſephus Antiq. l.* 1. *c.* 18. to [a] *Philo*, and St. *Paul*, *Heb.* vii. 2.

5thly, They corrupted the Text, *Pſalm* the cx. 4. where by adding a *Jod* they apply it to *David*, contrary to the *Septuagint*, to St. *Paul*, *Heb.* v. 6. and vii. 17. and to the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* who expounded that *Pſalm* of the *Meſſiah*, *Matth.* xxii. 42, 43.

Upon all which Accounts, it may not ſeem improbable, that as *Aquila* made his *Verſion* of the *Bible* in the Time of *Adrian*, to oppoſe *Chriſtianity*, and depreciate the *Verſion* of the *Septuagint*, which was uſed by the *Chriſtians*: So the few *learned Jews* that lived about that Time, did agree to make ſome Alterations in the *Hebrew* alſo, in order to oppoſe the *Chriſtians*, and magnify their *Traditions*. And then the true *Chronology* of the *Hebrew* will be that perſerv'd by *Joſephus* in his *Antiquities*, which followeth the ſhorter Account before the *Flood*, and the longer after it.

[a] See *Selden*'s Review, *p.* 450.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE FIRST,

Containing the Hiſtory of 2230 Years from the Creation of the World.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction, ſetting forth the Summ and Scope of the whole Work.

Several Authors write out of ſeveral ends.

THOSE People that take upon them the Office of Hiſtorians, do not all write, I perceive, with one and the ſame Thought and Deſign; but ſeveral Authors have their ſeveral Reaſons for the ſame Undertaking; and all thoſe Motives, at laſt, quite differing from one another. As there are ſome, for the purpoſe, that write out of an Affectation of Vain Glory and popular Applauſe, and an Itch of Vanity to ſhew their Parts. There are ſome again, that make it their Buſineſs to cry up ſuch of the Actors in the Story they treat of, as they have a mind to oblige; and ſpare for no Study and Pains to do them Honour and Juſtice. There are others now, that having been actually engaged in the Manage of the Tranſactions they Deliver, reckon themſelves bound in the very Nature of the thing it ſelf, to communicate what they know of the Matter before them. And there are yet others, in fine, that enter upon this Province, out of a generous Impatience, to ſee great and glorious Atchievements buried in Silence, that ſo well deſerve to be made publick, for the common Benefit of Mankind.

What mov'd Joſephus *to the writing of this Hiſtory.*

It is upon the two laſt of theſe four Conſiderations that I have now put Pen to Paper; for having been a Party my ſelf to the *War* betwixt *Us* and the *Romans*, a Witneſs to my Coſt, of what paſſed on both ſides in it, and conſequently privy to the main Iſſue of that Conteſt; I look'd upon it as my Duty to ſet forth the juſt matter of Fact, and vindicate the Truth from the Falſities and Corruptions, that had crept into the Story. And I had yet a farther Encouragement to the Enterpriſe, in a confident Aſſurance that it would prove an acceptable Work to the *Greeks* themſelves too; when they ſhould find the Antiquities of our Nation, and the Form of our Government, turn'd out of *Hebrew* into their own Tongue.

At my Firſt entrance upon the [a] Hiſtory of the War, I propoſed to ſpeak of the Original of the Jews; their various Fortunes; and their excellent Law-giver, that train'd them up to the Love and Practice of ſo much Piety and Virtue; to give an account of their Wars for ſo many Ages; and eſpecially that of the laſt, which they were forced, how unwillingly ſoever, to maintain againſt the *Romans*. But upon ſecond thoughts, finding the Subject too large and copious for my preſent purpoſe, I choſe rather to make another Diſpoſition of the matter, and to divide it.

After ſome ſhort time ſpent upon the Eſſay, it far'd with me in this, as it does commonly with other People that have great Deſigns in their Heads: The proſpect of ſo vaſt and voluminous a Tract of Hiſtory, and that in a Foreign Language too, made me ſo heavy and dead-hearted, that it almoſt repented me of my purpoſe. But betwixt the Importunities of Men, curious to know the Particulars of that famous Revolution, to go forward with what I had begun; and the encouragements of *Epaphroditus* above the reſt, who was a paſſionate Lover of all ſorts of polite Learning, and of Hiſtory particularly, being a Perſon that had executed ſeveral eminent Commiſſions, and ſtood all Fortunes with an immoveable Firmneſs and Dignity of Mind, and without the leaſt

Epaphroditus, *an Eminent Patron of Letters and Learned Men.*

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[a] From this and other places, eſpecially *l.* 20. *c.* 9. 'tis manifeſt that the Author writ the *Hiſt. of the Wars* before the *Antiquities*.

Ptolemy the Second.

Eleazar the High-Prieſt.

The ſeventy Interpreters.

A Hiſtory of 5000 Years.

Blemiſh to his Virtue: Betwixt the one and the other I was prevail'd upon, partly out of Obedience and Reſpect to the Advice and Authority of ſo illuſtrious a Patron and Benefactor to all Well-willers to the Publick; and partly out of meer Shame rather to lye at my Eaſe, droning and idle, than undergo the pains of perfecting ſo glorious a Work. Theſe circumſtances, I ſay, prevailed upon me to proſecute my firſt Project: And I did it the more chearfully, conſidering how freely our Anceſtors imparted ſuch matters to Strangers, and how affectionately inquiſitive ſeveral of the *Greeks* themſelves had been of our Affairs. We read of King *Ptolemy* the ſecond (a Prince that purchaſed and encouraged Books and Arts at any rate) how ſolicitous he was to get our Laws, Cuſtoms, and Ways of Living tranſlated into Greek: And *Eleazar* the High Prieſt (a Perſon not inferior to any other of the Holy Order) did not think fit to deny him that ſatisfaction; which undoubtedly he would have done, if we had not been taught and warranted by the example of our Forefathers, not to reſerve or conceal any thing that the World may be the better for. Now I thought it might very well become me to conform to the Practice and Precedent of our High-Prieſt, not doubting, over and above, but that the ſame virtuous Inclinations to the Love of Learning, that were then ſo remarkable in *Ptolemy*, might at this time be found alſo in others. Let it not be underſtood that this great King had all the Copies given him entire; but only ſuch of them as reſpect our Laws; and were delivered to him at *Alexandria* by the Interpreters that were ſent with them thither, to that purpoſe. For theſe ſacred Writings muſt needs contain an infinite Diverſity of things; being effectually a Hiſtory of five thouſand years; full of ſurprizing Accidents, various Chances of War, mighty Atchievements of famous Commanders, ſtrange Turns of State, and publick Revolutions in abundance.

The Perfection of Moſes's Law.

The Antiquity of the Story.

But upon the main, there is one thing that the Reader will take notice of in a more particular manner upon the peruſal of this Hiſtory; which is, that all things ſucceed happily (even beyond Belief) to thoſe that reſign themſelves to the good pleaſure of Almighty God, and keep his Commandments; beſides tranſcendent Bleſſings promiſed them for a Reward: Whereas the Diſobedient, on the other hand, inſtead of proſpering in their ways, how fair and plauſible ſoever, fall into all ſorts of Miſery and Diſtreſs, and without End or Remedy. Wherefore I do moſt heartily exhort and adviſe the Reader of theſe Papers, to lead his Life in Conformity to the Will of God, and carefully to obſerve and attend to what *Moſes* our Law-giver ſays of the Divine Nature; the agreement of all his works, one with another; and how clear his whole Narration is from the Levity of thoſe Fictions that we meet with in other Relations. Not but that, conſidering the circumſtances of Time and Antiquity, he might have impos'd upon us what he would, without Danger of Contradiction; for our Story begins above 2000 Years before the Fables of the Poets were ever heard of; and the *Pagans* themſelves never had the Face to look ſo far backward, either for the Date of their Gods, the Actions of their Heroes, or the Ordinances of their Law-givers. I ſhall ſpeak of this in what follows, and (according to my Promiſe) of every thing in it's proper place, without adding or diminiſhing.

A Rule for Magiſtrates and Law-givers.

Moſes's way of training up his People.

But in regard however that the credit of the whole Story depends in a great meaſure upon the Authority of what *Moſes* in his Wiſdom thought fit to deliver, ſomewhat ought to be ſaid previouſly of *Moſes* himſelf, to prevent Exceptions and Cavils; for people will be apt to wonder at the ſight of a Book, that pretends only to Fact and Hiſtory in the Title, and launches out into ſo many Digreſſions upon Natural Philoſophy in the Text. Be it known therefore that this excellent Perſon pronounces it as a thing abſolutely neceſſary for any man that would live virtuouſly himſelf, or preſcribe Laws to others, to apply his mind in the firſt place to the Knowledge of God; and then upon a due Conſideration of his Works, ſo far as in him lies, to follow and imitate that perfect Model. Without this Care and Intention, 'tis impoſſible for a Law-giver to anſwer the Character of his Profeſſion, neither can he make other people the better for his Writings, without teaching them in the firſt place, that God is the Father and Lord of all things; that nothing is hid from his ſight; that he bleſſeth thoſe that ſerve him, and puniſheth thoſe that wander from the right way. This was *Moſes*'s method of training up his People. He did not begin after the manner of other Rulers, with proviſion for Liberty and Property; Stipulations, Contracts, and the like; but with a Lecture upon the Power of God in the Creation of the World, and the Excellency of Man above other earthly Creatures. And when he had once poſſeſſed them with a Reverence for Piety, they took all other laudable Impreſſions in courſe. As for thoſe Law-givers that have only fabulous Traditions for their Pattern and their Guide, they take a freedom to impute to their Gods the Lewdneſs of the moſt infamous of Men, and ſo to authorize and encourage others in all manner of Wickedneſs after their Example. But our Legiſlator, having firſt ſet forth that God is Virtue and Purity it ſelf, he tells us afterward that Men ſhould do all they can to make themſelves Partakers of the Holineſs (in ſome degree at leaſt) of that Divine Original; concluding the Caution with a ſevere Sentence upon thoſe that will neither believe nor underſtand theſe Truths.

Whoever examines this Work according to theſe meaſures (as I wiſh every Reader may) will find nothing in it unreaſonable, nor I hope derogatory to God's Majeſty and Goodneſs. He will ſee every thing proportion'd to the matters that are there handled by our Law-giver; ſome things only touch'd upon, or hinted, as by the bye; others illuſtrated by proper *Allegories*; and for thoſe paſſages that we are moſt concern'd to have a perfect underſtanding of, they are as plain and clear as Words can make them. It would require a deep Speculation now, to enter into the particular Reaſons of theſe different ways of writing; but if God gives me Life to finiſh what I am now upon, I purpoſe to make that my next Buſineſs: But for the preſent, I ſhall proceed to my Hiſtory, beginning with what *Moſes* tells us concerning the Creation of the World, as we find it in *Holy Writ*.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the World in ſix Days. The ſeventh, a Sabbath, or a day of Reſt. The Forming of Adam *and* Eve, *and why they were ſo call'd. Paradiſe planted, and* Adam *and* Eve *put into it. The Forbidden Fruit. The Serpent tempts the Woman. The Fall of* Adam *and* Eve, *and the Curſe that followed it.*

The Creation of the World in ſix Days, Geneſis Chap. 1.

I*N the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*; but the Earth was not as yet viſible, by reaſon of a thick Darkneſs that cover'd it. After this the Spirit of God moving over it, God commanded that there ſhould be Light; which no ſooner appear'd, but upon the view of the Maſs he ſeparated the Light from the Darkneſs; and the Darkneſs he called Night, and the Light, Day. The Beginning of the Day he called Morning, and the End of it (or the time of Reſt) Evening: And theſe two Terms compleated the firſt Day. [a] *Moſes* renders it one Day, or a Day; and not the firſt Day, which I could give a reaſon for at preſent; but having promiſed an Explanation of theſe Niceties in a Tract by it ſelf, I lye under ſome ſort of neceſſity to refer thoſe Notes to their proper Time and Place.

The firſt Day.

The ſecond Day.

On the ſecond Day, God made the Heaven or the Firmament; gave it the higheſt place of the Univerſe; divided it from the reſt; encompaſs'd it, as it were with Cryſtal; and temper'd the Air with ſo gentle a Mixture of Humidity, as might naturally reſolve into Showers, for the watering and refreſhing of the Earth, to make it fruitful.

The third Day.

On the third Day God ſettled the Earth, ſurrounding it with the Sea; and the ſame Day it brought forth Plants with their Seeds, after their reſpective kinds.

The fourth Day.

On the fourth Day, he placed the Sun, the Moon, and the other Stars for an Ornament in the Heavens; regulating their Motions, and their Courſes, in ſuch a manner, as to mark out Times and Seaſons.

The fifth Day.

On the fifth Day, he created the Fiſh that ſwim in the Water, and the Birds that fly in the Air, and ſent them forth in Couples that they might encreaſe and multiply, every Creature according to its Kind.

The ſixth Day.

On the ſixth Day, God created all ſorts of Four-footed Beaſts, Male and Female; and the ſame Day alſo he made Man: So that according to *Moſes*, *in ſix Days God made the World, and all that is therein.*

The ſeventh Day or Sabbath; and why ſo call'd, Gen. 2.

God reſted on the ſeventh Day, and ceaſed from his Labours. This is the reaſon that we do no Work upon that Day; but give it the name of Sabbath, which, in the Hebrew, betokens Reſt.

Moſes, after the ſeventh Day, employ'd his Thoughts upon the Works and Offices of Nature: Beginning with the Creation of Man, after this manner, *God* (ſays he) *formed Man of the Duſt of the Ground; and breathed into him the Breath of Life; ſo that he became a living Soul.* He ſays further, that this Man was call'd *Adam*, which in Hebrew is [b] Red; becauſe the Earth that he was made of, in the virginal Perfection of it, is of that Colour.

The forming of Man: and why call'd Adam.

After this, God commanded all living Creatures, Male and Female, to appear be-

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[a] Gr. Μωϋσῆς

[b] See this confuted by *Voſſius* in his *Etymolog.* v. *Homo*.

Adam *gives Names to all living Creatures.*

fore *Adam*; who called them all by their Names: And the Names he gave them at that time they bear to this day.

The forming of Woman, and why call'd Eve.

Adam was all this while alone, and uneaſy in that Condition, for want of a ſuitable Companion; there being none as yet provided for him, when all the reſt of the Creatures enjoyed themſelves in Pairs: So that falling into a ſound Sleep, God took a Rib out of him and made a Woman of it; which he no ſooner ſaw afterward, but he knew, and acknowledged her to be part of himſelf. Now in the Hebrew they call a Woman, *Iſſa*; but this Woman was call'd [a] *Eva*; that is to ſay, the Mother of all Living.

The Planting of Paradiſe.

Moſes ſays further alſo, that God planted to the Eaſtward a moſt delicious Garden, and ſtor'd it with all ſorts of Fruit-Trees; and among the reſt, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Adam *and* Eve *put into it.*

The four Rivers of Paradiſe.

In this Garden he placed *Adam* and *Eve*, and he committed the keeping and dreſſing of it to their Care. It was watered, and encompaſſed by a large River that divided it ſelf into four Branches. The name of the firſt is [b] *Piſon*, (which ſignifies Fullneſs or Inundation) the Greeks call it *Ganges*; and it takes its Courſe into *India*, and ſo empties it ſelf into the Sea. The ſecond and the third, are *Euphrates*; the former in our Tongue, is *Phora*, (that is to ſay, Diſperſion, or a Flower) the other we call *Diglath* (which is as much as Narrow, and Rapid) and theſe two diſcharge themſelves into the Red Sea. The Name of the fourth is [c] *Gihon*, which divides *Ægypt*. The Greeks call it *Nile*, and it ſignifies in our Language, Coming from the *Eaſt*.

The Forbidden Fruit.

The Serpent tempts the Woman to Diſobedience, Gen. 3.

The Fall of Adam *and* Eve.

Now *Adam* and *Eve* had Liberty to eat of all the Fruits of the Garden, ſave only that of the Tree of Knowledge; which God commanded them not to taſte of, upon pain of Death. There was, as yet, a perfect Agreement among all the Creatures; and the Serpent liv'd in a kind of Familiarity with *Adam* and *Eve*; but out of an Envy to the bleſſed ſtate of their Condition, in caſe of Obedience to God's Command; and knowing full well on the other hand, the Miſery that would befall them in caſe of their Diſobedience; he tempted the Woman to a Taſte of the Forbidden Fruit; and, to enflame her Curioſity, told her that it had a ſecret Virtue, to endue her, upon the eating of it, with the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and to make her as happy as God himſelf. Thus the Serpent ſeduc'd the Woman into a Violation of God's Command; and the Woman was ſo well pleas'd with the Taſte of the Fruit, that ſhe did not only eat of it her ſelf, but recommended it to her Husband too, who yielded to her Perſwaſion. By this time they perceived that they were both naked; (the Virtue of this Fruit having open'd their Underſtanding) and looking about for a Covering, they wove Fig-Leaves together to hide their Shame; accounting themſelves happier than before, by this new Diſcovery of what they wanted.

Adam *hides himſelf.*

God expoſtulates the matter with him.

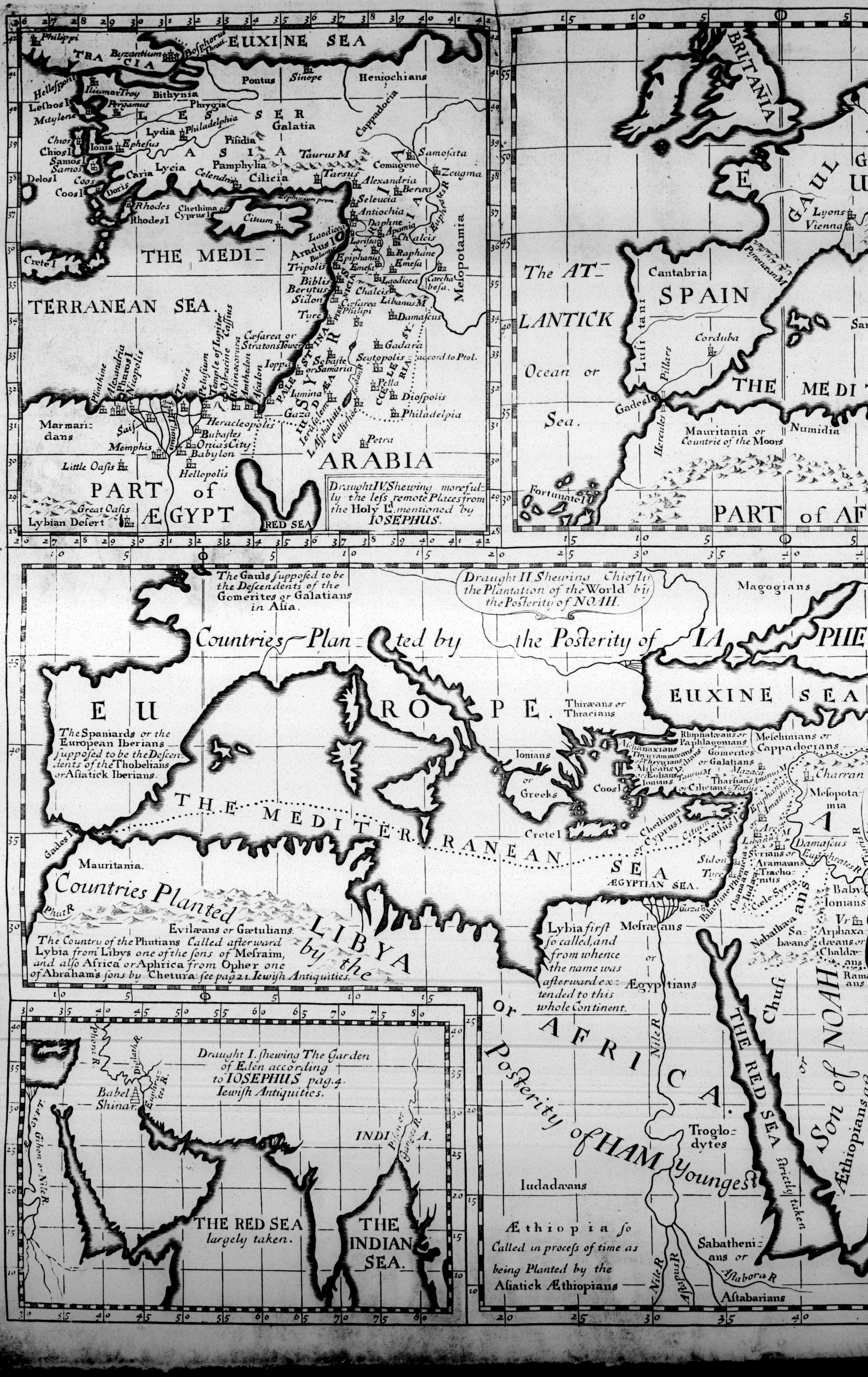
The Curſe.

Adam *turn'd out of Paradiſe.*

After this, God enter'd into the Garden, when *Adam*, who had free Acceſs to him before his Tranſgreſſion, out of a Conſcience of his Sin, withdrew, and hid himſelf. So God call'd to *Adam*, and asked him, *How it came to paſs, that He, that had taken ſo much Delight but lately, to preſent himſelf before his Maker, ſhould now run away from him in ſuch a Confuſion? Adam*'s Guilt left him not one word to ſay for himſelf; and ſo God went on ſpeaking to him after this manner. "There was not any thing that your Heart could "deſire, to make your Life Free, Eaſy, Pleaſant, and Happy, that I had not provided "for you ready to your hand; both for Uſe and Delight; and without any Care or La"bour on your part; or the Inconveniencies of Old Age to interrupt your Enjoyments. "But ſince you have deſpiſed my Commands, and that your Conſcience leaves you no"thing to ſay for your ſelf, your Days ſhall be ſhorten'd. *Adam* palliated the matter as well as he could; begg'd Pardon; and lay'd the blame upon his Wife; it was ſhe that miſled him, he ſaid; and the Woman caſt it upon the Serpent. Whereupon, as a Puniſhment for *Adam*'s ſuffering his Wife to impoſe upon him, God curſed the Ground, declaring, that from that time forward, it ſhould never bring forth Fruit more; but what Men ſhould extort from it by Labour, and the Sweat of their Brows; and that it ſhould not always anſwer their Expectations neither. As for *Eve*'s being firſt corrupted by the Serpent, and afterwards drawing *Adam* into the ſame Snare, her Sentence was, *in Sorrow to bring forth Children*; and for the Puniſhment of the Serpent's Malice, God took from him the Benefit of Speech, put Venom under his Tongue, condemn'd him to the Loſs of his Feet, and to crawl upon his Belly, declared him the Enemy of Mankind: And commanded *Eve* alſo to tread upon his Head, both as the Fountain of all our Woes, and as the part where he moſt eaſily receives a mortal Wound. After the pronouncing of theſe Penalties, God turn'd *Adam* and *Eve* out of the Garden.

[a] Gr. Εὐΐα. [b] Gr. Φεισών. [c] Gr. Γηὼν & Γεών.

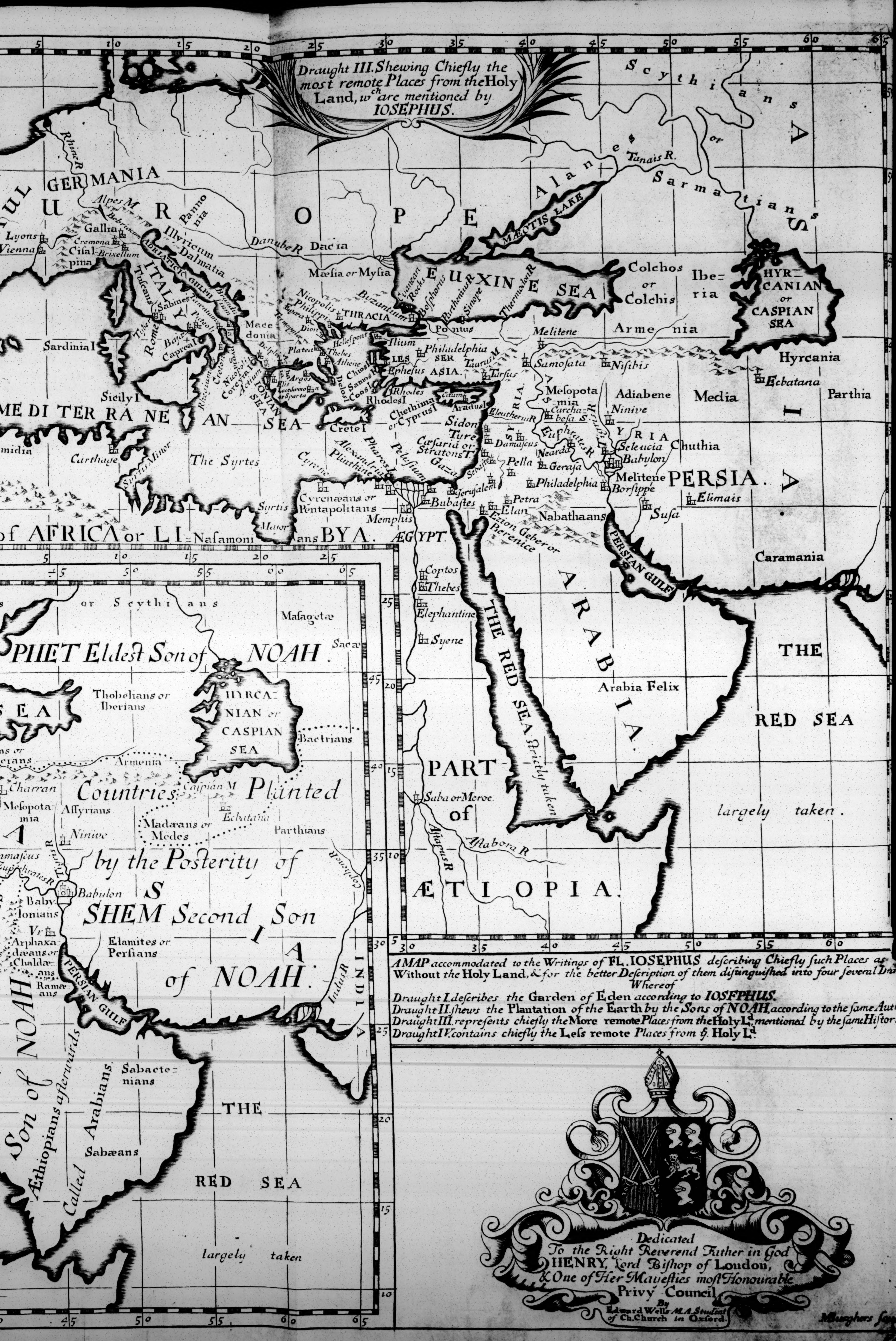
CHAP.


Draught IV. Shewing morefully the less remote Places from the Holy L^d. mentioned by IOSEPHUS.

Draught II. Shewing Chiefly the Plantation of the World by the Posterity of NOAH.

Draught I. shewing The Garden of Eden according to IOSEPHUS pag. 4. Iewish Antiquities.

EUXINE SEA
Philippi
TRACIA
Byzantium
Bosphorus Thracl.
Hellespont
Ilium or Troy
Bithynia
Pontus
Sinope
Heniochians
Lesbos I
Mytilene
Pergamus
Phrygia
ASIA LESSER
Galatia
Cappadocia
Chios I
Ionia
Ephesus
Lydia
Philadelphia
Pisidia
Samos I
Delos I
Caria
Lycia
Pamphylia
Taurus M
Samosata
Comagene
Zeugma
Coos I
Doris
Celendris
Cilicia
Tarsus
Alexandria
Beræa
Rhodes
Rhodes I
Chethima or Cyprus I
Citium
Seleucia
Antiochia
Daphne
Apamia
Chalcis
Euphrates R
Mesopotamia
Crete I
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Laodicea
Aradus I
Tripolis
Biblis
Berytus
Sidon
Tyre
Epiphania
Emesa
Raphane
Laodicea
Chalcis
Libanus M
Cæsarea Philipi
Damascus
Carchabesa
Cæsarea or Stratons Tower
Ioppa
Sebaste or Samaria
Gadara
Scytopolis
accord to Ptol.
Pella
Diospolis
Philadelpia
Iamina
Gaza
Ierusalem
L. Asphaltitis
Petra
Plinthine
Alexandria
Pharos I
Nicopolis
Tanis
Pelusium
Rhinocorura
Anthedon
Ascalon
Marmaridans
Sais
Memphis
Heracleopolis
Bubastes
Onias's City
Babylon
Hellopolis
Little Oasis
PART of ÆGYPT
Great Oasis
Lybian Desert
ARABIA
RED SEA
BRITANIA
GAUL
Lyons
Vienna
Pyrenæan M
Cantabria
SPAIN
Lusitani
Corduba
Pillars
The ATLANTICK Ocean or Sea.
Gades I
Hercules
THE MEDI
Mauritania or Countrie of the Moors
Numidia
Fortunate I
PART of AF
The Gauls supposed to be the Descendents of the Gomerites or Galatians in Asia.
Magogians
Countries Planted by the Posterity of IAPHET
EUROPE.
Thiræans or Thracians
EUXINE SEA
The Spaniards or the European Iberians supposed to be the Descendents of the Thobelians or Asiatick Iberians.
Riphatæans or Paphlagonians
Meschinians or Cappadocians
Ionians
Greeks
Coos I
Gomerites or Galatians
Tharshians or Cilicians
Charran
Mesopotamia
Crete I
Chethima or Cyprus I
Citium
Aradus I
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gades I
Mauritania.
Sidon
Tyre
ÆGYPTIAN SEA.
Gaza
Damascus
Euphrates R
Aramæans
Trachonitis
Cœle Syria
Babylonians
Arphaxadæans or Chaldæans
Nabathæans
Sabæans
Countries Planted by the Posterity of HAM Youngest Son of NOAH
Phut R
Evilæans or Gætulians.
LIBYA or AFRICA.
The Country of the Phutians Called afterward Lybia from Libys one of the sons of Mesraim, and also Africa or Aphrica from Opher one of Abraham's sons by Chetura: see pag. 21. Iewish Antiquities.
Lybia first so called, and from whence the name was afterward extended to this whole Continent.
Mesræans or Ægyptians
Nile R
Chusi
THE RED SEA strictly taken
Æthiopians
Troglodytes
Iudadæans
Æthiopia so Called in process of time as being Planted by the Asiatick Æthiopians
Sabathenians or
Astabora R
Astabarians
Astapus R
Phison R
Diglath R
Babel
Shinar
Euphrates R
Gihon or Nile R
INDIA
Ganges R
THE RED SEA largely taken.
THE INDIAN SEA.


Draught III. Shewing Chiefly the moſt remote Places from the Holy Land, wch are mentioned by IOSEPHUS.
EUROPE
GERMANIA
Scythians or Sarmatians
ASIA
Tanais R.
Alanes
MÆOTIS LAKE
Rhine R.
Alpes M.
Pannonia
Illyricum
Dalmatia
Gallia
Lyons
Vienna
Cremona
Cisalpina
Brixellum
ADRIATICK GULPH
ITALY
Tuscans
Sabines
Rome
Tyber R.
Baiæ
Puteoli
Capreæ
Danube R.
Dacia
Mæsia or Myſia
Nicopolis
Philippi
THRACIA
Byzantium
Macedonia
Dion
Cyanean Rocks
Bosphorus
Parthenius R.
Sinope
Thermodon R.
EUXINE SEA
Colchos or Colchis
Iberia
HYRCANIAN or CASPIAN SEA
Hyrcania
Pontus
Melitene
Armenia
Sardinia I.
Sicily I.
Corcyra
Actium
Delphi
Platea
Thebes
Athene
Argos
Lacedæmon or Sparta
IONIAN SEA
Hellespont
Ilium
LESSER ASIA
Philadelphia
Chios I.
Samos I.
Ephesus
Coos I.
Rhodes
Rhodes I.
Taurus M.
Tarsus
Samosata
Nisibis
Mesopotamia
Adiabene
Ninive
Carchemisa
Ecbatana
Media
Parthia
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete I.
Chethima or Cyprus I.
Aradus I.
Sidon
Tyre
Cæsaria or Stratons T.
Gaza
Eleutherus R.
Damascus
SYRIA
Nearda
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Seleucia
Babylon
Chuthia
Gerasa
Pella
Sebaste
Jerusalem
Philadelphia
Melitene
Borsippe
PERSIA
Elimais
Susa
Numidia
Carthage
Syrtis Minor
The Syrtes
Cyrene
Alexandria
Pharos I.
Plinthine
Pelusium
Cyrenæans or Pentapolitans
Syrtis Mayor
Memphis
Bubastes
Petra
Elan
Ezion Geber or Berenice
Nabathæans
PERSIAN GULF
Caramania
of AFRICA or LIBYA
Nasamonians
ÆGYPT
Coptos
Thebes
Elephantine
Syene
THE RED SEA strictly taken
ARABIA
Arabia Felix
THE RED SEA largely taken
PART of ÆTIOPIA
Saba or Meroe
Astaborus R.
Astabora R.
Scythians
Masagetæ
Sacæ
JAPHET Eldest Son of NOAH
SEA
Thobelians or Iberians
HYRCANIAN or CASPIAN SEA
Bactrians
Armenia
Charran
Mesopotamia
Assyrians
Caspian M.
Countries Planted by the Posterity of SHEM Second Son of NOAH
Ecbatana
Madæans or Medes
Parthians
Ninive
Damascus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Babylon
Babylonians
Ur
Arphaxadæans or Chaldæans
Elamites or Persians
Ramæans
ASIA
PERSIAN GULF
Indus R.
Cophenes R.
INDIA
Son of NOAH
Æthiopians afterwards
Called Arabians
Sabactenians
Sabæans
THE RED SEA largely taken
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65

A MAP accommodated to the Writings of FL. IOSEPHUS deſcribing Chiefly ſuch Places as
Without the Holy Land, & for the better Deſcription of them diſtinguiſhed into four ſeveral Drau
Whereof
Draught I. deſcribes the Garden of Eden according to IOSEPHUS.
Draught II. ſhews the Plantation of the Earth by the Sons of NOAH, according to the ſame Author.
Draught III. repreſents chiefly the More remote Places from the Holy Ld. mentioned by the ſame Hiſtorian.
Draught IV. contains chiefly the Leſs remote Places from ye. Holy Ld.

Dedicated
To the Right Reverend Father in God
HENRY, Lord Biſhop of London,
& One of Her Mayeſties moſt Honourable
Privy Council
By
Edward Wells M.A. Student
of Ch. Church in Oxford.

M Burghers ſculp

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of Cain *and* Abel. Cain *murders his Brother. God calls him to Account, ſets a Mark upon him, and pronounces a Curſe againſt him for it.* Cain *was the Inventor of Weights and Meaſures.* Enoch *built the firſt City.* Jubal *was the Inventor of Muſick.* Tubalcain, *of Braſs and Iron-work.* Adam *liv'd 930 Years.* Seth *and his Sons give themſelves to Aſtronomy.* Seth's *Pillars.*

Of Cain *and* Abel, *Gen.* 4.

ADAM and *Eve* had two Sons; the Name of the Elder was [a] *Cain*, which by Interpretation, is *Poſſeſſion*, or *Acquiſition*. The ſecond was *Abel* which ſignifies *Affliction*, or *Mourning*. They had Daughters alſo. The two Brothers were of quite different Humours. *Abel* was a Righteous Man and a Keeper of Sheep, he led a virtuous Life, and had God in his Eye, whatever he ſay'd or did: *Cain*, on the contrary, was a wicked, graceleſs Perſon; and the Inventor of Tillage. He governed himſelf wholly by his Intereſt; and finally, upon the following account, he murder'd his own Brother. The two Brethren were agreed upon a Sacrifice to the Lord. *Cain* brought an Offering of the Fruits of the Ground; *Abel*'s Offering was of the Milk and Firſtlings of his Flock. The [b] latter was the more acceptable to God of the two, being only the pure Bounty and Production of Nature, whereas the other looked liker an Oblation extorted by Avarice, Induſtry, and Force, than a Homage of good will. *Cain* took it ſo heinouſly to have his younger Brother prefer'd before him, that he fell upon him, and ſlew him, and buryed the Body in hopes of concealing the Murder. God, that knew what had paſſed, came upon this to *Cain*; enquired after his Brother, and what was become of him, for he had not been ſeen of ſeveral days laſt paſt, whereas they two uſed to be conſtantly together. This Queſtion put *Cain*, at firſt to a little ſtand, till upon Recollection, he gave for Anſwer, that he had not ſeen his Brother for a long time himſelf neither, and could not imagine what ſhould be the Reaſon of it. Upon this pretence, the matter was ſtill laid cloſer to him; to which he had the Inſolence to reply, that *he was none of his Brother's Keeper*, nor of his *Council*. Upon this Expoſtulation and Affront, God was pleaſed to charge him downright with his Brother's Murder; telling him how wonderful a thing it was, that he ſhould not be able to give any account of his Brother, when he himſelf had killed him. The Fact was not to be denied, but yet upon *Cain*'s Sacrifice and Submiſſion, God was ſo far pacified, as to remit the immediate Juſtice of *Blood for Blood*; but he was pleaſed however to pronounce him and his Poſterity *Accurſed* to the *Seventh Generation*; and to baniſh him and his Wife out of the Land into the wide World. *Cain* was not a little terrified at this Sentence, for fear of what Miſchief might befal him in his Wandrings; but to ſecure him from any Danger that way, either from Man or Beaſt, God ſet a Mark upon him to know him by, and ſo bid him be gone.

The Murder of Abel.

Cain *accurſed and ſtigmatized.*

Cain and his Wife departed accordingly, and after a tedious Travel through ſeveral Countries, they took up at length at *Naïs*, where they ſettled their Abode, and had divers Children; but ſo far was *Cain* from mending upon his Affliction, that he went rather from bad to worſe; abandoning himſelf to his Luſts and all manner of Outrage, without any regard to common Juſtice. He enriched himſelf by Rapine and Violence, and made choice of the moſt profligate of Monſters for his Companions; inſtructing them in the very Myſtery of their own Profeſſion. He corrupted the Simplicity and Plain-dealing of former times, with a novel Invention of *Weights and Meaſures*, and exchanged the Innocence of that Primitive Generoſity and Candour for the new Tricks of Policy and Craft. He was the firſt that invaded the common Liberties of Man-kind, by Bounds and Encloſures: The firſt that built a City, fortified and peopled it, which City was called [c] *Enos*, after the name of his eldeſt Son.

Cain *the Inventor of Weights and Meaſures; and the firſt Encloſer.*

Now *Enos* begot *Jared*, [d] *Jared* begot [e] *Mahalaleel*, *Mahalaleel* begot [f] *Methuſelah*, and *Methuſelah* begot *Lamech* who had Seventy Seven Children by two Wives, [g] *Zillah* and *Adah*. By *Adah* he had [h] *Jabal*, the firſt that dwelt in Tents, and pleaſed him-

The ten Ages to the Flood.

Jabal.

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[a] Gr. Κάϊς, Καινᾶς. [b] Joſephus *here commits a groſs error as has been obſerved by* Leo Allatius *in his Notes upon* Euſtathius's *Hexaëm. p.* 210. *and by* Cunæus *l.* 3. *de* Rep Hebr. *c.* 1. *See Dr.* Patrick *upon* Geneſis. [c] *Or* Enoch. *Gr.* Ενῶσα, Αιῶχα, Ενωχα. [d] *Or* Irad. *Gr.* Ιαρέδης, Ιαρέδας [e] *Or* Mehujael. *Gr.* Μαλέηλος, Μαρέηλος. [f] *Or* Methuſael. *Gr.* Μαθυσάλας, [g] Gr. Σελλᾶς *and* Σιλᾶς. [h] Gr. Ιάβηλος.

ſelf

Jubal.

Tubalcain.

ſelf with a Paſtoral Life and Buſineſs. *Jubal*, his Brother, gave up his Mind to Muſick; inſomuch that the *Pſaltery* and *Harp* were of his Invention. By his Wife *Zillah*, he had [a] *Tubalcain*, a valiant Captain, and a great Warriour, who by his Military Reputation was enabled to live both in Pleaſure and Plenty. He was the firſt that wrought in Braſs and Iron, and had a Daughter whoſe Name was *Naamah*. As for *Lamech*, that ſaw as far as any Man into the Courſe and Methods of Divine Juſtice, he could not but find himſelf concerned in the proſpect of that dreadful Judgment that threatned the whole Family for the Murder of *Abel*, and under that Apprehenſion he brake the matter to his two Wives.

While *Adam* was yet living, the curſed Race of *Cain* grew every Day more wicked than other, and make it their Glory, not only to imitate the fouleſt Examples of paſt Times, but alſo to outdo them. Their Delight was in War and Spoil, or where any of them happened to ſcape the guilt of Blood, they took it out in Pride, Avarice, or ſomething elſe as bad.

Adam's *Age 930 Years.*

But to return to my Text: After the Murder of *Abel* and the Baniſhment of *Cain*, *Adam*, that was now two hundred and thirty Years of Age, out of an earneſt deſire of Iſſue, applyed himſelf to the peopling of the World. He lived ſeven hundred Years more after this, and ſo he dy'd, leaving many Children behind him, and one among the reſt that he called *Seth*. It would be tedious to go through the Family, and nothing to my purpoſe, ſo that I ſhall only have occaſion to mention *Seth*. This *Seth* was brought up under the Tuition of his Father, and ſo ſoon as ever he was able to diſtinguiſh betwixt Good and Evil, he delivered himſelf up wholly to the Study of Virtue. He proved a wonderful Man, and his Children were the lively Images of ſo excellent a Father: They were all of them well bred, and well diſpoſed. They lived happily and peaceably, with a reſpect to the Publick, and in a perfect Agreement one with another. Theſe were the firſt that made their Obſervations upon the Motions of the Heavens, the Courſes and Influences of the Stars, and having been foretold by *Adam* of an Univerſal Deluge, and Conflagration to come, they erected two Pillars, one of Brick and the other of Stone, which they were ſure would be a Proof, one or the other of them, againſt either Fire or Water. Upon theſe Pillars they engraved the Memorials of their Diſcoveries and Inventions, there to remain for the benefit of Ages to come; and leſt the Tradition of the Science it ſelf ſhould be loſt for want of a Record. This they did, and their Foreſight and Providence was not in vain, for the Stone Pillar is yet to be ſeen in [b] *Syria* to this very Day.

Seth *and his Sons.*

eth's *Pillars.*

CHAP. IV.

The Wickedneſs of the World, and God's juſt Judgment upon it. The Deluge. Noah's *Ark.* Noah's *Genealogy. The time of the Deluge. The ten Generations from* Adam *to the Flood. The Beginning and Progreſs of the Flood. A Raven and a Dove ſent out of the Ark.* Noah *goes out and ſacrifices.* Beroſus, Damaſcen, &c. *write of this Ark and Deluge.* Noah's *Prayer. Sin brought on this Judgment. God's Covenant with* Noah. *The Rainbow a Token of it.* Noah *liv'd 950 Years. The great Year.*

Gen. 5. 6.

FOR ſeven Generations, Men lived in the Exerciſe of Virtue, and in the Love and Fear of one God the Lord of all things; but from thence forward they degenerated from the ways of their Fathers, leading their Lives without any Reverence or Regard either to religious Duties, or human Juſtice; and taking twice as much pains to out-ſtrip others in Wickedneſs, as they had formerly done to make themſelves eminent for Goodneſs. This abominable Impiety drew down the Wrath of Heaven upon them, and the [c] Angels of God mixing with the Women begot an inſolent Race, not much unlike that of the Gyants in the *Greek* Fables, overbearing Right with Power. [d] *Noah* took thoſe impious Extravagancies ſo to Heart, that after ſeveral Tryals, both by his Counſel and Authority, to bring them to a Reformation of their Lives and an Amendment of their Manners, and no good to be done at laſt upon a Generation ſo incorrigibly obſtinate, and abandon'd to their Luſts, finding himſelf and Family in manifeſt danger of ſome mortal Violence for his good will; he departed out of the Land himſelf and all his People. This good Man was highly in the favour of the Lord for his Integrity; but the Corruption and Iniquity of the Age cry'd out ſo loud to Heaven for Vengeance, that God reſolved within himſelf, utterly to deſtroy the preſent Generation of Mankind, and to ſupply another and a better Race of Men in their ſtead: But ſo as to [a] ſhorten the term of a Man's Life from what it was before, and to bring it within the compaſs of 120 Years. The Earth after this was covered with Water, and the dry Land turned effectually into a Sea, which ſwallowed up all Fleſh Living, *Noah* alone excepted, who ſcap'd the univerſal Deluge by making uſe of the means which God had expreſly directed and appointed him for his Preſervation: That is to ſay, God having precaution'd him of this terrible Judgment to come, ordered him to build an [b] Ark of four Stories, the Length of it three hundred Cubits, the Breadth fifty, and the Height of it thirty; which he did accordingly, and ſo went into it with his Wife and Children, and their Wives; taking along with him of all Living Creatures by two and two, in pairs, Male and Female, and of ſome [c] ſeven Couples for the conſervation of the Kind; having firſt lay'd in all neceſſary Proviſions for himſelf and them. His order was to take care that the Roof, and the Sides of it might be made tight and firm againſt Wind and Weather: Which was alſo done, and by this contrivance He and his Family were ſav'd. Now *Noah* was the tenth in Succeſſion by a direct Line from *Adam*, being the Son of *Lamech*, *Lamech* of *Methuſelah*, *Methuſelah* of *Enoch*, *Enoch* of *Jared*, *Jared* of *Mahalaleel* (who had divers Brothers) *Mahalaleel* of *Cain*, *Cain* of *Enos*, *Enos* of *Seth*, and *Seth* the Son of *Adam*.

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[a] Gr. Θόβηλος. [b] Gr. Κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σιριάδα. *al.* Συριάδα. *al.* Σίριδα. *al.* Σηριάδα. *See* Stillingfleet's *Orig. Sacr. l.* 1. *c.* 1.
[c] Lanctantius *favours this Opinion, but* St. Auſtin *and others reject it.* *See* Selden *de* Diis Syris, *Cap.* 3. [d] Gr. Νῶεος, *al.* Νῶχος.

The Flood.

Noah's *Ark.*

Noah's *Genealogy.*

This Deluge happen'd in the ſecond Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dius*, the *Hebrews Marſuane*, according to the *Ægyptian* diviſion of the Year. *Moſes* in his Computation makes *Niſan*, which is *Xanthicus*, the firſt Month, becauſe it was in this that he brought the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, and he obſerves the ſame account in the dating of all things that concern the Worſhip of God. But for the matter of Fairs and Markets, Trade and Civil Buſineſs, he left the account as he found it, without making any Alteration. *Noah* was ſix Hundred Years of Age at the time of this Inundation. *Moſes* reckons that the firſt fall of Rain toward the Drowning of the World, began on the 27th day of the Month before ſaid, and in the Year of the World 2256. This is according to the Calculation of Holy Writ, which gives a very exact account of the Birth and Death of the famous Men of thoſe times.

The time of the Deluge.

Adam was 930 Years old when he dy'd, and 230 when he begot *Seth*. *Seth* was 105 when he begot *Enoch*, and he departed this Life at the Age of 905. leaving all to the care of his Son *Cainan*, whom he had begotten in the 90th Year of his Age, and he lived to the Age of 910. *Cainan* in the Year of his Age 910, was ſucceded by his Son *Mahalaleel* whom he begot at 170. This *Mahalaleel* dyed at 895, and he left his Son *Jared* to ſucceed him, whom he begot at the Age of 162, and at 969 he departed this Life. His Son *Enoch* came next, who was born when his Father was 162 Years old, and after 365 Years he went to God and was no more ſeen, which is the reaſon that there is no Record extant of what became of him. *Methuſalem* was born to *Enoch* in the 165 Year of his Age, and at the Age of 187 he had a Son born which he called *Lamech*, to whom he delivered up the Government that he had held for 969 Years. But when *Lamech* had been 707 Years in the exerciſe of that Power, he transfered his Commiſſion to his Son *Noah* who was born to *Lamech* in the 182 Year of his Age; and was 950 Years in the Adminiſtration. So that putting all theſe together, computing upon *Noah*'s Age of 600 Years at the time of the Deluge, it amounts to the juſt number of 2256. But we are not ſo much to conſider the End of theſe Men, as the Birth of them; for they lived to ſee many Generations out of their own Loyns.

The Line of the Patriarchs.

The time being now come, and the Signal given, God commanded the Clouds to pour forth their Waters, which they did in a violent Rain of *forty Days Continuance*; till they were 15 Cubits deep above the higheſt parts of the Earth, and no place left for any poſſibility of Safety or Retreat. The Waters after this began by little and little to abate, and in 150 days more, on the 27th day of the ſeventh Month, the Ark was left aground upon the top of a certain Mountain in *Armenia*. *Noah* perceiving this, open'd a Window, and ſeeing Land here and there about him, found his Heart a little more at eaſe, in hopes that the worſt was now paſt. The water ſtill

The Beginning, and Progreſs of the Flood Gen. 7, *and* 8.

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[a] Joſephus *in this place has miſinterpreted the Scriptures, as* Cunæus *has ſhew'd, l.* 3. *de* Rep. Hebr. *c.* 2. *See* Caſaubon's *Notes upon* Trebellius Pollio, *p.* 219. [b] *See Dr.* Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacr. *l.* 3. *c.* 4. §. 7. [c] *See the Notes upon the* Sibylline *Oracles, p.* 127. Ed. Gallæi.

ſhrinking

Noah *ſends out a Raven and a Dove.*

Noah *goes out himſelf, and ſacrifices.*

See Beroſus, Nicolaus Damaſcenus, *&c. of this Ark and Deluge.*

ſhrinking more and more, *Noah* ſent out a Raven ſome few days after, to learn the ſtate of the Deluge in other places, and whether or no he might ſafely venture himſelf upon the Ground; but the Raven finding all in a Flood ſtill, returned to the Ark. Whereupon *Noah* reſpited his enquiry for ſeven days, and then ſent out a Dove for diſcovery what condition things were in abroad, which ſoon after came back to him again all dirty, and with an Olive-Branch in her Mouth, giving to underſtand that the Danger was now over. So that at the end of ſeven days more, he turn'd out all the Creatures, went forth himſelf with his Wife and Children; and after Sacrificing to the Lord, made merry and rejoyced with his Family. The [a] *Armenians* called this place [b] *Apobaterion*, or the place of *Deſcent*. We read of this Deluge and the Ark, in all the Writers of *Barbarian* Hiſtories, as in *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* for one, who, ſpeaking of this Flood, writes to this effect. *They ſay that there are ſome Remainders of this Veſſel to be ſeen upon the Mountains of the* Cordyæans *in* Armenia *to this very Day, and that ſeveral People living upon the place ſcrape the Pitch off from the Planks as a Rarity, and carry it about them for an Amulett.* *Hieronymus* the *Ægyptian* in his *Phœnician Antiquities*, *Mnaſeas* and a great many others ſay ſomewhat of this matter too: But *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* in v. 96 of his Hiſtory, ſpeaks to this purpoſe. *In the Province of* [c] Minyas *in* Armenia, *there is a High Mountain called* [d] Baris, *to which Place there fled a great many People, as the ſtory goes, in the time of a Deluge for Sanctuary. There is a Tradition alſo, of a certain Man in a Veſſel that ſtruck upon the top of this Mountain, and that ſeveral pieces of the Timber were to be ſeen there a long time after.* This perhaps might be the Man that *Moſes* makes mention of.

Noah'*s Prayer.*

Now *Noah* in a perſuaſion that God had doom'd Mankind to Deſtruction, lay under a mortal Dread, for fear of the ſame Judgment over again; and effectually that it would end in an *Anniverſary Inundation:* So that he preſented himſelf before the Lord with Sacrifices and Prayers, "Humbly beſeeching God in Mercy, to preſerve the Order "of the World in its firſt Frame; to puniſh the Guilty, and ſpare the Lives of the Innocent, and not to proceed with Rigour for the Wickedneſs of ſome particulars, to "the Deſtruction of the whole; for otherwiſe, the Survivors of this Calamity would "be more wretched than thoſe that were waſhed away in a common Ruin, if after "having ſuffer'd Horror of Thought, and the Terror of ſo diſmal a Spectacle, they "ſhould only be delivered from one Calamity to be confounded by another. Where"fore he earneſtly beſought God to receive his Prayers, and his Sacrifice; to turn away "his Wrath from the Earth, and the Inhabitants thereof, that they might Till it, and "reap the Fruits of his Bounty as formerly, build Cities, and entertain themſelves "with all the Comforts and Conveniencies they enjoyed before the Flood. He pray'd alſo for Length of Days to Himſelf and his Poſterity; and that the Children to come might live up to the Age of their Anceſtors.

God's Covenant with Noah. Gen. 8, *and* 9.

The Rainbow a Token of it.

The Piety and Righteouſneſs of the Man prevail'd ſo far with Almighty God, that he hearkened to his requeſt, and told him that it was the Wickedneſs of the World which drew that Judgment upon their own Heads, and that he himſelf was not in truth the Author of it, for he would never have given them Life at firſt, with a deſign, or deſire to take it away again; and it were much better not to give it at all, than to give only to take again: But, ſays he, they have forced me upon a Vengeance by a Violation of all the Holy Duties they owe me; and yet to ſhew you that I am not inexorable, eſpecially upon your Mediation, I promiſe you that I will never deal with Sinners ſo ſeverely again for the future. And therefore what Storms and Tempeſts ſoever may be raiſed, ſet your Heart at reſt, for you are out of danger of another Deluge. One thing I poſitively require and command, [e] keep your Hands clear of Human Blood, and puniſh Murder with the uttermoſt Severity wherever you find it. As for other Creatures, whether they Live upon the Earth, or Swim in the Water, or Fly in the Air, you are the Lords and Maſters of them, and may diſpoſe of them as you think fit, ſaving only as to the Blood, for in the Blood is the Life of the Creature; and for your Security now, that the Arrows of my Diſpleaſure ſhall never ſtrike Mankind again in the like dreadful manner, I will ſet my Bow in the Air for a Token of my Covenant. Now the *Rainbow* with them is taken for God's Bow. After theſe Commands and Promiſes God departed.

Noah liv'd happily and at eaſe three hundred and fifty years after the Flood, ſo that he was nine hundred and fifty when he dy'd. Let not the vaſt Difference betwixt the ordinary term of a Man's Life before the Deluge, and the narrow ſcantling we find it reduced to at this Day, be made uſe of as an Argument to bring the Credit of the Tradition in Queſtion, as if becauſe we our ſelves are ſhort-liv'd, our Anceſtors muſt needs have been ſo too. In the Infancy of the World, when Men liv'd in Obedience to their Maker, it pleaſed Almighty God to beſtow the Bleſſing of [a] long Life upon the Work of his own Hands: Beſide that the very way of eating and living did very much conduce to that end: Over and above, that Providence found it neceſſary for the Study and Advancement of Virtue, and for the Improvement of *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*, which required at leaſt ſix hundred Years (according to the Computation of the great Year) for the making and perfecting of Obſervations. I have for my Juſtification, all the great Antiquaries that ever meddled in Hiſtory, either *Greek* or *Barbarian*; as *Manetho* in his *Ægyptian Chronicle*; *Beroſus* in the Hiſtory of *Chaldæa*; [b] *Mochus*, *Heſtiæus*; *Hieronymus* the *Ægyptian*; that have given us the Story of *Phœnicia*: And ſo for *Heſiod*, *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acuſilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus*, they do all agree, that in the primitive State of the Word, ſome Men liv'd to the Age even of a thouſand Years. But every Man is at liberty to think of this Matter as himſelf pleaſes.

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[a] *See* Petavius'*s Notes upon* Epiphanius, *l.* 1. *p.* 5.

[b] *That is, by a word in that Language, which render'd into Greek is* Apobaterion. *See* Gallæus'*s* Diſſert. de Sibyllis, *p.* 593.

[c] Voſſius *and* Berkelius *ſhew it ſhould be Read* Milyas. *See* Berkel. *upon* Steph. *p.* 561. *&* Voſſ. *de* Sibyll. Orac. *p.* 253. *But* Bochart. *and* Gallæus *contend for the other Reading. See* Gallæus'*s* Diſſert. de Sibyll. *p.* 594.

[d] Fr. Junius *for* Βάρις *reads* Λυβαρις. *See* Petavius'*s Notes upon* Epiphanius, *p.* 5.

[e] *See* Selden *de* Synedriis Vett. *Hebræorum*, *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 34. Ed. Amſtel.

The Great Year.

CHAP. V.

Noah'*s three Sons,* Shem, Japheth, *and* Ham, *plant in* Sennaar. *An ignorant and a ſtubborn Generation.* Nimrod Noah'*s Grand-child, their Head and Ring-leader. The Deſign of the Tower of* Babel *ruined by a Confuſion of Tongues.*

NOAH had three Sons, *Shem*, *Japheth*, and *Ham*, who were born about a hundred Years before the Flood. Theſe were the firſt that came down from the Mountains to ſettle their Habitation in the Plains, and drew others after them by their Example, who till then had not the Heart to quit the Hills for fear of a ſecond Deluge. They gave the Name of [c] *Shinar* to the firſt Place they planted in. But God in his Wiſdom ordered them to ſpread and divide themſelves into Colonies, as the more proper method both for peopling the World, and preſerving Men in peace one with another: And to the end beſides, that they might take their Poſſeſſions at large, and enjoy more abundantly the Fruits of the Earth. Now theſe People being an ignorant and a ſtubborn Generation, they never heeded the divine Appointment, but continued ſtill in the ſame place, till they were overtaken by a Judgment from Heaven that gave them the ſight of their Fault in their Puniſhment. They came in proceſs of time to be numerous and ſtrong; and God once again admoniſhed and directed them as before, to diſperſe themſelves into ſeveral Plantations, but they went on nevertheleſs in their Diſobedience, not only forgetting the Author of all the Bleſſings and good Things they were made Partakers of, but aſſuming to themſelves the Glory of their Succeſſes in all the Greatneſs they had acquired, and, which is worſt of all yet, interpreting the Advice of ſeparating themſelves to be rather a Snare than a Favour, and a mere Trick of common Policy, firſt to diſunite and weaken them, and then to bring them under the Yoke of an Oppreſſion.

Noah's *three Sons,* Gen. 10. *and* 11.

They plant in Sennaar.

The chief Incendiary that animated the People to this inſolent Contempt of God, was [d] *Nimrod*, the *Nephew* of *Ham*, who was the Son of *Noah*, a Man fierce and valiant, but of ſo extravagant a Vanity, that he would be often valuing himſelf upon it, that he had no Obligation at all to the Goodneſs of God for the Dignity of his preſent State and Reputation, but to the Power of his own Courage and Virtue. This was his way of inſinuating himſelf into a Tyranny, not doubting but the People might be eaſily brought to apoſtatize from God, if they could but firſt be prevailed upon to chooſe him for their Governour. And leſt the dread of another Inundation ſhould deterr them from it, he had an Expedient in his Head, he ſaid, that would ſecure them from any Damage of that Quality. His Project was the erecting a Tower to ſuch a height, that it ſhould be impoſſible for the Waters ever to reach the top of it: Beſide the Revenge he meditated over and above, for the loſs of thoſe that periſhed in the Flood. The Multitude were ſo unanimouſly ſatisfied with this Huff of *Nimrod*, that they be-

Nimrod *their Head and Ring-leader.*

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[a] *See* Gallæus'*s Comment on the* Sibylline *Oracles, p.* 72, 73.

[b] Gallæus, *in his Comment upon the* Sibylline *Oracles, p.* 62. *reads* Molus *or* Molon *for* Mochus.

[c] *Gr.* Σεγγααρ.

[d] Ναβρώδης *Joſ.*

gan to look upon it as a matter of high Indignity to think of living in Subjection to God any longer. Upon this, they ſet themſelves immediately, Might and Main, and all Hands at Work, to the carrying on of the Deſign. The Height of it was to be prodigious; but the infinite Number of Labourers advanced it, even beyond Imagination. The breadth and thickneſs of it (being wonderfully firm and ſtrong) appeared ſo vaſt at Hand, that it made the height ſeem the leſs for it. The Materials were burnt Brick, cemented in the Joynts with a pitchy Matter to make it Proof againſt the Waters. The Madneſs of theſe People was highly provoking, eſpecially conſidering the Warning they had in the Example of their Forefathers, who were all ſwallowed up in an univerſal Flood for their Wickedneſs. But God was graciouſly pleaſed however, not to proceed to the Extremity of extinguiſhing Mankind once again, for their contemptuous Tranſgreſſions; but choſe rather to puniſh them with ſuch a Confuſion of Tongues, that they ſhould not be able to underſtand one another. The Place where this Tower was erected, is at this Day called *Babylon*, from the Confuſion of Tongues as aforeſaid; *Babel* in *Hebrew* ſignifying as much as *Confuſion*. Now as to this Tower, and this *Confuſion*, the *Sibyl* makes the following mention of it. [a] " At a certain time, " (ſays ſhe) when the whole World ſpake the ſame Language, the People of thoſe Days " gathered together, and raiſed a mighty Tower, which they carried up to ſo extrava-" gant a Height, that it looked as if they had propoſed the ſcaling of Heaven from the " Top of it: But the Gods let the Winds looſe upon it, which with a violent Blaſt beat " it down to the Ground: The Builders being alſo judicially ſtruck with an utter For-" getfulneſs of their Native Tongue, and a new unknown Language ſubſtituted inſtead " of it, wherein not one Man of them underſtood his Fellow. As to *Sennaar* it ſelf, *Heſtiæus* gives this hint; *The Prieſts that ſurvived the general Deſolation, preſerved the holy Things and Ornaments that were dedicated to the Worſhip and Service of* [b] Jupiter *the Conqueror, and carryed them off to* Shinar *of* Babylon.

CHAP. VI.

The Sons of Noah *diſperſe themſelves all over the Face of the Earth.*

The peopling the World, Gen. 11.

UPON this Diverſity of Tongues, the People were forced to diſperſe themſelves up and down into Colonies, and ſo to plant and inhabit, ſome upon the Sea-Coaſts, others in the Mid-Land; ſome in one Place, ſome in another, according to the Lot, that God in his Wiſdom and Providence had aſſigned them: But the whole World, in fine, was to be more or leſs peopled. Men came by degrees to the Uſe and Knowledge of Navigation, ſo far at leaſt as to make Boats, and tranſport themſelves into Iſlands. They gave Appellations to the Places where they liv'd, many of them retaining to this very Day the Names of their *firſt Planters*. Some 'tis true are altered, others only diſguiſed under Greek Derivations, to make them more familiar and intelligible to the People thereabouts. For the [c] Greeks being poſſeſs'd of thoſe Countries, drew to themſelves in ſucceeding Ages, as the firſt Founders and Proprietors, the Honour of that primitive Greatneſs, impoſing upon them as they thought fit, not only Names but Laws alſo, Cuſtoms, and Manners to their own liking.

Several Places bear the Names of the firſt Planters.

CHAP. VII.

Several Nations took their Names from their ſeveral Founders. The Race of Noah *down to* Jacob; *and the Places they inhabited.*

The Sons of Noah, Gen. 10. Japhet.

NOW the Sons of *Noah* had Children, who, for the Honour of their Memory, call'd the People wherever they got Poſſeſſion by their own Names: As *Japheth* the Son of *Noah*, had *ſeven Sons*, which planted themſelves in *Aſia*, from the Mountains of *Taurus* and *Amanus* to the River *Tanais*, in *Europe* to *Gades*; and the Places being not as yet peopled, wherever they got footing, as aforeſaid, they called the Countries after their own Names. [d] *Gomer* was the Founder of thoſe that were [e] *Gomarites* (by the

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[a] *This we have in the* Sibylline Oracles *now extant. See Dr.* Beverege's Codex Can. Vindic. *c.* 14.

[b] Gr. Ενυαλίȣ Διὸς.

[c] *See* Petit's Diſſertation *de* Amazonibus, *c.* 41. *p.* 336, 337.

[d] Gr. Γομαρὸς.

[e] Gr. Γομαρεῖς.

Greeks

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Greeks at this day [a] *Galatians*, (or *Gauls*) [b] *Magog* was the Head of the [c] *Magogians* (by the Greeks *Scythians*) [d] *Javan* and [e] *Madæus* were two other Sons of *Japhet*: from the latter came the *Madæans*, or the *Medes*; from the other the *Ionians*, and the whole Race of Greeks. [f] *Thobel* was the Founder of the *Thobelians*, (at this day the *Iberians* or *Spaniards*) from [g] *Meſches* the *Meſchinians*, called afterwards *Cappadocians*, but not without ſome Footſteps yet of their Original in the Town of *Mazaca*, which comes near the ancient Name. [h] *Thires* was the Head and Governour of the *Thiræans*, (which the *Greeks* changed afterwards for *Thracians*.) Theſe are the Nations that were firſt planted by the ſeven Sons of *Japhet*.

Gomar again had *three Sons*: [i] *Aſchanaxes*, from whom came the *Aſchanaxians*, (the *Greeks* call them *Rheginians*;) [k] *Rhiphates*, the head of the *Rhiphatæans*, (now *Paphlagonians*;) and [l] *Thygrammes*, from whom came the *Thygrammeans*, (which the *Greeks* call *Phrygians*.) Gome

Javan alſo the Son of *Japhet* had three Sons: [m] *Aliſas* the firſt of the *Aliſæans*, (now call'd *Æolians*.) As from [n] *Tharſus* the *Tharſians*, (afterwards called *Cilicians*,) as appears by the celebrating of the City *Tarſus* with a mark of Preference above all others, only turning the firſt Letter Θ into a T. The Iſland that we at this day call *Cyprus*, was at firſt called *Cethima* from [o] *Cethimos* the firſt Poſſeſſor of it. From hence it is that not only all Iſlands, but all Places bordering upon the Sea, are by the *Hebrews* called *Cethim*; and there is a Town in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, which at this day is called [p] *Citium* by thoſe that for the Sound ſake will make *Greek* of every thing; and it ſeems to have ſome Affinity with *Chethim*. All theſe Nations had the Deſcendents of *Japhet* for their Heads. But I have one thing yet to ſay before I go any further, which perhaps the *Greeks* take no notice of. That is to ſay, they have gotten a way of changing Names to tickle the Ear, and carry the Word glibber off the Tongue; but for our People they neither allow nor practice any ſuch Thing. The *Greeks* have turned *Noe* into [q] *Nochos*; but we keep ſteady to the ſame Form and Syllables, without ſo much as varying the very Termination. Javan.

The Sons of *Ham* ſettled themſelves in *Syria* and ſo to the foot of the Mountains of *Amanus* and *Libanus*; ſtretching the Terms of their Juriſdiction as far as the Sea-Coaſt, and calling all Places under their Dominions by what Names they pleaſed; but a great many of them are to us utterly loſt and forgotten; and others ſo corrupted and transformed, that they are no longer to be known. Only the *Æthiopians* have ſtood the ſtreſs of Time and Accidents, without any Alteration. [r] *Chus*, one of the Sons of *Ham* was their Founder and Governour, and they bear the name of *Chuſians* to this inſtant; not only among themſelves, but all *Aſia* over. The [s] *Meſreans* alſo yet keep their old Name; for *Ægypt* quite through the Country, is called [t] *Meſrim* ſtill, and the *Ægyptians*, *Meſræans*. [u] *Phutes* governed in *Libya* and gave the whole Nation the Name of *Phutians*. And we read in divers *Greek* Hiſtorians of a River in *Mauritania* of this Name, and of a Country bordering upon it which is called *Phute*; but the Name has been ſince changed upon the account of *Libys*, one of the Sons of [v] *Meſraim*. How it came to be called *Africa* we ſhall ſhew hereafter. *Chanaan* the fourth Son of *Ham* gave his name to the Country of the *Chanaanites*, (which is ſince called *Judæa*.) Ham.

They had all Children, but *Chus* the eldeſt Son of *Ham* had ſix Sons: [w] *Sabas* the Head of the *Sabæans*. [x] *Evilas* of the *Evilæans* (now called *Getulians*.) [y] *Sabathes* of the *Sabathenians*, (with the Greeks *Aſtabarrians*.) [z] *Sabactas*, of the *Sabactenians*. [a] *Ramus* was Prince of the *Ramæans*, and had *two Sons*, [b] *Judadas* and [c] *Sabas*. The former gave the Name and Original to the *Judadæans* in the *Weſtern* Part of *Æthiopia*, the other tranſmitted his Name to the *Sabæans*. As for [d] *Nimrod* the ſixth Son of *Chus* he ſtayed behind with the *Babylonians*; ſeized the Government by Force, and moſt tyrannically oppreſſed the People as is already ſet forth. Chus.

Meſraim was the Father of *eight Sons*, who made themſelves Maſters of the whole Tract of Land betwixt *Gaza* and *Ægypt*. *Philiſtim* was one of the Eight, and left his Name to his Country, that Part of it at leaſt which the *Greeks* call *Palæſtine*. [e] *Labim* erected a Colony, and gave it the name of *Libya*: but for the other ſix, that is to ſay, *Ludim*, [f] *Anamim* [g] *Nedem*, [h] *Phetroſim*, [i] *Cheſlem*, [k] *Chepthorim*, we know little more of them than their Names, their Cities and Plantations having been deſtroyed in the *Æthiopick* War, of which in its proper place.

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[a] *See the Diatriba de* Noe *in Italiam adventu, by* Edm. Dickinſon. [b] Gr. Μαγώγης. [c] Gr. Μαγώγαι. [d] *Or* Janus Gr. Ἰωυανες. [e] Gr. Μάδος. [f] *Scr.* *Tubalcain.* [g] Scr. *Meſhech. in ſome Copies of* Joſephus Μεσόχης. *See* Berkelius's *Notes upon* Steph. Byzant. p. 436. [h] Scr. *Tiras*, Gr. Θείρας & Θείρης. [i] Gr. Ἀσχανάξης & Ἀσχάναξες. Scr. *Aſhkenaz.* [k] Scr. *Riphath.* [l] Scr. *Togarmah.* [m] *Or* Eliſas. *In the Script.* Eliſhah. [n] Scr. *Tarſhiſh.* [o] Scr. *Kittim.* [p] Epiphanius *tells us that* Cyprus *was called* Citium. *See* Meurſius's Cyprus, *l.* 3. *c.* 10. [q] Or Νῶεος. [r] Χοῦσος Χοῦς. [s] *Or* Meſtreans. [t] *Or* Meſtre, *or* Meſſe. *See* Vorſtius's Miſcell. Academ. *C.* X. [u] Scr. *Phut.* [v] *Or* Miſraim, *or* Meſtraim. [w] Scr. *Seba.* [x] Scr. *Havilah.* [y] Scr. *Sebtah.* [z] Scr. *Sabtecha.* [a] Scr. *Raamah.* Gr. Ῥαγμαῖος. [b] Scr. *Dedan.* [c] Scr. *Sheba.* [d] Gr. *Nabrodes* or *Nebrodes.* [e] Scr. *Lehabim.* [f] Scr. *Anamim.* [g] Or *Nethem*, or *Nepthem*, Scr. *Naphtuhim.* [h] Scr. *Pathruſim.* [i] Or *Cheſloim*, Scr. *Caſluhim.* [k] Or *Chepthom*, Scr. *Caphthorim.*

Canaan.

Canaan was the Father of *eleven Sons*. *Sidon* built a City in *Phœnicia*, which the *Greeks* call *Sidon*. *Amath* was the Founder of *Amathe*, a Place yet in being, and by the Inhabitants called *Amathine*. Though the *Macedonians* have changed it for *Epiphania*, from one of their Kings. [a] *Aradæus* took Poſſeſſion of the Iſland *Aradus*. *Arucæus* had the Town of *Arce* upon Mount *Libanus*. As for the other ſeven, *Euæus*, *Chetæus*, *Jebuſæus*, [*Eudæus*,] *Sinæus*, *Samaræus* and *Gergeſæus*, we have nothing more of them in the Holy Scriptures then their Names; the *Hebrews* having razed all their Cities for the Reaſons following.

Noah *plants a Vineyard*, Gen. 9.

So ſoon as the Earth began to come a little to it ſelf again after the Flood, *Noah* fell to his Work of cultivating the Ground, planting of Vines, gathering and preſſing his Grapes in their due Seaſon; and ſo brought Wine into uſe again. But one Day after an Oblation to God of the firſt Fruits of his Vineyard, he drank ſo liberally of the Liquor, that he layed himſelf down quite ſenſeleſs, and fell faſt aſleep, with his Nakedneſs in a moſt beaſtly manner uncovered. His youngeſt Son ſeeing his Father thus ſhamefully expoſed, call'd his Brothers in Deriſion to make ſport with the Spectacle: But they, out of a pious Reverence to a Parent, caſt a covering over him. *Noah* came quickly to be ſenſible of what had paſs'd, and bleſſed his other Children for the good Office they had done him; but with a bitter Imprecation upon the Poſterity of *Ham*; and this Malediction was followed upon them with a divine Vengeance, but of this hereafter; only obſerving, that *Ham* in his own Perſon ſcaped the Curſe, out of *Noah*'s Tenderneſs to the Nearneſs of his Blood.

Noah *made drunk.*

His Nakedneſs expos'd.

The Poſterity of Ham *accurſed.*

The Poſterity of Shem.

Shem, another of the three Sons of *Noah*, had *five Sons*, and the whole Tract of *Aſia* was theirs, from *Euphrates* to the *Indian Sea*. From [c] *Elam* came the [d] *Elamites*, and from them the *Perſians*. [e] *Aſſur* was the Founder of *Ninive*, and thence came the *Aſſyrians*; a rich and a powerful People. From *Arphaxad*, came the *Arphaxadæans*, or our *Chaldæans*. From *Aram* came the *Aramæans* (the *Greeks* call them *Syrians*.) And from *Lud* came the *Luddians*, or our *Lydians*.

Aram.

Aram had *four Sons*: [f] *Uz* was the Founder of *Trachonitis*, and *Damaſcus*, which lies betwixt *Palæſtine* and *Cœle-Syria*. [g] *Hull* had *Armenia*. [h] *Gether* was Prince of the *Bactrians*; and [i] *Meſas* of the *Meſanæans*, whoſe whole Country at preſent bears the Name of the Camp of *Spaſinus*.

Salas.

[k] *Silas* the Son of *Arphaxad* was the Father of *Heber*, according to whoſe Name the *Jews* were called *Hebrews*. *Heber* begot [l] *Jucta* and [m] *Phalec*: The latter was born at the time of dividing the Land, (*Phalec* in *Hebrew* ſignifying *Partition*.) *Jucta* the Son of *Heber* had Children; [n] *Elmodad*, [o] *Saleph*, [p] *Azermoth*, [q] *Eiraes*, [r] *Edoram*, [s] *Uzal*, [t] *Declas*, [v] *Ebal*, *Abiamel*, [w] *Sabeus*, *Ophir*, [x] *Euilath*, *Jobab*. Theſe have their Habitation from the River *Cophene* in *India*, to the neighbouring Part of [y] *Syria*.

The Genealogy of Abraham.

Having ſpoken already of the Sons of *Shem*, I ſhall carry my Diſcourſe forward to treat of the *Hebrews*. *Phalec* was the Son of *Heber*, and [z] *Ragaus* the Son of *Phalec*. *Ragaus* begat *Serug*, *Serug* begat [a] *Nachor*, and *Nachor* begat [b] *Thares* the Father of *Abraham*, the tenth Generation from *Noah*. He was born about two hundred ninety two Years after the Flood. *Thares* was ſeventy Years of Age when he had *Abraham*, *Nachor* a hundred and twenty when he had *Thares*, *Serug* about a hundred thirty two when he had *Nachor*, *Ragaus* a hundred and thirty when he had *Serug*, and *Phalec* about the ſame Age when he had *Ragaus*, *Heber* a hundred thirty four when he had *Phalec*, *Salas* a hundred and thirty when he had *Heber*, *Arphaxad* a hundred thirty five when he had *Salas*. And this *Arphaxad* the Son of *Shem*, and the Grandſon of *Noah*, was born [c] two Years after the Flood.

Nachor *and* Aran, Abraham's *Brothers.*

Abraham had two Brothers, *Nachor* and [d] *Haran*, the latter dyed at [e] *Ur* in *Chaldæa* where there is to be ſeen at this Day a ſepulchral Monument erected in Honour of his Memory. He left behind him his Son *Lot*, and two Daughters, *Sarah* and [f] *Melcha*: *Nachor* took the latter to Wife, and *Abraham* took *Sarah*.

Thares *the Father of* Abraham.

Thares the Father of *Abraham* had contracted ſuch an Averſion to *Chaldæa*, for the loſs of his Son *Haran*, that he went away and all his Family with him to *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*, where *Thares* dyed and was buryed in his hundred and fifth Year. The

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[a] Or Ἀρουδαῖος. [b] *See* Gen. 10. ℣. 15, 16, 17, 18. [c] Or Ἔλυμος. [d] Or Ἐλυμαῖοι. [e] Gr. Ἀσσούρας & Ἀσσυρος. Scr. *Aſhur*. [f] Gr. Οὖσος. [g] Gr. Οὖλος [h] Gr Γαθερος & Γεθερής. [i] Scr. *Maſh*. [k] Scr. *Salah* Gr. Σαλης, Σέλης. [l] Scr. *Joctan*. [m] Scr. *Peleg*. Gr. Φαλεγος, Φαλεκος. [n] Scr. *Almodad*. [o] Scr. *Sheleph*. [p] Scr. *Hazermaveth*. [q] Scr. *Jerah*. [r] Scr. *Adoram*. [s] Gr. Αἴζηλος, Οὐζαλις. [t] Scr. *Diklah*. [v] Scr. *Obal*. [w] Scr. *Sheba*. [x] Scr. *Havilah*. [y] Al. *Aria*. [z] Scr. *Reu*. [a] Scr. *Nahor*. [b] Gr. Θάῤῥος. Scr. *Terah*. [c] *In the Original 'tis* twelve Years *by a miſtake*. [d] Or *Aran*. [e] Gr. Ἐν πόλει Οὐρῇ τῶν Χαλδαίων. Oncel. *Ura*. Euſeb. πόλις Οὐρίη. *See* Druſius *in Difficil. Loc. Geneſ. c.* 35. [f] Scr. *Milcah*.

Life of Man was now ſhorten'd, and God ſoon after reduced it to the ſcantling of a Hundred and Twenty Years, which was the preciſe Age of *Moſes* himſelf.

The Children of Nachor.

Nachor had by his Wife *Melcha* eight Sons, [a] *Uz*, [b] *Baux*, [c] *Camuel*, [d] *Chazad* [e] *Azaus*, *Pheldas*, [f] *Jadelphas*, and *Bathuel*. Theſe were all the legitimate Sons of *Nachor*; but *Tabæus* and *Gaham*, [g] *Tavaus* and *Machas*, he had by *Ruma* his Concubine. *Bathuel* had a Daughter and a Son, *Rebecca* and *Laban*.

CHAP. VIII.

Abraham *having no Children of his own, adopts his Nephew* Lot, *quits* Chaldæa; *and takes up his Abode in* Chanaan.

Abraham *adopts* Lot. Gen. 12.

ABRAHAM, having no legitimate Iſſue of his own, adopted *Lot*, the Son of his Brother *Aram*, and the Brother of his Wife *Sarah*. In the ſeventy fifth Year of his Age he left *Chaldæa*, and went away with his Family and all that belonged unto him into the Land of *Chanaan*, as God had commanded him, where he took up his Habitation, and in God's good-time left it to his Poſterity. He was a Man equally Wiſe and Eloquent, of a piercing Judgment, and an univerſal Knowledge. He had the Reputation of an underſtanding beyond other Men; and as he wanted no skill, ſo he had the Courage alſo to attack the moſt daring Iniquities of the Times, and by Dint of Authority as well as of his Reaſon, to tear up falſe Opinions in Religion by the Roots, and to terrify wicked Men into the Love and Fear of that God they had deſpiſed. *Abraham* was the firſt that adventur'd to preach up the Doctrine of *One God*, the *Almighty Maker, and Creator of all Things in Heaven and Earth:* and that for all the Comforts we enjoy in this World, it is to his infinite Goodneſs not to any Power in our ſelves, that we ſtand indebted for them. This he argued from the orderly Courſe of Things both at Sea and Land in their Times and Seaſons, and from his Obſervation upon the Motions and Influences of the Sun, Moon, and Stars; inſomuch that without an over-ruling and an adminiſtring Providence to keep the Wheel a going, the whole Frame of the Univerſe muſt drop into Confuſion; and conſequently that all we have to truſt to, for matters either of Pleaſure, Profit, or Neceſſity, depends ſingly upon the Good-will and Bounty of the firſt Mover: ſo that it is to him alone that we are to render all Honour and Thankſgiving, without aſſuming any Thing to our ſelves.

Abraham's *Piety, Reſolution, and Wiſdom;*

The People of *Chaldæa* and *Meſopotamia* were ready to fly in the Face of him for this Doctrine: So that by God's Order and Aſſiſtance, he conveyed himſelf out of *Chaldæa* into the Land of *Chanaan*, where he eſtabliſhed his Abode, erected an Altar to God, worſhipped and offer'd Sacrifice. *Beroſus* hath a Paſſage concerning our Father *Abraham*, though without naming him. "In the tenth Generation (*ſays he*) after the "Flood there was among the *Chaldæans* a certain great and juſt Man, and one that "was famous for his *Celeſtial Obſervations*. *Hecatæus* hath gone further yet, in an Hiſtorical Diſcourſe expreſly upon his affairs. *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* in the fourth Book of his Hiſtory does alſo make mention of him. "*Abraham* (ſays he) though a *Stranger* "commanded in *Damaſcus*, to which Place he came with a great Train from a Coun"try beyond *Babylon* called *Chaldæa*; the People after a ſhort Time riſing againſt him; "whereupon he and his Family went to *Chananæa* (now called *Judæa*) where he plant"ed himſelf, and had a very numerous Offspring, of whom I ſhall ſpeak further in ano"ther Book." But at *Damaſcus*, the very Name of *Abraham* is to this Day had in great Veneration; and there is a Village too that yet bears the Name of *Abraham's Habitation*.

Teſtified by Beroſus,

Hecatæus,

And Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus.

CHAP. IX.

Upon a Famine in Chanaan, Abraham *removes into* Ægypt; *and takes* Sarah *along with him, where he ſtays a while and then returns.*

A Famine in Chanaan, Gen. 12. and 13.

Abraham *goes into* Ægypt.

THERE happen'd in thoſe Days a miſerable Famine in *Chanaan:* And *Abraham* underſtanding that at the ſame Time there was a great Plenty in *Ægypt*, reſolved upon a Journey thither, partly to get a ſhare in their Abundance, and partly to conſult

[a] Gr. Οὖξος. [b] Gr. Βαῦξος. [c] Or Μαουηλος. [d] Lat. *Zacham*. [e] Gr. Αζαυος. [f] Gr. Ιαδελφας. Lat. *Jedlaph*. [g] Lat. *Thaas*.

their

Pharaoh *falls in Love with* Sarah.

He's viſited with a judicial Sickneſs.

Abraham *ſtudies the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country.*

their Prieſts in their Profeſſion about divine matters; with an impartial Deſire and Diſpoſition to find out the Truth, and either to give or to receive Satisfaction, according to the Right and Reaſon of the Subject in Queſtion. *Abraham* taking *Sarah* along with him, who was a very beautiful Woman, and being informed of the unbridled Luſts of the *Ægyptians*, fell into an Apprehenſion of what Extremities the King perhaps might put him to upon the account of his Wife: wherefore he bethought himſelf of an evaſion in caſe of any Difficulty, and to ſay ſhe was his Siſter. Upon concerting the Point betwixt themſelves, and the preſent Neceſſity conſidered, they concluded to agree in the ſame Tale. At his coming into *Ægypt*, it fell out as he foreboded: for the Fame of his handſome Wife was preſently ſpread about, till it came to the Ear of *Pharaoh* the King of *Egypt*; who was immediately enflamed with an impatience to ſee and to enjoy this Miracle of a Woman that he had heard ſuch wonders of, making no doubt of compaſſing his ſordid End upon her. But in the mean while God put a Check to the progreſs of his leud Appetite by viſiting this laſcivious Prince with a Plague and a Sedition both at once. In this Diſtreſs *Pharaoh* had recourſe to his Prieſts for Counſel and Direction, and to know what might be the Sin that brought this Judgment upon him, and what the Remedy. The Prieſts upon ſacrificing returned him Anſwer, that this Calamity was befallen him for the Violence and Abuſe he deſigned upon the Wife of a Stranger. This Sentence and Reſolution put the King into ſuch a Fright that he forthwith diſcours'd *Sarah* upon it with all Frankneſs and Reſpect, what ſhe herſelf was, and what was the Man that brought her thither. She told him in ſhort the whole and the plain truth of the Story: whereupon *Pharaoh* excuſed himſelf to *Abraham*, that he took her for his *Siſter*, not for his Wife, and only deſired a fair Alliance without the leaſt Thought of any ſcandalous Indignity to her Perſon. He made *Abraham* a Preſent after this of a conſiderable Summe of Money, and gave him a Liberty of aſſociating with the moſt learned and excellent Men in his Dominions, by which means he became better known, and conſequently more eſteemed for his excellent Qualities and Virtue. By the allowance of this Freedom of Conference and Communication, *Abraham* had the means of obſerving all their Diviſions about *Rites*, *Ceremonies*, and *Opinions*; their Factions and Animoſities; and their Reciprocal Contempt and Hatred one of another; and their diſagreement about Religion: So that upon the whole matter, he made no difficulty of pronouncing upon them, as Men that acted in contradiction to themſelves, as well as to one another, and without any foundation of Truth to bottom upon. By theſe Diſcourſes he gained himſelf infinite Credit, not only for the Solidity of his Judgment, and an admirable Felicity of Elocution; but for this inſtructive Talent alſo of informing and convincing his Auditory both at once. He likewiſe read them Lectures of *Aſtronomy* and *Arithmetick*, which Sciences the *Ægyptians* underſtood nothing of till *Abraham* brought them from *Chaldæa* into *Ægypt*, and from thence they paſſed to the *Greeks*.

Abraham *and* Lot *part Lands betwixt them.*

Abraham at his return to *Chanaan*, came to a Diviſions of Lands with *Lot*, the Shepherds having had ſome wrangle about the Bounds of their Paſture. *Abraham* gave *Lot* the Choice, contenting himſelf with what the other left, and took up his Habitation in the City of [a] *Hebron*, which was ſeven Years older than *Tanis* in *Ægypt*. *Lot* planted himſelf in the Fields and Plains that bordered upon the River *Jordan*, not far from *Sodom*: which *Sodom* was at that time a glorious City, but ſince laid in Aſhes by divine Vengeance, and ſo totally extinguiſhed, that the very Memory of it is deſtroyed from off the Earth. But of this we ſhall give the Reaſons in their proper Place.

CHAP. X.

The Sodomites *defeated by the* Aſſyrians, *and* Lot *taken Priſoner.*

Gen. 14.

WHILE the Empire of *Aſia* was in the hands of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Sodom* in a Condition ſo rich and populous, that *Five Kings* (i. e. [b] *Ballas*, *Barſas*, *Senabar*, *Symobar*, and the King of the *Ballinians*) had the Adminiſtration of the Government, and every King abſolute in his own Territory: in thoſe Days the *Aſſyrians* took the Field with a mighty Army, and marched againſt *Sodom* in four ſtrong Bodies, well officer'd and appointed, gave them Battle, and after a bloody Fight utterly defeated them, hereupon the *Kings* of *Sodom* became their *Tributaries*, and for twelve Years paid their Acknowledgements, but the Year following they fail'd, and forfeited. The *Aſſyrians* upon this advanced againſt them a ſecond time with another Army as before, under the Command of *Amraphel*, *Arioch*, [a] *Chodollomor*, and [b] *Thabal*; ravaged all *Syria*, ſubdu'd the Race of the Giants, and ſo enter'd the Land of *Sodom*; encamping in the Valley among the *Brimſtone-Pits*, which in thoſe Days were frequent thereabouts; but ſince the Deſtruction of *Sodom*, that Valley is turned into a Lake called *Aſphaltitis*, of which hereafter. This Engagement betwixt the *Aſſyrians* and the *Sodomites* was a terrible Encounter. There fell of the *Sodomites* great Numbers, beſide the Priſoners taken, whereof *Lot* was one, who came to the Relief of the Place.

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[a] Gr. *Χαϐρώ.* *See* Berkelius's *Notes upon* Steph. *Byzant.* v. *Ἑϐρών.* [b] *Scr.* Bera, Birſha, Shinab, Shemeber, and the King of Belar.

Five Kings of Sodom *defeated by the* Aſſyrians, Gen. 14.

Lot *taken Priſoner.*

CHAP. XI.

Abraham *routs and purſues the* Aſſyrians, *reſcues* Lot *and the reſt of the Priſoners.* Melchiſedech *treats* Abraham, *and* Abraham *preſents* Melchiſedech *with a tenth of the Spoil. God promiſes* Abraham *a Son.* Abraham *ſacrifices.* Sarah *brings* Hagar *to* Abraham*'s Bed, which creates an Envy.* Hagar *flies and is comforted by an Angel.* Iſhmael *born.* Iſaac *promiſed. The Inſtitution of* Circumciſion.

ABRAHAM had no ſooner the News of the *Sodomites* Defeat, ſo many of his Neighbours and Friends kill'd and taken, and his Nephew *Lot* made a Priſoner, but he poſted away immediately after the *Aſſyrians*, and the fifth Night after his ſetting out, ſurprizing them in their Quarters near *Dan*, one of the Heads of the River *Jordan*, where he found them in all the Confuſion imaginable, ſome without their Arms, others in Bed, without the leaſt Thought of an Enemy, ſome drunk, ſome drowſy, and moſt of them in ſuch a Condition that they could neither fight nor fly. In this Diſorder, they put as many to the Sword as they could, and the next Day purſued the reſt as far as *Choba* of *Damaſcus*. This may ſerve for an Inſtance, that it is not ſo much the Number as the Valour of the Combatants that gains the Victory; for *Abraham* had but barely three hundred and eighteen of his own Domeſticks, and three auxiliary Friends, when he routed this numerous Army: And thoſe few of the Enemy that ſcap'd, were fain to hide their Heads with Shame and Confuſion. Thus was *Lot* and the reſt of the Priſoners ſet at Liberty, while *Abraham* was upon his return to his People again with Victory and Peace.

Abraham *routs the* Aſſyrians.

Abraham *reſcues* Lot *and his Fellow Priſoners.* Gen 14, *and* 15.

As *Abraham* was upon his Way home again, the King of *Sodom* met him at a Place call'd the *Valley Royal* to congratulate his Succeſs, and there he was received by *Melchiſedech* the King of [c] *Solyma*, now called *Jeruſalem*. *Melchiſedech* is as much as to ſay a *Righteous King*, which certainly this Prince was, having been accounted worthy by common Conſent to ſerve at the Altar as a Prieſt of the moſt high God. This *Melchiſedech* treated *Abraham*'s Followers and Soldiers, with great Bounty, Hoſpitality, and all ſorts of Refreſhments; extolling *Abraham* himſelf at the Table up to the Skies for ſo noble an Atchievement, and glorifying God's holy Name for the Bleſſing of ſo ſignal a Victory, in a way of Thankſgiving worthy of his ſacred Character. *Abraham* alſo on the other hand preſented *Melchiſedech* with the *Tenth* of the Spoils he had taken, which he accepted of. *Abraham* made an offer of part of the Booty to the King of *Sodom* alſo, whoſe Anſwer was, that he only deſired to have his own People again that had been taken Priſoners by the *Aſſyrians*, and were now reſcu'd out of their Hands; and for the reſt, *Abraham* might do in the Matter as he pleaſed. But *Abraham* excuſed himſelf from dealing upon thoſe Conditions, declaring that he was abſolutely reſolved to make no Advantage of the Booty to himſelf, more than to ſupply his Men with Proviſions, and to reward his three Friends, [d] *Eſchol*, *Enner*, and *Mambres*, who had ſtood the ſhock of the Battle.

Melchiſedech *treats* Abraham.

Abraham *preſents him with the* Tenth *of the Spoil.*

God was ſo well pleaſed with the generous Sincerity of *Abraham*, that he aſſured him theſe good Deeds of his ſhould never paſs unrewarded. *And what, good Lord* (ſays this holy Man then) *will all thy Bounties and Rewards to come avail a Perſon that hath never a Child to leave them to, or an Heir to ſucceed him!* (*Abraham* being as yet childleſs.)

God promiſes Abraham *a Son,* Gen. 15.

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[a] Scr. *Chedorlaomer.* [b] Scr. *Tidal.* [c] Scr. *Salem.* [d] Scr. *Eſhcol*, *Aner*, and *Mamre.*

Abraham *ſacrifices.*

The Ægyptian Bondage *foretold.*

Upon this, God not only promiſes him a *Son*, but the Bleſſing alſo of a *Poſterity* that ſhould be *as the Stars of the Heaven for number.* Upon the hearing of theſe Words, *Abraham* offer'd up a Sacriſice according to the expreſs Command and Direction of Almighty God. He took a Heifer, a Goat, and a Ram, of three Years old each, a Turtle-Dove, and a Pigeon: The Birds he kept whole, dividing the reſt into halves according to his Order. While the Altar was making ready, and Birds of Prey hovering up and down over the Place waiting for the Blood of the Carkaſſes, a Voice was heard from Heaven, foretelling the Bondage that the Poſterity of *Abraham* ſhould ſuffer in *Ægypt* from malicious Enemies for the ſpace of *four hundred Years*, at the end of which term they ſhould over-run the whole Territory of the *Canaanites* from *Ægypt* as far as *Sidon*, and make themſelves Maſters of all their Cities and Dominions.

Gen. 16.

Abraham at this time dwelt near the Oak of *Ogyge* as they called it, a Place not far from *Hebron*, where he paſſed his Days very uncomfortably in the thought of his Wive's Barrenneſs, and the Deſpair of Iſſue: But ſtill continuing to ply Almighty God with daily Prayers and Supplications for a Male-Child: Upon theſe Importunities, God not only continued his former Promiſe to him of a Child, but repeated an Aſſurance to him of all the other good things alſo that he promiſed him upon his quitting *Meſopotamia*, ſo that he had very conſiderable Reaſons for what he did.

Sarah *brings* Hagar *to* Abraham*'s Bed.*

Hagar*'s Contempt of* Sarah.

Hagar flies, and is comforted by an Angel.

While things were at this paſs, *Sarah* by a particular Direction from Heaven brought *Hagar* (an *Ægyptian* Servant in the Family) to Bed to her Huſband, in hopes he might have Children by her. This Maid proving with Child, behaved herſelf inſolently to her Miſtreſs upon a vain Preſumption, that the Child ſhe had in her Belly would in courſe be next Heir to the Government. *Abraham* was no ſooner aware of this Ingratitude, but he immediately put her into *Sarah*'s Hand to puniſh her as ſhe thought fit, which to the Wench was ſo inſupportable a Mortification, that ſhe reſolved to be gone upon't, calling upon God ſtill to pity her in that miſerable Condition. As ſhe was upon the Way in her flight, and paſſing through a Deſart, an Angel from Heaven met her, and ordered her back again to the Place whence ſhe came: Adding that this Affliction had befallen her, only as a Puniſhment for her Arrogance and Unthankfulneſs; and that upon her better Behaviour for the future ſhe might find better Uſage, charging her at the ſame time to obey the Admonition, and to return as ſhe loved her Life, without moving one ſtep further: And in caſe of her going back again, ſhe ſhould live to be the Mother of a Child that in time ſhould come to have the Dominion of that Country. She obeyed the Voice of the Angel, went back to her Miſtreſs, begged her Pardon and obtained it: And ſome while after this, ſhe was delivered of *Iſhmael*, (which ſignifies *prevail'd upon*) God having heard and granted the Prayers of the Mother.

Iſhmael *born.*

Gen. 17.

Iſaac *promiſed.*

The Inſtitution of Circumciſion.

Abraham was *eighty ſix* when he had *Iſhmael*, and at the Age of *ninety nine*, God appeared to him, and told him that his Wife *Sarah* ſhould bring him a Son, with a Command to call him *Iſaac*, foretelling alſo that mighty Kings and Nations ſhould come out of him, and make themſelves Maſters by force of Arms of the whole Land of *Canaan*, from *Sidon* to *Ægypt*. And God commanded farther for Diſtinction ſake, betwixt the Race of *Abraham* and other Nations, (with whom there was to be no intermixture) that all his Poſterity ſhould be circumciſed on their Privities at eight Days old, not only for the Diſtinction aforeſaid, but for ſome other Reaſons alſo hereafter to be declared. *Abraham* then conſulted God about the Life of *Iſhmael*, and received anſwer that he ſhould live long, and be the Father of many famous Nations; whereupon *Abraham* gave God Thanks, and was immediately *circumciſed* with his whole Family, and likewiſe *Iſhmael* who was now *thirteen Years of Age*, and *Abraham* about *ninety nine*.

CHAP. XII.

The Deſtruction of Sodom *by the juſt Judgment of God, for the execrable Wickedneſs of the People.*

The Wickedneſs of Sodom, *Gen.* 18, *and* 19.

THE People of *Sodom* were by this time ſo puffed up in the Contemplation of their prodigious Wealth and Plenty, that they had no longer any Reſpect or Reverence either for God or Man. They were ungrateful for Benefits received to the higheſt Degree, inhoſpitable to Strangers, and burning in unnatural Luſts one towards another. By theſe provoking and abominable Sins, the Wrath of God was ſo highly incenſed againſt them, that he took up a Determination to avenge himſelf upon them for their Arrogance and Pride, and to deſtroy their Cities, and lay their whole Country waſte, that for the time to come there ſhould be no more Graſs upon the Ground there, nor any Plant or Fruit for the Uſe of Man.

This Reſolution being taken, and the Sentence paſſed upon the *Sodomites*, as *Abraham* was ſitting one Day at his Tent-Door under the Oak of *Mambres*, he ſaw *three Angels*, which to him ſeemed Travellers or Strangers coming towards him. He roſe up to meet them, and ſo after the firſt Salute and Embrace, he gave them a fair Invitation to the beſt Entertainment his Roof could afford. They accepted of his Civility, and ſo his People were preſently appointed to bake him a Cake, and a Calf was alſo killed and dreſſed; which being made ready, the Treat was ſet before the *Angels* under the Oak where they lay. They gave him Thanks, and in Appearance fed upon it. But while the Meat was yet before them, they enquired of *Abraham* where his Wife *Sarah* was, who made Anſwer that ſhe was within there in the Tent. Upon this they ſtood up as to go their way, telling *Abraham* that it would not be long before they ſhould come that way again, and that by that time they ſhould find *Sarah* a *Mother*. Upon theſe Words *Sarah* was called in, and could not forbear ſmiling to hear them ſpeak of her having a Child at that time of the Day, for ſhe herſelf was ninety Years of Age, and her Huſband a hundred. When they had proceeded thus far, the *Angels* caſt off their Diſguiſe, owned what they were, and gave up an Account of their Commiſſion. One of them they ſaid was ſent to bring *Abraham* the Tydings of a *Son* that was to be born, and the other two were employ'd for the Deſtruction of *Sodom*. The latter ſtruck *Abraham* for the ſake of the *Sodomites*: Inſomuch that he got up and begged of God that he would be pleaſed not to take away the Innocent together with the Guilty. God gave him for Anſwer that they were all alike, and that if there were but *ten righteous Men* in the whole City, he would ſpare all the reſt for that *ten's* ſake. After this Declaration, *Abraham* had not one Word more to ſay on their behalf.

Abraham *entertains* three Angels.

They promiſe him a Son.

And foretel the Deſtruction of Sodom.

The two *Angels* departed, and went into *Sodom*, and *Lot* obſerving them, invited them to a Lodging in his Houſe. Now *Lot* was naturally human, and courteous to Strangers, and the very Counterpart of *Abraham* for Piety and good Nature. But ſo it fell out, that ſome certain Ruffians of the Town, taking Notice of two beautiful graceful Perſons that entered into *Lot*'s Houſe, preſſed hard upon *Lot* to force their Way into his Lodgings, with a Deſign of attempting ſome violent Act of Brutality upon their Perſons. *Lot* ſaid all that was poſſible upon the Subject of Continence and Hoſpitality to divert them, nay and rather than fail offered them his two Daughters in exchange for the two Strangers; but this would not do neither. Upon this diabolical Outrage, God ſtruck them upon the very Place with ſo judicial a Blindneſs, that they could not find the Way into the Houſe, the whole People of *Sodom* being at the ſame time doomed to an exemplary Perdition.

Two of the Angels are Lot's *Gueſts*.

Lot's *Houſe beſet*.

The Sodomites *ſtruck with Blindneſs*.

Now *Lot* that had been forewarned of this Calamity to come, withdrew out of the City with his Wife and two maiden, but contracted Daughters. Their Huſbands (*Elect* that is) were earneſtly invited out along with them too, but they turned all into Ridicule, and ſtaying behind took their part in the general Conflagration. Then it was that God diſcharged the fierce Arrows of his Wrath and Vengeance upon this impious Generation, conſuming not only the City it ſelf, and every living Soul in it, but deſtroying alſo the whole Country thereabouts with an irreparable Deſolation; as I have ſaid already in my Commentaries upon the Wars of the Jews. The Wife of *Lot* that went out with her Huſband, whether out of Curioſity, or Tenderneſs, could not forbear looking behind her, though directly contrary to the Command of God, and was turned into a Pillar of Salt. [a] I have ſeen it my ſelf, and it remains to this Day.

Lot *withdraws out of the City*.

Sodom *conſumed with Fire*.

Lot's *Wife turned into a* Pillar of Salt.

Lot and his Daughters after this terrible Judgment, made a ſhift to ſave themſelves in a little Corner of the Country call'd [b] *Zoar* (in Hebrew, *Small*,) the only Place which this devouring Fire had ſpar'd. In this Retreat they led a ſolitary uneaſy Life for want both of Converſation and Proviſion. The *Daughters* looked upon themſelves in that Solitude as in Effect the only Survivors of Mankind, and therefore ſo far conſulted common Convenience in this Extremity, as to reckon any thing warrantable that they found neceſſary, eſpecially where the Conſervation of the whole Race of Mankind was the Queſtion. On this Conſideration they contrived the putting of a Trick upon their Father, by ſtealing to Bed to him at a time when he knew not what he did: Upon which Congreſs they both proved with Child. The Son of the *Elder* was

Lot *and his Family fly to* Zoar.

Lot's *Inceſt*.

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[a] *See* Colomeſius's Obſervat. Sacr. *p.* 111. *&* Huetius's Alnet. Quæſt. *l.* 2. *p.* 193. [b] Joſ. Σοὰρ.

Moab *and* Ammon.

call'd *Moab* (in Hebrew, *of my Father,)* that of the younger was *Ammon* (or *of my Race.)* The one was the Father of the *Moabites*, a mighty People yet in Being; the other of the *Ammonites*, and they both inhabit *Cœle-Syria*. Thus it was that *Lot* made his Eſcape from the Fire of *Sodom*.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Abimelech, *and likewiſe of* Iſhmael *the Son of* Abraham, *and the* Arabians *his Poſterity.*

Abraham *withdraws with* Sarah *to* Gerar. Gen. 20.

Abimelech *falls in Love with* Sarah.

Cautioned againſt it in a Dream.

Abimelech *excuſes himſelf.*

AS for *Abraham*, he withdrew himſelf to *Gerar* in *Palæſtine*, and *Sarah* along with him, ſtill under colour of his Siſter as before, for fear of *Abimelech* the King of the Place. Now this *Abimelech* did afterward fall in Love with her, and would have corrupted her, or attempted it at leaſt, if the Hand of God had not taken him off by a deſperate Fit of Sickneſs in the Heat of his Appetite and Deſign. So ill he was, that the Phyſicians deſpaired of his Life; and while this Diſtemper was upon him, he had a Caution given him in a Dream not to offer any Violence to *Sarah*, for ſhe was the Stranger's *Wife*, not his *Siſter*. *Abimelech* ſome ſhort time after, finding himſelf in a hopeful way of Recovery called his Friends about him, and told them of his Paſſion, and of his Dream, and every thing that had paſſed, with this Inference upon the whole, that his preſent Sickneſs was a Judgment upon him for an inordinate Love. Upon this, by the Advice of the People about him, he ſent for *Abraham*, and gave him all Aſſurance that his Wife's Honour was ſafe, for God had ſupported and protected her, and he did now reſtore her to him as unſpotted as he found her, appealing to God and her own Conſcience for the Truth of what he ſaid, and proteſting that if he had but known her to have been his Wife, he would never have attempted her, deſiring him likewiſe to paſs it all over, and to remember him in his Prayers to Almighty God to forgive him. He told him further, that if he had a Mind to ſtay, he ſhould be welcome, and abundantly provided for: Or if he had rather depart, he ſhould have Guides and Carriages to attend him, and all manner of Conveniencies along with him which he might have any occaſion for when he came into that Country. *Abraham*, in return to what *Abimelech* had ſaid, did in ſome ſort juſtify the calling of *Sarah* his *Siſter*, being the Daughter of his Brother, and ſo of the Kindred: Beſide that he thought to cover himſelf in his Travels under that Appearance. Neither could he charge himſelf, he ſaid, as the cauſe of *Abimelech*'s Sickneſs: But in Concluſion he wiſhed him well with all his Heart, and ſhould be glad to continue with him. Upon this Accommodation, the King very generouſly gave *Abraham* a Portion both of Lands and Money, contracted an Alliance with him upon Condition of a fair Correſpondence betwixt them, without Fraud or Guile, and the League was ſtruck, and ratified at a certain Well call'd [a] *Berſabe* (or *the Well of the Oath,)* which is the Name it beareth to this very Day.

Berſabe, *or the* Well of the Oath.

The Birth of Iſaac. Gen. 21.

Some little time after this, *Sarah* brought *Abraham* a Son (as God had foretold) and they named him *Iſaac* (in Hebrew *Laughter,)* alluding to *Sarah*'s *ſmiling* at the Improbability of her having a Child at thoſe Years, as the Angel had foretold: She herſelf being ninety Years of Age, and her Husband a hundred when *Iſaac* was born. Upon the eighth Day he was *circumciſed*, and the *Jews* obſerve the ſame Time and Solemnity of *Circumciſion* unto this Day. The *Arabians* indeed are not *circumciſed* till the thirteenth Year, as *Iſhmael* was, the Son of *Abraham* by his Concubine, and the Perſon from whom they had their Original. But of him more particularly in what I am about to ſay.

Gen. 21.

Sarah had at firſt as tender an Affection for *Iſhmael* the Son of her Servant *Hagar* as if he had been her own Fleſh and Blood; beſides that he was alſo trained up and educated with infinite Caution and Reſpect, as the preſumptive Heir of the Government: But when *Iſaac* came to be born, *Sarah* did not think it ſecure or reaſonable, to have the two Children brought up together, for *Iſhmael* was ſo much the elder, that in caſe of *Abraham*'s Death, he might find himſelf under ſome Temptation perhaps to ſupplant the other: So that *Sarah* for fear of this, employed all the Power ſhe had with *Abraham*, to have both Mother and Child ſent away and diſpoſed of in ſome remote Country. *Abraham* at the firſt Motion was utterly againſt it, as a barbarous Cruelty to expoſe an innocent helpleſs Child, and a neceſſitous Mother to the wide World at that inhuman Rate: But *Abraham* at length being over-ruled by God's Command, hearkened to the Voice of his Wife, and delivered the Boy (who was not yet big enough to ſhift for himſelf) into the Arms of his Mother, gave her a Proportion of Water and Bread for a Subſiſtence, and ſo turned them looſe to ſeek their Fortunes. They had not travelled far before their Proviſions failed them. The Water was all ſpent, the Child ready to periſh for want of Drink, and the Woman in ſhort at her Wit's end. In this Diſtreſs, ſhe laid the Boy down at the Foot of a Fir-Tree, and went off her ſelf to be out of diſtance of ſeeing ſo diſmal a Spectacle as that would have been of her poor Child in his laſt Agonies. While *Hagar* was in this Anxiety and Deſpair, there came an Angel to her, which ſhewed her a Fountain hard by, and bad her be ſure to look carefully to her Charge, for it was a Matter of great Moment, and her own Happineſs depended in a high meaſure upon the Safety of that Child. This Conſolation put the Woman ſomewhat in Heart again, ſo that ſhe went wandering on ſtill, till by Providence ſhe fell into the Company of Shepherds that contributed very much to her Relief.

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[a] Gr. Βηρσουβαί.

Hagar *and* Iſhmael *ſent away.*

Hagar *in Deſpair, and an* Angel *comforts her.*

When *Iſhmael* was grown up to Man's Eſtate, his Mother married him to an *Ægyptian* (being her own Country Woman) who brought him *twelve Sons*, [a] *Nabaioth*, *Cedar*, *Abdeel*, *Mabſamas*, *Idumas*, *Maſmaus*, *Maſſaus*, *Chodad*, *Theman*, *Jetur*, *Naphaiſh*, *Cadmas*; who had in their Poſſeſſion all the Lands from *Euphrates* to the Red Sea. The Country is called *Nabathæa*: And theſe were they that gave both Reputation and Names to the Nation and Tribes of the *Arabians*, by their own Valour and the Dignity of *Abraham*.

Iſhmael'*s twelve Sons*, Gen. 25.

CHAP. XIV.

God commands Abraham *to ſacrifice his beloved Son* Iſaac. Iſaac'*s Faith and Obedience, and the Bleſſing that attended it.*

ISAAC was the only begotten Son of *Abraham*, the Child and the Bleſſing of his Age, and infinitely dear to him out of both thoſe Reſpects. But in the mean time, this tender Affection of the Parents was both anſwered and juſtified by the early Piety, Virtue, and Reverence (towards God and Man) of a Child that deſerved it. When *Abraham* found himſelf ſecured in the Proſpect of ſo excellent a Succeſſor, he was no longer ſolicitous for his own Life, or the things of this World, but ſet up his whole Reſt upon the hope of his next Heir, with a cheerful Diſpoſition to reſign his Authority and Poſſeſſions to his beloved Son, and his very Being to God and his good Pleaſure. But it pleaſed the Lord ſtill after all this to put him to ſome further Tryal of his Integrity, and ſo laying before him the great Things he had already done for him, the Victories, the Wealth, the Happineſs, and the Child that he had given him: He demanded, in fine, his dear and only Son *Iſaac* for a *Sacrifice*, and to be offered upon a Mountain of *Moriah*, upon an Altar there, as the uttermoſt Teſt of his Faith and Obedience. Now *Abraham*, that lov'd and honour'd God without any Conditions or Reſerve, made no Difficulty of reſolving without the leaſt ſcruple to deliver up the Life of his Son to the Will of his Maker, and the Author of Life it ſelf. So that without one Word ſpeaking to his Wife or any of his People, either of the Command, or of his Purpoſe, leſt peradventure they might oppoſe him in it, he took his Son *Iſaac* with two of his Servants, and an Aſs laden with Neceſſaries for the Sacrifice, and with them ſet forward two Days Journey toward the Mountain. But on the third Day coming within ſight of it, he left his Servants below in the Field, and took *Iſaac* alone with him up the Mountain, (upon this Mountain *David* afterward erected a Temple.) *Iſaac* was now twenty five Years of Age, and taking Notice as he was preparing for the Altar, that all things were ready for the Sacrifice, but no Sacrifice to be ſeen, he asked his Father what Offering he intended, for he ſaw none. *Abraham* made anſwer that God would provide one, in whoſe Power it was to give to thoſe that want, and to take away from thoſe that have abundance, and all for the beſt to them that put their Truſt in God: Wherefore he

God trys Abraham, Gen. 22.

God demands Iſaac *for a* Sacrifice.

Abraham'*s Faith and Obedience.*

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[a] Gen. 25. 13, 14, 15. *Nebajoth*, *Kedar*, *Abdeel*, *Mibſam*, *Miſhma*, *Dumah*, *Maſſa*, *Hadar*, *Tema*, *Jetur*, *Naphiſh*, *Kedemah*.

might depend upon it, that God would find the Sacrifice, if he ſhould vouchſafe to accept of an Oblation.

Abraham's *Diſcourſe to* Iſaac *before the* Altar.

So ſoon as the Wood was laid, and every thing ready. “My dear Son (*ſays he*) thou haſt been the Child of many Prayers to me, and ſince thy coming into the World I have ſpared for nothing in thy Nurture and Education. There is not any Happineſs I have more wiſhed for than to ſee thee ſettled in a conſummated ſtate of Age and Reaſon, and when ever God ſhall take me to himſelf, to leave thee in Poſſeſſion of my Authority and Dominions; but ſince it hath been the Will of God, firſt to beſtow thee upon me, and now to call thee back again, my dear Son, acquit thy ſelf generouſly under ſo pious a Neceſſity. It is to God that thou art dedicated and delivered up on this Occaſion, and it is the ſame God that now requires thee of me in Return for all the Bleſſings and Favours he had ſhower'd down upon us both in War and Peace. It is but according to the Law of Nature, for all that are born to dye; and a more glorious end thou canſt never have than to fall by the Hand of thine own Father, a Sacrifice to the God and Father of the Univerſe, who hath rather choſen to receive thy Soul into a bleſſed Eternity upon the Wing of Prayers and ardent Ejaculations, than ſuffer thee to be taken away by Sickneſs, War, Paſſion, or any other of the common Chances of Mankind. Conſider it well, and thou wilt find, that in that heavenly Station to which thou art now called, thou may'ſt make thy ſelf the true Support of thy aged Father, and that inſtead of my Son *Iſaac*, I ſhall have God himſelf for my Guardian.

Iſaac's *Reſignation.*

Iſaac attended to all that had been ſaid with a Conſtancy and Reſignation becoming the Son of ſo great a Father; declaring, that if he ſhould not frankly deliver up that Life to God and his Father, which they themſelves had given him, he had better never have been born: Nay, that it was at the Devotion even of his Father alone, if he ſhould require it. With theſe Words *Iſaac* advanced up to the Altar, and preſented himſelf to the Slaughter: But upon the very Point of doing the Execution, God Almighty called aloud to *Abraham* and prevented it. “He bad him hold his Hand, and ſpare his Son; for (*ſays he*) I did not require it of you out of any Delight I take in human Blood, or that I would make a Father the Aſſaſſin of that very Child which I my ſelf had given him, but to ſee how far you would ſubmit to your God, in a Self-denial to your Inclination and Nature. But now ſince I find your Piety to be Proof againſt all Temptations, I do here confirm over again to you all my former Promiſes. I do accept of your Sacrifice; and for your ſelf and your Poſterity, my Providence ſhall never forſake you. I will bleſs your Son *Iſaac* with long Life, and make his Offſpring illuſtrious by a numerous Succeſſion of great and virtuous Men. His Poſterity ſhall give Laws to many Nations: They ſhall ſubdue the Land of *Canaan* by the Sword, and their Wealth and Renown ſhall make them the Envy of the reſt of the World.

A Voice from Heaven bids Abraham *hold his hand.*

A Ram *for a* Sacrifice *ſupplies the Place of* Iſaac.

So ſoon as God had made an end of ſpeaking, there appeared moſt unexpectedly a *Ram* for a *Sacrifice*. Upon this Surprize the Father and the Son in a tranſport of Joy exchanged all ſorts of Endearments; bleſſing God for his gracious Promiſes and infinite Goodneſs, and thereupon offering up their Sacrifice. That Duty being over, they returned to *Sarah*, and lived happily after it; for God's Bleſſing went along with them in whatever they did.

CHAP. XV.

The Death of Sarah.

The Age and Death of Sarah. Gen. 23.

IT was not long after this when *Sarah* dy'd, being a hundred twenty and ſeven Years of Age. She was buried in *Hebron*, and the *Canaanites* would have given her the Solemnity of an Interment, but *Abraham* choſe rather to buy a *Burying-Place* for himſelf and his Family, which he did of one *Ephraim* an Inhabitant of *Hebron*, at the Price of four hundred *Shekels*, where the Monuments of himſelf and divers of his Poſterity are yet to be ſeen.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Abraham, *and his Wife* Chetura, *and their Poſterity.* Iſaac *marries* Rebecca.

AFTER the Death of *Sarah*, *Abraham* took to Wife *Chetura*, by whom he had *ſix Sons*, Men of Induſtry and Wiſdom, their Names were [a] *Zembran*, *Jazar*, *Madan*, *Madian*, *Jozubac*, and *Suus*.

Suus had *two Sons*, *Sabathan* and *Dadan*, who had *Latuſim*, *Aſſur*, and *Luom*. *Madian* had *five Sons*, [b] *Epha*, *Opher*, *Enoch*, *Ebidas*, and *Eldas*.

Abraham's *Children by* Chetura, *and their Offſpring.* Gen. 25.

Theſe People, upon *Abraham's* advice, diſperſed themſelves into Colonies; and took Poſſeſſion of the Country of the *Troglodytes*, and that part of *Arabia Felix* which looks towards the *Red Sea*. There is a Report that this ſame *Opher* enter'd *Libya* with a ſtrong Army, and over-ran the Country. His ſucceſſors held it after him, and gave it the Name of *Aphrica*. *Alexander Polyhiſtor* ſpeaks much to this purpoſe, when he ſays that *Cleodemus* the Prophet (otherwiſe called *Malchus*) in a Hiſtory of the *Jews*, that he has Written after the manner of *Moſes* their Law-giver, makes mention of ſeveral Children that *Abraham* had by *Chetura*, and three by *Name*, i. e. *Apheran*, *Surim*, and *Japhran*. The *Syrians* taking their Names from *Surim*; and the City of *Aphra* and *Aphrica* theirs from *Japhran* and *Apheran*. Theſe are the People that are ſaid to have fought againſt *Libya* and *Antæus* under the command of *Hercules*. And the Story goes, that this *Hercules* marryed the Daughter of *Aphra*, and had by her *Dedor* the Father of *Sophon*, from whence the barbarous *Sophaces* took their Name.

Syrians *from* Surim: Aphrica *from* Apheran.

The Fable of Hercules.

Iſaac was at this Time about forty Years of Age, when his Father had ſome thoughts of marrying him to *Rebecca* the Daughter of *Bathuel*, who was the Son of his Brother *Nachor*. The Reſolution being taken to attempt that Match, he ſends the moſt try'd and truſty Servant he had on the Errand; but firſt gives him his Oath in Form, to be true to his Truſt, which was performed by putting his Hand under his Thigh, according to the cuſtom of the Country. This being done he gives him his Commiſſion and Inſtruction, with full Power and Authority, to treat and conclude; furniſhes him with Choice and Rich Preſents, and Neceſſaries for his Journy, and ſo ſets him forward. His way lay thorough *Meſopotamia*, which betwixt dirt in the Winter, want of Water in the Summer, and the inevitable Danger of Robbers, if People be not very wary, is a lewd and an incommodious Paſſage for Travellers. But yet after all theſe Difficulties, he came at laſt to *Charran*, where, upon entering the *Suburbs*, he ſaw a great many Maiden Creatures trouping to the Wells for Water: Upon which ſight, he put up a mental Prayer to God Almighty deſiring that if Heaven approved of the Match he came about, he might find *Rebecca* in that Company; and further, that he might know which was ſhe, by her giving him Water upon his deſiring it, and the reſt refuſing. This thought ran in his Head till he came to the Well, where the Virgins being gotten together, he begged of them One by One to beſtow the Charity of a ſup of Water upon him. One ſaid, ſhe had taken a great deal of pains to get it, and could not part with it ſo eaſily; another, that ſhe drew Water for her ſelf and not for other People, ſome had one excuſe, ſome another, but all upon the Negative, till at laſt, one ſingle Virgin took up her Companions for want of good Nature and Civility to a Stranger, and asked them whether they had been brought up among reaſonable Creatures or Brutes; that could deny a Stranger the common Rights of Hoſpitality for ſo ſmall a matter: Whereupon ſhe herſelf, with great Courteſy and Fairneſs, gave the Stranger to drink. This was as Auſpicious an entrance upon his Buſineſs as he could have wiſh'd: But yet for ſureneſs ſake, after the Prologue of a decent reſpect to the Perſon of the Virgin, and a Declaration how much he was beholding to her for the Pains ſhe took to oblige a Stranger, he came by Degrees to the more neceſſary Point of enquiring into her Family and Extraction, bleſſing the happy Parents of ſo gracious a Daughter, with a thouſand Prayers that they might live to beſtow her where ſhe would enjoy all the Comforts of a marryed Eſtate in the Love of a kind virtuous Husband, and in a numerous ſtock of obedient

Abraham *propounds a Match for his Son* Iſaac *with* Rebecca *the Daughter of* Bathuel. Gen. 24.

The Formality of an Oath.

The Civility and good Nature of Rebecca.

What paſſed betwixt Abraham's Servant *and* Rebecca.

Children.

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[a] Scr. *Zimran*, *Jokſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhbak* & *Shuah*. And *Jokſhan* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*. And the Sons of *Dedan* were *Aſhurim*, and *Letuſhim*, and *Leummim*. And the Sons of *Midian*; *Epha*, and *Epher*, and *Hanoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah*: all theſe were the Children of *Keturah*. [b] Gr. Ἡφᾶς, Ὀφρὴν, Ἀνώχης, Ἐβίδας, Ἐλδᾶς.

Rebecca *left by* Bathuel *under the Care of* Laban.

Laban *entertains* Abraham's *Servant.*

He Communicates his Instructions.

The Match concluded, and Rebecca *deliver'd up.*

Children. *Rebecca*, without any Ceremony at all, ſpoke frankly to his Queſtion. " My Fathers Name (*ſays ſhe*) was *Bathuel*; but he dy'd a long Time ſince, and left " my Mother and my Self, with the whole Family and Fortune, under the Care of a " Brother of mine yet living, whoſe name is *Laban*, and mine *Rebecca*. The Man was overjoy'd at what he had heard and ſeen, being now fully aſſured that God would proſper his Journy. Upon this he took out a Chain, and ſome other Ornamental curioſities, that Women of *Rebecca's* Age are commonly well enough pleaſed with, and made the Virgin a preſent of them; both as an Inſtance of eſteem for her ſingular Goodneſs, and as an Acknowledgment of the particular Obligation ſhe had lay'd upon him. He made it his requeſt then, that for that Night he might be permitted to lodge with the Family of her Relations; for it grew late, and would be ill travelling further; beſide that he had a Charge of rich Jewels with him, which he could not think any where ſafer than in the hands of Perſons of ſo approv'd an Integrity: for he preſumed to make a Judgment of the Honour and Juſtice of the Mother and Son, by the Goodneſs that he had experimented in her ſelf; adding further, that he hoped there would be no ſcruple made of entertaining a Lodger that would bear his own Charge, without any Expence or Burden to the Family. The Maid reply'd that he was much in the Right to think well of the Humanity of her Relations; but ſhe deſired him however to have a better thought of their Generoſity; for it ſhould coſt him nothing: But ſhe would nevertheleſs, *ſhe ſaid*, ask her Brother's leave to introduce him. Which was ſoon granted, and done accordingly. He was no ſooner brought in, but *Laban's* Servants were ordered to look to his Camels, and himſelf taken into ſupper with the Maſter of the Houſe. The Gueſt, when that was over, addreſſed himſelf to the Son and the Mother of the Family after this manner. " I am come hither, (*ſays he*) from *Abraham*, the Son of " *Thares*, and your Kinſman; for *Nachor* (*directing to the Woman*) the Grandfather of " your Children was *Abraham's* Brother by the ſame Father and Mother. This *Abraham* " is my Maſter, and from him am I come now, with a Commiſſion to propoſe a Marriage betwixt this Virgin here, and his only legitimate Son and Heir. He could " have had his Choice of the moſt conſiderable Matches in his own Country, but out " of a Preference to thoſe of his own Blood, he has rather made this Election. Pray " do not oppoſe it, for God himſelf hath appeared in favour of it; and it was a " ſtrange Direction from Heaven that brought me both to this Virgin and to your " Houſe; over and above ſeveral propitious Circumſtances in my Journy. As I was " coming into this Town, I ſaw a great many Maidens going to fetch Water, when I " pray'd in my Heart that I might find this very Virgin; and Providence brought me " to her: So that this Marriage is as good as made in Heaven already, and wants only your *Authority to confirm it.* This Propoſal was ſo advantageous, and deſireable in itſelf, and ſo evidently agreeable to the Will of God, that *Rebecca* was deliver'd up to the Servant upon the Conditions of the Treaty, who carry'd her home with him to *Iſaac*, being now the Lord and Maſter of *Abraham's* Poſſeſſions; for the Children that *Abraham* had by *Chetura* were gone to plant in other Provinces.

CHAP. XVII.

The Death of Abraham.

The Death, Age, and Burial of Abraham Gen. 25.

A*BRAHAM* liv'd but a ſhort Time after the Marriage of *Iſaac*: A Man famous for his Piety, and Virtue, and beloved both of God and Man. His Age was 175 Years when he dy'd. He was bury'd at *Hebron*, and lay'd by his Wife *Sarah*; *Iſaac* and *Iſhmaël* taking upon them the Care of his Burial.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Birth of Eſau *and* Jacob. Eſau's *Wives.* Iſaac *ſends him a hunting; but being in Tears, and* Dim-ſighted, Jacob *perſonates and ſupplants* Eſau; *and the Father bleſſes one for the other.*

SOON after the Deceaſe of *Abraham*, *Iſaac's* Wife was found to be with Child; and her bigneſs ſo extraordinary, that *Iſaac* in great trouble beſought God to reveal unto him the meaning of it. He received for Anſwer that ſhe ſhould bring forth Twins, and that from thoſe two Twins, two Nations ſhould deſcend of their own Names; and that in Time, the younger ſhould be the Greater of the two. This fell out accordingly not long after; for *Rebecca* had Twins; the elder of them all Hairy from Head to Foot, and the other catching him by the Heel as he was coming into the World. The elder was the Father's Darling and his Name *Eſau* or *Seir*, (the Word in *Hebrew* ſignifies *Hair)* and the younger whoſe Name was *Jacob*, the Mother's.

Jacob *and* Eſau *Twins*. Gen. 25.

There happened in thoſe Days to be a terrible Famine in the Land of *Chanaan*, and at the ſame time great Plenty of every Thing in *Ægypt*; whither *Iſaac* would fain have gone; but God diverted him, and ſo he went to *Gerar*. King *Abimelech* treated him there at firſt, with all appearance of Reſpect imaginable, even upon the ſcore of that ancient League of Friendſhip and Allyance that had formerly paſſed betwixt himſelf and *Abraham*. But this was too hot to hold, in a Man that ſacrificed all other Conſiderations to his *Envy*. He found that *Iſaac* was more in God's favour than himſelf, and ſo turn'd him off. *Iſaac* perceived that this change of Humour was only Envy at the Bottom, and ſo withdrew to a Place called the *Valley*, not far from *Gerar*. And as he was there digging for Water, *Abimelech's* Shepherds brake in violently upon him, and ſtopt his proceeding. He had no mind to contend, ſo that the Shepherds had the better of him. Upon this, he went a little further, and digg'd once again, and was a ſecond Time interrupted by *Abimelech's* Shepherds as before: Whereupon he thought it good Diſcretion to give off there too, and wait the Providence of a more favourable Occaſion. After this he made a third Attempt, and the King then gave him leave to dig, and he gave the place the Name of [a] *Rooboth*, (as much as to ſay, *Large* or *Spacious*.) And for the other Places beforementioned, the former he call'd [b] *Eſcon (*or *Contention*;) and the other [c] *Sitenna*, which ſignifies *Enmity*,

A Famine in Chanaan. Gen. 26

Iſaac *goes to* Gerar. Gen. 26.

Abimelech *kind to him at firſt, and then breaks with him.*

Rooboth.

Eſcon.

Sitenna.

Iſaac's Power, Intereſt and Reputation encreaſing dayly, *Abimelech* had an eye upon him as a growing Adverſary; for he was conſcious of his own Inſincerity, and not without ſome Apprehenſion that the Countenance he ſhewed at firſt, compared with his unfriendly dealing afterward, might provoke him to a Revenge; beſide that he would not willingly have ſuch a Man his Enemy. Theſe Things premiſed, *Abimelech* went directly to *Iſaac*, with a Motion to make a new friendſhip with him; taking one of his great Officers and Friends along for a Party to the Treaty. *Iſaac* was eaſily prevail'd upon to lay aſide all old Grudges, out of a Reverence to the Memory of the former Friendſhips and good Offices that had paſſed betwixt *Abimelech* and his Father; and ſo all Things were made up.

Abimelech *renews a League with* Iſaac.

Eſau, the beloved Son of his Father *Iſaac* at forty Years of Age marryed two Wives, *Adah* the Daughter of *Elon*, and [d] *Alibama* the Daughter of [e] *Esbion*; Perſons of great Blood and Fame among the *Canaanites*. Now this he did upon his own head and fancy, without ever conſulting his Father; or if he had, he would hardly have given his conſent; having taken up a firm Reſolution, never to enter into any ſort of Allyance with that People. But however the Thing being done, could not be undone; and *Iſaac* thought it his beſt Courſe rather to paſs it over in Silence, without Noiſe, than to put it to the Extremity of making him turn his Women away.

Eſau's *Wives* Gen. 26. & 28. & 39.

Iſaac was now grown old, and very dim-ſighted, if not quite blind. In this Condition he call'd his Son *Eſau* to him; and prefacing what he had to ſay, with ſomewhat of Reflection upon his Age and Infirmity, he fell to bemoaning himſelf, that he was not able to ſerve God now as he had done formerly; and after this, he order'd his Son *Eſau* to go out a Hunting, and get him ſome good thing for his Supper, ſaying that he would afterwards give him his Prayers and his Bleſſing, and beſeech God to be his Comforter and Protector to his Live's end. *My own end*, ſays he, *is not far off; the Time uncertain, and I cannot ſpend the little Remainder of my Life better, than in Prayers for thy Welfare.* *Eſau* went preſently out to ſee what he could catch, and in the mean while, *Rebecca* bethought her ſelf of a way to transfer the Bleſſing to *Jacob* that was intended for *Eſau*, out of a Partiality of Affection to the one rather than the other. So ſhe bad *Jacob* (but without the Privity, and againſt the very Deſign of *Iſaac)* go out and kill a Kid, and have it dreſſed ready for Supper. *Jacob* did what he was commanded, as an Obedient Son to his Mother in all Caſes; and when Supper was ready, having put Kid's Skins over his Arms and Hands, that he might ſeem Hairy, (the Twins being otherwiſe ſo alike that there was no diſtinguiſhing betwixt them) he ſet it before his Father; but with a thouſand Difficulties in his Head for

Iſaac *ſends* Eſau *a Hunting*. Gen. 27.

Jacob *perſonates* Eſau.

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[a] Scr. *Rehoboth*. [b] Scr. *Eſek*. [c] Scr. *Sitnah*. [d] Scr. *Aholibamah* the Daughter of *Anah* the Daughter of *Zibeon*. [e] Or *Sileon*,

fear of being taken in the Impoſture, and drawing a Curſe upon himſelf inſtead of a Bleſſing. *Iſaac* it ſeems, taking notice of ſomewhat very particular in his Son's *Voice*, bad him come to him; and upon finding his *Hands* all *Hairy* paſſed this Reflection upon it. *The Voice* (ſays he) *is* Jacob's *Voice, but the Hands are the Hands of* Eſau: And ſo without any further Suſpicion, he went to Supper; and after that, offer'd up a Prayer ſuitable to the Occaſion, in Words to this Effect. “Eternal God, the Creator of all Things that are made! Thou that haſt been ſo gracious and bountiful to my Father, to my ſelf, and to our Offſpring; promiſing and poſſeſſing us of all good Things, and giving us Aſſurances of greater Bleſſings to come: Lord, make thy Words good to us by Effects, and do not deſpiſe thy Servant for his preſent Infirmities, which make him the more ſenſible of his need of thy Support; preſerve this Child from all evil, in thy Mercy and infinite Goodneſs; give him a long and a happy Life; bleſs him with all worldly Enjoyments that may be for his good; make him a Terror to his Enemies, and an Honour and a Comfort to his Friends.

Jacob *defrauds* Eſau *of his* Bleſſing.

Iſaac had no ſooner ended his Prayer for *Eſau*, as he thought, and meant it, but in comes *Eſau* himſelf from the Chace, which gave *Iſaac* to underſtand his Miſtake: But he did not think fit to make any Words of it. When *Eſau* came to be informed of what had paſſed, he beſought his Father only to beſtow the ſame Bleſſing upon himſelf over again, which he had pronounced upon his Brother. But *Iſaac* excuſed himſelf, that he could not either transfer, or take away the Benediction he had already conferred. This Diſappointment drew Tears from *Eſau*, and his Sorrow ſo far wrought upon the Tenderneſs of his Father, that all the Bleſſings he had left, he gave him: That is to ſay, he told him, that he ſhould be a famous Hunter, and a great Man at Arms; and that he himſelf and his Poſterity ſhould gain immortal Honour by their Exploits that way; but, for a Cloſe, that he muſt be ſubject to his younger Brother.

Eſau's *Diſappointment.*

Jacob was exceedingly afraid of a Revenge from his Brother, and *Rebecca* no leſs conſcious of the provoking Affront that was put upon him; ſo that ſhe bethought her ſelf of this way to divert the Danger of it. She prevail'd with *Iſaac* to diſpatch *Jacob* away into *Meſopotamia*, to take a Wife out of her Alliance there. *Eſau* finding how he had diſobliged his Father by matching with the *Canaanites* (being his mortal Enemies) had now taken to Wife [a] *Baſſemath* the Daughter of *Iſhmael*, whom he lov'd the beſt of all his Wives.

Jacob *withdraws for fear of his Brother.*

Eſau *marries an* Iſhmaelitiſh *Woman.*

CHAP. XIX.

Jacob *ſent into* Meſopotamia *to treat about a Match with* Rachel, Laban's *Daughter. His Viſions upon the Way. He treats with* Laban, *who impoſes upon him.*

Jacob *treats about a Match with the Daughter of* Laban. Gen. 28.

BY the Advice of *Rebecca*, and at her Inſtance, and with the Conſent of *Iſaac* too, *Jacob* was ſent away into *Meſopotamia* to treat about a Match there with the Daughter of *Rebecca*'s Brother *Laban*. But the *Feud* being at that time ſo fierce and violent betwixt that Family and the *Canaanites*, and *Jacob*'s Way lying through the Land of *Canaan*, he durſt not venture himſelf in any of their Houſes upon his Journey, but took up his Lodging in the open Air; and a Stone, or ſome Hillock of Earth, ſerv'd him for his Pillow. As he lay thus at Reſt, he had one Night in his Sleep this Viſion. He dreamt that he ſaw a Ladder ſtanding upon the Earth, and the upper end of it reaching the Heavens, with certain glorious Figures, that to the View ſeemed more than human, deſcending by the Rounds of it: And from the Top, God himſelf manifeſtly appearing and ſpeaking to *Jacob* by Name in theſe Words. “It is not for you *Jacob*, that have in your Veins the Blood of your Father and Grandfather *Iſaac* and *Abraham*, Men famous for their Faith and Virtue, to deſpond under any Diffidence of my Care for you in your preſent Troubles, but rather to ſupport your ſelf in hope of better Things. Depend upon me for your Protector, and aſſure your ſelf, that your beſt Days are yet to come. It was I that brought *Abraham* out of *Meſopotamia* hither, when he was forc'd away by his Relations; it was I that crown'd your Father with Bleſſings; and it is I again that reſolve to do as much for you: Wherefore take Courage, and purſue your Journey under my Conduct and Direction. The Marriage you are now going about ſhall ſucceed to your Wiſh; you ſhall be the Father of dutiful Children, and your Iſſue

Jacob's *Viſion of the Ladder.*

God ſpeaks to Jacob.

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[a] Gr. Βασεμμάθα, Scr. *Baſhemath.*

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" ſhall encreaſe without Number. This Land will I give to them and their Poſterity; " and they ſhall people the whole Earth, and the Iſlands as far as the Sun ſhines: " Wherefore let no Labour, or Danger diſcourage you; but commit your ſelf to my " Care, not only at this preſent, but more hereafter.

Jacob makes a Vow.

Bethel, or the Houſe of God.

Jacob was tranſported with Joy at this Viſion and Prediction, and anointed the Stone in Honour of that bleſſed Revelation; making a Vow at the ſame time, to erect an Altar there, and offer Sacrifice upon it, if ever it ſhould pleaſe God to bring him home again: Which Vow he performed at his coming back; preſenting to God the *Tenths* of all his Goods for an Oblation. And further, for a Memorial in Reverence to the Place and what befel him there, he gave it the Name of *Bethel*, or *the Houſe of God*.

Jacob *comes to* Charran, Gen. 29.

He finds Rachel *the Daughter of* Laban.

Their Diſcourſe.

Rachel's *incomparable Beauty.*

Jacob *gives her an Account of the two Families.*

Rachel's *tenderneſs toward* Jacob.

Jacob's *Diſcourſe with* Laban.

The Cauſe of Jacob's *withdrawing himſelf.*

Upon this, he went forward, and after a tedious Paſſage, he came to *Charran*, where he found ſeveral Shepherds, young Men and Maidens, about a Well, and drawing Water. He joyn'd the Company, deſired a little Drink of them, and ſo by little and little fell to diſcourſe with them, whether they knew one *Laban* thereabouts or no; and if he were yet living. They all ſaid they knew him, and ſo muſt every Body, for he was a noted Man: *His Daughter and they fed their Sheep together; and it was a Wonder ſhe was not come yet.* While they were talking thus, up comes the Daughter her ſelf, with the Shepherds about her. They told *Jacob*, that was ſhe, and then acquainted the Virgin how that Stranger there had been enquiring about her Father. The Maiden upon the ſight of *Jacob*, with the Gayety of an innocent young Creature, fell to asking him Queſtions, *who he was, whence he came, and what was his Buſineſs*, and demanding of him in a very obliging way, if there were any thing they could ſerve him in. *Jacob* was mightily pleaſed, both with the Kinſwoman and the good Grace of her Civility, but ſo much more with the Charms of her incomparable Beauty, that at firſt ſight he fell directly in love with her; and thus accoſted her. " There hath been (*ſays he*) a great Friendſhip betwixt our two " Families, at leaſt (if you fair Virgin, are indeed the Daughter of *Laban*) of a Date " long before either you or I were born; for *Abraham*, *Aran*, and *Nachor* were the Sons " of *Thares*; and *Bathuel* your Grandfather was *Nachor*'s Son: *Iſaac* is my Father, " begotten by *Abraham* upon *Sarah* the Daughter of *Aran*: And we are nearer yet ſtill; " for *Rebecca* my Mother, is the Siſter of your Father *Laban*, by the ſame Father and " Mother: So that in the Degrees of Affinity, you and I are Couſin-Germans; and I " am now come to greet you with all the Offices of a Friend and a Kinſman toward " the renewing of *that kind Agreement* of ancient Date. This brought into the Mind of the Virgin what ſhe had often heard her Father ſay of *Rebecca*; and taking for granted how glad her Parents would be to hear any Tydings of that excellent Perſon, the Paſſion ſhe had for the pleaſing of her Father tranſported her to ſuch a Degree, that ſhe burſt out into Tears; took *Jacob* about the Neck and kiſs'd him, and then holding him in her Arms ſpake to him after this manner. " Thou art (*ſays ſhe*) " the Bearer of the moſt agreeable News to my Father and the whole Family, that " ever came under our Roof. Good Man! He was hardly ever well but when he was " ſpeaking of thy Mother; and I dare ſay, he would not exchange the Felicity thou " haſt now brought him for any other Happineſs under the Son. Wherefore (*ſays " ſhe*) not to deprive him any longer of the Joy thou art to carry him, follow me " immediately. With theſe Words, ſhe brought him to *Laban*; where he was made known to his Uncle, ſafe in the Hands of his Friends, and thoſe Friends of his overjoy'd at the Providence of ſo unexpected a Surprize. They had not been many Days together, when *Laban* made an open Profeſſion of the Satisfaction he had in his Converſation, and that it was ſo great, he wanted Words to expreſs it. After this Declaration, his Curioſity made him a little inquiſitive how he came to leave his Father and Mother in their extream Age; and when they could worſt ſpare him; but aſſuring him withal, that whatever he could do in the World for him was at his Service. *Jacob* upon this, to ſatisfy his Enquiry, gave him in ſhort the whole Hiſtory of their Family. " My Mother *Rebecca* (*ſays he*) had two Twin Sons, *Eſau* and my ſelf. *Eſau* " being diſappointed of our Father's Bleſſing by an Invention of my Mother's, " to put me in my Brother's Place to receive it, (*my Father being blind*) he looks upon " me for this as a Supplanter of him in his Right, as well to his Father's Vows and " Prayers, as to a Kingdom and an Inheritance which God had aſſign'd him; and " for this Circumvention he reſolved to take away my Life. Now, to avoid this " Danger, and in Obedience to my Mother's Command, I am come hither for Sanctuary, as to the neareſt Relation ſhe hath in the World; and next under God, " I depend upon your ſelf for my Security. *Laban* promiſed him all ſorts of Aſſiſtance and Reſpects; not only for his own ſake, but as the Son likewiſe of his Dear Siſter, whom he lov'd tenderly at what diſtance ſoever. *Laban* told him further, that he would at preſent ſet him over his Flocks, and give him Authority over all the Keepers of his Sheep; and that if any Time hereafter he ſhould have a Mind to go back again, he might aſſure himſelf of a Conſideration and Reward anſwerable to the merit of ſuch a Kinſman. *Jacob* was well enough content to undergo the Labour, provided he might continue in the Family; and he told *Laban* as much, upon Condition he might have *Rachel* in Marriage for his Service: A Perſon that he lov'd not only for her ſingular worth and Virtue, but as the providential Inſtrument of bringing him into the Family; profeſſing that it was only his exceſs of Love that made him ſpeak what he did. Upon this proffer, *Laban* ſtruck the bargain immediately, with joy in the very Face of him; and ſolemnly proteſting, that of all Men living he was the Son in Law he would have choſen. Only he muſt have Patience to ſtay a while; for he ſhould be loth to ſend his Daughter ſo far as *Chanaan*; and truly he had allmoſt repented ſometimes of ſending his Siſter thither too. *Jacob* ſubmitted to wait, and ſo bound himſelf to his Father in Law for *ſeven Years*, to ſhew that he had no other ends in what he did, than of Love, Generoſity and Juſtice.

Jacob *to ſerve ſeven years for* Rachel.

Leah *put upon* Jacob *for* Rachel.

At the end of the Term, and upon the preciſe day, *Laban* prepares the Wedding-Feaſt, and late at Night in Drink and in the Dark put the Change upon *Jacob*, privately conveying the *Blear-Ey'd Elder Siſter* to his Bed inſtead of the *Younger*; and ſo they lay together. When *Jacob* came to find how he was impos'd upon, he fell to expoſtulating the matter with *Laban*, as a violation of common Faith and Juſtice: *Laban* only excuſing himſelf under the pretence of a Neceſſity without any Malice at all, it being the Cuſtom of the Country, he ſay'd, not to marry the younger ſiſter before the elder: But this, *ſays he*, ſhall be no obſtacle to your marrying of *Rachel*; for after ſeven Years more, you ſhall have her Barefac'd, and by daylight when you may ſee and know what you do. *Jacob*, that could do nothing but what his Paſſion gave him leave to do, bound himſelf over once again for the *other ſeven Years*, and that time being expir'd he had *Rachel* for his Wife.

Jacob *agrees to wait* ſeven years more.

The Original of the Iſraelites. Gen. 29. & 30.

Jacob's *Sons.* Gen. 30.

Theſe two Siſters had two Maidens put to them by *Laban*: [a] *Zilpah* was with *Leah*, and [b] *Bilhah* with *Rachel*; not in the quality of Servants, but yet in ſubjection to them. *Leah* was in great affliction to ſee that her Siſter had a greater ſhare in *Jacob's* affection than her ſelf; but liv'd in hope ſtill that the bringing of him Children, which was her daily Prayer, might gain him over to her: And in the end it did ſo; for being deliver'd of a Son, whom ſhe call'd [c] *Reuben* (or *Divine Mercy)* it wrought upon her Husband's Affections; and after this ſhe had three other Sons; *Simeon* (i. e. *God is favourable) Levi* (i. e. the *ſupport of Society)* and *Judah* (that is to ſay, *Thankſgiving.) Rachel* was mightly in pain leſt the fruitfulneſs of her Siſter might take off ſomewhat of *Jacob's* kindneſs to herſelf, and therefore contriv'd the putting of her Woman *Bilhah* in her place, which ſhe did, and *Jacob* had a Son by her, call'd *Dan* (i. e. the *Judgment of God.)* And a while after this, ſhe brought him *Nephthalim* (which ſignifies *Artificial*;) alluding to *Rachel's* contending with her Siſter for Children by Craft. *Leah* after this, encounter'd her Siſter in her own Way, and put in *Zilpah* to *Jacob*, by whom he had two Sons; the firſt *Gad* (or *by Chance)* and afterwards *Aſer* (which ſignifies *Beautifying)* becauſe they got honour by it.

Rachel *longs for* Leah's *Mandrakes.*

One Time, when the two Siſters were together, *Reuben* the eldeſt Son of *Leah* brought his Mother ſome *Mandrake-Apples*, which *Rachel* would fain have had a Part of; but the other told her in a fret, that it was too much to have her Husband and her Apples too; but *Rachel*, to pacify her, made her an offer of having *Jacob* to herſelf that Night. *Leah* accepted it, and they lay together accordingly. *Jacob* after this had more Children by *Leah*; as *Iſſachar (born for Hire) Zabulon (a Pledge of Love)* and a Daughter *Dinah*. *Rachel* ſtay'd a long Time, and at laſt brought forth a Son, whoſe name was *Joſeph* (or an *Addition.)*

Gen. 31.

Jacob *ſteals away from* Laban.

Rachel *takes her Father's* Idols *with her.* Gen. 31.

It was already full twenty Years that *Jacob* had ſerv'd his Father in Law, in the quality of an Overſeer of his Shepherds and Herdſmen: So that it was now high Time, he thought, to conſider of looking homeward again, and to take his Wives along with him. But this was to be privately managed; for *Laban* he was ſure would be againſt it. He was not willing to come to any Reſolution however, without conſulting his Wives firſt, to ſee how they ſtood affected to the Journey. But finding them willing, away they went together without any delay: The two Siſters and their Women, and all their Children, and all that belong'd to them, and *Jacob* alſo, with one half of the Flocks. *Rachel* took away with her the *Images* of the Gods of the

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[a] Gr. Ζαλφά. [b] Gr. Βάλλα. [c] Gr. Ρούβηλος. & Ρούβηνος.

Country, not out of any Reverence ſhe had for the *Idols*; for her Huſband had taught her better Things, and to contemn them; but ſhe fanſy'd to herſelf, that in caſe they ſhould be purſu'd and overtaken, by their help Matters might be brought to a Compoſition.

So ſoon as *Laban* had the News next Day of *Jacob's* departure by ſtealth, and the whole ſtory that went along with it, he call'd his People together in a fury, and with a ſtrong Body of Men immediately poſted after them. Upon the ſeventh Day in the Evening, they overtook them ſitting upon a little Hillock to reſt themſelves: but being late, *Laban* and his People betook themſelves quietly to their repoſe. That Night God appeared to *Laban* in his Sleep, and bad him have a care not to offer any Violence or Indignity to his fugitive Son in Law and Daughters, but rather diſpoſe himſelf to an amicable Agreement, and a better underſtanding with them: *And do not you deſpiſe them* (ſays the Apparition) *for the ſmallneſs of their Number; for if you do, I my ſelf will fight their Battles.*

Laban *overtakes* Jacob.

God warns Laban *in his Sleep not to hurt him.*

Laban the next Day early ſent for *Jacob*, (who came to him in Confidence) and told him of the Dream he had; paſſing from that Diſcourſe to reproaching and Upbraiding him. “You cannot forget (*ſays he*) that I took you into my Houſe a Begger, and a Wretch indigent to the laſt Degree: How generouſly I relieved and entertained you; marryed you to my Daughters as the higheſt Obligation to an inviolable Friendſhip and Reſpect that I could lay upon you: And pray how comes it now, that without any regard to your Mother and my Siſter, or to the Allyance of blood betwixt us; the Wives you have married out of my family; and the Children of thoſe Wives that call me Grandfather: How comes it (I ſay) after all this, that you ſhould treat me at laſt at the rate of a profeſt Enemy; ſeiſe my Goods, force my Daughters away from their Parents; carry off the very Gods of my Country; which my Fore-fathers have ever had ſo great a Veneration for, as Things moſt ſacred! for you have lay'd your ſacrilegious hands even upon them too; a violence, which any honourable Enemy would have forborn: And who is it that has done all this now, but my Kinſman, my Nephew, my Son in Law, my Gueſt, and the Man that I have fed at my own Table!

Laban *Reproaches* Jacob.

Jacob made anſwer, that he was not the only Man that had a natural Affection for his native Country; and that after ſo long an abſence, it was but reaſonable to bethink himſelf of looking home again. As to his Robbery and Injuſtice, he was willing to appeal to any other Judge than himſelf. Now, ſays he, I expected you ſhould have given me thanks rather, for managing and husbanding your Eſtate, than think much of the ſmall Pittance I have taken out of it. And pray do not call it a violence neither upon your Daughters; for as there is no evil Intention in the Caſe; ſo that which you miſtake for a Force, is only a conjugal Duty, both in my taking them away, and in their following their Husband and their Children. This he ſaid in his own defence, and for the reſt, only turn'd *Laban's* reproaches upon himſelf: Wondering and complaining, that an Uncle and a Father in Law, after the hardſhip of twenty Years Service; beſide what he willingly ſuffer'd for the ſake of *Rachel*, and more afterwards; ſhould at laſt treat his Son in Law and Kinſman at the rate of the worſt of Enemies. *Jacob* had great Reaſon undoubtedly to complain of *Laban's* ill uſage; who obſerving that God bleſſed *Jacob* in all he did, would be cajoling him with fine Words, promiſing one while to give him all the white Cattle that ſhould be produc'd; another while all the Black; and ſtill as *Jacob's* part came to be the greater, he went from his Word, and put it off to another Year, in hope to find it leſs then; but in Caſe it ſhould prove otherwiſe, with a Reſolution before hand to depart from his Promiſe.

Jacob *clears himſelf.* Gen. 31.

As to the *Images*, *Laban* having free Liberty to ſearch, *Rachel*, convey'd them away into the ſtuffing of the Saddle ſhe ſat upon, and pretended to have the Woman's Sickneſs at that Time upon her, *Laban* paſſed her over unviſited, upon a Preſumption, that in ſuch a Condition ſhe would not come ſo near any Thing that was ſacred. Upon this, *Laban*, enter'd into a League with *Jacob*; granted an act of Oblivion to his Daughters for all that was paſt, promiſing that for the future they ſhould be as dear to him as ever they were, and all this was confirmed with an *Oath*. The ſolemnity paſſed upon a certain Mountain, where a Pillar was erected in the form of an Altar, and they called it [a] *Galaad*, as the *Hill of Witneſs*, which Name was likewiſe given to the whole Country thereabouts. After the Ceremony of the League, they feaſted together, and upon parting *Laban* returned to his own Home.

Rachel *conveys away the* Idols. *A* League *betwixt* Laban *and* Jacob. Gen. 32.

Ga'aad, *or the* Hill of Witneſs.

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[a] Gr. *Γαλάδης*. Scr. *Galeed*.

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CHAP. XX.

The Greeting of Jacob *and* Eſau.

Jacob's *Viſions.* Gen. 32.

Jacob *complements, and preſents* Eſau. Gen. 33.

JACOB went forward on his way toward *Chanaan*, and had ſeveral propitious Viſions in his Paſſage, which gave him great hope of future Succeſs, calling the Place where he ſaw them, *the Field of God*. But the old Grudge of *Eſau* would not yet out of *Jacob's* Head, which made him ſend every where up and down to learn how his Brother ſtood affected to him; beſide ſeveral Meſſengers expreſs to find him out, with a Commiſſion in the Name of *Jacob* to addreſs to him to this effect. "That "*Jacob* finding himſelf under his Brother's Diſpleaſure, voluntarily abandon'd his "Country, and in Confidence, that after ſo long an Abſence, all paſt unkindneſſes "are bury'd and forgotten, he is now returning with his Wives, Children, Goods, "and Treaſure, to lay himſelf and all he has at his Brother's Feet; propoſing to "himſelf no greater Happineſs than to enjoy all the Bounties that God in his goodneſs "hath been pleaſed to beſtow upon him, in Common with his Brother.

Jacob *wreſtles with an* Angel.

Jacob *called* Iſrael, *or* Struggling.

Phanuel *or* the Face of God.

Upon the delivery of this Meſſage, *Eſau* in a Tranſport of Satisfaction advanced preſently with a Band of four hundred Men to meet his Brother. *Jacob* was not a little ſtartled at the number; but put himſelf in a Poſture however, with God's Grace and Aſſiſtance, to defend himſelf and his People in caſe of the worſt. He diſpoſed his Body into two Diviſions; the one to advance, and the other to follow, within Diſtance of either receiving, or ſeconding the *Van*, if it ſhould come to an Attaque. When he had ordered his People after this manner, he ſent his forerunners to his Brother with Preſents: Some for Uſe, others for Curioſity; as Creatures of Burden, and ſeveral ſorts of ſtrange Beaſts that might be acceptable for their Rarity ſake. Theſe were to march thin one after another, to make them appear more than they were; the Meſſengers having this eſpecially in Charge, to behave themſelves toward *Eſau* with all poſſible Smoothneſs and Reſpect; not doubting but by this Gentleneſs of proceeding to rectify all Miſunderſtandings, if they were not already compoſed. It was a whole Days Work to put *Jacob's* Troops in order, and at Night they marched. When they were got over the Torrent of *Jabac*, *Jacob* being a little behind, a *Spectre* laid hold of him, and *Jacob* wreſtling with this Apparition had the better of him; whereupon a Voice called out to him, and ſaid, "comfort thy ſelf in what thou haſt done, for it is not a common Adverſary that "thou haſt foyl'd, but an Angel of the Lord. Take it for a Preſage, that your Po"ſterity ſhall never fail, and that you ſhall never be overcome. Upon this, he gave him the Name of *Iſrael* (in Hebrew *Struggling*.) This was revealed to *Jacob* at his own Requeſt, and when he found it was an Angel ſpake to him, he beſought him to ſay ſomewhat further what was to befal him, which the *Spectre* did, and ſo diſappear'd. *Jacob* was ſo tranſported with what he had heard, that he gave this Place the Name of *Phanuel*, (or *the Face of God*.) He had a [a] Sinew of his Thigh ſtrain'd in this Encounter, for which Reaſon he would never afterward eat that Part of any Creature; and upon that account we do forbear it alſo to this Day.

The Greeting of Jacob *and* Eſau Gen. 33.

Upon the News of *Eſau's* being advanced, and drawing near to his Brother, *Jacob* order'd his Wives to go before with their Women, and to march apart from one another; ſo as to ſee the Action at a Diſtance, if *Eſau* ſhould think fit to put it to a Battle. But when *Jacob* ſaw that *Eſau* came towards him with Peace and Chearfulneſs in his Countenance, he went and threw himſelf at the Feet of his Brother. *Eſau* in the mean while embracing him, ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions about the Women and the Children; and gave him afterwards an earneſt invitation to his Father's Houſe. *Jacob* excuſed himſelf, that his Horſes and Cattle were tired out, and not in a Travelling Condition: And then *Eſau* departed to his Habitation at *Seir*; ſo called from the *Hairyneſs of Eſau*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Rape of Dinah. *The Children of* Jacob.

Jacob *goes to the* Tabernacles. Gen. 34.

JACOB for his Part went to the Place called the *Tabernacles*, which Name it bears to this day, and ſo to [b] *Sichem*, a City belonging to the *Chanaanites*. There happened to be a great Feſtival there, and *Dinah*, the only Daughter of *Jacob* went thither to ſee fine Sights, and the Faſhions of the Place. [a] *Sichem*, the Son of King [b] *Emmor* fell in Love with her; took her away and raviſh'd her, and liked her ſo well that he begg'd his Father's leave to marry her: Who not only gave his Conſent, but went himſelf to *Jacob* with the ſame Requeſt on his Son's behalf. *Jacob* was hard put to't what anſwer to give; for he could not in Conſcience marry his Daughter to a Stranger; neither could he refuſe any Thing decently to the Quality of a Royal Advocate. But upon ſecond Thoughts, he came to a Reſolution to deſire Time to conſider of it: So the King went away, little doubting of the ſucceſs. Upon this juncture, *Jacob* having acquainted his Sons with the Indignity that had been put upon their Siſter, and the requeſt of King *Emmor*; ſome of them were at their wits end what to adviſe: Others had not one word to ſay; only *Simeon* and *Levi*, the Brothers of *Dinah* by the ſame Mother, lay'd their Heads together, and agreed upon a deſign betwixt themſelves, without ſpeaking one word to their Father of it, which they executed as follows. Upon the next Feſtival at *Sichem*, late in the Night they fell upon the Guards, and eaſily maſter'd them, finding them drowſy and ſecure in their drunken Revels. They took Poſſeſſion of the City; kill'd all the Males they could meet with, the King and his Son being in the Number, ſparing only the Women; and upon the finiſhing of this Exploit fetch'd home their Siſter again to their Father. *Jacob* was ſtruck with Horror at the Barbarity of ſo Bloody an Action, and highly incenſed againſt his ſons for what they had done; but God comforted him in a Viſion, bad him have a good Heart, and purge his Tents, and not forget the Sacrifice he promiſed after his Dream in his *Meſopotamian* Progreſs. While *Jacob* was executing this Command, he fell upon *Laban*'s Gods, which *Rachel* had ſtollen and bury'd under a certain Oak, and he knew nothing of it. From thence he went, and ſacrificed at *Bethel*, where he had that divine Revelation upon his going into *Meſopotamia*. He went next to [c] *Ephrata*, where *Rachel* dy'd in Labour, and there he bury'd her, the only Perſon of his Relations that dying was not interr'd at *Hebron*. This loſs went to the Heart of him; but the Child liv'd, and he gave it the Name of *Benjamin*, [d] *from the great Grief it brought to the Mother*.

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[a] Joſ. τὸ νεῦρος τὸ πλατύ. See *Th. Bartholin.* de *Morbis Biblicis*, Cap. 2. [b] Gr. Σίκιμας, Scr. *Shechem*.

The Rape *of* Dinah.

The Maſſacre of the Sichemites, Gen. 34.

Rachel *dyes in Labour at* Ephrata.

Now the Children of *Jacob* were *Twelve Sons*, and *one Daughter*. *Eight* of them *Legitimate*; *Six* by *Leah* and *Two* by *Rachel*: *Four* more by *Zilpah* and *Bilhah*, *Two* by each. Their Names we have had already.

The Children of Jacob.

CHAP. XXII.

Iſaac *dy'd at the Age of* 185 *Years*; *and was bury'd in* Hebron.

FROM thence he went to *Hebron* in *Chanaan*, where *Iſaac* dwelt; but they two did not live long together. *Rebecca* dy'd before the arrival of *Jacob*, and *Iſaac* follow'd her not long after. *Eſau* and *Jacob* bury'd him, and lay'd him by his Wife in *Hebron*, in the burying Place of the Family. *Iſaac* was a Perſon acceptable in the ſight of God, and attended by ſpecial Providences in the Courſe of his Life, next to *Abraham*. He liv'd to the Age of a Hundred eighty five Years, in a ſteady and an Eminent courſe of Piety and Virtue.

The Death, Age, and Burial of Iſaac. Gen. 35.

[a] Gr. Συχέμης. [b] Scr. *Hamor*. [d] Gr. Ἐφραθάνη. [d] *This is falſe See* Gen. 35, 18 *in the* LXX *and* Cotelerius's *Notes to the ſecond Vol. of his* Eccleſ. Gr. Monumenta, *p.* 548. *See* Voſſius's Caſtigationum Auctarium, *p.* 363.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE SECOND.

From the Year of the World 2230, to 2454.

CHAP. I.

Eſau *and* Jacob *divide their Poſſeſſions:* Idumæa *falls to the former, and* Chanaan *to the other.*

Eſau *or* Edom. Gen. 35. 36.

AFTER the Death of *Iſaac*, the two Brothers kept no longer to their paternal Eſtates; but divided their Poſſeſſions; whereupon *Eſau* yielded up the City of *Hebron* to his Brother, and went and ſettled himſelf at [a] *Seir*. He was Lord and Maſter of *Idumæa* and gave it his own Name; that is to ſay, *Edom*, which was a kind of a By-name given him upon this following Occaſion. He had been out a hunting one Day in his Youth, and coming home miſerably tir'd and hungry, he found his Brother ordering a Soup of *Lentills* for his Dinner. They looked *Red*, and the very Colour of them ſet him a longing; and a begging with great Importunity, for a Meſs of this Pottage: But *Jacob* would not part with ſo much as one drop of them to his Brother, upon any other Terms than the relinquiſhing of his Birthright, which *Eſau* out of a pure ſtarving Hunger ſubmitted to, formally renouncing all the Privileges of his Seniority, with a ſolemn *Oath*. His youthful Companions made ſport with him for what he had done, and *Nick-named* him *Edom*, from the *Colour* of the *Soup*; (for *Edom* in *Hebrew* is as much as *Red*.) This Name went alſo to the Country under his Juriſdiction, though the *Greeks* have diſguiſed and *ſoftened* it a little, by calling it *Idumæa*.

Eſau *ſells his* Birthright. Gen. 25.

From Edom *came* Idumæa. Gen. 36.

The Race of Eſau. Gen. 36. *and* 1 Chron. *c.* 1.

He had *five Children* by *three Wives*. *Three* of them by his Wife *Alibama*; that is to ſay, [b] *Jaus*, *Jalom*, and *Core*. *Eliphaz* by *Adah*, and [c] *Raguel* by *Baſſemath*.

Eliphaz had *five Sons* lawfully begotten; *Theman*, [d] *Omar*, [e] *Saphus*, *Gotham*, and *Canaz*. For *Amalek* was a Baſtard that he had by [f] *Thamna* his Concubine. Theſe inhabited that part of *Idumæa* which was called *Gobolitis*, and the Country of the *Amalekites*, call'd ſo from *Amalek*. It was formerly a huge Tract of Ground that went under the Name of *Idumæa*; but the *Whole* as well as the *Parts* of it retain the Name ſtill of their *firſt Planters* and *Founders*.

CHAP. II.

Joſeph'*s Dreams. His Brothers envy him; and conſpire againſt his Life.*

Jacob *happy in himſelf and Family.*

JACOB was one of the happieſt Men upon the Face of the Earth, and not another in the whole Country to come near him, either for Wealth and Command, or for well-condition'd virtuous Children; who wanted nothing to make them great Men, as well for Action as for Councel: For they were indefatigably induſtrious, valiant even to the ſtricteſt Punctilio's of Generoſity and Honour, and to perfect the Character, endued with a Talent of Underſtanding that crowned all the reſt; nay, and ſo wonderful a Providence it was that attended them in all the Chances and Encounters of their Lives, that their very Sufferings and Afflictions turn'd to their Advantage, in being made the Inſtruments of Almighty God toward the bringing of our Fore-fathers out of the Bondage of *Ægypt*. The Story is this.

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[a] Gr. Σαείρα.
[b] Scr. *Jeuſh*, *Jaalam*, *Korah*.
[c] Scr. *Reuel*.
[d] Gr. Ὄμαρος.
[e] Scr. *Zepho*, *Gatam*, *Kenaz*.
[f] Scr. *Timna*.

Joſeph, the Son of *Jacob* by his Wife *Rachel*, was much the deareſt Child to his Father of all the Offspring, in regard of the Excellencies both of his Body and of his Mind; for, over and above the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, he was no leſs Eminent for an extraordinary Underſtanding. This exceeding Tenderneſs of the Father drew upon the Son the Envy and Ill-Will of the reſt of the Brothers, and this factious Malevolence was much embittered by [a] certain Dreams *Joſeph* had, that look'd like Preſages of his future Felicity and Greatneſs. This he communicated to his Brethren, and no Wonder if it ſtir'd up a dangerous Emulation againſt him. The Viſions were theſe.

Joſeph *his Father's Favourite.* Gen. 37.

The Envy of his Brethren.

His Father ſent him out one Day into the Field with his Brothers in Harveſt time to reap Corn; where he had a Dream quite of another Nature than thoſe phantaſtical Images of Things that appear to us commonly in our ſleep. He told this to his Brothers upon waking, and put it to them to expound it. Now the Dream was this. "Methought "*(ſays ſhe)* I ſaw this laſt Night, my own Sheaf of Wheat ſtanding upright, and all my "Brother's Sheaves come running towards it, and falling down before it, [b] as ſo many Ser"vants would do to their Maſter. There went no great Myſtery to the unriddling of this Dream; for they ſaw manifeſtly that it pointed at the Power and Authority which *Joſeph* in time to come was to have over them, even to the Degree of their becoming Subjects to him. But to their Brother they pretended Ignorance, and could make nothing of it they ſaid: Praying however within themſelves ſtill, that God would avert the *Omen*: Their hatred encreaſing all this while to *Joſeph*, yet more and more. Soon after this he had another Viſion, much more remarkable than the former, which was ſent from God for the confounding of their Malice. He ſaw in his ſleep, he thought, *the Sun, the Moon, and eleven Stars coming down from the Heavens to the Earth, and doing him Reverence. Joſeph* communicated this Viſion alſo to his Father, in the hearing of his Brothers, (miſtruſting no Miſchief from them all this while) telling him that he ſhould be very glad to underſtand what it meant. *Jacob* was highly delighted with the Dream, as a Preſage of happy and glorious Days to his Son *Joſeph*; and that the time [c] by God's Providence would come, when both Father and Brothers ſhould do him Reverence. By the *Sun* and *Moon* he underſtood the *Father* and *Mother*; under this *Analogy*, that the Office of the one was to *encreaſe* and *nouriſh*, and that of the other to give *form* and *force*: By the *eleven Stars* were meant the *eleven Brothers* that had their Light and Virtue from above too.

Joſeph's *Dream of the* Wheat Sheaves;

and of the Sun, Moon, *and eleven* Stars.

Preſages of Power and Greatneſs.

This was no idle Interpretation of *Jacob*'s; but it went to the very Heart of the Brothers of *Joſeph*, quite contrary to the Reaſon and Duty of the Matter in Queſtion; for they ſhould have joy'd in their Brother's Good as in their own, without envying thoſe Graces and Benefits to ſo near a Relation, that they would have been leſs troubled at in a Stranger. But their impious Malice was now come to that height, that without any more ado they reſolved to make him away, and this was the Courſe they intended to ſteer. So ſoon as Harveſt was over, they went with their Flocks to *Sichem* (an excellent feeding Ground) but without one Word to their Father of their remove. When they had been gone a pretty while, and no News or Certainty of what was become of them, *Jacob* fell into a terrible Apprehenſion, leſt ſome Miſchief might have befallen them, and ſo ſent *Joſeph* to enform himſelf punctually upon the whole Matter.

A Plot upon Joſeph's *Life.*

The Brothers ſteal away to Sichem.

CHAP. III.

Joſeph *ſold by his Brethren into* Ægypt, *where he's highly advanc'd.*

JOSEPH ſet forward upon his Journey according to his Command and Commiſſion, and great Joy there was among the Brethren at his Arrival, not as a Brother or a Meſſenger from their Father, but as an Enemy that God had delivered into their Hands; and they were for diſpatching him immediately too, without ſlipping the preſent Opportunity. *Reuben*, the eldeſt of the Brothers, found the Conſpiracy ſo ſtrong and deſperate, that he employ'd all his Art and Intereſt to prevent or at leaſt to divert it, ſetting before them the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, and the inſupportable *Odium* that they would draw upon themſelves by an Action ſo hateful in the ſight of God and Man. "It were an abominable Wickedneſs *(ſays he)* to take away the Life, even of a Stran"ger, but to deſtroy a Kinſman, and a Brother, and in that Brother a Father and a "Mother too, with the Grief for the Loſs of ſo good and ſo hopeful a Son;—be"think your ſelves *(ſays he)* if any thing can be more diabolical. Conſider, that there "is

Joſeph *finds out his Brethren.* Gen. 37.

Who preſs the killing of him out of hand.

Reuben *intercedes for him.*

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[a] *In the Original* ἥτε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἃ θεασάμενος, *&c.* Tanaquil. Faber, *reads the place thus:* ἥτε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων πρόῤῥησις, *&c. According to the* old Tranſlation *the* ἥτε *in this place and a little before ſhould be changed into* ἥτε. [b] *See* Caſaubon's Exercit. *againſt* Baronius. *An.* XXXIII. *Num.* XXXVII. [c] *In the Original* θεοῦ ζῶντος, *for which* Tanaq. Faber, *reads* θεοῦ διδόντος, *agreeable to the* old Tranſlat. *Deo largiente. See* Faber's Epiſt. *l.* 2. *p.* 305.

“is an All-ſeeing God, that will be the Avenger, as well as the Witneſs of this horrid Murder. Bethink your ſelves, *I ſay*, and repent of your barbarous Purpoſe, and conſult the Meaſures of Humanity and Moderation; for you muſt never think to go through with this flagitious Villany, and divine Vengeance not overtake you; for God's Providence is every where, in the Wilderneſs as well as in the City, and whereſoever there is a Man there is a God; beſide the Horror of a guilty Conſcience to purſue you wherever you go, and, whether it be good or bad, to bear you Company for ever. Or put the Caſe your Brother had done you wrong now, would you take away his Life for it? When it is our part to paſs over the Slips of our Friends, even though they may have fail'd in their Duty. But what, in fine, has *Joſeph* done againſt you? Or if he had, the Simplicity of his Youth might plead his Excuſe; and his Brothers, of all Men living, ſhould be his Friends and Guardians rather than his Murderers: And then the very ground of your Cruelty will be a ſevere Aggravation, even of the Sin it ſelf. His Life is to be taken away at preſent, for fear he ſhould be great and happy hereafter; nay, and to be taken away by them too that are to go ſharers with him. But the dreadful Judgment of all is yet behind, if you proceed to this execrable *Aſſaſſinate*, when God ſhall call you to an account for the Blood of an Innocent, that was ſpilt in a point blank Defiance of the Power and Goodneſs of God himſelf; for the ground of your Quarrel is only this, that God loves your Brother, and that he loves God. *Reuben* uſed all theſe Arguments and more, either to deter or diſſuade them from this accurſed Attempt; but when he found them ſo abſolutely inexorable, that neither Humanity, Reaſon, nor Religion could take place, and that the peremptory Sentence was pronounc'd, he bethought himſelf of a certain middle way of qualifying the Matter. Well (*ſays he*) ſince the Death of this young Man is abſolutely decreed; you have nothing elſe to do but to make the Sin, the Envy, and the Scandal of it as eaſy as you can; and therefore my Advice is rather to caſt him into the next Pit, and there leave him to periſh, without dipping your Hands in his Blood. The Motion was approv'd, and *Reuben* ty'd a Rope about *Joſeph*, by which he let him gently down into a dry Well, and preſently went his Way to look after his Sheep.

Joſeph's *Brethren inexorable.*

Joſeph *caſt into a dry Well.*

He had no ſooner turn'd his Back, but they had in ſight a Troop of *Arabian* Merchants (*Iſhmaelites*) that came from *Galaad* with Spices and *Syrian* Commodities that they were carrying into *Ægypt*. *Judas*, upon this occaſion, adviſed the taking of *Joſeph* out of the Well to ſell him to theſe Merchants, by which means they might be quit of him, and out of Danger of ever ſeeing him again; and at the ſame time waſh their Hands of his Blood. This was agreed to; ſo that they took up *Joſeph* out of the Well, and ſold him to the Merchants, being ſeventeen Years of Age, for twenty Pieces of Silver.

Taken out, and ſold to Arabian *Merchants.* Gen. 37, *and* 39.

Reuben was caſting about all this while how he might ſave his poor Brother, and without a Word ſpeaking to any of the reſt he went late at Night to the Well, where he call'd ſeveral times to *Joſeph*; but hearing no Anſwer, he preſently concluded that his Brothers had murder'd him, which afflicted him grievouſly. But when he came to know what had paſſed, he was very well ſatisfy'd with the Proceeding. The next thing now to be thought of was how to excuſe and palliate the Matter to the Father, ſo that the Brothers might not be ſuſpected. They debated this Point a while among themſelves, and came in the end to this Concluſion, that they ſhould take *Joſeph*'s travelling Coat, which they ſtripp'd him of when they put him in the Well; tear it and ſtain it with Goat's Blood, and ſo carry it to *Jacob*, that he might think his Son was devour'd by wild Beaſts. They went to the old Man with this Pretence, (who had heard ſomewhat already of his Son's Misfortune) ſhew'd him the Coat all torn and bloody, (at leaſt, ſaid they, if that were the Coat *Joſeph* went out in) and ſo took it for granted that he was deſtroy'd by wild Beaſts; for neither had they ſeen him, nor could they imagine what was become of him, as they pretended. *Jacob* comforted himſelf till now with the hope he might be taken Priſoner, or poſſibly that ſome gentler ill hap might have befallen him, but upon the ſight of the Blood and the Coat, (for it was *Joſeph*'s Coat he ſaid.) *Jacob* immediately cloathed himſelf in Sack-Cloth, and fell into ſo inconſolable a Paſſion of Sorrow and Lamentation, that he would not ſuffer either his Son's or his own Reaſon to comfort him.

Reuben's *care of his Brother.*

Joſeph's *Coat ſhew'd to* Jacob *all torn and bloody.*

Jacob's *Lamentation.*

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph *tempted to Lewdneſs by* Potiphar's *Wife.* *His exemplary* Continence.

Joſeph *ſold to* Potiphar. Gen. 39.

WHEN the Merchants that bought *Joſeph* came to *Ægypt*, they ſold him [a] to *Potiphar*, one of King *Pharaoh*'s great Officers; who treated him not, in the Matter either of Liberty or Diet, like an ordinary Servant, but with the Freedom of a gene-

[a] Gr. Πετεφρής.

rous Education; training him up to Letters, and in a ſhort time advancing him to be Overſeer of the Houſe. In this Change of Condition, his Mind and his Virtue were ſtill the ſame, and he gave to underſtand by the Prudence of his Conduct, that a wiſe Man will ſtand his Ground in all Fortunes. He was a Stripling of ſo gracious a Perſon and ſo agreeable an Addreſs, that *Potiphar*'s Wife fell downright in love with him; making no Queſtion, but upon the firſt opening of her Mind to him, the Vanity and Ambition of ſo great an Honour would bring him over to her. But ſhe made this Judgment upon *Joſeph*, more upon the Conſideration of the Narrowneſs of his preſent Condition, than upon any Reaſon ſhe had to ſuſpect the unchangeable Dignity of his Soul. However, in this Confidence and Opinion, ſhe gave him to underſtand by broad ſigns that ſhe had a Mind to lye with him. He begg'd of her upon the very firſt Motion, to go no further upon that Subject; for he could not be ſo ungrateful as to betray ſo kind a Maſter, and to pay him with Treachery and Affront for all the Obligations he had laid upon him. He deſir'd her to ſmother that unruly Paſſion, and not ſo much as to wiſh for any thing that it was impoſſible to obtain. He ſhould account it a Glory, *he ſaid*, to ſerve her in all lawful Commands; but for any thing that was diſhoneſt, he could never ſubmit to it. This Refuſal did but ſet her more and more on Fire, for ſhe could not imagine that *Joſeph* would have rejected her Offer. But when ſhe came to find that this would not do, ſhe ſet her Wits to work upon another Project. There was a great Day of *Merry-Meeting* at Hand, that commonly brought all the Women of Quality together. *Potiphar*'s Wife made choice of this Occaſion to feign her ſelf ſick in; took her Chamber, and laid hold of the Opportunity of being alone with *Joſeph*. She got him, in ſhort, into her Apartment, and there treated him with wonderful Tenderneſs and Reſpect, in Words to this Effect. "It would have been much better for you (*ſays ſhe*) to have comply'd fairly with my former Requeſt; though it had been but out of a Regard to the Dignity of the Petitioner, or the Exceſs of my Paſſion; and it would have ſav'd me the Shame too of condeſcending to ſome Words and Expreſſions that I am yet out of Countenance to think of: But I hope you will now have the Wit to attone for your firſt Error. If you waited for a ſecond Application, you ſhall have it now a little more artificial than it was before; for I have counterfeited my ſelf ſick on purpoſe to avoid the Jollity of the Day; and to ſhew you that I can quit all other Converſation for the love I bear you. Or perhaps you might make ſome doubt before, whether I was in earneſt or not; but this is now to ſatisfy you that I meant you no ill, by my perſiſting ſtill in the ſame Mind: Wherefore take your Choice now, whether you will improve this Opportunity of a preſent Satisfaction in the Embraces of a Creature that loves you, and from whom you may over and above expect yet greater Things; or ſtand the ſhock of my Hatred and Revenge, if you ſhall preſume to value your ſelf more upon the vain Conceit of your own Chaſtity, than upon my Favour: And if it comes to that once, do not you flatter your ſelf into a fooliſh Confidence of ſcaping, with a dry Oſtentation of your Virtue; for I will certainly accuſe you to my Husband of an Attempt upon my Honour; and when the Word is out once, true or falſe, you will find more heed given to my Charge, than to your Juſtification.

Potiphar's *Wife tempts* Joſeph *to Lewdneſs.*

Joſeph's *exemplary Virtue.*

She makes a ſecond Attempt.

This Freak was accompany'd with Prayers, Menaces, and Tears: But neither the one nor the other, neither Compaſſion nor Terror had the Power to make any Impreſſion upon his Virtue, for he ſtood firm againſt all her Threatnings, in an unalterable Determination, rather to abide the worſt of Extremities, than to yield to the lewd Importunity of a diſhoneſt Appetite: Being in his own Conſcience ſatisfy'd, that no Severity could be too much for a Man, that ſhould do ſo baſe a thing to pleaſe a Woman. He was not wanting neither to put her in Mind of her Duty, both to her ſelf and to her Husband, and of what ſhe ow'd to Piety, Honeſty, Cuſtom, and common Fame. "What ſignifies (*ſays he*) a momentary Pleaſure attended with a certain Repentance upon the Heel of it: A Heavineſs of Heart for a thing once done, and an utter Impoſſibility of recalling and undoing it? Perpetual Fears of Diſcovery and Diſgrace? What does all this ſignify, I ſay, in balance with the moſt ſubſtantial Comforts, and the moſt neceſſary Duties of human Life? Whereas in a conjugal State, the ſelf-ſame Delights are all free, ſafe, innocent, and warrantable before God and Man. Conſider again, how it would leſſen your Authority, to make your Servant your equal, by a ſhameful Participation in one common Crime. And pray, is it not better to truſt to a good Conſcience that fears no Light, than to commit Wickedneſs in the Dark, and ſpend all your Days in a reſtleſs Dread of being detected? *Joſeph* ſaid this, and a great deal more, to try if it were poſſible to do any good upon the Paſſion of an impetuous Woman, and to reduce his Miſtreſs to Sobriety and Reaſon. But all this was only more Fuel to the Fire; ſo that what could not be done with Words, ſhe attempted by Violence; catching hold of his Garment to force him to Lewdneſs with her. But

Joſeph *ſtands firm;*

and reaſons the Matter with her.

Joſeph's *Miſtreſs lays hold of him to force him.*

He breaks looſe and leaves his Coat behind him.

She accuſes Joſeph *to her Huſband.*

Joſeph had ſuch an Indignation for this ſhameleſs Woman, that he brake looſe from her, and ſo out of the Door, and left his Coat in her Hand. She was at firſt miſerably diſtracted, betwixt the Sting of the Repulſe and the Fear of being diſcover'd; but coming in an inſtant to a Reſolution of outfacing the whole Story and turning it upon *Joſeph*, by which means ſhe conſulted her Security and her Revenge both in one, ſhe kept her ſelf cloſe to her Chamber, all in Tears and Trouble, imputing the Paſſion ſhe was in at the Diſappointment of her Luſt to the ſcrupulous Senſe of an Indignity offer'd to her Honour. While ſhe was in this Diſorder and Confuſion, in comes her Huſband; who, taking Notice of ſomewhat very extraordinary, enter'd preſently into a ſtrict Enquiry what might be the Matter. "Alas! my dear Huſband *(ſays ſhe)* you will not deſerve to live unleſs you make an Example of this perfidious inſenſible Wretch your Man. He has forgotten what he was when you took him into your Houſe; how kindly and reſpectfully he has been treated here, to a Degree beyond his very Hope as well as his Deſert; the Charge of your whole Family is committed to him; the Command of the reſt of your Servants, and the Truſt of all you have. What will you think of this Fellow now, that, in Requital of all your Bounties and good Offices, could have the Impudence to offer at the Violation of your Bed; and to take the Opportunity of this Day of Freedom, when you were out of the Way, to break in upon my Privacy and preſs the Enjoyment of his beaſtly Ends? This thankleſs Villain, that was effectually the Maſter of all other Things under your Roof! Would nothing ſerve him but he muſt have your Wife too? What a Countenance of Modeſty did this Wretch put on for a Blind to his Maſter, and not one Grain of it in his Diſpoſition and Nature! Nay further, *ſays ſhe*, in Confirmation of all I have ſaid, here is his Garment too, that I laid hold of when he would have forc'd me, and he was fain to leave it behind him upon the ſtruggle.

This plauſible Courſe of Words, and the Tears that went along with them, wrought ſo effectually upon the eaſy Credulity and Affection of *Potiphar*, that being throughly ſatisfy'd with the Virtue of his Wife, and reckoning himſelf as good as a Witneſs of it too, there was no need or thought of an Enquiry or Examination, but all taken for granted, and his Wife celebrated for a Woman of a moſt inviolable unſpotted Faith. This was enough to caſt *Joſeph* into the common Jayl among the moſt infamous of Malefactors.

Joſeph *committed to the common Jayl upon it.*

CHAP. V.

Joſeph *falſly accuſed, and committed to Priſon; and what befel him there. His Interpretation of ſeveral Dreams.*

Joſeph's *Patience and Reſignation.* Gen. 40.

His Keeper *kind to him.*

JOSEPH, in this Condition, never troubled his Head either to make Defences in his own Vindication or Remonſtrances of the Truth of the Story; but committed his Innocence to the Protection of the Almighty, and bearing his Chains with Patience ſupported himſelf with this Comfort, that the Power of God, who knew the Juſtice of his Cauſe, was above that of his Enemies, as it ſoon appear'd in this following Providence: For the Keeper was ſo charmed with his Candour and careful Diligence in all he did, together with the Comelineſs of his Perſon, that he diſcharged him of his Irons, and by this means of a conſiderable part of his Trouble; allowing him alſo a better Entertainment otherwiſe than the reſt of his Companions. It was with *Joſeph* and his *Fellow-Priſoners*, as it is commonly with other People in their Conditions. They had their Times of talking and ſorting themſelves together, and would be naturally enquiring of one another what this and t'other was in for. Upon this Occaſion *Joſeph* contracted a Familiarity with *Pharaoh*'s *Butler*, a Man much in the King's Eſteem, though at that Time upon ſome unlucky Diſſatisfaction he was a Priſoner there. This Butler had a high Opinion of *Joſeph*'s Parts and Underſtanding, and ſo took Liberty to tell him of a Dream he had, and to conſult *Joſeph* about the unriddling of it. He was very unhappy, *he ſaid*, to be not only fallen under his Maſter's Diſpleaſure, but perplexed alſo with Dreams and Viſions of a more than ordinary Quality. "Methought I ſaw *(ſays he)* three Branches of a Vine, and a Bunch of Grapes upon every Branch, all ripe and ready to be gather'd. I preſſed them my ſelf methought into a Cup the King had in his Hand; after which I preſented his Majeſty with the Wine, and he found it excellent. This was his Dream, and he deſired *Joſeph*, if he had any Skill that way, to give him an Explication of it. *Joſeph* ſpake a Word of Comfort to him, and bad him *have a good Heart, for in three Days time he ſhould be at Liberty. The King had Occaſion for him, and he ſhould have his Place again.* "The Fruit of the Vine, ſays *Joſeph*, is a Gift of God, for the Uſe and Comfort of Mankind. God accepts it himſelf in his Sacrifices,

Pharaoh's *Butler's Dream.*

Joſeph *expounds it.*

“it creates Friendſhips, compoſes Differences, diſſolves Cares and Melancholy, and turns Sadneſs into Joy. The King, *you ſay*, received the Cup and the Wine from your Hand; this imports great Good to you, and intimates that within as many Days as you ſaw Branches, you may aſſure your ſelf of your Deliverance. Now, *ſays Joſeph*, when you find this to be true, think of me, when you your ſelf ſhall be free and in Proſperity, do not forget thoſe you have left behind you. I am not here a Criminal, but only puniſhed as for preferring the Duty and Honour of my Maſter before a *brutal Pleaſure*.” This Interpretation could not but pleaſe the *Butler*, and he waited cheerfully for the Event.

Pharaoh's chief Baker was at that Time in the ſame Priſon: And finding ſo favourable an Expoſition given of the *Butler's* Dream, he pleaſed himſelf in the Hope of as fair an Interpretation of a Dream of his own too; conſulting *Joſeph* as the *Butler* had done before, for the unfolding of it. “Laſt Night, (*ſays he*) methought I had upon my Head three Baskets, two of Bread, and a third of Fleſh, with other Delicacies for a royal Table. The Birds of the Air fell violently upon them, and devoured them notwithſtanding all I could do to fright them away”. Now the *Baker* expected ſuch another Conſtruction of this Viſion as the *Butler* had; but it proved the contrary. For *Joſeph* told him that he could not ſpeak ſo comfortable things to him as he wiſh'd to do. *The two Baskets*, ſays he, *ſignify that you have only two Days to live; and that upon the third, your Body is to be hanged up, and expoſed to the Fowls of the Air; and there is no Poſſibility of avoiding it.*

Pharaoh's *Baker's Dream.*

Joſeph's *Interpretation of it.*

Every Thing came to paſs as *Joſeph* had foretold it; for upon the preciſe Day according to his Prediction, the Feſtival of *Pharaoh's Birth-day*, the King order'd the *Baker* to be hang'd up, and the *Butler* to be reſtor'd to his Office. When *Joſeph* had been two Years a Priſoner, and as a Man utterly forgotten by the ungrateful *Butler*, Providence made uſe of this means for his Deliverance. *Pharaoh* had *two Dreams* in one Night, and the Viſion was expounded to him: He remembered the Dreams; but forgot the Interpretation of them any further, than that in general they boded him no good. This ran ſo much in *Pharaoh's* Head, that he ſummon'd a Convocation of the learned'ſt Doctors of the *Ægyptians* to attend him early next Morning, and to expound his Viſions. They met, and conſulted; but finding themſelves at a Puzzle, *Pharaoh* grew more out of Humour than before. This Occaſion brought the *Butler* to bethink himſelf once again of *Joſeph*, and of his Skill in that way of Conjecture. Upon this he went to the King, and told him of *Joſeph*, and a Viſion of his own that he had expounded to him, while they were together in the Priſon. And for the greater Authority of his Predictions, he himſelf was reſtor'd to his Office, and the *Baker* hang'd, upon the very Day which he foretold. *Joſeph*, he ſaid, was the Servant of *Potiphar*, and at that time a Priſoner upon his account. He paſſes for an *Hebrew*, and of no obſcure Family. You may be pleaſed, ſays the *Butler*, to ſend for him, without any Exception to the Meanneſs of his preſent Condition; for he will certainly inform your Majeſty in what you deſire to know. Let him be call'd immediately, ſays the King; and ſo the Servants went all in haſte, and brought him. *Pharaoh* treated the young Man very reſpectfully, and taking him by the right Hand, ſpake to him courteouſly after this manner. “There is a Servant of mine, *ſays he*, that hath given you the Character of a wiſe Man: He tells me that he hath found you ſo himſelf, and very curious in one particular Faculty wherein I have at this inſtant a ſpecial Occaſion to employ you. He tells me you have a ſingular Talent in expounding of *Dreams*, and that you unriddled one for him; pray do as much for me, and I ſhall take it very kindly; but be ſure you make Things neither more nor leſs than they are, either for Fear or Favour; but ſpeak the Truth freely whether it makes for me or againſt me. I was walking, methought, along the River, and I ſaw ſeven large and well-fed Cattle come out of it, and go their ways towards a Paſture: After which I ſaw ſeven lean ill-favour'd Beaſts coming from the Paſture to the River: They met, methought, and the ſeven lean ones devoured the Fat, and were never the fuller for it.” After this Viſion I waked; and while my Thoughts were at work upon the Nature of Dreams, I doſ'd upon it, and dropping aſleep inſenſibly had a more wonderful Apparition than the former, which put me into a great Trouble and Affright. “Methought I ſaw *ſeven Ears of Corn* ſprung from one Root. They were ripe and ready to cut, and ſo heavy-laden, that their Heads bow'd under their Burden. Not far from this, I ſaw *ſeven other Ears*, thin and blaſted; and theſe ſtarv'd Ears to my Aſtoniſhment devour'd the other.

Two Dreams of Pharaoh's.

Pharaoh *conſults his Wiſe Men.*

Joſeph *ſent for out of Priſon.* Gen. 41.

Pharaoh's *Dream of Oxen.*

Pharaoh's *Dream of Ears of Corn.*

“*Joſeph* upon this, told the King, that theſe two Dreams, how differing ſoever in Appearance, had but one and the ſame Proſpect. The *Ox*, ſays he, is a Creature deſign'd by Providence for *Labour* and *Tillage*. By the *ſeven fat Oxen*, and the *ſeven lean ones*; and ſo by the *ſeven plump Ears of Corn*, and the *ſeven blaſted ones*, is intimated *ſeven Years of Plenty* to come in *Ægypt*; and after that *ſeven more of Famine*; and by the *lean Oxen devouring the Fat*, and the *blaſted Ears of Corn* the *full* and *plump ones*, is given to underſtand that the *firſt ſeven Years* will not be ſufficient to ſupply the Scarcity of *ſeven others*

Joſeph *expounds* Pharaoh's *Dreams.*

Joſeph's *Advice to provide againſt a Famine.*

“ *to come:* Which I take to be demonſtrated in this, that when the *lean Oxen had devoured* “ *the fat*, they were not yet *ſatisfy'd*. So that moſt certainly the Extremity will be very “ great. Now God doth not reveal his ſecret Purpoſes to Mankind, only to terrify “ and afflict them; but for a timely Warning to them, that they may either provide againſt “ or prevent the worſt. So that if your Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to order the laying “ up of Stores out of your Abundance in the Years of Plenty, for a Reſerve againſt a “ time of Need, the following Scarcity will be the leſs grievous.” The King ſtood in Admiration at the Sagacity and Wiſdom of *Joſeph*, and ſo demanded of him, what Courſe he would adviſe in the preſent Caſe for the obviating of thoſe Difficulties to come. *Joſeph* propoſed a Regulation of Expences; for Parſimony, and the retrenching of Superfluities, would go a great way in the Work. He was of Opinion alſo, for laying up Magazines of Corn in Barns and elſewhere, to be deliver'd out by Allowance, and no more to be diſtributed than what was abſolutely neceſſary for Bread and Seed.

Joſeph *highly advanc'd by* Pharaoh.

Pharaoh was as much delighted with *Joſeph's Oeconomicks*, as with his Skill in *Dreams*; and ſo with great Honour to his Judgment and Counſel, he gave him full Power and Authority, as Superviſer of all his Stores, to put his Project in Execution, in ſuch ſort and manner as he himſelf ſhould judge meet for the Service of his Maſter, and the Good of the publick. Upon the conferring of this Commiſſion, the King deliver'd him his Signet, and granted him certain Privileges of wearing Purple, and riding in a Chariot through all his Dominions. *Joſeph* went now about his Buſineſs, ſtoring up the Corn wherever he came, and diſtributing among the Husbandmen only ſuch a Proportion, as might be barely ſufficient for their Suſtenance and to ſow their Grounds, without telling any Creature the Reaſon of all this.

CHAP. VI.

Joſeph *highly in the King's Favour. The Adventures of* himſelf *and his* Brethren, *upon their coming into* Ægypt..

Pſonthompha-nec.

JOSEPH was now thirty Years of Age, and ſo remarkably great in the King's Favour for his admirable Wiſdom, that he gave him the Name of [a] *Pſonthomphanec*, in the *Ægyptian* Tongue, *the finder out of hidden Things*.

Joſeph *marries* Aſanethe.

Manaſſes *and* Ephraim.

He took to Wife *Aſaneth* the Daughter of [b] *Potiphera*, [c] High-prieſt of *Heliopolis*, which was a Match of the King's making and a very great Honour. He had two Children by her before the Famine. The elder he called *Manaſſes*, or *Oblivion*, becauſe *Joſeph's better Fortune* made him forget the *worſe:* The younger *Ephraim*, or *Reſtitution*, becauſe he was *re-inſtated in the Freedom of his Anceſtors*.

A Famine in Ægypt.

Joſeph's ſeven Years of Plenty in *Ægypt* were now paſt, and in the eighth began the Famine, according to his Prediction. The Calamity was a Surprize, and brought huge Multitudes of People into Diſtreſs, flocking from all quarters about the King's Gates. Whereupon *Joſeph* was preſently call'd, who took ſuch care for their Relief, that with one Voice, they celebrated him as the Saviour of the Nation. And the Stores were not open only to the People of the Country, but to Foreigners alſo; *Joſeph* reckoning upon it, that the Univerſality of Mankind are, in truth, all of a Blood, and that it is the Duty of Men in Proſperity to aſſiſt their Brethren in Diſtreſs.

Jacob's *Sons, all but* Benjamin, *ſent into* Ægypt *for Corn.* Gen. 42.

Now this Miſery did not fall upon *Ægypt* alone, but ſeveral other Provinces ſuffered under the like Scarcity; and *Chanaan* in particular: So that *Jacob* being informed that Strangers were admitted to deal for Corn in *Ægypt*, ſent all his Sons thither to buy Proviſions; ſave only *Benjamin* the Son of *Rachel*, and of the Blood of *Joſeph*.

Joſeph *pretends to take his Brethren for Spies.*

So ſoon as the *Ten Brothers* were come into *Ægypt*, they made their Application to *Joſeph*, only for Leave that they might have Corn for their Money. Now *Joſeph* was in ſo great Credit with the King, that there was nothing to be done at Court, but by his Influence. *Joſeph* knew his Brothers at firſt Sight, though they knew not him; for alaſs! he was taken away young, and had now upon him the Air and Faſhion of quite another Perſon: Beſide that no body could have expected *Joſeph* either in that Country, or in that Poſt of Authority. Finding himſelf not known, and not ſo much as any Suſpicion of him, *Joſeph* reſolved within himſelf to make ſome tryal of his Brothers, to ſee how they ſtood inclin'd: And ſo for a Countenance, he not only deny'd them Corn, but charged them as *Spies*, and Criminals of State. “ My Friends, *ſays he*, You ſay you are Brothers, “ whereas you are in Truth, no better than a Cabal of Conſpirators, and of ſeveral Na-“ tions too. How can any Body believe ſo many extraordinary Perſons, as you un-“ doubtedly are, to be only the Sons of one private Man? when hardly any Prince can “ boaſt of ſuch an Iſſue. *Joſeph* put this upon them to try if he could pump out any

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[a] Or *Pſethomphanec*. Scr. *Zaphnath-paaneah*. [b] Gr. Πετιφρῆς. [c] Scr. *Prieſt of* On.

Thing concerning his Father, and how Matters had gone in the Family ſince his Time; and what was become of his Brother *Benjamin*; for he was heartily afraid that they might have ſerved him, as they would have done himſelf. This Way of proceeding put them all into a Conſternation, they found themſelves in Danger, and the End of a long Journey diſappointed. But ſomething muſt be ſaid however, and *Reuben* in the Name of the Company was the Speaker. “ We are not come hither, *ſays he*, to pry into Matters “ of State, or attempt any thing upon the Perſon of the King, or the Peace of his Go- “ vernment. It is pure want of Bread that hath driven us hither for Refuge, or I might “ ſay, that your Humanity hath effectually invited us, in granting the Freedom of your “ Markets for Corn to Strangers, as well as to your own People, as we are informed you “ have. That we are one Man's Children, may in ſome Meaſure be collected from the “ very Reſemblance of our Faces, and it is true we are ſo. Our Father's Name is *Jacob*, “ by Birth an *Hebrew*. There were *twelve Sons* of us that he had by four Women, and “ ſo long as they all liv'd, Things went well enough with us; but one of the Number, “ whoſe Name was *Joſeph*, being taken away, we fell into Misfortunes. Our Father lives “ ſtill a Mourner for that Loſs, and his inconſolable Sorrows are no leſs an Affliction at “ this Day to us, than was the untimely Death of our deareſt Brother. We come hither, “ under your Favour, to buy Corn, and in our Abſence the Care of our good Father is “ committed to our youngeſt Brother *Benjamin*. If it be doubted whether we ſpeak “ Truth or not, it is but ſending a Meſſenger to our Father to learn the Certainty.

Reuben *ſpeaks for himſelf and his Brethren.*

This was *Reuben*'s Speech, for the Satisfaction of *Joſeph*, and on the behalf of himſelf and his Brothers. Now *Joſeph*, finding that his Father and Brother were ſafe and well, commanded the Brethren to be all taken into Cuſtody, upon Pretence of calling them to a ſtricter Account at better Leiſure. At three Days End, they were brought to him again; and well! my Friends, *ſays Joſeph*; “ Here you affirm to me that you are come “ hither without any malicious Deſign upon the Government, and that you are all the “ Sons of the ſame Father *Jacob*. Now for the Truth of all you ſay, you ſhall leave one “ of your Brethren with me as an Hoſtage, that when you ſhall have deliver'd the Corn “ you come for to your Father, you ſhall come back again, and bring along with you “ the other Brother that you ſay you have left behind. In the mean time your Hoſtage “ ſhall be well uſed. *This, and nothing elſe will convince me that you are honeſt Men.* Theſe Words went to their Hearts, for they fanſy'd themſelves upon the very Brink of Ruin; they deplored their Ill-hap, and were ſtill harping upon it one to another, that all this was only a divine Vengeance that purſued them for their Barbarity to their poor Brother. *Reuben* took them up ſhort, for the Vanity and Folly of a late and of an unprofitable Repentance; telling them frankly that there was no Remedy but Patience, under the Judgment of a juſt God upon a wicked Brood of Brothers. Theſe Diſcourſes paſſed among themſelves in Confidence that no Body there underſtood *Hebrew*. *Reuben*, with this cutting Liberty wounded them to the Souls, lamenting one to another, why they could not think of this in Time, and their Conſciences ſtill minding them that the Wrath of God was fallen juſtly upon them. Theſe Reflections put the Brothers into ſuch a Horror of Deſperation and Confuſion, that *Joſeph* was fain to withdraw for Fear of diſcovering himſelf, being no longer able to forbear Weeping. After a little Stay, he came in again, took *Simeon* for a Pledge of their Return, and gave them a Licenſe for their Corn; but a Servant was order'd under-hand to convey the Money they paid for it into their Baggage, which was accordingly done, and ſo they departed.

Joſeph *orders his Brethren to be taken into Cuſtody.*

Troubled in Conſcience upon Joſeph's *account.*

Upon the Return of *Jacob*'s Sons into *Chanaan*, they told their Father the whole Story of their Adventure in *Ægypt*; how they were clapt up for *Spies*, and could not be believed, either that they were all Brethren, or had left another Brother behind them; ſo that they were forc'd to leave *Simeon* for a Pledge that they ſhould come back again, and bring *Benjamin* with them to vouch what they ſaid; begging earneſtly of their Father to let him go without any further Scruple. *Jacob* was not at all pleas'd with what they had done in leaving *Simeon*; but then it went to the Heart of him to think of parting with *Benjamin*, though *Reuben* offer'd to anſwer with the Lives of his own Children for the others Safety and Return. They were in a dreadful Perplexity what to do; and nothing ſtumbled them more, than when they came to find their Money in their Sacks. But their Proviſions waſting all this while, and their Wants encreaſing, *Jacob* was half in the Mind ſometimes to venture his Son *Benjamin* with the reſt; for there was no Thought of ever returning to *Ægypt* without keeping their Conditions. Their Neceſſities preſſed harder and harder upon them, and the Brothers Importunities were not wanting neither; but nothing could move *Jacob* yet, till in the Concluſion, *Judas*, a Man of a bold and free Spirit, took his Father to task after another Manner. “ Methinks, *ſays he to his Father*, you are a little too ſolicitous for *Benjamin*. He muſt “ ſubmit to the Will of God, whether he be Abroad or at Home: And we are all to be

Jacob's *Sons return to their Father.*

The Brothers ſent back for Benjamin, *and* Simeon *kept for a Pledge.*

deliver'd

Jacob *ſends* Benjamin *with Preſents.* Gen. 43.

“ deliver'd to a certain Deſtruction in the Loſs of *Pharaoh*'s Friendſhip, for Fear of I know “ not what that may befal our little Brother: But what will you ſay now, if the *Ægyp-* “ *tians* ſhould deſtroy *Simeon*, when you are trifling and whiling away time about *Benja-* “ *min*. Truſt God upon the main, and reſt aſſured, that I will either periſh my ſelf, “ or bring him ſafe Home again. *Jacob* was at length prevail'd upon, and deliver'd up the Child; gave them double the Price of the Corn with them, and Preſents of the Fruits of the Land of *Chanaan* for the Perſon they treated with: As *Balm*, *Myrrh*, *Turpentine*, *Honey*, &c. and ſo with a Flood of Tears on both ſides, they tenderly parted: The *Father* in a deſperate Anxiety for Fear he ſhould never ſee his Sons again, and the *Sons* in as miſerable a Diſtreſs of Apprehenſion for Fear this very Separation ſhould be the Death of the *Father*. They ſpent a whole Day upon this mournful Subject, and in the end *Jacob* betook himſelf to his Solitude, and the Sons proſecuted their Journey, in Hope of ſomewhat to come that might balance their preſent Affliction.

The Brethren addreſs to Joſeph.

Simeon *ſet at Liberty.*

Joſeph *treats his Brethren at Supper.*

So ſoon as ever they came into *Ægypt*, they addreſs'd themſelves to *Joſeph*; not a little in pain for fear the Money they found in their Sacks ſhould be charg'd upon them as a Cheat. But upon laying the Matter before *Joſeph*'s Steward, and telling him, how that finding their Money in their Sacks without knowing how it came there, they had now brought it back again to reſtore it, the Steward anſwer'd them boldly that he knew nothing of the Buſineſs. Their Hearts upon this were a little more at Eaſe; eſpecially when they ſaw their Brother *Simeon* at Liberty. *Joſeph*, by this Time, was come from waiting upon the King, and while they were making their Preſents, he fell to asking them Queſtions; as how their Father did, and the like: They told him well. His Fears for *Benjamin* were now over too; for he ſaw him in the Company; and asked them again, if that were the youngeſt of the Brothers, and they told him, yes: Whereupon he ſaid no more than this, *God's Providence is over all things*, and ſo went out; for the Tears ſtanding in his Eyes, he was ſo full, he could not conceal it. That Evening he gave them an Invitation to Supper with him, where he ranged them in the ſame Order they uſed in their Father's Houſe, treating them all with exceeding Courteſy, but *Benjamin*'s *Portion* was *double* to any of the reſt.

The Brothers depart.

A Cup found in Benjamin's *Sack.* Gen. 44.

After Supper, when the Company was retir'd; *Joſeph* order'd the meaſuring of their Corn, and bad his Steward put the Money into their Sacks as before, and to convey into *Benjamin*'s *Sack* a certain *Silver Cup* that he himſelf had a particular Fancy for. This he did to try whether they would ſtand by *Benjamin*, in Caſe he ſhould be charged with the Theft; or leave him in the Lurch, and ſo return to their Father without him. This was all done, according to Order. By break of Day the next Morning, they ſet forward for their Journey, not dreaming of any Trick to be put upon them, and mightily pleas'd at the Thought that they had got *Simeon* ſafe, and *Benjamin* ſo far on his Way back again, according to their Engagement. As they were travelling on, they found themſelves all on a ſudden ſurrounded with Troops of Horſe, and the Servant among them that put the *Cup* into the *Sack*. This Surprize tranſported them into Clamours and Exclamations againſt the Inhumanity of ſuch a Practice from the ſame People that had but juſt now treated them with ſo much Hoſpitality and Honour. The *Ægyptians*, on the other ſide, called them a Pack of Raſcals, for returning only Injuries, where they had received ſo many Civilities and Benefits; but they ſhould pay for their Thieving and Roguery in time convenient. They might put ſhuffling Tricks, *they ſaid*, upon the Butler; but there was an All-ſeeing Eye above that would certainly find them out. They had brought Matters now to ſuch a Paſs, that there was nothing to be expected but immediately to receive the juſt Reward of their Treachery. At this inſolent Rate, they bluſter'd and ſwagger'd; but the Servant above all the reſt: Inſomuch that the poor Wretches, that were ignorant of the Plot, took him to be no better than a Madman. They were likely Men indeed to pilfer, *they cry'd*, that, when ſome Body had put the Corn-Money into their Sacks again, had the Honeſty to reſtore it; and nothing but their own Conſciences to witneſs againſt them: But ſearching, *they ſaid*, would do more than fending and proving, and ſo without any more Words they offer'd up themſelves, Bag and Baggage, to the Scrutiny, and, if any one of them ſhould be found Guilty, they were all willing to ſuffer for it; ſo ſecure did they reckon themſelves in the Conſcience of their own Innocence. The *Ægyptians* took them at their Words, and fell to ſearching: But *Heaven forbid*, they cry'd, *if any one of them ſhould be detected, the Innocent ſhould ſuffer for the Guilty*. They took them in Order, and ſo paſſed from one to another, till they came at laſt to *Benjamin*: All the reſt were now ſafe and clear, and they made no doubt of finding him ſo too; only they grumbled at the Importunity of theſe impertinent People, that had been ſuch a Hindrance to them in their Journey. Being now come to *Benjamin*'s *Sack*, out came the *Silver Cup*; which they that put it there could have found out as well at firſt, if the Method of the Contrivance would have born it. Upon this Diſcovery, they all brake out into Tears;

extravagant Actions and paſſionate Lamentations; tearing their Garments, and crying out like Men diſtracted; their Brother was undone, what would become of that poor Brother of theirs! How ſhould they anſwer for him to his Father! and then to miſcarry now too, when they thought all was over! It was not for nothing, *they cry'd*, that the good Man was ſo unwilling to part with him, and we muſt be preſſing of him to let him go: So that our Father is ruin'd, and the Blame of all this muſt be laid at our Door.

Benjamin *ſeiz'd, and carry'd to* Joſeph.

The Officers carry'd *Benjamin* away to *Joſeph*, and his Companions went along with him. *Benjamin* being now a Priſoner, and his Brethren in ſo ſorrowful a Plight, *Joſeph* looking upon them, reproach'd them in Words to this Purpoſe: “And is it ſo then, *ſays he*, you vileſt of Men; that without any Regard either to the good Offices of Hoſpitality, or to the Diſpenſations of Divine Providence, you ſhould put ſo ungrateful an Affront upon your Patron and Benefactor?” The Brothers interpoſing their Requeſts, that their Lives might be accepted of in Exchange for that of their unfortunate Brother. And then they were up with *Joſeph's* Name over and over again, how happy it was for him that he was out of this miſerable Life; (at leaſt if ſo he was) or if yet living, how much it was to his Honour, that the ſevere Vengeance of God ſhould be inflicted upon them for his ſake. They went on, taking the Blame upon themſelves, as the Authors and Inſtruments of their Father's Afflictions, in reviving his old Sorrows with this new one; *Reuben*, at every turn, reproaching them with the execrable Murder of their Brother. *Joſeph*, as upon Conſideration, told them at length, that truly for the Innocent, as he did not think it fair to make one Man bear the Puniſhment of another Man's Tranſgreſſion, ſo neither did he find it reaſonable to diſcharge the Offender at the Inſtance of the guiltleſs, or to puniſh them all alike: Wherefore (ſays *Joſeph*) you may return when you pleaſe, and it ſhall be my Care to provide you a ſafe Paſſage; and for your Brother, I ſhall content my ſelf with him alone for an Example.

Judas *expoſtulates on* Benjamin's *Behalf.* Gen. 44.

Theſe Words ſtruck them all dumb, ſave only *Judas*, who was a Man of Wit and Courage, and the only Perſon that brought over *Jacob* to part with his Son. This *Judas* took up a generous Reſolution, upon this Occaſion, of running any Riſque to ſave him, as he had promis'd his Father. And hereupon apply'd himſelf to *Joſeph* in theſe Words: “We cannot but confeſs, moſt excellent Governour, that the Fact now in queſtion is a heinous Tranſgreſſion, and a Crime that deſerves Puniſhment. The Guilt, it is true, falls only upon one of us, and the youngeſt; but though we are not all in Fault, we are all ready yet to ſuffer for it. As to the poor young Man, we ſhould give him for loſt, if it were not for the Confidence we have in your Clemency and Goodneſs. We muſt therefore appeal from the ſtrict Conſideration of the Fact to the Benignity of your own Nature; and to your native Tenderneſs, from the Heat of your Indignation, Anger being a Paſſion only for narrow Souls: And therefore we make no doubt but your Virtue and Moderation will ſet Bounds to your Diſpleaſure. For, with Submiſſion, it would not be for your Honour to deſtroy a ſort of People that voluntarily deliver up themſelves to your Juſtice, and deſire only to become indebted for their Lives to your Mercy: Which in effect would be but the Bounty of giving us the ſame Lives over again. For when we were in Diſtreſs for want of *Corn*, what was it but the Diſpatch and Generoſity of your Relief, that preſerved us and our whole Family from periſhing by Famine? Now to relieve Men in extreme Neceſſity for want of Food, and to forgive an Offender that ſtands in need of a Pardon, is but an Effect of the ſame Tenderneſs, in another way of expreſſing it; the one *ſaves* the Life, and the other *ſpares* it. You are now but to *ſave* whom you have *fed* for the very *End* of *ſaving* them: Which End is loſt, if you do not preſerve the Lives you have given; and in ſo doing we ſhall become your Debtors, not only for the Neceſſaries of Life, but for Life it ſelf. This Occaſion looks, as if God himſelf, for your greater Glory, had furniſhed Matter expreſs for your Virtue to work upon; and that the World may ſee you are as well Merciful as Liberal, and take more Delight in doing good Offices to others, than in revenging Injuries done to your ſelf. It is, I muſt confeſs, a generous Diſpoſition to be Human and Charitable: But there is no Ornament that becomes Greatneſs like Clemency; eſpecially when that Clemency is exercis'd upon the forgiving of Affronts offer'd to the Forgiver himſelf. Now if it be praiſeworthy to paſs over, even the ſmalleſt Faults, it is little leſs than divine for a Man to moderate the Reſentment of a capital Crime, and in his own Caſe too. It is not for the ſake of our own Safety that I am thus ſolicitous, but out of a Senſe of the anxious Tenderneſs of a Father for a Child, which I am the more ſenſible of, by the Experience I have had of the Violence of my own Father's Paſſion upon the Loſs of our dear Brother *Joſeph*. We ſhould not think our own Lives worth the ſtruggling for, were it not for the deplorable Conſequences that our Ruin would have upon our aged Father when we are gone; ſaving that we have ſome ſort of Ambition likewiſe to become indebted to your Virtue, and to declare our ſelves the Monuments of your Fame and Goodneſs. We do not beg for our ſelves, though a Company of young Creatures that have hardly taſted Life yet; but for an ancient Father, a Perſon waſted with Time and Cares; and in his Name only we implore your Compaſſion upon his Children alſo, that have all forfeited their Lives by this Day's Miſs-doing. He himſelf is undoubtedly a good Man, and it is none of his Fault if we are not ſo too. He has a thouſand Griefs and Terrors upon him at this Day for Fear of us; and it were great Pity ſo worthy a Perſon ſhould ſuffer under ſo mortal a Calamity. When he ſhall hear that we are dead, and upon what Account, he moſt infallibly dies likewiſe. The ſingle Thought of the Infamy; nay, the very Rumour of it will kill him. We cannot deny, after all this, the Provocation to be great, and your Diſpleaſure juſt; but we may yet petition, that the Vengeance for it may not fall upon our innocent Father, and that for his ſake you will be pitiful to us. Be pleaſed but to conſider his Age and his Condition; and you may conclude that when we are gone, he neither can nor will live without us. Conſider but our Father, in your own; and then in ours, the common Caſe of all Fathers. There is ſomething ſacred in the very Name of Father; as being an Appellation which God himſelf vouchſafes to aſſume: And God the Father of all will certainly bleſs you and your Poſterity for all the good you ſhall do under the Honour of that common Name, and on the behalf of a Father that otherwiſe muſt be left childleſs. Our Lives are in your Hand, and it is at your Choice whether to give or take; the one you may do with Juſtice, and the other will be an Act of Grace; and having both indifferently in your Power, you may grant the latter in Imitation of God himſelf, without putting the other to the Streſs; and employ your Prerogative for the good and Preſervation of Mankind. Now the more Lives you ſave, the more honourable will be your Fame, and in preſerving our Brother, you preſerve us all; for upon his Safety depends ours, and we are never to ſee our Father again without him: So that whatever he ſuffers, we muſt ſuffer too. Neither have we, moſt illuſtrious Governour, any thing more to crave, if we cannot obtain this, than that we all may be join'd in the Puniſhment, as if we had been Complices in the Fact; which would be much eaſier to us, than to be forc'd by an inſupportable Deſpair to lay violent Hands upon our ſelves. I might offer further on his behalf, that he is young, and has not ſeen much of the World; and that under theſe Circumſtances it is a very rare thing to put People to Extremities. But to come to a Concluſion, if we are condemn'd for want of a competent Defence, it muſt lye at my Door; if acquitted, we ſhall aſcribe it wholly to your Generoſity and Goodneſs; adding this further to your Honour, that in the ſaving of us you give us a new Life, and conſult better for us than we could do for our ſelves: But if it ſhall yet be found abſolutely neceſſary that ſomewhat be done for the Satisfaction of a rigorous Juſtice, I muſt affectionately beſeech you to accept of me in the Place of my Brother, that I may abide his Puniſhment, and the young Man be ſent away to his Father. Or if the Sentence ſhould be *Slavery*, my Body may be able to do you the better Service of the two; and I am ready indifferently to ſubmit either to the one or to the other.

When *Judas* had ſaid and offer'd all that was poſſible toward the pacifying of the Governour, and the eaſing of his Brother, he threw himſelf at *Joſeph*'s Feet, and all the reſt after him, in a joint Mediation for *Benjamin*.

Gen. 45.

Joſeph *makes himſelf known to his Brethren.*

Joſeph, by this time, found himſelf in ſuch a Confuſion, betwixt Tenderneſs and natural Affection, that he could no longer act the Part of an angry Judge, but order'd his People to withdraw, that he might make himſelf known to his Brethren, without any Witneſſes to the greeting: So that when he had them by themſelves, he made a Diſcourſe to them to this Effect: “I cannot, *ſays he*, but be exceedingly delighted to find you ſo friendly and compaſſionate to your Brother: Which, I muſt confeſs, I was a little doubtful of; conſidering ſome paſt Circumſtances in my own Caſe that were not ſo good natur'd. It was my End, in what I have now done, to make ſome Tryal of your Brotherly Love upon this Occaſion; which I have now receiv'd ſo fair a Proof of, that I cannot impute any Thing you ever did againſt me to Gall or Malice; but the Hand of God was in it, whoſe Providence hath now made uſe of that Action as the Means of a preſent Comfort to you, in giving us the Hope of greater Bleſſings yet to come, by the Continuance of God's Favour and Protection. But ſince I am now come to underſtand that my Father is in ſuch a State, as I could better wiſh than expect; and my Brothers the tender Men that they ought to be: All paſt Injuries are as if they had never been; and I am rather to give you my Thanks, as the Inſtruments of Divine Providence for our common Advantage, than to put you in Mind of any thing of old Date, which at that time perhaps carry'd a Countenance of Evil: And pray let theſe things be forgotten on your Part too, and ſet your Hearts at Reſt,

“ without diſcompoſing your ſelves for Errors not to be recall’d, and for lewd Pur-“ poſes long ſince gone and paſt that never took Effect; ſince it hath pleaſed God to “ bring Good out of Evil. Go your Ways back therefore to your Father, with all Joy “ and Comfort, and tell him the wonderful Things that God hath done for you. Go, “ and diſpatch; for fear of any ill Accident his very Grief and Apprehenſion may bring “ upon him elſe before you ſee him, which would utterly blaſt all the Hopes I have of “ Happineſs, both in the Sight of him, and in an Enjoyment with him of all the Bleſ-“ ſings that I am poſſeſs’d of. Wherefore be gone, and make haſte back again; and “ ſee you bring my Father, your Wives, Children, and all your Kindred, along with “ you; eſpecially at ſuch a Time as this is, for I ſhould be loath to have my deareſt “ Friends at ſuch a Diſtance from me, when there are five Years of Famine yet more “ to come. With theſe Words, *Joſeph* embrac’d his Brothers, who could not but burſt out into Tears and Lamentations, reflecting upon their wicked Practices againſt him: But nothing went nearer their Hearts, than to conſider how baſely they had dealt with ſo worthy a Brother. They went after this to Supper.

Joſeph *ſends his Brothers for their Father,* &c.

When the King came to underſtand that *Joſeph*’s Brothers were come, the News was as welcome to him as if ſome great good Fortune had befall’n him, inſomuch that he order’d Wagons with Corn, Gold, and Silver to be ſent, and Preſents for their Father; beſide what *Joſeph* gave them, ſome for the Father, ſome for the Brothers themſelves, but the beſt of all for *Benjamin*, and ſo they return’d.

Pharaoh’s *Generoſity to* Joſeph’s *Brethren.*

CHAP. VII.

Jacob *hearing how ſplendidly his Son* Joſeph *liv’d in* Ægypt, *gives him a Viſit there with his whole Family.*

The Hiſtory of Joſeph’s *Adventures.*

UPON the Arrival of *Jacob*’s Sons with their Father, they told him the whole Hiſtory of *Joſeph*’s Adventures: How he was, not only living, after ſo long and ſad a Mourning for him, but in great Power and Splendor: *Pharaoh*’s firſt Miniſter; and next to the King himſelf, the moſt eminent Perſon in his Dominions. *Jacob* made no Difficulty of believing what was told him, but enter’d into a Contemplation of God’s infinite Grace and Favour to him, (the late dark Interval only excepted) and ſo without any Delay, he and his People haſten’d away to *Joſeph*.

Jacob *ſacrifices at* Beerſheba. Gen. 46.

When *Jacob* came to the *Well* called *the Well of the Oath*, he offer’d up a Sacrifice; but ſomewhat uneaſy within himſelf, for Fear the Plenty of *Ægypt* ſhould debauch his Sons, and tempt them to plant there, and ſo divert his Poſterity from returning to *Chanaan*, and the Land which God had promis’d him. He had ſome Scruple too, leſt God ſhould ſtrike him and his People with ſome judicial Calamity, even for undertaking the preſent Journey, without imploring Counſel and Direction from above: Or what if he himſelf ſhould die before he came to *Joſeph?* As he lay drouzing with theſe Thoughts in his Head, he fell faſt aſleep; and God appeared to him in a Viſion, calling him twice by his Name. *Jacob* asked who was there, and the *Viſion* made him this Anſwer. “ Haſt thou forgotten thy God then *Jacob?* The God of thy Forefathers that never fail-“ ed, either them or their Poſterity, in a Time of Need: That God that made you the “ Head of your Family, againſt your Father’s liking; and when you went ſingle into “ *Meſopotamia*, bleſſed you with an advantageous Match, and brought you back again “ full of Wealth and Children: That God that hath ſtill been the Protector and Guar-“ dian of your Family, and advanced your Son *Joſeph*, whom you gave for loſt, to a “ Degree of Honour next to the King in *Ægypt*. I am now coming to be your Guide “ in your preſent Journey, and to foretel you, that you ſhall end your Days in the “ Arms of *Joſeph*; that your Poſterity ſhall be powerful and famous for many Ages, “ and come at laſt to the Land promis’d them.

God appears to Jacob *in a Viſion.*

Jacob, in the Strength of this *Viſion*, marched chearfully on toward *Ægypt* himſelf, and his People, to the Number of *ſeventy Perſons*. Their Names are a little uncouth, and I ſhould have paſſed them over; but for the Satisfaction of thoſe that will have us to be *Ægyptians*, not *Meſopotamians*.

Jacob *advances towards* Ægypt.

Jacob had *twelve Sons*. *Joſeph* being gone away before, we ſhall only give an Account now of the reſt ſeverally, and of their Iſſue.

The Children of Jacob.

Reuben had *four Sons*; *Hanoch*, *Phallu*, [a] *Aſſaron*, and [b] *Charmi*.
Simeon had *ſix Sons*; *Jamuel*, *Jamin*, [c] *Ohad*, *Jachin*, *Zoar*, and [d] *Shaul*.
Levi had *three Sons*; [e] *Gerſhon*, [f] *Chaath*, and [g] *Merari*.
Judas had *three Sons*; [h] *Salah*, *Phares*, and [i] *Zarah*.

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[a] Scr. *Hezron*. [b] Scr. *Carmi*. [c] Joſ. Οὔαδης. [d] Joſ. Σάυλος. [e] Gr. Γηρσόμης. [f] Scr. *Coath*. [g] Gr. Μαράρεος [h] Scr. *Shelah*. [i] Scr. *Zerah*.

Phares had *two Sons*; *Eſron*, and [a] *Amyr.*

[b] *Iſſachar* had *four Sons*, [c] *Thulas*, *Phuas*, *Jaſob*, and *Samaron.*

Zabulon had *three Sons*; [d] *Sarad*, *Elon*, and *Jalel.*

Jacob had theſe Children by *Leah*; who carry'd with her her Daughter *Dinah*; and all theſe together amount to the Number of *thirty three Perſons.*

Jacob had over and above, by *Rachel*; *Joſeph* and *Benjamin.*

Joſeph had *two Sons*; *Manaſſes* and *Ephraim.*

Benjamin had *ten Sons*; [e] *Bolau*, [f] *Baccharis*, [g] *Aſabel*, *Gera*, *Naaman*, [h] *Ies*, *Ros*, [i] *Momphis*, *Opphis*, and *Arad:* And theſe *fourteen Perſons* added to the other *thirty three*, make the Number of *forty ſeven.* Theſe were *Jacob*'s legitimate Sons, beſide *Dan* and *Nephthali*, which he had by *Bilhah.*

Dan had but *one Son*; and he call'd him [i] *Uſis.*

Nephthali had *four Sons*; [k] *Jeſel*, *Guni*, *Iſſares*, and *Sellim*; and theſe added to thoſe above, make the Number up *fifty four.*

Jacob had alſo by *Zilpah*; *Gad* and *Aſſer.*

Gad had *ſeven Sons*; [l] *Saphonias*, *Augis*, *Sunis*, *Azabon*, *Aerin*, *Eroëd*, and *Ariel.*

Aſſer had *one Daughter Sarah*, and *ſix Sons*; [m] *Jomnes*, *Iſus*, *Iſuis*, *Baris*, *Abar*, and *Melchiel.* Now theſe *fifteen* added to the other *fifty four*, make the preciſe Number of *ſeventy*, as is ſaid before, without comprizing *Jacob.*

The Greeting of Jacob *and* Joſeph *at* Heros.

As they were advancing upon the Way, *Judas* went before with the Intelligence to *Joſeph*, that *Jacob* was coming, who preſently ſet out to receive him, and they met at a Place call'd *Heropolis.* *Jacob*, with pure Joy, fell into ſuch a Rapture, that they had much a-do to keep Life in him; and *Joſeph*'s Surprize was not much leſs: But his own Danger did not hinder him from taking Care of his Father, being the weaker of the two. After this, he took five of his Brethren along with him, and poſted away to the King with the Tydings of their Arrival, ordering the reſt to advance by eaſy Journeys. The King was very glad of the News, and enquir'd of *Joſeph* what Buſineſs or Profeſſion they chiefly apply'd themſelves to. *Joſeph* anſwer'd, that their Employment was wholly paſtoral, and that they minded little elſe. He gave this Anſwer for two Reaſons: Firſt, to keep them together that they might be within Diſtance of ſerving their Father. Secondly, to prevent Strife and Emulation with the *Ægyptians*, by interfering with any of their Commiſſions; for theſe People were not allow'd to concern themſelves in Flocks and Paſtures. *Jacob*, upon his Arrival, was carry'd to the King, who asking him his Age, he told him, a *hundred and thirty:* And he ſaid further, (ſeeing *Pharaoh* in ſome Wonder at it) that his Anceſtors commonly liv'd a great while longer; ſo the King appointed *Jacob*, and his Sons to go, and live in *Heliopolis*, where the King had his Flocks and Shepherds.

Jacob *conducted to* Pharaoh. Gen. 47.

Heliopolis *aſſign'd* Jacob *for his Habitation.*

The Famine encreaſes in Ægypt.

The Famine at this Time encreaſed grievouſly in *Ægypt*, and no Redreſs. The Courſe of the *Nile* was ſtopt that uſes to water the Country, and make it fruitful; no Rain at all, and the Generality of the People for Want of Foreſight utterly without Stores, and no Grain to be had but for ready Money; and when that fail'd, they dealt for Land, Cattle, and Slaves, in exchange for Corn. By this Means all came in the King's Hands, while the miſerable Multitude went, ſome one Way, and ſome another, ſubmitting to any Miſery rather than ſtarving. Only the Prieſts preſerv'd their Freedom, and their Eſtates. This Neceſſity in the Concluſion made the Peoples Minds as ſervile as their Bodies; for they accounted nothing mean or ſcandalous, that would but put Bread in their Mouths, which way ſoever they came at it.

The Famine abates.

Upon the Return of the *Nile* to its uſual State, and the Clouds to their proper Office of watering and refreſhing the Earth, the Famine began by Degrees to abate, and every Thing to return to the Condition it was in before. *Joſeph* hereupon viſited all the great Towns and Cities; call'd the People together, and put them into Poſſeſſion of their Lands again, which they had parted with to the King, reſerving a fifth Part of the Profits of them as a Duty to the Royal Prerogative: Charging them to be as good Huſbands for the King as they would for themſelves, if the Grounds were entirely their own. The Men were ſo ſurpriz'd with Joy at this unlook'd for Reſtitution, that they fell preſently to work upon Tillage and Improvement. This magnanimous Piece of Juſtice did mightily advance *Joſeph*'s Intereſt and Authority, both with King and People: And after this Conceſſion, the aforeſaid fifth Part was ſettled by an Act of State upon the Crown for ever.

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[a] Scr *Hamul.* [b] Gr. Ισάχαρος. [c] Scr. *Tola*, *Phuvah*, *Job*, *Shimron.* [d] Scr. *Sered*, *Elon*, *Jahleel.* [e] Scr. *Belah.* [f] Scr. *Becher.* [g] Scr. *Aſhbel.* [h] Scr. *Ehi*, *Roſh.* [i] Scr *Muppim*, and *Huppim*, and *Ard.* [i] Lat. *Us.* Scr. *Huſhim.* [k] Scr. *Jahzeel*, *Guni*, *Jezer*, and *Shillem.* [l] Scr. *Ziphion*, *Haggai*, *Shuni*, *Ezbon*, *Eri*, *Arodi*, *Areli.* [m] Scr. *Jimnah*, *Iſhuah*, *Iſua*, *Beriah*, and *Serah* their Siſter: The Sons of *Beriah*, *Heber*, and *Malchiel.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Death of Jacob, *and of* Joſeph.

Jacob *dyes in the Arms of th Children* Gen. 48, 49. 50.

Jacob *recommends* Ephraim *and* Manaſſes *to his Sons.* Gen. 48.

The Death and Character of Joſeph.

WHEN *Jacob* had been *ſeventeen Years* in *Ægypt*, he departed this Life in the Arms of his Children, wiſhing them Plenty and Proſperity, and foretelling them that their Iſſue ſhould in Time to come poſſeſs Part of the Land of *Chanaan*, which came afterwards to paſs. He mightily recommended to them the Generoſity of *Joſeph*, for his Goodneſs, in returning only Friendſhips and Benefits for the moſt provoking of Injuries; and expreſſing more Tenderneſs, for his mortal Enemies, than was uſual with others to the beſt of Friends. Wherefore he laid his Commands upon them to receive *Ephraim* and *Manaſſes*, *Joſeph*'s Children, into their Number, when they ſhould come to ſhare the Land of *Chanaan*. (But of this hereafter.) Deſiring them at laſt, that his Body might be bury'd in *Hebron*. He dy'd at a *hundred forty ſeven Years of Age*, not inferior for Piety and Virtue to any of his Predeceſſors, and by the Goodneſs of God he was crown'd with all ſorts of Bleſſings. *Joſeph*, with the King's Leave, cauſed his Body to be tranſported to *Hebron*, where it was magnificently bury'd. But the Solemnity being over, the Brothers made a great Difficulty of going back again, for Fear of a Revenge from *Joſeph*, now the Father was dead, and no Body left that could interpoſe to hinder Miſchief; but *Joſeph* quieted that Scruple and ſo got them back with him again: Beſtowing upon them large Poſſeſſions, and upon all Occaſions treating them with the moſt generous Reſpect imaginable. After this, *Joſeph* alſo dy'd, at the Age of a *hundred and ten Years*; a Man of an exact and punctual Virtue; of a wonderful practical Prudence, and one that made ſo modeſt a Uſe of his Power, that no Calumny would ſtick to him; no, not ſo much as that of *Potiphar*'s Wife. In Fine, he maſter'd all Difficulties, and was advanced to the higheſt Station in the Government, and no Man either to envy or to beſpatter him. The reſt of the Brethren liv'd and dy'd happily in *Ægypt* too, and their Bodies afterward, by their Poſterity, tranſported to *Hebron*, and there interr'd. The Bones of *Joſeph* were carry'd laſt of all out of *Ægypt* into *Chanaan*, according to his own Appointment, at the Time when the *Hebrews* went away out of the Country. As to the Hiſtory and Adventures of theſe People, and how they made their Way into the Land of *Chanaan*, we ſhall have another Place for't. But it ſhould be firſt ſeen how they came to quit the Land of *Ægypt*.

CHAP. IX.

The miſerable Slavery of the Hebrews *in* Ægypt, *for* 400 *Years. The Birth of* Moſes, *and the Providence of his Preſervation, by the Means of* Pharaoh's Daughter.

The Ægyptians *a luxurious, envious People,* Exodus 1.

The Ægyptian *Slavery.*

THE *Ægyptians* are naturally a peeviſh, lazy ſort of People; abandon'd to their Pleaſures, and their very Souls ſet upon their Profit, let it come which way it will. So that it was no Wonder they ſhould caſt an envious Eye upon the *Hebrews*, whom they found (juſt in a Contradiction to their Humour) a laborious, induſtrious People; abounding in Men and Treaſure: A People, in ſhort, whoſe Happineſs they were not able to bear; beſide a Jealouſy they had that their Increaſe in Wealth and Number might make them dangerous. *Joſeph*'s old Services being now forgotten, and the Government of *Ægypt* tranſlated into other Hands, the *Iſraelites* were no longer treated as Friends, but as Slaves; for all ſervile and coarſe Offices of Drudgery fell to their Share; even to the Degree of putting their Wits to work, to find out new Ways of Vexation and Oppreſſion. They put them to the draining of Rivers into Chanels; walling of Towns; caſting up of Dikes and Banks, to keep off Inundations: Nay, the erecting of phantaſtical *Pyramids*; forcing them upon the Learning of ſeveral painful Trades, and tying them up to a perpetual Reſtleſsneſs of Labour. This was their Life for a matter of *four hundred Years*. The *Ægyptians*, on the one Hand, making it their Deſign to work the Generality to Death, and totally to deſtroy them; while the *Iſraelites*, on the other, patiently made the beſt of their Misfortunes in all Difficulties.

A Prophecy of a Hebrew *Child that ſhould curb the* Ægyptians.

While the *Ægyptians* were thus intent upon the deſtroying of them, there went a Diſcourſe about, that made their Malice againſt them yet more implacable, even to the Degree of reſolving to root them out from off the Face of the Earth. There was a certain *Scribe*, as they call'd him, a Man in great Credit for his Predictions, who told the King that there was a *Hebrew* Child to be born about that Time, that would be a Scourge to the *Ægyptians*, and advance the Glory of his own Nation, and if he liv'd to grow up, he would be a Man eminent for Virtue and Courage, and make his Name famous to Poſterity. This did ſo ſtartle the King, that by the Counſel of the Scribe he order'd the *Ægyptian* Midwives carefully and ſtrictly to attend the Labours of all the *Hebrew*

An Order to drown all the Hebrew Males.

Women; preſerving the Females, and caſting the Males into the River. He committed this Truſt to the *Ægyptians*, as the leaſt likely to be partial, and upon Pain of Death to them and their Family, who ſhould preſume to conceal any Child, or act contrary to this Command.

The Barbarity of this bloody Decree look'd ſeveral Ways; Firſt, as it depriv'd ſo many Parents of their Children; Secondly, as it made thoſe Parents themſelves acceſſary to the Murder of their own Iſſue: And then again, as they had in Proſpect an utter Extinction of the whole Race for want of Males to continue it. They were now brought to the laſt Extremity; but there is no oppoſing of Craft and Violence to God's Will and Providence; for this Child, that the *Scribe* had foretold of, was born and brought up privately and ſafe, in Deſpite of all Precautions, and liv'd to make good the *Scribe*'s Predictions. The Matter was carry'd thus.

Amram's *Prayer for the* Hebrews. Exod. 2.

God *anſwers* Amram *in a* Viſion.

There was one [a] *Amram*, a *Hebrew*, a Man of eminent Quality and Credit, that found himſelf in a great Streight upon this Decree, both publick and private; one Way, out of a Reſpect to the whole Nation that was to be exterminated by it; the other, in Regard to his own Particular, for his Wife was then with Child. In this Diſtreſs of Sorrow he offer'd up a Prayer to Almighty God, *that he would look down in Pity upon a People that had never departed from his Worſhip*; *that he would guide and protect them, and in his good Time put an End to a Calamity that ſtruck at no leſs than the rooting out of the whole Stock.* His Prayer was heard, and God appear'd to him in a Dream, telling him that *as he had not forgotten the Piety of his Predeceſſors, ſo neither would he fail to reward them as he had done their Anceſtors*; encouraging *Amram* to hope for better Things. “It was I (*ſaid the Viſion*) that made you ſo mighty a Nation from ſo ſmall a Beginning: That brought *Abraham*, in his own ſingle Perſon, out of *Meſopotamia* into *Chanaan*, and (beſide other Bleſſings) gave him Children by a Woman that according to the Courſe of Nature, was paſt Child-bearing, and left vaſt Poſſeſſions to thoſe that came after him: To *Iſhmael* the Country of *Arabia*; *Troglodytis* to the Children of *Cheturah*, and to *Iſaac* the Land of *Chanaan*. You cannot (without extreme Wickedneſs and Ingratitude) forget the Glory and Succeſſes of all your Exploits when I fought your Battles: My Bleſſings upon *Jacob* and his Poſterity, who of ſeventy Perſons only that came into *Ægypt*, are at preſent multiply'd *to ſix hundred thouſand*. The Viſion alſo aſſur'd him, that *he would provide for the common Good of them all, and for himſelf in particular*; for the Child that the *Ægpptians* ſtood in ſuch Dread of, and for whoſe Sake all the *Hebrew Males* were to be put to Death: That Child, *the Viſion ſaid*, ſhould be born to him, come happily into the World; ſcape all Spyes; have an Education provided for him, beyond what could be expected, and in good Time deliver the *Iſraelites* from the *Ægyptian* Bondage, and make his Name glorious to Eternity far and near. This, and more, *ſays the Viſion*, will I do for you and yours; and he ſhall have a Brother whom I will honour with the High-Prieſthood, and it ſhall deſcend from him to his Heirs for ever.

Amram *tells his Wife his Dream.*

Ex. 2.

Moſes *is born.*

The Child kept cloſe for three Months.

Amram, upon waking, gave his Wife *Jochabel* the Hiſtory of this Viſion, and the Diſcourſe put them both in great Perplexity what to think of it: For they were now not only ſolicitous for the Child, but to the higheſt Degree incredulous alſo of the wonderful good Things that were to come to paſs: But after a while, *Jochabel* fell in Labour, and her Pains ſo ſhort and eaſy, that all was over before the *Ægyptian* Midwives could take Notice of it; by which Providence they were brought to have more Faith in the *Viſion*. After the Child had been kept cloſe three Months, *Amram* at laſt, for Fear of a Diſcovery that would deſtroy Father, Mother, Child and all at once, and likewiſe diſappoint the Prediction, determin'd to leave all to Providence; reaſoning upon it after this Manner. If the Child could be concealed, (as it was very difficult to do it, and very hazardous to attempt it) they muſt lye in Danger every Moment; but as to the Power and Veracity of God, they made no Doubt of it, or of his Ability to ſave them: So that whatever he had promiſed, he would certainly make good. Upon this Diſcourſe they came to a Reſolution, and framed a little kind of a Basket of Bullruſhes, large enough for their Purpoſe; twiſted them together, pitched the Joynts, and when they had made it tight, and dreſſed it to hold Water, they put in the Child, and ſo committed them to the River, and to God's merciful Protection. In this Manner it was ſet a-float, and the Stream carry'd it along. [b] *Mariam* the Child's Siſter was ſent by her Mother's Order to watch it on the other ſide of the River, and ſee what became on't. This may ſerve now to convince the World, that it is not for human Wiſdom to think of defeating the Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty; and to inſtruct us, that they, who for their own Intereſt or Security, meditate Miſchief to other Men, though with never ſo much Art and Addreſs, ſhall probably meet with many Diſappointments in the End: As they on the contrary, that chearfully reſign up themſelves to the good Pleaſure of God, ſhall find Relief, even by Miracle, where ordinary Means fail; as in the Caſe of this innocent Child.

Moſes *ſet a-drift upon the River in a Basket.*

Mariam *the Child's Siſter ſent out to watch it.*

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[a] Gr. Αμαράμης. [b] Gr. Μαριάμμη & Μαριάμης.

Thermuthis *the King's Daughter gets the Child a-ſhore.*

Thermuthis, the King's Daughter, was at this Time taking the Air upon the Bank of the *Nile*, and happening to ſee ſomewhat paſs floating along the Current, ſhe preſently ſent out ſome Swimmers to bring it a-ſhore; and what ſhould it be, but a fair goodly Child expos'd in a kind of Cradle or Baſket, as aforeſaid, which the Princeſs was exceedingly delighted withal. Such was the Grace and Favour of God to *Moſes*, that he was preſerv'd, brought up, and provided for, by thoſe very Perſons that were in the Deſign of cutting off the whole Race of the *Hebrews* for his Sake. So that *Thermuthis* order'd ſome Woman to be call'd to give it ſuck: But ſeveral being brought, and try'd, one after another, the Child turn'd away with ſuch an Averſion, that they could not make it take the Breaſt. *Mariam* being there preſent, and ſeemingly more out of Curioſity or by Chance, than any thing of Concern or Buſineſs, ſhe told the Princeſs that this would never do; *for*, ſays ſhe, *if this Child be of one Country, and the Nurſe of another, it is poſſible the Milk of a Stranger will not agree with it: But if there was ever a* Hebrew *Woman, the Child would perhaps allow that to ſuckle it.* That which *Mariam* ſaid ſeem'd ſo reaſonable, that the Princeſs order'd her to try if ſhe could get ſuch a Nurſe her ſelf.

Jochabel *the Mother nurſes it.*

Why call'd Moſes.

Moſes *the ſixth from* Abraham.

She went away preſently to look after one, and in a ſhort Time brought the Mother her ſelf (whom no Body there knew) to make the Experiment. She had no ſooner offer'd it the Pap, but the Child fell to guzzling and drawing of it as greedily as could be: And the Princeſs obſerving it, deſir'd *Jochabel* to take Charge of the Infant; and ſhe accepted it. The Child had a Name given him according to the Event of the Providence, and it was called *Mo-Yſes:* [a] *Mo*, in *Ægyptian*, ſignifying *Water*, and *Yſes*, as much as *Preſerv'd:* So that putting them together, *Mo-Yſes* is as much as *Preſerv'd out of Water.* This *Moſes*, beyond all Controverſy, proved in Time the wiſeſt Man in the whole Nation, which was but according to what God had foretold of him. He was the *ſixth Generation* from *Abraham: Amram* his Father being the Son of *Caath*; the Son of *Levi*; the Son of *Jacob*; the Son of *Iſaac*; who was the Son of *Abraham.*

Moſes *a Miracle of a Child.*

As he grew up, he ſhew'd a Pregnancy of Underſtanding much above thoſe of his Years. Nay, the very Gayity of his little Plays and Sports was not without ſomewhat of ſerious and inſtructive in it: Doing every thing with ſuch a Grace, that in his very Childhood he gave the World to underſtand what might be expected from him in Time to come. After three Years of Age, he came to be ſuch a Miracle of a Child, for Beauty and Comelineſs of Stature, that People would ſtop and ſtand gazing at it with Delight and Admiration wherever they ſaw him; and his Way was ſo charming that it wrought upon the moſt unſociable and moroſe of Men: Nor did he ſo much as move any where, but all Eyes were upon him; and let People be never ſo buſy or ſo much in Haſte, they could yet hardly leave him.

Thermuthis *adopts him, and preſents him to her Father.*

Moſes *preſerv'd by a ſpecial Providence.*

So it was, in Fine, that *Thermuthis*, out of a pure Affection to the Child, and wanting Iſſue of her own, took a Reſolution to adopt him for her Son; carry'd him to her Father, and told him that ſhe came to preſent him with a Succeſſor, in Caſe he ſhould want one. “ This, *ſays ſhe*, is the ſweeteſt towardly Child that ever was born. I have “ brought it up my ſelf, and it was the Bounty of the River *Nile* that deliver'd it into my “ Arms. This Child do I intend to adopt, and make your ſelf a Preſent of it for *Your* “ *Succeſſor*”. With theſe Words ſhe gave the Child into the Hands of her Father. The King receiv'd him, and with an affectionate Tenderneſs, preſſing him towards his Heart: Took off his Crown to gratify his Daughter, and placed it upon the Child's Head; who wantonly turning it up and down, the Crown fell to the Ground, the Child, after that, trampling upon it with his Feet. This Paſſage was look'd upon as an *Ill Omen* to the King and his Government: Inſomuch that the *Scribe* (being then at Hand) bawl'd out to have the Boy kill'd; for that is the Child, *ſays he to the King*, that I foretold you would be the Deſtruction of *Ægypt*, and he has now confirm'd the Prophecy by the Affront he has put upon your Government, in treading your Crown under his Feet. This is he, in Fine, by whoſe Death alone you can promiſe your ſelf to be ſecure: And take him but away once, the *Hebrews* have nothing more to hope for, nor the *Ægyptians* to fear. *Thermuthis*, upon this Outcry, took him inſtantly away without any Oppoſition from the King; it being God's Will for the Good of *Moſes*, that he ſhould not heed it. The Princeſs gave him all the Advantages of a generous and polite Education, which put the *Hebrews* in Hope of ſome great Good was to betyde them. The *Ægyptians* on the other ſide, were as jealous of Miſchief; but having no Proſpect of any Succeſſor to the Crown that they could hope to be much the better for, the bloody Deſign fell to the Ground.

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[a] Scaliger *in his Notes upon the* Fragment *of* Beroſus, *p.* 48. *confutes this Etymology of* Moſes.

CHAP. X.

The War of Moſes *with the* Æthiopians.

THUS was *Moſes* born, and brought up; and ſtill, as he advanc'd farther into the World, he gave every Day more and more Proofs of his Character and Courage, and of what Conſequence his Valour and Conduct might be, either to his Friends, or his Enemies. As for Example:

The Æthiopians *break in upon the* Ægyptians.

They put them to the Rout, and over-run their Country.

Moſes marches againſt the Æthiopians *in the Head of an Army.*

The *Æthiopians* made an *Inroad* upon the Borders of *Ægypt*, rifling and ſpoiling that Part of the Country. The *Ægyptians* ſtomach'd the Affront, and march'd out againſt them with an Army to take their Revenge, both for the Diſhonour and for the Injury. It came to a Battle, and the *Ægyptians* were routed; ſome kill'd in the Action, and others ſhamefully beaten Home again. The *Æthiopians* were ſufficiently puffed up with this Succeſs, and follow'd the Blow ſo cloſe, that they were not without ſome Hope of over-running even their whole Country. They burnt and ravag'd without Controul; took Booty in Abundance, and carry'd all before them without Reſiſtance: Inſomuch that they march'd to *Memphis* it ſelf, and ſo to the Sea, and all without Oppoſition. The *Ægyptians* were hard preſs'd, and in this Extremity had recourſe to their Divines and Oracles, what they had beſt to do. The Anſwer was, that they ſhould call in a certain *Hebrew* to their Aſſiſtance. The King, forthwith upon this, tells his Daughter that he was reſolv'd to levy an Army againſt the *Æthiopians* upon this Occaſion, and that he ſhould be glad to have *Moſes* in the Head of it. The Princeſs promis'd to do her Part toward the engaging of him, as a Thing of great Importance to her Father's Service; but binding him under a ſacred Oath before Hand, that no malicious Practice ſhould be attempted upon the Perſon of *Moſes*; caſting it in the Teeth of the Prieſts, how great a Shame it was, firſt to contrive and adviſe the Death of him, and then moſt wretchedly to implore his Friendſhip.

The Paſſages infeſted with Serpents.

Moſes was eaſily prevail'd upon, both by *Thermuthis* and the King, to undertake this Commiſſion, which was highly pleaſing to the holy Men of both Sides too. The *Ægyptians* flatter'd themſelves, firſt with the hope of Victory under his Conduct, and then with the likelyhood of an Opportunity, when their own Work was done, to deſtroy *Moſes*. The *Hebrews*, on the other Side, delighted themſelves with the Thought, that under the Command of ſo great a General, they might one Day find themſelves in Condition to ſhake off this *Ægyptian* Yoak. *Moſes* bethought himſelf upon this Expedition how he might come to attack the Enemy at unawares. The Paſſage over Land was horribly infeſted with Serpents; many of them fierce and venomous, terrible to the very Sight, and ſeveral Sorts among them that are not to be found any where elſe: Some with Wings, that lye upon the Catch, and are as mortal in the Air, as upon the Ground. This Way was ſo deadly hazardous, that all People were againſt the venturing of an Army through it: So that for that very Reaſon, he rather choſe the inland Paſſage, than that by the *Nile*; and this he did upon a true Judgment of the Reaſon the Thing. *Moſes* was only in the firſt Place to provide againſt the Perils of this deſperate Paſſage, which he did by this wonderful Stratagem. The Bird *Ibis* is a mortal Enemy to all ſorts of Serpents: They fly from the Purſuit of it as from Deer, till they are overtaken and devour'd. This Bird is only fierce to thoſe Inſects, and gentle to all other Creatures. I ſhall need ſay no more of it at preſent; for the *Greeks* are very well informed in this Hiſtory. Now *Moſes*'s Invention, to ſecure his Army againſt theſe Creatures, was to carry with him ſo many of theſe Birds in Cages of Bull-ruſhes to clear the Way for him.

Moſes *deſtroys the Serpents with his* Ibis.

Surprizes the Æthiopians, *and ravages the Country.*

Moſes was no ſooner advanced to this dangerous Quarter, but he let looſe his Birds upon the Serpents, as againſt ſo many Enemies, and under their Protection went forward without any Harm or Interruption. So that puſhing hard to overtake the *Æthiopians*, he came up with them, before they were aware; fought and defeated them: and having cut off their Retreat into *Ægypt*, he forc'd them back again to their own Home, deſtroying a great many of their Towns and Cities, and committing terrible Slaughter upon their People.

Moſes *lays Siege to* Saba.

This Victory of *Moſes* put new Life and Mettle into the *Ægyptians*, while the *Æthiopians*, on the other Hand, had nothing but Death, Deſtruction, and Slavery before their Eyes. They were at laſt driven into *Saba*, the *Metropolis* of *Æthiopia*, which *Cambyſes* afterward called by the Name of *Meroë*, having a Siſter of that Name. *Moſes* ſat down before this Place, though in all Appearance impregnable, being ſurrounded by the *Nile*, and two other Rivers, [a] *Aſtapus* and *Aſtabora*, falling in to ſtrengthen it; which made the Paſſage ſo much the more difficult: Beſide that ſtanding in an Iſland, and being encompaſs'd with a ſtrong Wall, it is likewiſe fortify'd with Ramparts, and other Works of Defence, to ſecure it from any Attacks or Inundations from the River.

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[a] Or *Aſtabus*.

with

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Moſes was not at all pleaſed with this Siege; for the Army lay idle, and there was no forcing the Enemy to Blows: But while this paſs'd, there happen'd a very extraordinary Encounter. The King of *Æthiopia* had a Daughter he called *Tharbis*, who had the Fortune once to ſee and to obſerve *Moſes* with his Sword in his Hand, behaving himſelf with great Honour and Bravery under the Walls of the Town. She was ſo infinitely taken with the Courage and Action of the Man, looking upon him alſo as the Balance of the two Kingdoms, having recover'd the *Ægyptians* when they were at the loweſt, and at the ſame Time humbled the *Æthiopians* in the very Height of their Victories, that upon all this together the Princeſs fell violently in Love with him; and her Affection growing upon her ſtill more and more, ſhe brake her Mind at laſt to ſome particular Confidents ſhe had, and ſent them over to *Moſes* to offer her ſelf in Marriage to him. *Moſes* agreed to it, but upon this Condition, (which was ratify'd with an Oath too) that upon delivering the City, the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, and it was ſcarce ſooner ſayd than done: But there was a great Slaughter made however of the Enemy: So that they had now only to give God Thanks; and celebrate the Nuptials and that being done, the Army of the *Ægyptians* went Home again victorious.

Tharbis *the King's Daughter falls in Love with* Moſes.

The Place render'd upon Condition of Marriage.

CHAP. XI.

The ungrateful Ægyptians *practiſe upon the Life of* Moſes, *who flyes from* Ægypt *to* Madian.

BUT ſo far were theſe ungrateful Wretches from acknowledging the Benefits they had receiv'd from their Deliverer and Preſerver, that they returned him only a mortal Jealouſy and Hatred; extending even to foul Practices upon his Perſon, in requital. They were afraid the Reputation and Intereſt he had acquir'd by his mighty Archievements might perhaps put him in a Condition to ſet up for himſelf: And ſo to give a Stop to his Carriere, they exhibited an Information of Murder againſt him, which the King himſelf was well enough content to entertain; partly out of Envy to the Fame of his Valour and Wiſdom, and partly for Fear of that Deſtruction, which the Prieſts and Scribes were ſtill buzzing in his Ears; for they never left ſpurring him on to Miſchief, till in Concluſion, they brought the King himſelf over into the Plot. *Moſes*, in fine, was certainly deſign'd for Death, and he eſcaped it ſo narrowly too that if by Providence he had not got ſome Inkling of the Deſign, juſt when he did, and in that Inſtant ſlipt out of the Way, he had undoubtedly periſh'd. He heard the Ways were lay'd, and therefore he was forc'd to take his Flight through a Deſert, where he might reaſonably preſume no Body would look after him. He went his Way without finding any Thing to eat upon his Journey: So that there was no Remedy for Hunger but Patience. In this Condition he paſs'd travelling forward, till he came about Noon within a little of [a] *Madian*, a City upon the Coaſt of the *Red Sea*, that took it's Name from one of the Sons of *Abraham* by *Chetura*. He was now come within Sight of the Town, and down he ſat by a Fountain, there to refreſh and reſt himſelf. In this Place there happen'd an Accident that took its Riſe from ſomewhat of the Cuſtom of the Country; and it gave *Moſes* an Occaſion not only of ſhewing his Reſolution and Juſtice; but, as it fell out, of making his Fortune alſo. Water is ſo ſcarce in that Country, that happy is the Shepherd that can get firſt in the Morning to the Fountain, before it be drawn dry and not enough left for his Cattle. At this Time there ſtood by the Fountain *ſeven maiden Siſters*, the Daughters of [b] *Raguel*, a Prieſt, and a Perſon of great Reputation in that Quarter. Theſe Maids had their Father's Flocks under their Care (which is commonly the Womens Buſineſs among the *Troglodytes*) and when they had taken their Proportion, they empty'd it into Troughs, the better to divide it among their Sheep; but ſome Shepherds coming up at the ſame Time, they forced the Virgins away from their Station, and went to take the Water to themſelves. This was ſo brutal and ſo unmanly an Indignity to be put upon Women, that *Moſes* had no Patience either for the Men that offer'd the Wrong, or for the Injuſtice it ſelf. So he drove the Shepherds away, and help'd the Virgins, as it well became him to do. The Daughters had ſo generous a Senſe of this Civility and Obligation, that upon returning to their Father, they gave him the whole Story at length, both of the Shepherds Rudeneſs and Violence, and of the Strangers Courteſy and Reſpect: joyning in a Requeſt to their Father that he would be pleaſed to take ſome Notice of the Favour they had received. The good Nature and Gratitude of the Daughters was ſo highly approv'd by the Father, that he commanded them to bring the Stranger to his Houſe, that he might make him ſome Acknowledgment ſuitable to his Deſert. *Moſes*

being

A Conſpiracy againſt Moſes.

Ex. 2.

Moſes *makes his eſcape to* Midian.

The Daughters of Raguel *affronted.*

Moſes *reſcues them.*

[a] Gr. Μαδιηνή. Scr. *Midian*. [b] Scr. *Revel.*

The gratitude of Raguel *and his Daughters.*

Raguel *adopts* Moſes, *and gives him one of his Daughters.*

being brought accordingly, the Father told him what a Character his Daughters had given of him, and how much they were all indebted to him for his Aſſiſtance and Protection. He had a great Admiration for his Virtue, *he ſaid*, and would give him very ſpeedily to underſtand that he had not caſt away a Reſpect upon an ungrateful Perſon; for he ſhould not be long in his Debt. Hereupon he took him for his adopted Son; gave him one of his Daughters in Marriage, and made him Head and Maſter of all his Cattle, which at that Time was all one with the entire Poſſeſſions of thoſe People.

CHAP. XII.

Of God's appearing in the fiery Buſh, *and of* Moſes's *Rod.*

Jethegleth *or* Raguel. Ex. 3.

Moſes *drives his Flock to Mount* Sinai.

A Tradition that God inhabits there.

God ſpeaks to Moſes *out of the* fiery Buſh.

A Voice bids Moſes *go to Æ*gypt.

UPON this Advance of *Moſes* in his Fortune, under the Favour of [a] *Jethegleth*, otherwiſe *Raguel*, he liv'd with his Father in Law, and had the Charge of his Flocks, which he drove ſometime afterwards up to Mount *Sinai*, where there was excellent Graſs and feeding, and the higheſt Mountain in the whole Country. The People had an old Tradition, that God dwelt there; ſo that in ancient Time, out of pure Reverence to this Tradition, People forbear either feeding or walking there. Upon this Mountain there appeared a wonderful Prodigy: A *Fire* ſeen in a *Buſh*, the *Buſh* burning, the Flame fierce and violent, and yet neither Leaves, Flowers, nor Branches blaſted or conſum'd. The very Spectacle it ſelf and the Surprize of it ſtruck *Moſes* with Aſtoniſhment; but he was much more amazed when he heard a Voice out of the Fire calling him by his Name and ſpeaking to him; *How durſt you preſume* (ſays the Voice) *to ſet Foot upon this Ground, where never any Man living trod before you, out of a Veneration to the very Holineſs of the Place?* Commanding *Moſes* to withdraw himſelf from the Fire, and to reſt content with what he had ſeen, and what he was thought worthy of, as the righteous Offſpring of ſo many glorious Anceſtors; charging him over again to carry his Curioſity no farther. The Voice foretold him, that through God's Aſſiſtance his Name ſhould be great and honourable among Men; bidding him fear nothing, but go to *Ægypt*, where he ſhould have the abſolute Command of all the *Hebrews*, and deliver his Countrymen from their preſent Tyranny and Oppreſſion; for (*ſays the Voice*) they ſhall come to inhabit the Lands, and to enjoy all the good Things that their firſt Father *Abraham* was poſſeſs'd of, and by your Wiſdom be put into the full Enjoyments of all thoſe bleſſings. But be ſure to remember, that ſo ſoon as ever you ſhall have brought the *Hebrews* out of *Ægypt* you offer up a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving in this very Place. Thus ſaid the Voice that ſpake to *Moſes* out of the *fiery Buſh*.

Moſes *reaſons the matter with the Almighty.*

God promiſes to ſupport Moſes *both with Miracles and Arguments.* Ex. 4.

Moſes's Rod *turn'd into a* Serpent.

A Leprous Hand.

Water *turn'd into* Blood.

The Prodigy of the Viſion gave *Moſes* a frightful Amazement, but the Voice much greater. “Lord, (*ſays he*) I know, and I adore thy Power, and ſo have all my Pre-“deceſſors done before me; ſo that I muſt be worſe than mad, to make any Doubt of “obeying it: But how ſhall I yet, a weak private Man, find either Words or Credit to “prevail with ſuch a Number of People; firſt to forſake a Place where they are at pre-“ſent ſettled, and then to follow me upon Uncertainties, whitherſoever I ſhall think fit “to lead them? Or otherwiſe, ſuppoſing that I had Intereſt enough to draw them after “me, who ſhall compel *Pharaoh* to let them go yet, when ſo great a Part of the *Ægyp-*“*tians* Happineſs and Revenue depends upon their Labour?” The Voice commanded him again to reſt ſatisfy'd upon the whole Matter, promiſing to be with him upon all Occaſions: And that if there were need of Words, the Faculty of Perſuaſion ſhould be put into his Mouth; or if of Works or Actions, he ſhould de ſtrengthen'd and ſupported. But for the fuller Confirmation and Conviction of *Moſes*, the Voice commanded him to throw a *Rod* down upon the Ground that he had in his Hand. He did ſo, and it was preſently turn'd into a *Serpent*, rolling itſelf into Folds, and menacing with the Head, as if it threaten'd an Aſſault: And then this *Serpent* in a little Time, became a *Rod* again. The Voice, after this, bad *Moſes* put his Hand into his Boſom, which he did, and it came out again as white as Chalk; returning in a very little Time to its native Colour. *Moſes* was again commanded to take fair *Water*, and throw it upon the Ground, where it ſeem'd to be turn'd into *Blood*. *Moſes* ſtanding agaſt at the miraculous Operations, God commanded him to caſt himſelf wholly upon him, and to depend upon the Aſſiſtance of an Almighty Power, which ſhould enable him alſo to work the ſame Miracles, and give him the Credit of a Perſon acting by a divine Commiſſion, and in Obedience to the will of God.

God haſtens Moſes *into* Ægypt.

Upon this Deliberation, God commanded *Moſes* away immediately for *Ægypt*, and to purſue his Journey Night and Day without Intermiſſion; for the longer he ſtay'd, the longer would the *Hebrews* remain in Affliction and Slavery. It was not for *Moſes*, after what he had ſeen and heard, to doubt of God's Power or Juſtice; for nothing could be clearer than the Certainty of the Grounds he went upon. He made it his Petition yet, that he might have the ſame Power of working Miracles continu'd too in *Ægypt*, which he had exercis'd here: With this further Supplication; that God would reveal unto him the Name of that infinite Power which he had ſeen and heard, to the End that in his Sacrifices, and Invocations, he might know more explicitly under what Appellation to offer up his Addreſs. God was pleaſed to grant him his Requeſt, but it is a Name that was never known, nor heard of before, and I dare not ſo much as mention it. *Moſes* had the Gift of working Miracles, not only for this particular Time, but ſo often as there ſhould be Occaſion for it: So that without any Doubt at all of the Certainty of the Revelations and Predictions from the *Buſh*, or of the Aſſurances of a divine Aſſiſtance to go along with him, he ſettled his Thoughts in a firm Confidence of living to ſee the happy Deliverance of the *Hebrews*, and the utter Confuſion of their *Ægyptian* Enemies.

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[a] According to the ancient *Lat.* Verſion. in the *Original* 'tis Ἰεθεγλαῖος, perhaps for Ἰεθραῖος, which in the Scr. is *Jethro.*

The Gift of working Miracles.

CHAP. XIII.

Upon the News of Pharaoh*'s Death,* Moſes *and* Aaron *go into* Ægypt, *to the new King.*

The Death of Pharaoh.

Moſes *goes into* Ægypt.

Aaron *meets him upon the Way.* Ex. 4.

MOSES had News by this Time of the Death of that *Pharaoh* that hunted him out of the Country; ſo he pray'd *Raguel*'s Leave to return to his Friends and Relations in *Ægypt*, for their common Good. His Deſire being granted, he took his Wife [a] *Zipporah*, the Daughter of *Raguel*, and his Children by her, [b] *Gerſhom* and *Eleazar*, and diſpatch'd away with them into *Ægypt*. Now *Gerſhom* ſignifies a *Foreigner*, and the other, *the Help of God*; becauſe it was by the Aid of divine Providence that *Moſes* ſcap'd the Snare the *Ægyptians* had laid for him. By the Time that he was gotten near the Borders, his Brother *Aaron*, by God's Direction, came to him. Upon their meeting, *Moſes* gave him an Account at large of the Wonders upon the Mount, and of all the Commands, Inſtructions, and Revelations that he had received from God. He was met upon the Way a little farther, by great Numbers of the principal Men among the *Hebrews*, that upon Notice of his Approach came out to bid him Welcome. They had ſome Diſcourſe together, but *Moſes* finding that bare Words would not do his Work, he was fain to have Recourſe to his Gift of Miracles, in Proof of his Authority, Power, and Commiſſion; appealing alſo to their own Eyes and certain Knowledge, upon the Wonders that he wrought. This Evidence did ſo abſolutely confirm, as well as it amazed them, that they made no longer any Doubt but it was a Token of Aſſurance from Heaven, that God would provide for the Relief and Security of his People by ſome extraordinary Means.

Moſes *has recourſe to his Gift of Miracles.* Ex. 7.

Moſes *moves the new King on behalf of the* Hebrews.

Moſes having brought the *Hebrews* over to him ſo far now, as to promiſe him all Reſpect and Obedience for the future, (beſide what the Love and Hope of gaining their Liberty might draw from them) he went after this directly to the *new King*; minded him of the Services he had done the *Ægyptians* againſt the *Æthiopians*, upon that ravaging and contemptuous Inroad they had made upon his Country; the Toils and Hazards he had undergone, and the Care he had taken to manage the War for the Advantage of the *Ægyptians*, as if they had been his own Country-men; and ſo he paſs'd on to the unſuitable Returns they had made him for theſe good Offices. He told him likewiſe of the Viſion upon Mount *Sinai*, and very particularly what God had ſaid to him, and what Signs he had given him by Miracles and Revelations, to fix him in a firm Belief of all his Promiſes; beſeeching *Pharaoh*, not to oppoſe God's Will by a fruitleſs Infidelity.

Pharaoh *ridicules him.*

Moſes *does his former Miracles over again.*

Pharaoh *ſets up his Prieſts and Enchanters againſt* Moſes.

Pharaoh turn'd all theſe Things to *ridicule*. *Moſes*, for his better Satisfaction, did all thoſe Miracles over again before him, that he had wrought upon Mount *Sinai*: Which put *Pharaoh* into a violent Outrage of Paſſion and ill Language. "You, *ſays* Pharaoh; "a ſcandalous Runagate! Firſt you ſhew'd *Ægypt* a fair Pair of Heels to ſave your ſelf; "and you are now come back again to juggle the People out of their Wits with your Exploits of Slight of Hand and *Magick*. You take upon you (*ſays* Pharaoh) as if you alone, forſooth, were skill'd in this divine Myſtery; and value your Reputation upon "that idle Pretence, at ſuch a Rate, as if the Multitude were to fall down and worſhip. But after all this Vanity and Oſtentation, my Prieſts, *ſays* Pharaoh, I would have "you to know, can do all your Feats after you. So the Prieſts were call'd, and bid to throw down their *Rods*, which was done, and they were immediately turned into *Serpents*. This does not move me at all (*ſays* Moſes) for I am neither a Stranger to the Addreſs of the *Ægyptians*, nor a Deſpiſer of them; but I may well affirm that the Operations I perform are as much more excellent than theirs, as the Power of God is above that of their *Magick*, or Things divine more illuſtrious than human: And I ſhall

[a] Gr. Σαπφώρα, [b] Gr. Γηρσὸς.

make it inſtantly appear that what I do is not a Fanſy of impoſing Illuſions upon a credulous Multitude, under the Reſemblance of Truth; but the very Power of an omnipotent God; which will riſe in Judgment againſt thoſe Unbelievers, that ſhall ſhut their Eyes againſt ſo clear an Evidence. With theſe Words, he threw his *Rod* upon the Ground, and commanded it to become a *Serpent*; it did ſo, and while the *Magician's Serpents* were winding themſelves upon the Earth, *Moſes*'s *Serpent* devour'd *their Serpents* one after another; and then when it was return'd to its former Shape, *Moſes* took it up again.

Moſes's *Rod devours the* Enchanter's Rods. Ex. 7.

The King was ſo far from being the better for this Miracle, that inſtead of admiring the Power by which it was wrought, he burſt out into Indignation at the Fact; checkt *Moſes*, and ſtill went on ſiding with the *Ægyptians*; and at the ſame Time, ordering the Officers and Overſeers, not only to keep the *Hebrews* to their Work, but to encreaſe their Task: Which was forthwith done by withdrawing their former Allowance of Straw toward the making of Brick; ſo that they were fain to work all Day, and in the Night fetch Straw, which doubled their Labour.

Pharaoh *doubles the* Hebrews *Task.* Ex. 5.

Moſes was not one Jot diſcourag'd at theſe hard Words and Oppreſſions, but ſtood firm both againſt the King's Diſpleaſure and the Grumblings of his own People, who would needs perſwade him to be quiet; for ſtirring, *they ſaid*, did but make Things worſe. But the Heart of *Moſes* was ſet upon the Liberty of his Country Men. Wherefore he went again to the King, to beg Leave for the *Hebrews* to go to Mount *Sinai*, and offer Sacrifice to God as he had commanded them: Telling *Pharaoh* alſo, "That there was no oppoſing God's Will; wherefore he ſhould do well not to ſeem to deſpiſe his Favour, but rather let the People go, for Fear of drawing thoſe Judgments upon his own Head another Day, which do certainly attend the Unbelievers and the Diſobedient. In ſuch a Caſe, the very Earth and the Air, *he ſaid*, would fight againſt him: His Women would be barren, and all the Elements would conſpire to avenge God's Cauſe upon him: All Things would go croſs with him, and no avoiding it, even though the *Hebrews* ſhould leave him, unleſs it were with *Pharaoh*'s Licenſe and Friendſhip: And rather than fail, God himſelf would bring it about at laſt, if *Pharaoh* would not.

Moſes *ſolicites* Pharaoh *for the* Iſraelites *again; and precautions him for Fear of the Conſequences.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Ten Plagues *of* Ægypt.

Pharaoh *is harden'd.* Ex. 4.

The Plagues *of* Ægypt.

THE King gave no heed at all to what *Moſes* ſaid, and upon this Hardneſs and Contempt, the *Ægyptians* fell into miſerable Calamities; wherein I ſhall be very particular, both for the Novelty ſake, and to ſhew alſo that the Predictions of our Prophet were not idle. Beſide, that finally, it is for the Good of Mankind to know theſe Things, both for their Caution and Inſtruction, that People may keep clear of crying and provoking Sins, that bring down dreadful Judgments upon Mankind.

1. *The* River *turn'd into* Blood. Ex. 7.

In the firſt place, the *Water* of the River *Nile* was turn'd to *Blood*; which was the only Water they had to drink: And it was not ſo in Colour only, but it took thoſe with Gripes immediately that were forced to make Uſe of it. Thus it was only to the *Ægyptians*; but to the *Hebrews*, ſweet and potable as at other Times. This Miracle put the King to his Wit's End; ſo that for Fear of a total Deſtruction, he gave the *Hebrews* Leave to be gone. So ſoon as the preſent Evil was over, he repented of what he had promis'd, and recall'd his Word. God was ſo incenſed againſt him for his Falſeneſs and Ingratitude, after the Plague was removed from him, that he preſently viſited *Ægypt* with another Judgment; which was, ſuch Swarms or Shoals of *Frogs* amongſt them, that they cover'd the Earth, choak'd up the River, and ſo corrupted the Water that it was almoſt Death to drink it; the dead *Frogs* being turn'd to Mud, and others produced out of that Putrefaction. They crawl'd into their Bed-Chambers, Cups, Diſhes, Meat, and Drink; nothing ſcap'd them, and wherever they came, a poyſonous Stink went along with them. This fell ſo heavy upon the *Ægyptians*, that *Pharaoh* ſent for *Moſes* a ſecond Time, and told him that he might now take away his *Hebrews*; and be gone with them whither he pleaſed. The Word was no ſooner paſs'd, but both Land and Water were all clear'd of the *Frogs*, and every Thing in it's former State. This Viſitation was no ſooner taken off than forgotten; for *Pharaoh* detain'd the People ſtill, pretending that what he promis'd was out of Fear, and conſequently not binding; for his Will never conſented to it; which looked as if he had done it on Purpoſe to make a further Experiment. This unkingly Breach of Faith was follow'd with a Judgment of *Lice*: The Bodies of the People bred them, and they were all cover'd with them, gnawing and tearing intolerably, and no Remedy; for Baths and Ointments did no good. *Pharaoh* was ſo confounded at this *New Plague*, what with the Danger, the Scandal, and the Naſtineſs of it, that he was half ſorry for what he had done;

Pharaoh *diſcharges the* Iſraelites, *but remands them.*

2. *The* Plague *of* Frogs. *Ex.* 8.

Pharaoh *promiſes again, and breaks.*

3. *The* Plague *of* Lice.

for he gave the *Hebrews* permiſſion to go their Way; but ſo ſoon as the *Rod* was off again, he demanded their Wives and Children as Hoſtages for their return.

Pharaoh *promiſes and fails again as before.*

This was a Practiſe that exaſperated God more than the reſt; for it lookt as if they thought to have over-reach'd Providence; and as if *Moſes*, not *God*, had puniſh'd the *Ægyptians* for oppreſſing the *Hebrews*. Wherefore God ſent numberleſs Swarms of *Flyes* and *Inſects* and ſuch Varieties of them as had never been ſeen before. They fill'd the whole Country, deſtroy'd the People, and cover'd the Ground ſo that there was no tilling of it, and they that eſcap'd preſent Deſtruction were in Danger of being taken away by Diſeaſes that were bred out of a poyſonous Corruption: But all this was not yet enough to bring him to a Senſe of his Sin, and a Complyance with the Will of God: But he was now for letting ſome of the Women and their Husbands go, but keeping back their Children.

4. *The* Plague *of* Flyes.

Pharaoh *falſifies again,*

The Wiſdom of God did not want Variety of Plagues in abundance, and worſe than the former, to inflict upon the whole Nation for the Wickedneſs of an incorrigible obſtinate Prince. So he viſited the *Ægyptians* with a Plague of inward *Ulcers*, which carry'd the People off in great Numbers.

5, 6. *The* Plagues *of* Murrain, *and of* Ulcers Ex. 9.

When God ſaw that *Pharaoh* ſtill perſiſted in the defyance of a divine Power, he ſent upon the *Ægyptians* a Judgment of *Hail*, in the prime of the Spring, which utterly deſtroy'd all their Fruits and Plants that were in the Bud. This was not only a Prodigy in *Ægypt*, where they had never ſeen Hail before, but beyond any other that ever had been heard of in the coldeſt Climates: And what the Hail left was devoured by a following Plague of *Locuſts*; ſo that the whole product of the Earth was loſt for that Year. Now, one would have thought, if this King had not been beſotted as well as abandoned, theſe Judgments would have convinc'd him of the Vanity of contending with Almighty God, and have brought him to bethink himſelf of ſome way in Time to prevent his final Ruine: But *Pharaoh* was not ſo mad all this while, as not to underſtand the true Cauſe of all his Afflictions; but he ſeemed to take a Vanity in the Haughtineſs of a contumacious Malice, to try Maſteries with God Almighty, which ſhould get the better of it; and in this height of Stomach he reſolv'd to ſacrifice himſelf and his People to his Preſumption. He came at length by degrees to yield, that the *Hebrews* ſhould have Licenſe to depart with their Wives and Children, only leaving their goods behind them, for the *Ægyptians*, in Conſideration for what they had loſt. *Moſes* did not think that Condition reaſonable; becauſe, if ſo, they ſhould not have any Thing left for a Sacrifice.

7. *The* Plague *of* Hail.

8. *The* Plague *of* Locuſts. Ex. 10.

Pharaoh *ſhuffles ſtill.*

This Diſpute held ſo long that the *Ægyptians* were all wrapt up in a profound thick *Darkneſs* before it was over: Several of them periſh'd by ſeveral Ways; ſome were afraid of one thing, ſome of another; and not a few, of being all ſwallow'd up in the ſame *Abyſs* together. After three Days and Nights, every Thing came to itſelf again, and *Pharaoh* ſtanding firm yet not to part with the *Hebrews*, *Moſes* went and ſpake to him in theſe Words. “How long, *ſays he*, will you ſet up your own Will againſt the “Will of God! It is his Pleaſure and Command that you diſmiſs the *Hebrews*, and there “is nothing elſe in Nature to ſave you but that”. The King was ſo enraged upon this Liberty, that he declared it ſhould coſt *Moſes* his Head, if ever he ſpake one Word to him more upon that Subject. *Moſes* made anſwer that he had now ſaid all he had to ſay. But that he was well aſſur'd it would not be long before the King himſelf, and the chief of his Nobility ſhould of their own accord ſpeak to the *Hebrews* themſelves to make haſte to be gone: And with theſe Words *Moſes* went his Way.

9. *The* Plague *of* Darkeneſs Ex. 10.

Pharaoh *continues obſtinate.*

The impenitent Obſtinacy of *Pharaoh* was ſo provoking, that God kept yet one Plague more in ſtore for him, which would be ſure to bring down his proud Heart, and make him diſcharge the *Hebrews*. He commanded *Moſes* to give Notice to the People to prepare their Sacrifice on the [a] 13*th* day of the Month *Xanticus*, to be offer'd up on the 14*th*. (That which the *Macedonians* call *Xanticus*, the *Hebrews* call *Niſan*, and the *Ægyptians Pharmuthi*.) *Moſes* was appointed to bring the *Hebrews* along with him, and all that belong'd to them: Which he did accordingly, gathering them together, and then dividing them into *Tribes* and *Companies*, but all in the ſame Place. Early in the Morning on the 14*th*, (the day aſſign'd) being all in readyneſs to depart, they ſacrific'd, purifying their Houſes by ſprinkling Blood upon them with a Bunch of Hyſſop. After Supper they burnt the remainder of the Fleſh, as juſt entring upon a Journey. And this is our Way of ſacrificing unto this Day, upon the Feſtival of our Paſcha, which ſignifies *Paſſing over*, becauſe God paſſed over the *Hebrews* without hurting them, when the *Ægyptians* were ſtruck with a Diſeaſe; for the Plague made ſuch Havock that Night with the *Ægyptians Firſt-Born*, that People of all Conditions came thronging in Troops to the Palace with Clamours to have the *Hebrews* forthwith ſent away. Whereupon the King call'd for *Moſes*, and gave immediate order for them to depart, upon an Opi-

The Inſtitution of the Paſſover.

10. *The* Plague *of the* Firſt-Born.

Pharaoh *orders the* Iſraelites *to depart.*

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[a] See *Bochart's Hierozoicon*, part 1. l. 2. c. 50. p. 582. *Ed. Lond.*

nion that *Ægypt* could never be happy ſo long as they ſtay'd in the Country; and that the Liberty of one would be the Deliverance of the other. Several of the *Ægyptians* preſented them upon their going away; ſome for diſpatch, others for acquaintance ſake; and not without Tears at parting: Many of them repenting of the barbarous Cruelty they had formerly exercis'd over them.

CHAP. XV.

The March of the Hebrews *out of* Ægypt, *under the command of* Moſes.

They March out of Ægypt. Ex. 12.

The Eight-days-Feſtival. Ex. 13.

THE *Iſraelites* took their Way by [a] *Letopolis*, a City at that Time deſerted: And *Babylon* was afterwards built in the Place of it by *Cambyſes*, when he layd *Ægypt* waſte. They made long Marches, and on the third Day got to *Beelzephon*, by the *Red Sea*. There were no Proviſions to be had upon the Way in the Wilderneſs; ſo that their Food was only Meal and Water, kneaded and bak'd into Cakes, and this was their Entertainment for thirty Days. They had now ſpent all they brought out of *Ægypt*, having manag'd it as ſparingly too as was poſſible, providing barely for their Neceſſities, without filling their Bellies. It is in Memory of the Scarcity that we celebrate the *Eight-Days-Feſtival*, which we call that of *Unleaven'd Bread*. But the Multitude of the Travellers, with their Wives and Children was almoſt innumerable; for there were full *ſix hundred Thouſand* Men that were able to bear Arms.

They carry Joſeph's *Bones along with them.*

The *Hebrews* went out of *Ægypt* on the 15*th* day of the Month of *Xanthicus*; *Moſes* being now *Eighty Years of Age*, and his Brother *Aaron Eighty three*. It was *two Hundred and Fifty Years* from *Jacob*'s coming into *Ægypt*, and *four hundred and fifteen* from the coming of our Father *Abraham* into *Chanaan*. They carry'd *Joſeph's* Bones along with them, being a Truſt that he had committed to the charge of his Sons.

Pharaoh *purſues them.*

Moſes leads them away by the Wilderneſs.

They had not been long gone, before the *Ægyptians* repented parting with them; the King eſpecially, who imputed all the Calamities that had befall'n *Ægypt*, to the Inchantments of *Moſes*, and look'd upon them to be no more than the Works of his Practice and Contrivance. This Phancy brought them quickly to a Reſolution of taking Arms and purſuing them, making no doubt at all of maſtering and bringing them back again, being tired and unarmed, if they could but overtake them; the Difficulties of the Paſſage being troubleſome, even to a ſingle Traveller, much more to a Marching Army. But *Moſes* had ſeveral Inducements to make Choice of this Way: firſt in caſe the *Ægyptians* ſhould change their Minds, and ſend after them, the very Fatigue of the Expedition would make them repent both the Perfidy and the Undertaking: And then *Moſes* had no Mind to have them go by *Palæſtine*; for the *Philiſtins* that were Enemies to the *Hebrews* upon the ſcore of an old Grudge, and Borderers upon *Ægypt*, would perhaps have broken in upon them, if they could have had any Intelligence of their March. He led them in fine, by the Way of the *Wilderneſs*, though a great Way about, and through many Inconveniences, with an intent to ſacrifice upon *Mount Sinai*, as God had commanded him, and ſo away to *Chanaan*.

The Ægyptians *overtake them.*

The People ready to ſtone Moſes. Ex. 14.

By that Time they were come to the *Red Sea*, they found themſelves overtaken, and encompaſs'd by the *Ægyptians*, with an Army of 600 *Chariots*, 50000 *Horſe*, and 200000 *Foot*; the main Body being drawn up in order of Battle. They had clapt Guards upon all Paſſes, ſecur'd all Avenues, and ſhut the *Hebrews* up into ſo narrow a compaſs, betwixt impaſſable Mountains and the Sea, that it was utterly impoſſible for them to make an eſcape. In this ſtreight, there was no thought of flying; and, if they had never ſo much a mind to't, there was no means of fighting neither; for they had no Arms: and then if they continu'd where they were, they muſt inevitably ſtarve: So that they had no more to do, *they ſaid*, than baſely to yield themſelves Slaves to ſave their Lives. In this pinch of Danger and Deſperation, the whole Blame was lay'd upon *Moſes*. They had forgotten the wonderful Things that God had done for their Deliverance, and the Miracles he had wrought for the Strengthening of their Faith. They were ſo exaſperated, in ſhort, with the Outcryes of Women and Children that gave themſelves for loſt, that they were upon the very point of ſtoneing their falſe Prophet, as they accounted him, and proſtituting themſelves once more yet to their former Slavery; for they had nothing in ſight but Rocks, Seas, and armed Troops to encounter.

Moſes *refers them to God's Power and Providence.*

The Outrages and Madneſs of this headſtrong Multitude had no effect at all upon the Providence and Courage of *Moſes*: His whole Truſt was in God, who he knew after ſo many Preſages of Liberty, would never fail him, or ſuffer his People to fall into the Power of their Enemies, to ſerve and periſh. "Pray put the Caſe (*ſays Moſes, Addreſſing to the People*) that you had depoſited ſome great Truſt in the Hand of a Perſon

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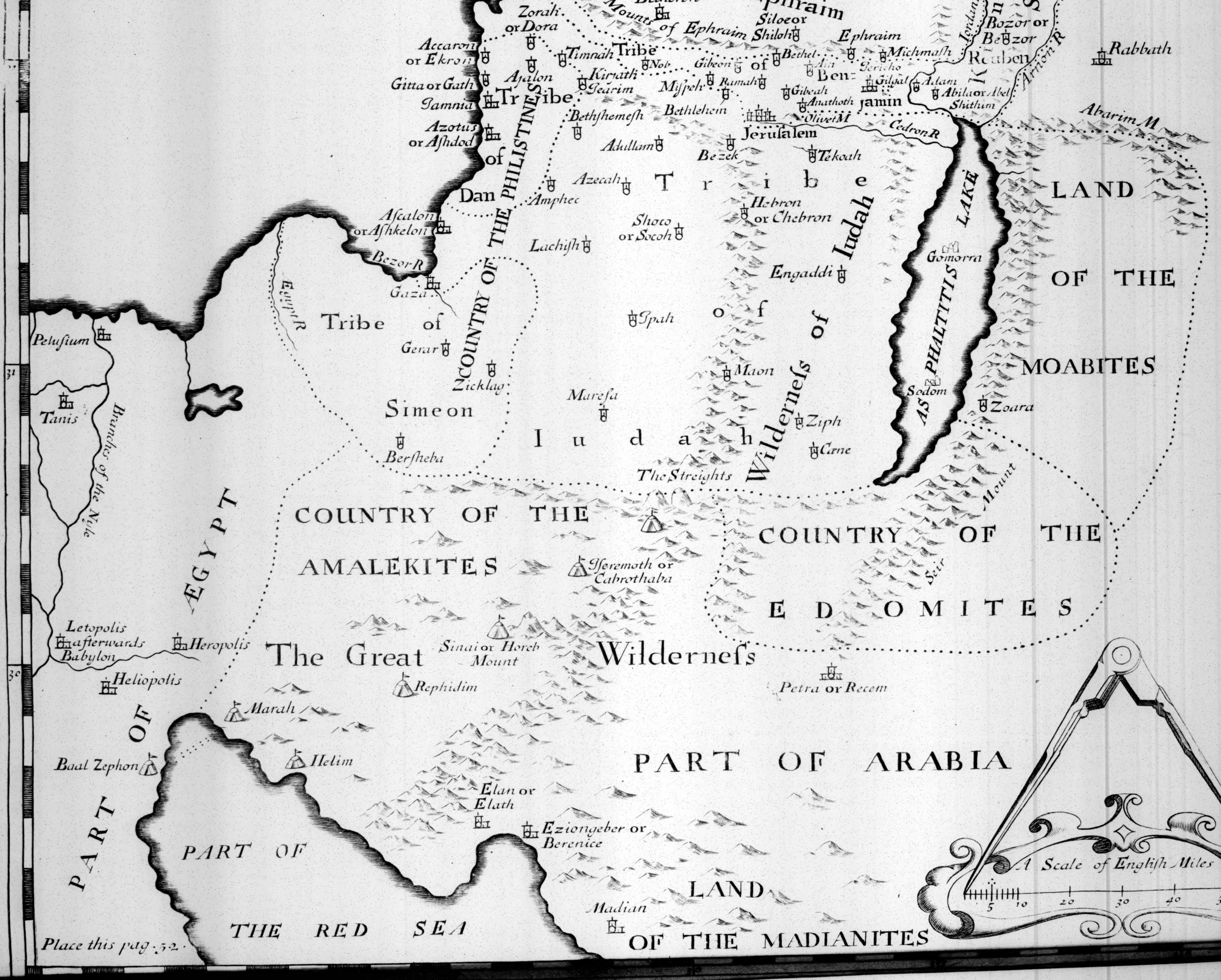
[a] Gr. Λητȣ̃ς πόλις.


PART OF ÆGYPT
Pelusium
Tanis
Branches of the Nyle
Letopolis afterwards Babylon
Heliopolis
Heropolis
Baal Zephon
PART OF THE RED SEA
Marah
Helim
Elan or Elath
Eziongeber or Berenice
Madian
LAND OF THE MADIANITES
PART OF ARABIA
The Great Wildernefs
Sinai or Horeb Mount
Rephidim
COUNTRY OF THE AMALEKITES
Iſeremoth or Cabrothaba
Petra or Recem
COUNTRY OF THE EDOMITES
Seir Mount
Tribe of Simeon
Gerar
Zicklag
Berſheba
Egypt R
Gaza
Bezor R
Aſcalon or Aſhkelon
COUNTRY OF THE PHILISTINES
Azotus or Aſhdod
Gamnia
Gitta or Gath
Accaron or Ekron
Zorah or Dora
Ajalon
Tribe of Dan
Timnah
Kirjath Jearim
Nob
Gibeon
Miſpeh
Ramah
Bethſhemeſh
Bethlehem
Adullam
Bezek
Azecah
Amphec
Lachiſh
Shoco or Socoh
Tribe of Judah
Ipah
Mareſa
Maon
Hebron or Chebron
Engaddi
Tekoah
Ziph
Carne
The Streights
Wildernefs of Iudah
Jeruſalem
Olivet M
Cedron R
Gibeah
Anathoth
Bethel
Ai
Jericho
Gilgal
Tribe of Benjamin
Michmaſh
Ephraim
Siloe or Shiloh
Mount of Ephraim
Adam
Abila or Abel Shithim
Jordan
Bozor or Beſzor
Reuben
Arnon R
Rabbath
Abarim M
ASPHALTITIS LAKE
Gomorra
Sodom
Zoara
LAND OF THE MOABITES
A Scale of English Miles
5
10
20
30
40
50
60
30
31

PARTS INHABITED BY THE MADIANITES
AMALEKITES AND ISHMAELITES

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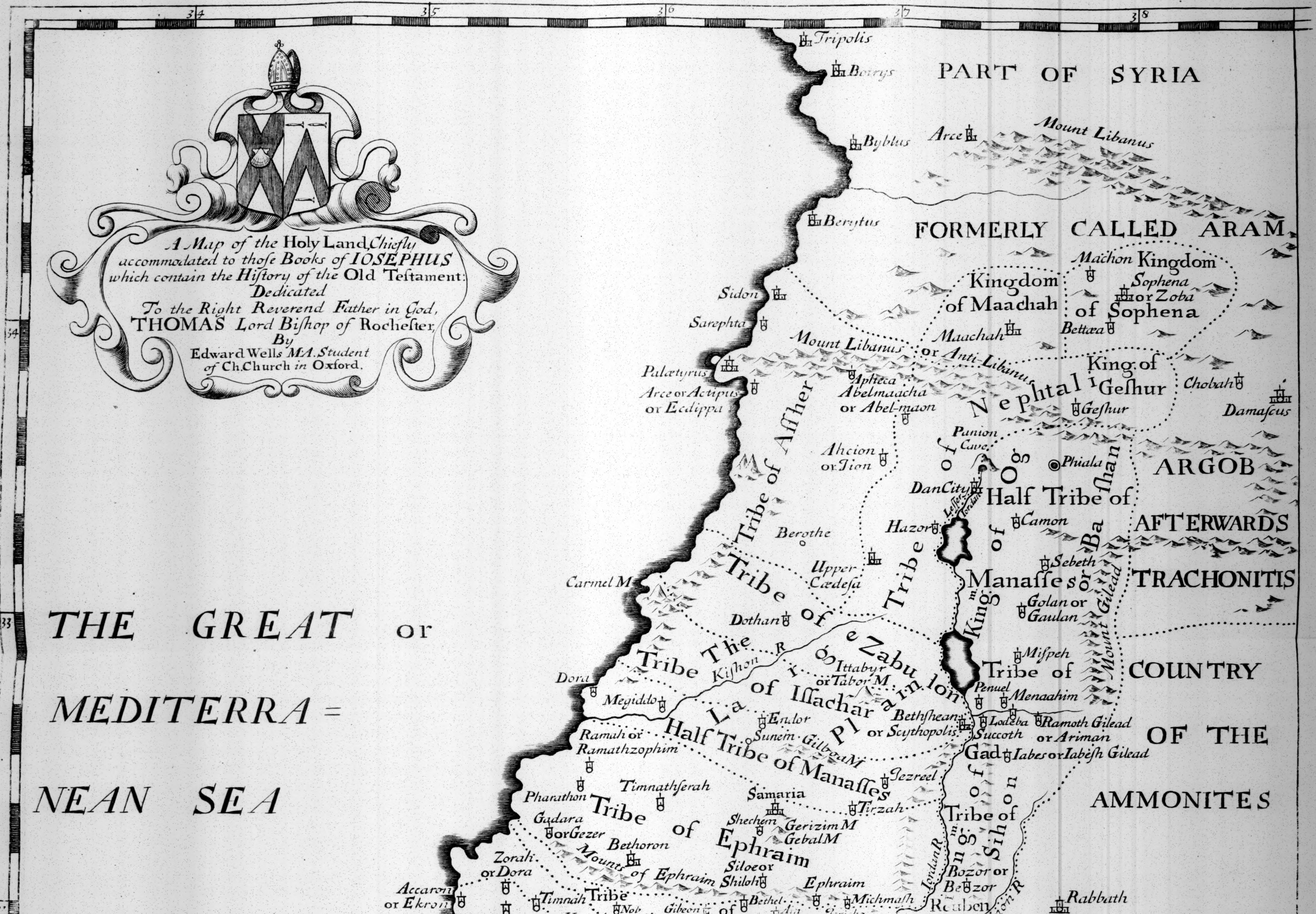

A Map of the Holy Land, *Chiefly accommodated to those Books of* IOSEPHUS *which contain the History of the* Old Testament: *Dedicated To the Right Reverend Father in God,* THOMAS *Lord Bishop of* Rochester, *By* Edward Wells *M.A. Student of* Ch. Church *in* Oxford.

34
35
36
37
38
33
THE GREAT or MEDITERRA= NEAN SEA
PART OF SYRIA
FORMERLY CALLED ARAM
Tripolis
Botrys
Byblus
Arce
Mount Libanus
Berytus
Sidon
Sarephta
Mount Libanus or Anti-Libanus
Palætyrus
Arce or Actipus or Ecdippa
Kingdom of Maachah
Machon
Kingdom of Sophena
Sophena or Zoba
Maachah
Bettæa
King of Geshur
Geshur
Chobah
Damascus
Apheca Abelmaacha or Abel-maon
Nephtali
Tribe of Assher
Punion Cave
Ahcion or Jion
Phiala
ARGOB
DanCity
Lesser Jordan
Half Tribe of Manasses
Kingm of Og
of Bashan
Hazor
Camon
Berothe
AFTERWARDS TRACHONITIS
Upper Cædesa
Tribe of
Sebeth
Carmel M
Golan or Gaulan
Mount Gilead
Dothan
Tribe of Zabulon
The Tribe of Issachar
Kishon R
Ittabyr or Tabor M
Mispeh
Tribe of Gad
COUNTRY OF THE AMMONITES
Dora
Megiddo
The Plain of
Endor
Sunem
Gilboa M
Bethshean or Scythopolis
Penuel
Menaahim
Lodeba
Succoth
Ramoth Gilead or Ariman
Iabes or Iabesh Gilead
Ramah or Ramathzophim
Half Tribe of Manasses
Jezreel
Timnathserah
Samaria
Tirzah
Phararthon
Tribe of Ephraim
Shechem
Gerizim M
Gebal M
Kingm of Sihon
Tribe of Reuben
Gadara or Gezer
Bethoron
Mounts of Ephraim
Siloe or Shiloh
Ephraim
Zorah or Dora
Accaron or Ekron
Timnah
Tribe
Nob
Gibeon
Bethel
Ai
Michmash
Jordan R
Bozor or Bezor
Arnon R
Rabbath

Bo

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[illegible]

“ that had hitherto manag'd it well and wiſely for you; might not you reaſonably de-
“ pend upon that Man for the ſame Care and Kindneſs, and in the ſame Caſe too, over
“ again? What a Madneſs is it for you to deſpond then, where God himſelf hath taken
“ you into his Protection; and of his own free Bounty made all Good by me, that might
“ contribute to your Freedom and Security! Nay, the very Pinch and Difficulty of the
“ Caſe is an Argument to enflame your Hope, rather than to diſcourage it. He hath
“ brought you into this Diſtreſs, on purpoſe to ſhew his Power and Kindneſs, in bringing
“ you out again; even to the Surprize and Admiration of your ſelves, and your very
“ Enemies. It is not God's Time to interpoſe with his Almighty Power in ſmall Mat-
“ ters: But in Caſes of judicial and unaccountable Calamities, when all Hope of human
“ Help fails us, that's the Seaſon for God to work out the Deliverance of thoſe that
“ caſt themſelves upon him: Wherefore fear nothing ſo long as you have him for your
“ Protector and Defender, that is able to raiſe the lowly and the oppreſſed, and to lay
“ the Honour of their Perſecutors in the Duſt. Be not afraid of the *Ægyptians* armed
“ Troops, neither deſpond of your Lives and Safeties, becauſe you are at preſent lock'd
“ up betwixt the Sea and the Mountains, and no viſible Way in Nature to come off;
“ for the God whom you ſerve is able to level all theſe Mountains, and lay that Ocean
“ dry. His Will, in fine, be done.

CHAP. XVI.

The Iſraelites *paſs through the* Red Sea. *The* Ægyptians *purſue them, and are drown'd.*

WITH theſe laſt Words in his Mouth, *Moſes* led the *Hebrews* toward the *Sea*, the *Ægyptians* looking on; who having them in view, and being extremely harraſs'd out with the Purſuit, thought it adviſable to refreſh themſelves, and put off fighting till the Day following. So ſoon as *Moſes* was come to the Sea-ſide, he took out his *Rod* (the Enſign of his Commiſſion for working of Miracles) and call'd upon God, imploring his divine Aid and Aſſiſtance in a Prayer to this Effect. “ Lord! (*ſays he*) thou
“ ſeeſt thy Servants here reduc'd to ſo miſerable an Extremity, that it is not in the Power
“ of any natural Means, whether of Arms or human Policy, to deliver us; but it is the
“ God alone whom we ſerve and truſt in, that is able to do it. Lord, be merciful to
“ theſe thy People that are now come out of *Ægypt*, in a pure Simplicity of Obedience
“ to thy holy Will and Commandment, and repoſing themſelves entirely upon thy graci-
“ ous Promiſes. It is to thee, Lord, that we fly for Help, who alone canſt reſcue us out
“ of the Hands of our unmerciful Enemies. Speak Comfort to thy Servants, and exert
“ thy Power; let thy Relief be ſpeedy, and inſpire them with a new Life and Confi-
“ dence, now in the Depth of their Deſpairs. Lord, we are under great Difficulties;
“ hemm'd in with the Sea and Mountains; but that Sea and thoſe Mountains are thine,
“ and if thou doſt but ſay the Word, the one ſhall be levell'd and the other turn'd into
“ dry Land: Or otherwiſe, thy Providence may carry us off among the very Birds of the
“ Air, if it ſhall be thy Will to employ thy Power that Way to ſave us”. Immediately upon this Prayer, *Moſes* ſtruck the Sea with his *Rod*; whereupon the Waters parted and recoil'd: By that Means leaving a Way open for the *Hebrews* Paſſage and Eſcape. The Sea being now divided, and a Lane clear'd, *Moſes* took the Providence aright; and putting himſelf in the Head of his Men, (who with great Alacrity follow'd him) he bad them give God Thanks for the Bleſſing of ſo unexpected and unaccountable a Deliverance, and in the Name of God to follow him chearfully through the Way which Almighty God had provided for them. The *Hebrews*, in this Inſtant, marched forward, and the *Ægyptians* look'd upon them as ſo many Sots and Madmen, to throw themſelves Headlong into ſo certain a Deſtruction. But when they ſaw them a great Way in the Sea, and preſſing further ſtill, without any Inconvenience and Impediment; they poſted away after them, not making any Doubt but the ſame Road would ſerve them both. [a] They ſent their Horſe before: But while they were arming themſelves, and trifling away Time, the *Hebrews* gave them the ſlip, and were gotten on the other Side of the Water; leaving their Enemies behind them. This happy Succeſs of the *Hebrews* made the *Ægyptians* yet more eager upon the Chaſe, and more ſecure too; for they did not underſtand that this Miracle was not wrought for the opening of a common Way to them both; and that divine Juſtice had made Uſe of it at the ſame Time for the Preſervation of the People of God, and the Confuſion of their Oppreſſors. They follow'd the Purſuit however, and when the whole Army was advanc'd within Compaſs, the Sea return'd upon it, and drown'd them all. The Judgment of this Reflux was accompany'd with high and fierce Winds and Tempeſts, Storms of Hail and Rain, terrible Thun-

Moſes *leads the* Iſraelites *to-ward the Sea.*

Moſes *calls upon God.*

Moſes *ſtrikes the Sea with his* Rod, *and the Waters part.*

Moſes *advances; and his* People *fol-low him.*

The Ægyptians *purſue them, and are all drown'd.*

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[a] Gr. Καὶ προτάξαντες τὴν ἵππον κατέβαινον. Lat. *Præordinantes ergo equos ingrediebantur in mare,*

drings and Lightnings, and nothing in ſhort wanting to make the Calamity more dreadful, or to ſet forth the Horrors of their Condition that fall under the Diſpleaſure of an angry God. They were alſo overtaken with a dark pitchy Night; ſo that the whole Army was deſtroy'd, and not ſo much as one Soul left alive to carry the Tydings.

It is not in the Power of Words to expreſs the Tranſports of the *Hebrews* upon this Deliverance: A Bleſſing ſo unlook'd for, and God himſelf the immediate and the profeſs'd Author of it; beſide the Deſtruction of their Enemies before their Faces, to ſecure them in the Poſſeſſion of their Liberty, and their Oppreſſors drown'd to a Man too. God's Hand was ſo eminently viſible in the whole Proceſs of this Affair, that never had Creatures ſuch Cauſe of rejoycing. And ſo they ſpent that whole Night in Hymns and Thankſgivings: *Moſes* in particular compoſing a Song in *Hexameter* Verſe, to the Honour of God upon this Occaſion.

I have been the more particular in theſe Relations, becauſe I find them in Holy Writ, and let no Man think this Story incredible of the Sea's dividing to ſave theſe People, for we find it in ancient Records, that this hath been ſeen before, whether by God's extraordinary Will, or by the Courſe of Nature, it is indifferent. The ſame Thing happen'd one Time to the [a] *Macedonians*, under the Command of *Alexander*, when for Want of another Paſſage, the *Pamphylian* Sea divided to make them Way; God's Providence making uſe of *Alexander* at that Time, as his Inſtrument for deſtroying the *Perſian* Empire. This is atteſted by all the Hiſtorians that have pretended to write the Life of that Prince. But People are at Liberty to think what they pleaſe.

The next Day after this memorable Judgment upon the *Ægyptians*, the Winds and the Waves forc'd their Arms a-ſhore juſt at the Place where the *Hebrews* had pitch'd their Tents: Which *Moſes* underſtood to be another Providence, in furniſhing the People with Arms that they ſo much wanted. So they were gather'd together and diſtributed among the *Hebrews*, Man by Man. After this, and the arming of the People, he led them to Mount *Sinai*, there to offer Sacrifice, and preſent Oblations for the Deliverance of the People, in Obedience to God's Command, as aforeſaid.

Moſes *goes to Mount* Sinai, *and ſacrifices.*

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[a] As it is related by *Caliſthenes* in *Euſtathius* upon *Homer's third Iliad*, See *Huetius's Alnetan. Quaſt.* l. 2. p. 206.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE THIRD.

From the Year of the World 2454, to 2455.

CHAP. I.

The Paſſage of the Iſraelites *from* Ægypt *to* Mount Sinai. *Their Hardſhips by the Way. Their* Murmurings *againſt* Moſes. *The Miſeries they endur'd by* Hunger *and* Thirſt, *till they were reliev'd by* Miracle.

The Hebrews' Hardſhips in the Wilderneſs.

THE Joy of the *Hebrews*, for ſo wonderful and unthought of a Deliverance, was not a little damp'd by the extreme Hardſhips they were put to in their Way through the Wilderneſs to Mount *Sinai*. There was no Food to be got; the Water foul, ſcant and bad, and no Nouriſhment in it; inſomuch that the very Cattle could not drink it, much leſs the Men: But this was the Way they were fain to take for Want of another. By the Advice of their Guides, they brought a Proviſion of Water with them into the Deſart; and when that was ſpent, they digg'd Pits, but with very great Difficulty: For the Ground was hard, and the Water very bad and bitter when they came at it, and not enough of that neither.

The Waters of Marah bitter.

In travelling forward, they came about the Evening to a Place called [a] *Marah*, from the taſte of the Water; for *Marah* in *Hebrew* is *Bitterneſs*. They were quite tir'd with the Journey: Beſide that, their Proviſions falling ſhort, they began to be pinch'd with Hunger. But however they agreed to make ſome little Stay there; and the rather, becauſe of a Pit they had the Fortune to find there: Which though it could not anſwer the Neceſſities of their vaſt Numbers, there was yet ſome Sort of Conſolation in it, the Country conſider'd, and that there was no more Water to be expected from that Place forward. This was as bitter as the other, and a Drink that agreed neither with Man nor Beaſt.

Moſes found the Peoples Hearts beginning to ſink, and not one Word of Comfort that he could give them; for the Enemies they had now to deal withal were not to be encounter'd with Wiſdom and Valour: But Men, Women, and Children were equally in Danger, and it was a hard Matter for him to adviſe others, that had the whole Burden of the common Calamity upon himſelf; for in their Diſtreſs they all came flocking to him, Women begging for their Children, Husbands for their Wives, Men for themſelves, and all imploring Relief, when there was none to be had. *Moſes* betook himſelf to his Prayers again, that God would be pleaſed to correct the Bitterneſs of thoſe Waters and make them Sweet. This was granted him at the firſt Requeſt, and ſo he took a piece of Wood that lay there by Chance, cleft it length-ways in the Middle, and caſt it into the Water; telling the *Hebrews*, that God had heard their Prayers, and promiſed them a Supply of Water to their liking, upon Condition that they ſhould readily and chearfully do whatever he commanded them. They ask'd him, what he would have them do to get better Water. Why then, ſays *Moſes*, let the Well be drawn, and the luſtieſt young Fellows among you ſet their Hands to the Work. You ſhall find upon emptying out the better Half of it, that the Remainder will be potable, and for your Turn. They did as they were directed, and the Water was ſo purg'd by the continual Agitation of it, that it went down with the Multitude for no contemptible Drink.

Bitter Water made ſweet Ex. 15.

The Iſraelites encamp at Helim.

Upon decamping from hence, they went to a Place call'd *Helim*. The Proſpect of it was pleaſant enough at a Diſtance, for there appear'd a Plantation of Palm-Trees; but coming nearer, they found themſelves much deceiv'd in their Expectation, for there were but ſeventy of them in all, and thoſe but Dwarfs neither; for the Droughtyneſs of the Place ſtarv'd whatſoever grew upon it. Nay, though there were twelve Springs there,

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[a] Gr. Εἰς Μὰρ τόπον.

Their Wants encreaſe upon them.

The People threaten to ſtone Moſes. Exod. 16.

Moſes *reaſons the Caſe with them.*

Moſes *minds them of former Mercies.*

there, the Plants were not one Jot the better for them; for they never mounted ſo high as to diſtribute their Waters into Rivulets for the Refreſhment of the Earth. The Soyl was ſandy; no Veins of Water in it; or if now and then a Drop appear'd, it was ſo foul and dirty, there was no drinking of it. This Scarcity of Water ſpoil'd the Fruit-trees too. The Multitude, upon theſe melancholick Thoughts, were ſo impatient under the Senſe of this miſerable Calamity, that they fell into direct Mutiny againſt their Leader, and lay'd the Blame of all at his Door. Their *Thirty-Days-Store* was ſpent; their Wants encreas'd, and no Supplies to be got in the Wilderneſs. Theſe Thoughts all together put the People into a downright Deſperation; and the Senſe of their preſent Neceſſities made them forget all former Providences and Bleſſings, whether immediately from God himſelf, or inſtrumentally by the Hand of his Servant *Moſes*; proceeding in their Ingratitude to ſuch a Degree of Outrage, that they were within a very little of ſtoning their Commander to Death, as the Man they ſaid that had been the Ruine of them all. While the People were as yet in the Heat of their Malice and Rage, with Stones in their Hands and Clamours and Menaces in their Mouths, and nothing leſs than the Life of the Commander to pacify this Fury; *Moſes*, in the Fear of God and with a good Conſcience, ſtood forth among them, and with a Grace of Language and Addreſs, peculiar to himſelf, oppoſed Argument to Violence in Words to the following Purpoſe. "You muſt not think *(ſays he)* to cancel paſt Obligations with a Pretence of "preſent Sufferings: But the Difficulties, you now labour under, ſhould rather move you "to a thankful Contemplation of God's Bounties and Mercies to you in Times paſt, "even beyond all Hope and Expectation. And why may not the ſame Providence attend "you now again? why may not this Affliction be laid upon you for a Tryal, to ſee if "you have Courage, Patience, and Senſe enough of Gratitude to ſtand the Teſt: And if "you can diſtinguiſh betwixt the Force and Reaſon of paſt Benefits and preſent Troubles, "as you ought to do? Have a Care that you do not make your ſelves unworthy of God's "Favour, by impatience under Croſſes, and by Unthankfulneſs for good Turns, and by "oppoſing your preſent Paſſions to the divine Will and Power; for it was God that "brought you out of the Land of *Ægypt*, and it is with his Order and good Pleaſure "that you now contend. And ſo for your Quarrel to me now, *ſays Moſes*, my Fault "is only the obeying of my Maſter's Order. I have done nothing without a Commiſ-"ſion, and you cannot ſay I have ever deceiv'd you. When *Moſes* had lay'd before them the Reaſon of the Matter, he had then Recourſe to Inſtances, and particularly what Judgments befel the *Ægyptians* for keeping the *Hebrews* in Slavery, and detaining them contrary to the declar'd Will of God: How the *River* was turn'd into Blood; and how the ſame Water, that became *poyſonous* to the *Ægyptians*, was yet preſerv'd *ſalutary* to the *Hebrews*. How the Sea opened to make a Lane for the *Hebrews* in their Flight, and how the Waters clos'd again to drown the *Ægyptians* in the Purſuit: The former at the ſame Time being Spectators of the Overthrow of their Enemies; and receiving a large Supply of Arms by that Providence too, which they were wholly unprovided of before: And then how many miraculous Deliverances out of the very Jaws of Deſtruction God had wrought for them, even beyond the Force of human Imagination to conceive. "Now Gods Omnipotency *(ſays Moſes)* is everlaſting, and his Providence as "gracious, and as extenſive at this Day as ever it was: Wherefore you are not to deſpair "of the Goodneſs of Heaven; but to bear all Turns and Chances with Moderation, and "to conſider that the Aſſiſtance that is defer'd may come yet Time enough, and in Sea-"ſon: For ſo long as there is Life there's Hope. You are not, *ſays Moſes*, to look upon "your ſelves in this Caſe, as neglected or abandon'd; but it is Gods Pleaſure to put "your Greatneſs of Mind and Love of Liberty to the Tryal, and to ſee whether you "had rather ſubmit to a pinching Neceſſity, for want of Meat and Drink, or lead "the Life of Brutes in Slavery, that are only fed and fatten'd up for the Benefit "of their Maſter. It is not for my ſelf, *ſays Moſes*, that I fear any Thing; for what "am I the worſe for an unjuſt Violence upon my Perſon. But for the Sake of your "Safety, I reckon my ſelf bound to take ſome Care of my own; for every Stone, you "caſt at me in this Cauſe, imports a Condemnation of the Councels and the Doings "even of God himſelf.

The People pacify'd. Ex. 16.

Moſes *calls upon God.*

Moſes's *Prayer is heard.*

Theſe Words brought the maddeſt of the Company, in ſome Meaſure, to their Wits again, and made them caſt away the Stones they had prepar'd for the Execution: *Moſes* having convinc'd them of the Lewdneſs of their Intention, and modeſtly imputing that to their Neceſſities which could not be juſtify'd in Reaſon; though the Temptation they lay under might ſeem in ſome Sort to extenuate the Offence. Upon this, *Moſes* had Recourſe to Supplications and Prayers, and withdrawing up to a Rock he beſought God in Mercy to grant theſe miſerable People ſome Relief; for it was in his Power only to ſave them; beſeeching him likewiſe to forgive them their intemperate Paſſions, and to caſt all the Things, that they had ſayd and done amiſs, upon the Account of human Frailty. God gave him this Anſwer, that he would take Care of the People, and ſend them a ſpeedy Succour.

Upon this Promiſe and Conceſſion, *Moſes* went down again to the Multitude with Joy in his Countenance: Which the People preſently took Notice of, and in the Strength of that *good Omen*, after all their Sadneſs, put on an Air of Chearfulneſs themſelves too. *Moſes* told them what had paſs'd, and that God would have Compaſſion on them very ſuddenly: And ſo it prov'd, for ſoon after this, came a wonderful Flight of *Quails*. There are a World of them by the *Arabian Gulf*, and theſe Birds were ſo tir'd with croſſing it, that they dropt quite weary into the Camp of the *Hebrews*. They look'd upon this as a Relief from Heaven; all People putting in with Earneſtneſs to have their Share of the Bounty. *Moſes* went now to his Prayers again, giving God Thanks, both for what he had promiſ'd, and what he had done.

A Flight of Quails *drops into the Camp.*

After this firſt Repaſt, God preſently ſent them another; for as *Moſes* was at his Prayers, holding up his Hands, there dropt from Heaven a Kind of Dew upon them, and as it fell it ſtuck and thicken'd. *Moſes* preſently fanſy'd it to be a ſecond Supply, and upon taſting it was overjoy'd to find it ſo. It was now Winter, and the common Sort of People would needs have this *Dew* to be Snow. *Moſes* told them they were miſtaken, and that this was no *common Dew*; but ſuch a Nouriſhment as they would find to be a competent Remedy againſt Famine: And ſo he firſt taſted of it himſelf, and then gave it them to try: Who after his Example lik'd it exceedingly well; for it had the Smack of Honey, and ſome Reſemblance alſo of [a] *Bdellium*, and about the Bigneſs of a *Coriander Seed*. There was great ſtriving for it in the Gathering, till the Matter was order'd by an Edict, appointing that all People ſhould [b] gather every Day alike, and the Meaſure of an *Omer* to be the Proportion; being aſſur'd at the ſame Time, that there ſhould be no Want of that Food. This was order'd in Favour of the weak, that they might not be run down, and to keep the ſtronger from taking more than came to their Share. Whoever ſhould exceed his Meaſure, in Contempt of this Edict, did only take ſo much the more Pains to no Manner of Purpoſe; for whatever they kept till the next Day was good for nothing; for it bred Worms, and turn'd bitter. There was one divine and incredible Quality in this Food, that whoever taſted it deſir'd nothing elſe. They have in that Country to this very Day certain Dews and Rains, that ſeem to have ſomewhat of Reſemblance to this that fell upon the Interceſſion of *Moſes*. The *Hebrews* call it *Manna*, and [c] *Man* in our Tongue ſignifies an *Interrogation*, as if we ſhould ſay, *What is this?* They celebrated this Bleſſing with great Joy, as coming from Heaven; and this was their Food for the forty Years they continued in the Wilderneſs.

A Fall of Manna.

Manna *their Food for forty Years.* Ex. 16.

After their Removal from hence to [d] *Rephidim*, they found themſelves parch'd up with an intolerable Thirſt, having met with very little Water for ſome Days before. Being now come into a Country where there was no Water at all, they began to fall foul upon *Moſes* again; but he left them for a while by themſelves, and ſtept aſide once more to his Prayers, *Beſeeching him, that gave them Meat when they were ready to ſtarve, now to give them Drink to it when they were ready to choak; for the one without the other would not do the Work.* God without any Delay promis'd *Moſes* a Fountain and a Flood of Water, when he leaſt expected it; commanding him to ſtrike a Rock near at Hand there with his Rod, and that Rock ſhould ſupply them abundantly with what they deſir'd, beſide that it ſhould come without Labour too. *Moſes* having receiv'd this Anſwer went back to the People, who were now waiting with great Impatience for his Return, for they ſaw him coming down from the Mountain, looking intently upon him, to ſee what Tydings they could read in his Countenance. Upon his coming back to the People he told them that God would deliver them alſo from the Trouble of their Thirſt, by a Way that they little dreamt of; that is to ſay, by a River that ſhould iſſue out of that Rock. They fanſy'd that they themſelves were to cut up the Rock to make Way for the Paſſage; which would have been a hard Piece of Work, they thought, for People to undertake, that were ſpent and half dead with Thirſt and Toyl already. *Moſes* quickly unriddled that Miſtake, by ſtriking the Rock with his Rod; which in that very Inſtant threw out a large Stream of Water as clear as Cryſtal. It was hard to ſay whether the Spectators were more amaz'd at the Operation, or delighted in the drinking of it; for they found it ſweet and agreeable, and ſuch as became the Dignity of the Preſenter and the Preſent. They extoll'd *Moſes* to the Skies, when they ſaw how much he was in God's Favour, and offer'd Sacrifices and Thankſgivings. We find it written in the holy Scripture, that is depoſited in the Temple, that God had foretold to *Moſes* this Miracle of the Water out of the Rock, in ſuch Manner as we have heard.

They want Water at Rephidim. Ex. 17.

They murmur again.

Water guſhes out of a Rock.

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[a] Gr. ὅμοιον δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων Βδέλλῃ. [b] Joſ. ἐξ ἴσȣ ἀσσάρωνα. [c] Druſius *in his* Quæſt. Hebr. l. 1. q 62. *and in his* Difficil. loc. Exod. c. 26. *rejects and confutes this Interpretation.* [d] Gr. Ῥαφιδὶν.

CHAP. II.

A Confederacy of five Kings *againſt the* Hebrews. *The* Amalekites *routed by* Joſhua. *The Arrival of the* Hebrews *at Mount* Sinai.

Five Kings *in a Confederacy againſt the* Hebrews. Ex. 17.

An Invaſion reſolv'd upon.

THE Fame of the *Hebrews* was by this Time in every Body's Mouth, and their Reputation ſo great, far and near, that the Provinces were all allarm'd at it, and laid their Heads together how they might keep them at a Diſtance, or elſe utterly exterminate and deſtroy them: And to this Purpoſe they ſent their Ambaſſadors up and down from one to another to manage the Counſel of the League. The chief Inſtigators of this Deſign were the Inhabitants of the [a] Country of *Gobol*, and the City of *Petra*, which paſs'd under the common Appellation of *Amalekites*, the moſt martial People of that Quarter. They had *five Kings* at work upon this Plot of carrying on a War againſt the *Hebrews*; and not only concerted it among themſelves, but drew in as many as they could of their Neighbours to joyn with them. "Theſe People, *they ſaid*, were only a "Vagabond Army of Fugitives that ran away out of *Ægypt*, becauſe they would be no "longer Slaves there, to make War upon others. Now the Way to deal with theſe Peo- "ple, *they ſaid*, would be, without making too ſlight of them, to take them to Task in "Time, while their Men were raw and undiſciplin'd, their Army in Want of all Neceſ- "ſaries, and never a plentiful Country to Friend that was able to ſupply them. In ſhort, "the Way would be to begin with them, and not ſtand looking on, till they ſhou'd have "the Confidence to be the Aggreſſors. It would be but falling upon them in the Wil- "derneſs, before they could make themſelves Maſters of any Places of Strength and "Importance, and the Work would do it ſelf". They laid it down as a Piece of neceſſary Prudence, to nip the growing Power of an Enemy in the Bud, and not ſtand waiting till by Succeſs upon Succeſs he makes himſelf ſtronger, both in Power and Reputation: And that it was better to prevent the Danger, than to run the Riſque of overcoming it. *Several Men ſeveral Minds*; but upon the agitating of the whole Matter in the confederate Counſel, it was reſolv'd by common Conſent to carry on an invaſive War againſt the *Hebrews*, and ſo to force them from their Borders.

Moſes *and the People ſtartled at it.*

Moſes keeps up their Hearts.

Moſes was not a little ſurpriz'd at this Reſolution, and his People were alſo in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, at the Neceſſity of ſo unexpected a War with an Enemy that wanted nothing, and themſelves at all Points ſo unprovided. He minded them of God's multiply'd Declarations in their Favour; his bringing them out of the Land of *Ægypt*; what he had done for them already, and what he would do further: And ſo encourag'd them, in Confidence of his Power and Goodneſs, to think of nothing but Victory. "Never reckon upon the Advantages (*ſays* Moſes) of Arms, Money and Proviſions; "but conſider, to balance all this, that you have God on your Side to fight your Battles, "and then no Matter for the Odds of Number and Stratagem. You have all that and "more in him that is your Helper, who by his Almighty Power hath brought you out "of greater Difficulties already. Have you not found that God a Friend ſtill to the "*Hebrews*, and an Enemy to the *Ægyptians?* Witneſs his miraculous Preſervation of "you in your Extremities of Hunger and Thirſt, and in making that a ſafe Retreat to "you thorough the Sea, which at the ſame Time ſwallow'd up your Adverſaries. For "a Concluſion (*ſays he*) the gaining of this Victory will put you in Poſſeſſion of all "the good Things of this World: Wherefore behave your ſelves like Men.

Joſhua *is made General.* Ex. 17.

They prepare for a Battle.

This Diſcourſe put new Life into the People, ſo that *Moſes* calling the Heads and Principals of the Tribes together, addreſs'd himſelf to them all, both in General and in Particular; admoniſhing the young Men to hearken to their Elders, and inculcating to all the reſt their Obedience to their Commander. They were by this Time ſo perfectly cur'd of their former Apprehenſions, that they look'd upon any thing of Danger with a Contempt, and under a kind of Impatience to come to Action, in the ſtrong Hope and Expectation of ſuch a Victory as would put a final End to their Miſery. Inſomuch that they preſs'd *Moſes*, with great Earneſtneſs, to bring them immediately to the Enemy; and not to loſe ſo critical an Opportunity of fighting by an unſeaſonable Delay, when the Soldiers were in ſo good Humour for it. *Moſes* upon this drew out a Detatchment of the moſt likely Men he could find for Service in the whole Multitude, and ſet [b] *Joſhuah* the [c] Son of *Nun*, and of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, over them; a Man equally qualify'd both for Arms and Counſel; eminent for Piety, a Diſciple of *Moſes*, and one that did not ſhame his Maſter. He ſent out ſeveral Troops of Guards; ſome to ſecure their Water, others their Tents; and ſome again to take Care of the Women and Children. All Things were now in readineſs for an Engagement: The Soldiery in Arms all Night waiting only for the Word of Command from *Moſes*; who was himſelf alſo the whole Night in Counſel with *Joſhuah*, and giving Order about the Battle. When it began to draw toward Day, *Moſes* recommended it to *Joſhuah* to make Good by his Actions what the World expected from him upon that Occaſion, and by the Glory of that Day to perpetuate his Name to Poſterity. He did the like to all the Chief of the *Hebrews* apart, and ſo in Courſe to the whole Body of the Army.

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[a] Gr. Γοβολῖτις. [b] Gr. Ἰησῦς. [c] Gr. Ναυήνε υἱόν. Lat. *Jeſum Navæ fil.*

Having thus enflam'd their Reſolutions into a generous Senſe of Piety and Honour, *Moſes* commended them to God and to their General *Joſhuah*, himſelf going up to the Mountain. The Bodies join'd immediately, with all Sorts of Encouragement from their Leaders, and it was hard fought on both Sides. So long as *Moſes* held up his Hands, the *Hebrews* prevail'd; but when he could hold them up no longer for Wearineſs, the *Amalekites* had the better of it. But *Moſes* obſerving this, ſpake to his Brother *Aaron*, and to [a] *Hur*, the Huſband of his Siſter *Mariam*, to ſtand by him and hold up his Hands for him, and to take Care not to let them fall again. The *Amalekites* after this were totally defeated, and had been all entirely cut off, if the Darkneſs of the Night had not cover'd the miſerable Remainder of them in their Flight.

The Amalekites *utterly defeated.*

This was a Victory ſo glorious and ſeaſonable, that the whole Hiſtory of our Anceſtors cannot pretend to any thing beyond it; [b] for it was a total and an abſolute Overthrow, gain'd upon an invading Enemy, and an Action of ſo great a Reputation, that it ſtruck a Terror into all the neighbouring Provinces: Beſide a prodigious Booty over and above; the Pillage of the *Amalekites* Camp being of an ineſtimable Value in Gold and Silver Plate, curious Braſs Veſſels of all ſorts, minted Money, rich Arms, and Soldiers Equipage, Horſes, Baggage, *&c.* both to ſmall and great, and to thoſe, who themſelves were but in a ſtarving Condition the Day before. This Succeſs, in Fine, made the *Hebrews* more daring, induſtrious, and forward for any virtuous Exploit; and it was of a mighty Advantage, even at preſent: But not comparable to what it was in the Iſſue and in the Conſequences of it: For this Battle brake the very Hearts, as well as the Bodies of the Enemy, and from that Time forward, all the adjoyning Provinces ſtood in Awe of the *Hebrews*. This was the Event of the Battle; and on the Day following, *Moſes* cauſed all the dead Bodies to be ſtript, and their ſcatter'd Arms to be gather'd up and employ'd for Service: Rewards alſo to be diſtributed to thoſe that had made themſelves eminently remarkable in the Battle. He did Right alſo to the General, in Form, and with the Solemnity of a publick Declaration to the Honour of his Bravery and Conduct; the whole Army ſeconding that illuſtrious Character with Praiſes and Acclamations. The Slaughter of the *Amalekites* was ſo great, that they could make no Eſtimate of the Number, and not ſo much as one *Hebrew* ſlain in the Action. *Moſes* erected an Altar after this Victory, inſcrib'd *to God the Conquerour:* Where he worſhip'd with Sacrifices and Thankſgivings, foretelling at the ſame Time the utter Extirpation of the *Amalekites*, for the Baſeneſs of the Attempt upon the *Hebrews*, when they were in Diſtreſs and ready to periſh in the Wilderneſs. *Moſes* concluded the Solemnity with Feaſtings and Rejoycings, treating the General, the Officers, and the whole Camp with ſoldierly Entertainments ſuitable to the Occaſion.

A vaſt Booty.

Not one Hebrew *ſlain.*

An Altar *inſcrib'd to* God *the* Conquerour.

This was the firſt Battle the *Hebrews* fought after their coming out of *Ægypt*; to the utter Ruin and Confuſion of their Enemies. When they had ſpent ſome few Days in Jollity and Refreſhment, they march'd forward with a better order'd Army than before, and a much greater too; for the Enemies Arms that were taken upon the Rout, had much encreas'd their Number. Advancing at this Rate by eaſy Marches, they reach'd Mount *Sinai*, the Place where *Moſes* ſaw the Viſion of the *burning Buſh*, which we have ſpoken of already. This was the *third Month* after they left *Ægypt*.

Moſes *advanc'd to* Mount Sinai.

CHAP. III.

Raguel *repairs to his Son in Law* Moſes, *to joy him of his Succeſs.*

RAGUEL had no ſooner heard of the wonderful Succeſs of *Moſes*, but away preſently he went to congratulate his Son in Law, and to ſee how it fared with his Daughter *Zipporah* and their Children. *Moſes* was overjoy'd to ſee him, and ſo offer'd a Sacrifice, and feaſted the whole Multitude, in the Order of their Tribes and Families, not far from the *burning Buſh* that the Fire could not conſume. *Aaron*, in the mean while, with *Raguel* and the reſt, chanted forth Hymns of Praiſe and Honour to the Author of their Safety, Freedom, and Deliverance; not forgetting their admirable Leader, and how all Things proſper'd that he took in Hand. Neither was *Raguel* behind Hand in doing Right to the Army, and to the Dignity of their Preſerver, by whoſe Authority and Direction ſo many wiſe and brave Men were ſteer'd and govern'd.

Raguel *joys* Moſes *of his Succeſſes.* Ex. 18.

They ſacrifice and feaſt together.

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[a] Gr. Οὔρων. [b] Here a little Liberty is taken in the *Tranſlation*, yet ſo as not to injure the Senſe of the *Author*.

CHAP. IV.

Raguel *gives* Moſes *Advice about Religion and Government; and for the ordering of his Army.*

RAGUEL took Notice one Day, as his Son in Law was hearing of Cauſes, how intolerably he was oppreſs'd with the Importunity of attending ſo much Buſineſs; but he could not well ſay any Thing of it at preſent, without giving an Interruption to the Courſe of publick Juſtice: Beſide that the People had ſo great a Reverence for the Authority of *Moſes*, that they would have been better ſatisfy'd to be undone by the Juſtice of *Moſes*, than to carry the Cauſe by the Corruption of any other Judge: But ſo ſoon as ever the Hurry of the Day was well over, *Raguel* took *Moſes* apart, and gave him his Opinion upon the Matter. "You have, *ſays he*, more Work upon your Hand than 'tis poſſible " for one Man to diſpatch. As for the Matter of private, perſonal Cauſes, they are ſo " numerous, you can never go through with them: Wherefore you ſhould do well to " employ other People, as you have Choice enough, for the Diſcharge of that Function: " But, *ſays* Raguel *further*, as to what concerns Religion and Government, that muſt " be your particular Province; for there's no Man ſo fit to be truſted with the Care of " ſo many thouſand Souls as you your ſelf. You cannot but be ſenſible of the excellent " Faculties that God hath given you; how inſtrumental you have been to the ſaving of " the People under your Charge, and how neceſſary your Counſel and Aſſiſtance will be " yet to them for the future. Wherefore do you attend the Worſhip of God, wherein " you ſhall highly contribute to the common Welfare of your ſelf, and of thoſe under " you: And for the Tryal of Cauſes betwixt Man and Man, you may leave it to ſuch " Miniſters as you think fit. Now to your worldly Affairs, the Thing I would adviſe " you is this. Take a Muſter of all your Troops, and divide them into ſo many Bodies " of ten thouſand Men a-piece, placing Officers over every one of theſe Bodies. You " ſhall afterwards ſubdivide them into thouſands, five hundreds, hundreds, and fifties, " with Officers over them too; and ſo divide them again into thirties, twenties, and tens, " with diſtinct Officers alſo belonging to them, to take their Names from the Number " of Men they Command: And all theſe to have their proper Judges to determine Controverſies: Thoſe Judges to have the Approbation of the People for Men of Probity " and Virtue. Yet in Caſes of great Difficulty and Importance, let them repair to you. " By this Means the People ſhall have Right done them, and you your ſelf be at Liberty to attend God's Worſhip for the Good of the Army, without any Interruption. *Moſes* was ſo well pleas'd with this *Scheme* of *Raguel*'s, that he order'd the Project to be put in Execution, not as any Contrivance of his own, but as the Advice of his Father in Law, to whom he aſcrib'd the ſole Honour of it before the People. *Moſes* has declar'd as much in his Writings alſo, ever accounting it more laudable to give worthy Men their Due, than for one Man to uſurp to himſelf the Reputation of another Man's Merit. But this will be fitter for another Place.

Raguel's *Advice to* Moſes.

The Juſtice and Modeſty of Moſes.

CHAP. V.

Moſes *goes up to the Mount, where he receives the Law from God, and communicates it to the People.*

WHILE they continu'd in this Place, *Moſes* call'd the People together, and told them that he was going up Mount *Sinai* to ſpeak with God, and not without Hope of bringing them comfortable News at his Return; commanding them in the mean Time however to pitch their Tents at the Foot of the Mountain, where they might be near at Hand; and ſo *Moſes* went up.

Moſes *goes up Mount* Sinai. Ex. 19.

Mount *Sinai* is by much the higheſt Eminence in all thoſe Countries, and betwixt the extreme Height, and the Craggyneſs of the Rocks, it ſeems not only inacceſſible, but weariſome to the very Eye to look up at it. The Place is accounted ſacred, upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition *of God's having his Habitation there.* The *Hebrews* poſted themſelves at the Foot of the Mountain, as *Moſes* had commanded them; lifting up their Hands to God, and muſing within themſelves what thoſe good Tydings might be, that *Moſes*, when he went up, promis'd to bring them at his Return. In his Abſence, they kept their Feſtivals, purifying themſelves, and living in Continence for three Days, even from their own Wives, as they were order'd; plying Almighty God with hourly Prayers to be gracious to *Moſes*, and grant them ſomewhat by him that might conduce to the Peace and Happineſs of their Lives. They feaſted upon this Occaſion with great Magnificence, and had their Wives and Children dreſs'd up with more Pomp and

Ornament than uſual. Two Days this laſted; but upon the third before Sun-riſe, in as clear a Sky as ever was ſeen, there appear'd a Cloud that cover'd and encompaſs'd the whole Camp of the *Hebrews*; the firſt Prodigy of that kind ſince the Creation. This was afterwards follow'd with a terrible Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning, Wind and Rain; giving to underſtand, that God was there. The Reader may take this as he pleaſes; but it will not become me to depart from the leaſt Tittle of what I find written in holy Scriptures. The *Hebrews* were ſo terrify'd at what they had ſeen and heard, as well for the Novelty and Strangeneſs of the Thing, as for the common Rumour of God's dwelling upon this Mount, that they durſt not ſo much as put their Heads out of the Tents; but fell into a Conſternation giving it for granted, that God in his Wrath had taken away *Moſes*, and that they themſelves were to expect the ſame Fate. As they lay ready to ſink under this dreadful Apprehenſion, *Moſes* appear'd; but with ſo much Joy and Majeſty in his Countenance, that all their Fears vaniſh'd, and this Change made Way for Hopes of better Things; the Air alſo recovering it's former Serenity.

A terrible Tempeſt of Thunder and Lightning.

The People thought Moſes had been loſt.

While this paſs'd, *Moſes* ſummon'd the People to attend, and hear what God had given him in Charge to deliver: Whereupon they drew together, and *Moſes* betaking himſelf to a riſing Ground, where he might be beſt ſeen and heard, addreſs'd himſelf to the People in Manner following.

“You Men and Brethren, *Hebrews*: As our moſt gracious God hath been always hitherto propitious to your Prayers, ſo I am now to tell you, upon this preſent Occaſion, that he hath received your Meſſenger with infinite Grace and Goodneſs: And you are likewiſe to reſt aſſured, that he will take your Army into his Protection, and preſcribe to you ſuch Ways of living, that you your ſelves cannot ſo much as wiſh to be more happy, than a careful Obſervance of thoſe Rules will make you. Wherefore as you have any Reverence for that God, and for all the mighty Things that he hath done in your Favour, do not make ſlight I beſeech you, of what I am about to ſay. Do not think the worſe of the Matter for the Meanneſs of the Bearer of it; but know, that at this Inſtant, it is God that ſpeaks to you, tho' by the Tongue of a Man. You are only to conſider the Goodneſs, and the Advantage of the Commands I bring you; and to adore the Majeſty of that God, who for the promoting of your Happineſs, hath condeſcended to make Uſe of me for the Reporter of his gracious Will and Pleaſure towards you. Do not any longer look upon me as *Moſes*, the Son of *Amram* and *Jochabel*; but as the Inſtrument that for your Sake cauſed the Water of the *Nile* to be turned into *Blood*, and with Variety of *Plagues* broke the Hearts of the *Ægyptians*. He that pav'd you a Way through the *Sea*, and fetcht *Food* for you from Heaven, and *Water* out of the Rock, for you to drink: He that made *Adam* Lord of the World; ſav'd *Noah* from the *Deluge*; put *Abraham*, our Progenitor, in Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Chanaan*: He that made *Sarah* bring forth *Iſaac* in the old Age of his Parents, bleſs'd *Jacob* with twelve ſuch wonderful Sons, and made *Joſeph* Governour of *Ægypt*; it is he, in Fine, that by my Hand, honours you with theſe Precepts and Commands; and you are to value me only as the Interpreter of his holy Will. Keep theſe Commands ſacred and inviolate, and let them be dearer to you than your Wives and Children: Your Obedience ſhall make your Lives happy, the Sea calm, your Wives fruitfull, your Lands ſhall bring forth encreaſe, and you ſhall be a Terror to your Enemies: for, ſays *Moſes*, I have ſpoken with God Face to Face; I have heard his divine Voice, and I am likewiſe to aſſure you, that he hath a fatherly Tenderneſs for you, and will take Care of your Poſterity.

Moſes ſets forth God's Mercies to the Iſraelites.

At the End of this Diſcourſe he conducted the People with their Wives and Children to a Place where they might hear the Voice of God ſpeaking to them, and teaching them what they were to do. This he did for the Authority of the Promulgation; for it would not have made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Hearers, from the Lips of any mortal: So they all heard a Voice deſcending from above; and it was ſo diſtinct too, that they all underſtood it. But for the Commandments that *Moſes* left in Writing in the *two Tables*, we are not to publiſh the very Words: But the Minutes of them are as follow. We are taught;

The Voice of God ſpeaking to the People.

First, that there is but one God, and that he alone is to be worſhip'd.

2. That no Image of any living Creature is to be ador'd.
3. That no Man is to ſwear raſhly.
4. That the ſeventh Day is to be kept holy, and not to be profaned by any common Work.
5. That Parents are to be honour'd.
6. That we are not to commit Murder.
7. That we are not to commit Adultery.
8. That we are not to commit Theft.

Ex. 20. The ten Commandments.

9. That we are not to bear falſe Witneſs.

10. That we are not to covet any Thing that is our Neighbour's.

The People ſolicit Moſes *to provide them Laws for the civil Government.*

The People were abundantly ſatisfy'd to hear the ſame Things over again from the Voice of God, which *Moſes* had told them of before Hand, and ſo they went their Way. But before many Days were over, they fell to ſoliciting of *Moſes* again and again, to procure them a Body of Laws for the ordering of civil Matters; who gratify'd them with a Proviſion alſo of ſuch Laws; preſcribing what to do, and what not, and how to govern themſelves one with another. But I ſhall refer the greater Part of thoſe Laws to a Tract by itſelf.

Ex. 24. Moſes *goes up again to the* Mount; *where he continues* 40 *Dayes.*

It was about this Time that *Moſes* went up again to the Mount, having firſt told the People of his Intent, that he might not want Witneſſes of his Aſcenſion. His Stay being longer than they expected, (for he was *forty Days* abſent) the People began to be in Pain for Fear ſome Miſchief might have befall'n him; and in all their Troubles, nothing went nearer the Hearts of them than the Apprehenſions of his being deſtroy'd. But they diſcourſed the Matter ſeveral Ways: Some, that had not much Kindneſs for him, would have it that he was devour'd by wild Beaſts; others had the Charity to fanſy that God had taken him to himſelf; but the Wiſer Sort debated it both Ways. *If it ſhould prove*, they ſayd, *that he was indeed torn to pieces by wild Beaſts, what was there more in't, than a Miſhap in one of the common Accidents of Life?* And then for the Suppoſition of his being *taken up to God*, it was in Truth but a Conjecture ſuitable to the Reverence they had for his Virtue. Betwixt theſe two Surmiſes, they were not caſt down ſo much for his Sake, as for their own, in the Loſs of ſuch a Governour and Patron, as was never to be repair'd. Their Grief and Deſperation left them no Place to hope for any Thing; and in this Hopeleſneſs they could not yet forbear lamenting: Nay, they durſt not ſo much as move their Camp, becauſe of the Order they had to wayt his coming back.

Moſes faſts forty Days *and* forty Nights.

At the End of *forty Days* and *forty Nights*, and without either Meat or Drink in that Interval; *Moſes* returns and ſhews himſelf, to the unſpeakable Joy of the whole Army. He told them how much they were the Care of divine Providence; for in theſe Days of his Abſence, he had been inſtructed in the Meaſures and Conduct of a good and happy Life. He told them that it was God's Command they ſhould build him a *Tabernacle* for himſelf at any Time to come down to, and be among them; but rather as to a Viſit, than to a Place of Abode. After this, there would be no further need, *he ſayd*, of travelling to *Mount Sinai*; for God would come down to them. This *Tabernacle* was ſtill to go along with the Army, where God would be always at Hand to receive their Prayers.

Ex. 26. *He orders the building of a* Tabernacle.

The Model and Meaſures of it.

Ex. 25.

As to the Meaſures and Model of it, *Moſes* told them that he had his Inſtructions, and that there was nothing more for them to do, than preſently to enter upon the Undertaking. With this, he produced the *Two Tables* of the *Ten Commandments*, five in each Column, and of God's own writing.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes *builds a Tabernacle according to God's appointment for his holy Worſhip.*

Large Contributions toward it.

THE People's Affections were ſo elevated with the Diſcourſe and Preſence of *Moſes* (ſo lately given for loſt) that they made Collections in Strife who ſhould do moſt toward the advancing of this Structure. They preſented Gold, Silver, Copper, curious Wood that would not take the Worm; Goats Hair; Purple, and Scarlet Colour'd Sheep-skins; and ſome white, ſome blew; Wool of the ſame Tincture; fine Linen; precious Stones for Ornament, ſet in Gold; Perfumes of all ſorts. Some ſent in Cattle for Sacrifices: And all this toward the Uſe and Service of the *Tabernacle*, which was, in Effect, but a Kind of an ambulatory, portable *Temple*. So ſoon as the Contribution was made, ſome giving to the Uttermoſt of their Abilities, others even beyond them; *Moſes* ſets his *Architects* at work upon it without Delay, as God had commanded. And they were ſo great Maſters in their Way too, that the People would have pitch'd upon the ſame Perſons, even if it had been left to their own Choice.

The Names of the chief Maſter Work-men. Exod. 26.

Their Names we have upon Record in the holy Scriptures; as [a] *Bezaleel* of the Tribe of *Judah* the Son of *Uri* and *Mariam* the Siſter of *Moſes*, [b] *Aholiab* the Son of *Aheſamach* of the Tribe of *Dan*. Nay, the People were ſo free of their Money, Goods, and Pains, that *Moſes* was forc'd to reſtrain them by a Proclamation, and bid them *hold their Hands*; there being more than enough brought in already. And the Maſter-Builders were of that Opinion; ſo that they were now to go in Hand with the Fabrick: *Moſes* directing the Magnitude, and the Proportion of it, according to what God had appointed in the

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[a] Gr. Βεσάλεηλος. [b] Ελίαβος Ιγαμάχȣ υἱός.

Mount. He gave particular Order alſo for the ſacrificing Veſſels, with the Size and Number of thoſe that were to be employ'd in the divine Worſhip. The Zeal and Bounty of the Women too was very remarkable, in the ſparkling Magnificence and Curioſity of the ſacerdotal Veſtments, and whatever elſe might ſerve to illuſtrate, either the Place or the Duty.

Moſes erects a Tabernacle.

Things being thus prepar'd, and the Gold, Silver, Braſs, Loom-work, and other Materials all in Readineſs; *Moſes* proclaim'd a Feſtival, where every Man was to attend, and ſacrifice according to his Ability: And ſo ſoon as that Solemnity was over, he went immediately in Hand with the erecting of a Tabernacle according to this following Model.

The Model of it.

The outward Court.

The outward Court was to be fifty Cubits in Breadth, a hundred in Length; twenty Brazen Pillars on each Side long ways, ten a-croſs, and every Pillar five Cubits in Height, with Rings and Borders to it of Silver: The Baſes of Braſs, curiouſly wrought and gilded, and faſten'd into the Ground with Pins of a Cubit in Length, pointed at the End like the Foot of a Pike: Which with the Help of Cords, that paſs'd through the Ringles, bound the whole Frame together, from Top to Bottom, and kept it firm and ſteady againſt the ſtrongeſt Blaſts. It was alſo encompaſs'd with a Veil of curious fine Linen, that hung from the Corniſhes down to the very Baſes; which ſerv'd for a Wall to the Encloſure.

Theſe were the Dimenſions of three Sides of the Work; and it was alſo fifty Cubits in Front: Twenty of them left open for a Door or Entrance, with two Planks or Quarters like Gate-Poſts on each Side of the Paſſage. They were cover'd all over with Silver Work, only the Baſes were Braſs. There were likewiſe ſix other Planks, three on each Hand, that for Strength's Sake were joynted one into another, and a curious Curtain drawn over them. The Gate Space being twenty Cubits wide, was five alſo in Depth, and cover'd with a delicate Embroidery of Flowers and Figures (living Creatures only excepted) in Violet Colours, Scarlet and Purple, upon a Veil of fine Linen.

Within the Court Gate ſtood a Laver for Water, being a large Veſſel of Braſs, with a Foot of the ſame, for the Prieſts to waſh their Hands and their Feet in.

The Poſition of the Tabernacle.

In the Middle of this Court ſtood the Tabernacle, fronting to the Eaſt for the Advantage of receiving the Beams of the Riſing Sun. It was thirty Cubits in Length, and twelve in Breadth; and juſt as high as it was broad. One Side of it look'd toward the South; another to the North; and the back Part of it to the Weſt. The two Sides were made up of forty wooden Planks, twenty of a Side, and the Form of them Quadrangular; a Cubit and a half in Breadth, and four Fingers thick: Plated all over with Gold; two Tenons to every Plank, and two ſilver Baſes, with Mortiſſes to receive thoſe Tenons. On the Weſt Side there ſtood ſix other Boards, which were likewiſe over-laid with Gold, and ſo nicely put together that they ſeem'd to be all of a Piece. Now theſe twenty Boards, being each of them a Cubit and a half over, make up the juſt Length of thirty Cubits. The ſix Boards on the Weſtern Side only nine Cubits; but then there were two other Planks to joyn them, one at each Corner in the ſame Poſition, and of the ſame Length and Breadth with the other, but much thicker, to bind the Ends and that Side of the Tabernacle the faſter together. Every Plank had golden Rings or Staples driven into it, and all ſo orderly diſpos'd, that they anſwer'd one another in a direct Line. Through theſe Rings there went ſeveral Bars, of five of Cubits in Length, and plated all over with Gold: Which reaching from End to End, kept the whole Quarter tight, by framing one Piece into another. On the back Part, or the lower End of this Structure, the Boards were all rang'd and order'd after the ſame Manner, by paſſing a gilt Bar through as many Rings as there were Plates, and accommodating one Bar to another. There were moreover Bolts and Staples at the Corners to keep End and Sides together; which, with the Help of Mortiſſes to bind one Piece to the other, ſecur'd the Tabernacle againſt Wind and Weather.

The Diviſion of the Tabernacle, and the Myſtery of it.

The Inſide of this Tabernacle was divided into thrice ten Cubits in Length. At ten Cubits from the Bottom, there ſtood four Pillars a-croſs; of the ſame Workmanſhip and the ſame Matter, and upon Baſes of the ſame Make and Metal already ſpoken of; ſtanding at equal Diſtances one from the other. Within theſe Pillars was the *moſt holy Place* which was inacceſſible even to the Prieſts themſelves: To whom the reſt of the Tabernacle was all open. This Diviſion of it into three Parts, ſeems to hold ſome Analogy with the Conſideration of the Univerſe. The firſt Part, where the very Prieſts were not permitted to enter, may be allow'd to have ſome Reſemblance to Heaven it ſelf, as the Throne of the divine Majeſty: And for the other twenty Cubits, where only the Prieſts had Admittance, it bare a Reſemblance, in ſome Sort, to the Earth and the Sea. At the Entrance into this Tabernacle, there were five gilded Columns planted upon Baſes of Braſs, and all cover'd with Curtains of fine Yarn, dy'd into Blew, Purple, and Scarlet, and woven together. The firſt of theſe Curtains was ten Cubits Square,

The Curtains.

and

The Holy, *and the* Holy of Holies.

and ſerv'd for a Covering to the Partition betwixt the *moſt holy Place* and the *holy*, to keep the former out of Sight. The Temple it ſelf was call'd *holy*; but the Space within the four Pillars, bears the Name of *Sanctum Sanctorum.* This Curtain, or Veil, was beautify'd with all ſorts of Flowers and curious Figures; living Creatures only excepted. There was yet another Veil that for Size, Colours, and Work, was not inferior to the former; and this overſpread the five Pillars at the coming in: It was faſten'd at the Top with Hooks and Eyes, and ſo down to the middle of the five Columns; leaving the reſt open for the Prieſts to enter by. This Veil had another over it, of the ſame Largeneſs, and almoſt contiguous to it; but the Ground flaxen: And it had Rings tack'd to it, with a String run through them, to draw at Pleaſure, eſpecially upon Feſtival Days, to give the People the Sight of the under Curtain, with all the Ornaments of it's Embroydery and Figures. At other Times, and chiefly in foul Weather, the upper Curtain ſerv'd for a Cover to preſerve the former, being of a Stuff that was Proof againſt *Rain.* This kind of Curtain has been made Uſe of at the Door of the Temple from the very Building of it to this Day.

There were likewiſe ten Pieces of Hanging, of eight and twenty Cubits compaſs each, and four Cubits deep; and ſo exactly coupled together with golden Loops as if they had been all but one entire Piece. Theſe Hangings cover'd the whole Tabernacle, Top and Sides, within one Foot of the Ground. There were likewiſe eleven Pieces more, of the ſame Depth, but ſomewhat longer: That is to ſay, they were thirty Cubits each, and made of Hair, as the other were of Wool, and the Workmanſhip every Jot as artificial. Theſe Curtains were a Covering to the other ten; and as they hung down looſe and flowing upon the Ground, they carry'd ſome Sort of Reſemblance to the Canopy of a Bed. The eleventh Curtain was put up over the Door of the Tabernacle; the odd Number being ſpecially deſign'd for that Service. This Covering of Goat's Hair had yet another of Skins over that, for a Shelter againſt Heats and Rains. The Spectacle, in Fine, was ſo great a Surprize to People at a Diſtance, by the Sky-colour Appearance of it, that it ſeem'd to the Eye a perfect Repreſentation of the Heavens. Now theſe Curtains of Hair-cloth and Skins were, as that over the Gate, for a Fence againſt the Injuries of the Seaſons.

The Frame and Figure of the Ark. Ex. 37.

After the Finiſhing of the Tabernacle as above, they went in Hand with the *Ark* of God, which was made of a Wood that the *Hebrews* call *Heron*, the ſtrongeſt and firmeſt of all Plants, and the moſt ſecure againſt rotting or taking the Worm. The Figure of the *Ark* was this: It was two Cubits and a half in Length; one and a half broad, and as much in Depth: Cover'd all over with the pureſt Gold, and ſo order'd both within and without, that there was no Wood to be ſeen. The Cover was crampt together with golden Hooks; curious, and firm to Admiration; and every where ſo ſmooth, that there was no Danger of one Part galling another. At the two Ends were riveted into the Frame four golden Rings, one at every Corner: And through thoſe Rings two gilded Bars laid a-croſs, on each Side one, to remove the *Ark* at any Time from Place to Place upon Occaſion; for they us'd no other Way of tranſporting it, than as the Prieſts and Levites carry'd it upon their Shoulders. Upon this Cover were two Figures, which the *Hebrews* call *Cherubims:* A kind of wing'd Creature, anſwering the Deſcription of what *Moſes* ſaw about the Throne of God; and what no Mortal had ever ſeen the Like of before. In this *Ark* were depoſited the two Tables of the Decalogue: Five of the Commandments in each Table, and two and a Half in a Column. This *Ark*, in Fine, was laid up in the Sanctuary.

The Cherubims.

The two Tables *depoſited in the* Ark.

The Table of Shew-Bread.

In this Tabernacle *Moſes* plac'd a Table, not unlike that at [a] *Delphi*: Two Cubits in Length; one in Breadth; and the Height a Cubit and a Half. The Feet of it from the Middle downward were exactly like thoſe the *Dorians* make Uſe of for their Beds, and made round; but from thence upwards Square; with a Border of four Fingers Thickneſs, jutting out, and a Crown of Gold over and under it on every Side. Under this Border there were four Rings of Gold, faſten'd into the upper Part of the four Feet; one at each Corner, and gilt Bars of the firmeſt Wood that paſs'd through them, and ſerv'd for Handles upon the Removal of it from one Place to another. This Table ſtood in the Temple toward the North, not far from the Sanctuary it ſelf. There were ſet upon it twelve Loaves of unleavened Bread; ſix on each Side of the Table, and pil'd in Order, one over another. They were made of the fineſt Flower; *two Aſſars* in Quantity, or *ſeven Attick Cotyla's*, after the *Hebrew* Meaſure, each Cake containing two *Omers.* Over theſe Loaves were two golden Diſhes of Incenſe. At the End of ſeven Days theſe Loaves were taken away, and others put in their Places. Now the *ſeventh Day* is that which we call our *Sabbaoth:* But we ſhall ſpeak further of this in another Place.

The unleavened Bread.

The golden Candleſtick.

Juſt over againſt this Table, on the South-ſide, ſtood a golden Candleſtick; the Work of the Founder, and caſt hollow: The Weight of it a hundred [b] *Mines*, which

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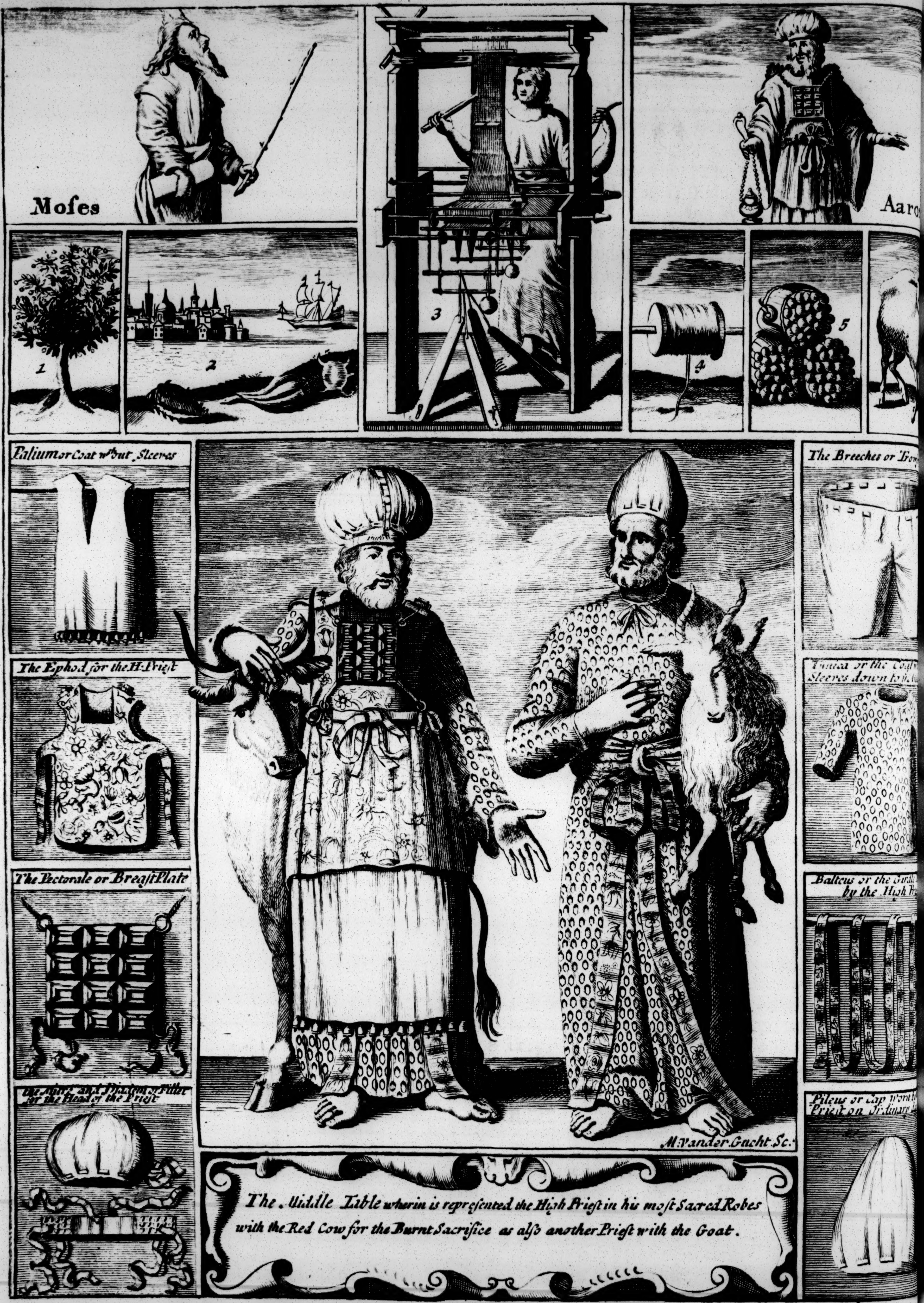
[a] Not that this was made after the Faſhion of the *Delphic Table*, but that the *Delphic Table* was made after the Model of *this.* [b] Gr. Μνᾶς.


Moses
Aaro
1
2
3
4
5
Palium or Coat wthout Sleeves
The Ephod for the H: Priest
The Pectorale or Breast Plate
The Mitre and Diadem or Fillet for the Head of the Priest
The Breeches or Trow
Tunica or the Coat w
Sleeves down to ye An
Balteus or the Girdle
by the High Pri
Pileus or Cap worn by
Priest on Ordinary
M. Vander Gucht Sc.

The Middle Table wherein is represented the High Priest in his most Sacred Robes with the Red Cow for the Burnt Sacrifice as also another Priest with the Goat.

1 **Coccus** *a Shrub bearing a berry used in dying Wool &c. of a Scarlet Colour*

2 { **Hyacinthus** *a deep Blew used in Dying Wool alone.* **Purpura** *a Shelfish found on the Seaside near Tyre used in dying a Crimson Colour.*

3 *The manner of Wearing Cloath used by the Antients.*

4 **Gold. Wire** *Weared or wrough in the Sacred Vestments.*

5 **Flax** *for linnen Garments*

6 **Wool** *for outward Garments*

the *Hebrews* call *Cinchares*, and the *Greeks* a *Talent*. This Candleſtick was ſet out with Bowls, Lilies, Pomgranates, and little Cups and Diſhes of all pure Gold, to the Number of ſeventy Pieces that ſhot up out of the Shank into ſeven Branches, anſwering the Number of the Planets, and they were ranged in an Order of Uniformity one to another. On the Top of theſe ſeven Branches were as many Lamps; which, as the Candleſtick ſtood ſloping, fac'd toward the Eaſt and the South.

The Altar of Incenſe.

Betwixt the Candleſtick and the Table, as aforeſaid, there was a little Altar for Incenſe of the ſame ſtrong and incorruptible Wood with the Ark: One Cubit Square for Length and Breadth, and the Height of it double: A golden Fire Hearth, and a Crown of the pureſt Gold round about it from Corner to Corner, with Rings and Staves through them, for the Eaſe of Carriage.

Ex. 38.

There was alſo another Altar erected before the Tabernacle: The Frame of the ſame Wood with the former; five Cubits Square, and three in Height, finiſh'd after the ſame Deſign with the former; ſave that it was plated all over with Braſs: And in the Middle of it, betwixt Top and Bottom, a brazen Grate of a Kind of Net-work, for the Aſhes to fall through. There were alſo Funnels, Vials, Cenſers, Cups and Pans, and other Neceſſaries for the Service of the Altar, all of Gold. This may ſerve for an Account of the Tabernacle, and of the Veſſels thereunto belonging. Ex. 39.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Prieſts, and High-Prieſt's Veſtments; Purifications, and Feſtivals.

The Prieſts Veſtments.

TO proceed now to the Veſtments appointed both for the ordinary Prieſts, and the High-Prieſt; as well thoſe that they call *Chaanæans* of the one; as for the [a] *Anarabaches* himſelf, which ſignifies the Prince of the Prieſts, of the other. We ſhall begin with the former. No Prieſt was to officiate without being firſt purify'd, according to the Order and Direction of the Law. His Under-Garment was of fine twiſted Linen, and made up much after the Faſhion of our Trowſes or Drawers: The *Hebrews* call it a [b] *Manachaſe*, or a *Binder*. The Feet were to be put through it, and ſo drawn up over the Thighs; open downward from the Top, and faſt girt about the Loyns. Manachaſe.

Over this was a Coat of very fine Linen, which the *Hebrews* call [c] *Chethemene:* That is to ſay, *a linen Cloth*; as *Chethon* is taken for the *Flax* it is made of. It ſate cloſe to the whole Body; with ſtreight Sleeves, and reaching down to the Heels. This Coat was faſten'd with a Girdle about the Middle, of four Fingers broad, and ſo artificially ſet out with Needle-work, in divers Colours, that it had ſome Reſemblance to the Skin of a Snake. There were wrought into this Girdle ſeveral Flowers and Figures in Blew, Purple, and Scarlet; but the Ground was Linen. It went twice about the Body of the Prieſt, and for the better Grace hung down from his Breaſt to his Feet; ſaving only when he was in the Exerciſe of his Function, and in that Caſe he caſt it over his left Shoulder, to be the more at Liberty for the Diſcharge of his Office. *Moſes* calls this Girdle *Abaneth*, and we at this Day call it *Emian*; a Word that we have learnt from the *Babylonians*. This Garment was made without either Plaits or Folds; wide in the Neck, and buckled together before and behind, the *Hebrew* Name for it is *Maſſabazanes*. Chethemene. Abaneth. Maſſabazanes.

The Prieſt had alſo a Kind of Mitre or Bonnet, like a ſmall Helmet, that cover'd little more than one half of his Head: The Name of it is [d] *Maſnaëmphthes*. It was made of Linen, and bound together with Filletting over and over to keep it ſteady. There was yet another Cap of curious fine Linen, that ſerv'd for a Covering to the former, and came ſo low, that there was not ſo much as a Stitch or a Seam of the other to be ſeen: And every Part of it was ſo ſecur'd one to another, that there was no Danger of any thing looſening or falling, to diſturb the Prieſt in his Office. This is enough ſaid of the Prieſts Veſtments in common one with another. Maſnaëmphthes.

The High-Prieſt's Methir.

As to the High-Prieſt, over and above all the Ornaments already exhibited, he had others peculiar to his Office: As a purple Robe that came down to his Ankles, which we call [e] *Methir*; with ſuch a Girdle for Colours and Figures, as that which we have formerly mention'd, ſaving only that this has alſo an Intermixture of Gold. The Skirt of this Veſt was trimm'd with a Fringe, and hung round with Pomgranates and golden Bells of a curious Workmanſhip, which were interchangeably plac'd, and at equal Diſtances one from another. This Garment was all of a Piece, and without Seam, and had no Opening to it, but only Length-ways, a little below the Shoulders behind, and ſo to the Middle of the Breaſt before, with a Border to it for Decency's Sake to keep the gaping out of Sight, with another Border likewiſe to that Part of it that was left open for the Arms to paſs through the Sleeves.

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[a] Or *Chaanarabbes*. See *Braunius* conc. the Veſtments of the Hebrew Prieſts. l. 1. c. 2, & 16. & l. 2. c. 1. & 2.
[b] Or *Machanaſe*, or *Michnaſe*.
[c] Or *Chethone*.
[d] *Anſel. Solerius*, in his Book *de Pileo*, ſhews it ſhould be read *Maſnephthes*, or *Miſnephthes*.
[e] Or *Meeir*.

The Ephod.

Over this Veſtment there was yet a third; which was call'd the *Ephod*, and much the ſame with the *Epomis* of the *Greeks*, according to the Deſcription. It was a Cubit in Length, embroider'd all over with Gold and a glorious Variety of Colours, covering the whole Breaſt: And it had likewiſe Sleeves to it; ſo that it was no other in Effect than a ſhort Coat.

The Eſſen, *or* Logion.

Upon the fore Part of this Robe, and in the Middle of the Breaſt, there was left a void Place of a Span Square for the [a] *Eſſen*, which the *Greeks* call *Logion*, as much as to ſay, in *Latin*, the *Rationale*, or the *Oracle*. This ſquare Piece did juſt fill up that Vacancy, which was in Truth left on Purpoſe for it. There were golden Rings at every Corner, and Purple Ribbons run through them to faſten the *Ephod* and the *Rationale*, one to the other. And then to fill up all Spaces, and cover the Seams, the Intervals were wrought over with Strings of the ſame Colour. The High-Prieſt had upon each Shoulder a *Sardonyx* ſet in Gold, which two Stones ſerv'd for Buckles to claſp one Part of the *Ephod* to the other, with golden Ringles to bind *them* and the *Rationale* together. Upon theſe Stones were engraven in *Hebrew* Characters the Names of *Jacob*'s *twelve Sons:* The ſix Elder upon that on the Right Shoulder, and the other ſix on the Left. There were ſet alſo in the *Eſſen*, or *Rationale*, twelve Stones of ſuch a Size and Luſtre, that both for the Ornament and the Value they were ineſtimable. Theſe Stones were diſpos'd of into four Rows, at three in a Row; and divided one from another by little Partitions of Gold to ſecure them from falling out. In the *firſt* Row there was a *Sardonyx*, a *Topaz*, and an *Emerald*; in the *ſecond*, a *Ruby*, a *Jaſper*, and a *Sapphire*; in the *third*, a *Ligyrius*, an *Amethyſt*, and an *Agat*; and in the *fourth*, a *Chryſolite*, an *Onyx*, and a *Beryl*. In theſe *twelve precious Stones* were ſet down ſeverally the Names of *Jacob*'s *twelve Sons*, which we look upon as the Heads of our Tribes; and ſo their Names were there inſerted in the Order of Seniority and Birth. Now whereas theſe Hooks or Faſtenings were not ſufficient of themſelves to ſupport the Weight of ſo many precious Stones, there were two larger and ſtronger Pieces tackt to the upper Part of the *Rationale* toward the Neck that ſtood out above the Work of the Garment: And to theſe were faſten'd two wreath'd golden Chains that were convey'd by ſecret Paſſages up to the Shoulder Piece. The upper End of theſe Chains was carry'd about to the Back, and ſo hookt with a Ring behind there upon the Border of the *Ephod*; and this was the principal Holdfaſt that kept all firm together. There was alſo ſtitcht to the *Rationale* a Girdle of the Colour before ſpoken of, but interwoven with Gold. It went twice about the Body, and being ty'd on a Knot before, the two Ends were let looſe to hang dangling down, and a curious Gold Fringe to each of them.

The High-Prieſt's Mitre.

The High Prieſt's *Tiara*, or *Mitre*, was like that of other Prieſts, ſaving only that it had another of Purple or Violet Colour over it, and a triple Crown of Gold about it: Over which Crown was the Reſemblance in Gold of a Kind of Cup, in Form like the Bud of the Plant which the *Hebrews* call *Saccharus*, and the *Greeks Hyoſcyamos*. But for the Sake of thoſe that have neither ſeen this Plant, nor know any Thing of it; or of others that perhaps may have heard of the Name, and yet Strangers to the Nature of it, it will not be amiſs to give a ſhort Deſcription of it. This Plant riſes commonly to ſomewhat above three Spans in Height: The Root of it like that of a Turnip, and its Leaf like Mint. It branches out into a round Knob, with a Coat over it, which ſheds as the Fruit ripens. The Cup as I told you, that was plac'd over the golden Crown, was about the Bigneſs of the Joynt of one's little Finger, round and hollow like the Inſide of a Goblet: But I ſhall yet explain my ſelf a little further for the Benefit of the Reader. The Figure of it was a Kind of Hemiſphere; narrowing a little upwards, and then enlarging it ſelf toward the Brims into the Form of a Baſon, reſembling a Pomgranate cut in two; upon which there grew a round Cover, ſo curious by Nature as if it had been turn'd on Purpoſe for it; and it had ſharp Points riſing out of it like the Prickles of a Pomgranate. Within this Cup and Cover the Fruit was nouriſh'd and preſerv'd. The Seed of it is like that of the Plant *Sideritis*, or Wall-Sage; and a Flower like *Plantane*. This was the Ornament of the Mitre from the Neck round to the Temples; but the Forehead had a golden Plate laid over it, with an Inſcription upon it of the holy Name of God. This is enough ſaid of the Dreſs and Veſtments of the High-Prieſt.

I cannot but wonder in this Place, at the hard Meaſure we meet with in the World among thoſe that hate and traduce us as Blaſphemers and Deriders of the Divinity that they adore. Let but any Man conſider the Structure of the Tabernacle; the ſacerdotal Veſtments; and the holy Veſſels that are dedicated to the Service of the Altar; and he muſt of Neceſſity be convinc'd that our Law-giver was a pious Man, and that all the Clamours againſt us and our Profeſſion, are only Calumny and Scandal. For what

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[a] Braunius *for* Eſſen *reads* Choſchen. *l.* 2. *c.* 20. *p.* 766.

The Tabernacle and the Prieſts Veſtments, a Figure of the Univerſe.

is all this but the Image of the whole World? As will appear to any Man that does but ſoberly and impartially examine the Matter. The Tabernacle of thirty Cubits is divided into three Parts; that is to ſay, two for the Prieſts in general, as a Place in common to them all, and as free of Acceſs as the Earth and the Sea. The third Place, where no mortal muſt be admitted, is as the Heaven reſerv'd only for God himſelf. The twelve Loaves of Shew-Bread upon the Table, ſignify the twelve Months of the Year. The Candleſtick is made up of ſeventy Pieces, and refers to the twelve Signs of the *Zodiack*, through which the ſeven Planets take their Courſe: And the ſeven Lamps on the Top of the ſeven Branches bear an *Analogy* to the Planets themſelves. The Curtains with the four Colours, that are wrought into them, repreſent the four Elements. The fine Linen ſignifies the Earth, as the Flax takes its Growth out of it. By the Purple is to be underſtood the Sea, from the Blood of the Fiſh (or *Murex*) that gives it the Tincture. The violet Colour is the Symbol of the Air; and the ſcarlet, of the Fire. By the Linen Garment of the High-Prieſt is deſign'd the whole Body of the Earth: By the violet Colour, the Heavens. The Pomgranates anſwer the Lightning; the Noiſe of the Bells, the Thunder. The four colour'd *Ephod* (ſince it pleas'd God to order it ſo to be) bears a Reſemblance to the very Nature of the Univerſe, and the interweaving of it with Gold ſeems to me to have a Regard to the Rays that give us Light. The *Rationale* in the Middle of it intimates the Poſition of the Earth in the Centre of the World. The Girdle about the Body of the Prieſt, is as the Sea about the Globe of the Earth. The two Sardonyx-Stones are a kind of Figure of the Sun and Moon: And the twelve other Stones may be underſtood either of the twelve Months, or the twelve Signs in the Circle, which the *Greeks* call the *Zodiack*. The violet-colour'd *Tiara* ſpeaks a Reſemblance of Heaven; and it would have been an Irreverence to have written the ſacred Name of God upon any other Colour. The triple Crown and Plate of Gold give us to underſtand the Glory and the Majeſty of Almighty God. This is as plain an Illuſtration of theſe Matters as I thought needful: And I would not loſe any Opportunity, either upon this, or upon any other Occaſion, of doing all poſſible Right to the Honour and Wiſdom of our incomparable Law-giver.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Prieſthood of Aaron.

Exod. 28, & 29.

WHEN the Work of the Tabernacle was thus far advanc'd; and the next Thing in Order was to be the Dedication of it: God appear'd to *Moſes*, and gave him in Charge to ſettle his Brother *Aaron* in the Prieſthood, as a Perſon of all Men living that beſt deſerv'd the Dignity. So *Moſes* call'd the People together, and treated them with a moving Diſcourſe upon the Virtues of *Aaron:* Setting forth the Zeal and Paſſion he had for the Good of the Publick; even to the Degree of hazarding his Life upon ſeveral Occaſions for their Sake. *Moſes* found the whole Congregation ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Reaſon of what he ſaid, and the Choice of the Perſon, that he proceeded to his Buſineſs in theſe Words.

Aaron *declar'd High-Prieſt by* Moſes.

"Good People of *Iſrael, ſays he*, we have now gone through the great Work that "God requir'd at our Hands, to the uttermoſt of our Power. But in Regard that God "himſelf will vouchſafe to honour this Tabernacle with his Preſence, and that it is now "to be conſecrated, it will become us in the firſt Place to make Choice of a High-Prieſt "that is every Way qualify'd for the Exerciſe of the holy Function, and to offer up "Prayers and Sacrifices for us. I muſt confeſs indeed, if the Election were left to me, "I ſhould make no Difficulty of aſſuming the Honour to my ſelf, not only upon the "Score of human Frailty, as all Men are naturally Lovers of themſelves; but I ſhould "reckon my ſelf to have ſome Sort of Title to it upon the Merit of the Dangers and "Hardſhips I have undergone for the common Good. But ſo it is in the preſent Caſe, "that God, whoſe Officer the High-Prieſt is, already hath ſingled out and decreed "*Aaron* to the Dignity; as the moſt worthy of the ſacerdotal Robe. So that *Aaron* "is deſign'd from this Time forward to officiate at the Altar, and to offer up Vows and "Supplications to the Almighty on your Behalf; which coming from an Interceſſor of "God's own Appointment, will be the more graciouſly receiv'd". The People were all highly pleas'd with what *Moſes* had deliver'd, giving their Aſſent unanimouſly and chearfully to the Choice: For no Man had ſo fair a Pretence to the ſacred Character as *Aaron* had, either in Reſpect of his Family, the Gift of Prophecy which he had receiv'd, or the excellent Qualities of his Brother *Moſes*. Now *Aaron* had at that Time four Sons; [a] *Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar*, and *Ithamar*.

Aaron's *four Sons.*

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[a] *Joſ. Nabad.*

Exod. 37.

A Tax laid, and 605550 Contributors.

As to the Remainder of what had been given toward the Building of the Tabernacle, *Moſes* order'd the Overplus to be laid out in Veils and Coverings for the Tabernacle it ſelf; the golden Candleſtick; the Altar of Incenſe, and other holy Veſſels, to ſecure them upon any Occaſion of Removal from either Wet or Duſt. After this *Moſes* gave the People a Summons, and laid an Impoſition upon them, of half a Shekel a Head, toward the Charge of the Work in Hand, reckoning an *Hebrew* Shekel at four Attick Drachma's. They ſubmitted to the Tax, in Fine, with all the Chearfulneſs in the World. The Number of the Contributors was ſix hundred and five thouſand five hundred and fifty: Freemen all, and from twenty Years of Age to fifty. Which Money was all employ'd in the Service of the Tabernacle.

The purifying Oyl.

Bezaleel and *Aholiab*.

Moſes apply'd himſelf, in the next Place, to the purifying of the Tabernacle and the Prieſts; and the Manner of it was this. He took of the choiceſt Myrrhe five hundred Shekels-worth; and of *Iris* the ſame Quantity: Cinnamon, and Balſam, (which are wonderfully fragrant) the one Half. Theſe Ingredients he order'd to be beaten together and macerated in a Hin of the beſt Oyl-Olive: (which Hin is a Veſſel that holds as much as two *Attick Choa's*.) This Compoſition being then ſet over the Fire, and prepar'd according to Art, produc'd an Oyntment of the moſt grateful Odor imaginable: With which Oyntment, *Moſes* anointed the Prieſts and the Tabernacle, and this was the Ceremony of Purification; offering up ſeveral Sorts of Sacrifices alſo in the Tabernacle. As to the golden Altar, and the precious Perfumes that were dedicated upon it; I ſhall rather paſs over the Particulars, than tire out the Reader with many Words. But in general, there was Incenſe offer'd twice a Day; that is to ſay, before Sun-riſing, and about Sun-ſetting, and purifying Oyl preſerv'd for the Lamps of the holy Candleſtick: Three to burn all Day, and the Reſt to be lighted up in the Evening. The Fabrick was now finiſh'd, and the two Maſter-Workmen concern'd in it were *Bezaleel*, and *Aholiab*, whoſe Office it was to ſuperintend the Reſt; improving other Men's Inventions, and ſupplying new ones of their own: But of the two, *Bezaleel* had the Preference. All this was done in ſeven Months Time, and within the Compaſs of a Year from their coming out of *Ægypt*.

Exod. 40. *The Tabernacle conſecrated.* Levit. 8.

In the Year following, and on the New Moon of the Month *Xanthicus*, according to the *Macedonians*, or *Niſan*, according to the *Hebrews*, the Tabernacle was conſecrated, and ſo were all the Veſſels belonging to it. Upon this Occaſion, God Almighty gave the *Hebrews* to underſtand by a remarkable Providence, how graciouſly he accepted of their Zeal for his Service, and that their Labour was not loſt in the erecting of that glorious Structure: And this he manifeſted by deſcending to take up his Habitation there, and vouchſafing them the Bleſſing of his Preſence. As for Inſtance. It was ſo clear an Air that there was not one Cloud to be ſeen, but juſt over and about the Tabernacle. And this Cloud was not either ſo thick as to threaten foul Weather, nor ſo thin as to be tranſparent: But there iſſu'd from it ſo gentle a Dew, that all that ſaw it, and believ'd an Almighty Power, took it for a divine Influence, and an evident Token that their Prayers were heard, and that God himſelf honour'd them with his Preſence.

Levit. 8.

Levit. 9.

When *Moſes* had gratify'd the Artificers, that erected and beautify'd this Structure, with Encouragements and Rewards anſwerable to their Deſerts, he ſacrific'd in the Door of the Tabernacle, as God had commanded him, a Bullock, a Ram, and a Kid for the Sins of the People. As to the Ceremonies properly belonging to the Sacrifices, I ſhall handle that Point more particularly when I come to ſpeak of the Sacrifices themſelves; and I ſhall likewiſe ſhew what thoſe Burnt Offerings are, which the Law has appointed to be totally conſum'd, and thoſe again that the Law permits to be eaten. When the Beaſts, as aforeſaid, were now kill'd, *Moſes* took of the Blood, and ſprinkled it upon *Aaron* and his Sons, purifying them with Water of the Fountain, and anointing Oyl, and ſo hallowing them for Prieſts of the Lord. This Form of Conſecration was repeated in all the Parts of it for ſeven Days one after another ſucceſſively, with the Oblation of the ſame Sacrifices, one of a ſort every Day. On the eighth Day, *Moſes* appointed a Feſtival, and order'd the People to come in and ſacrifice according to their Abilities: Who were ſo ready and chearful in their Compliance, that they did not only contend in a pious Emulation one with another who ſhould go fartheſt; but made it a Point of Honour and Conſcience even to outdoe themſelves. The Sacrifices were no ſooner laid upon the Altar, but there broke out a Flame from them of its own Accord like a Flaſh of Lightning, which conſum'd them all.

Levit. 10. *Nadab and Abihu conſum'd by a judicial Fire.*

There was a dreadful Calamity after this that befel *Aaron*, and would have gone to the Heart of him both as a Man and as a Father, if he had not been fortify'd againſt all Events, and a Perſon abſolutely reſign'd to God's holy Will and Pleaſure. *Nadab* and *Abihu*, the two eldeſt of *Aaron*'s four Sons already ſpoken of, as they were about to ſacrifice upon the Altar, not according to the Preſcription of *Moſes*, but after a Manner formerly in Practice, were all on a ſudden blaſted and conſum'd with a judicial Fire, their

Bodies and their Faces ſhrivel'd up, and themſelves ſcorch'd to Death with a Flame not to be quench'd. *Moſes*, upon this, order'd their Father and their Brothers to take up the Bodies and carry them out of the Camp, and ſo to give them a decent Buryal. The unexpected Death of theſe Brothers was ſo terrible a Surprize to the Multitude, that their Grief was in Effect inconſolable: But *Moſes* earneſtly exhorted the Father and the Brethren not to lay this Tribulation to Heart: And rather to conſider that it did not ſtand with the Dignity of the Prieſthood to prefer an impotent Paſſion to the Honour and Glory of God: *Aaron* being at this Time inveſted with the *ſacerdotal Stole*.

Moſes, in Fine, deliver'd himſelf up ſo entirely to the Service of God, that he never minded the Addreſſes and Acclamations of the People. He went no longer now to Mount *Sinai* for Councel; but into the Tabernacle, for Inſtructions how to govern himſelf; and in all Reſpects like a private Man, ſave only in the Exerciſe of his Charge and Function, for the Good and Well being of the Publick. He gave them alſo the Laws and Precepts in writing, for the leading of their Lives acceptably in the Sight of God, and for the preſerving of themſelves in Peace and Union: Which Laws and Precepts were no other than the Dictates of God himſelf. Of theſe Laws I ſhall ſay ſomewhat farther in another Place.

But before I proceed, I muſt here ſupply one Remark above the Veſtments of the High-Prieſt which I have hitherto omitted. And it is this: That to prevent all Poſſibility of putting any Impoſture upon the World, under the Countenance of the holy Robe, or a Pretext of the Gift of Prophecy, it is to be obſerv'd that whenever God vouchſaf'd to honour theſe Sacrifices with his ſpecial Preſence, he never fail'd of accompanying that gracious Deſcenſion with ſome ſignal viſible Circumſtance or other, to convince, not only his own People, but Strangers alſo, of the Reality of that divine Appearance. To inſtance in the two *Sardonyx's* on the High-Prieſt's Shoulders (which we have formerly ſpoken of, and every Body knows the Nature of them:) what a wonderful Light does the Stone on the right Shoulder of the High-Prieſt caſt at a great Diſtance beyond the natural Luſtre, upon the Occaſion of God's ſhewing himſelf well pleas'd with the Sacrifices, and not otherwiſe! and this to the Admiration and Satisfaction of all Men living, ſave only ſuch as ſet up to gain the Reputation of wiſe Men by a profeſs'd Contempt of our Religion. But there is another Thing yet that is ſtill more amazing. I ſpeak of the twelve precious Stones that the High-Prieſt wore upon his *Eſſen*, or *Rationale*, when God preſag'd a Victory: for there came out of them ſo ſparkling a Glory that all the People look'd upon it as a divine Influence, and as an Earneſt of God's Aſſiſtance. And hence it is that the *Greeks* that have any Sort of Eſteem for our Rites and Solemnities, and are convinc'd of the Miracle by their very Eyes, call this *Eſſen*, *Logion*, which ſignifies an *Oracle* [as well as *Rationale*.] But it is now two hundred Years and upward that this *Sardonyx* and *Eſſen* have left ſhining, or at leaſt diſcontinu'd the Manifeſtations of their miraculous Light and Splendor; for God hath been offended with us for our Sins, as I ſhall ſhew elſewhere: And ſo return to my Narration.

The miraculous Luſtre of the Sardonyx *upon the High-Prieſt's right Shoulder.*

The Sparkling of the High-Prieſt's Jewels a Preſage of Victory.

The *Tabernacle* being now conſecrated, and all Things diſpatch'd that related to the Service of the Almighty, the People were ſo tranſported with Joy, to conſider that God was come down to dwell among them, that they gave up themſelves wholly to Hymns and Sacrifices, and to the Thought of living at Eaſe, without ſo much as dreaming of any more Difficulties to come: Some of the Tribes, in general, and others in particular, preſenting their reſpective Oblations. The Heads and Princes of the twelve Tribes brought ſix Wagons, and a Pair of Oxen to each of them, for the Service of the Tabernacle, upon any Occaſion of removing: Over and above a ſilver Charger of a hundred and thirty Shekels-weight, and a ſilver Bowl of ſeventy Shekels, both full of fine Flour mingled with Oyl, to be us'd in the Sacrifices; with an Incenſe-Cup alſo full of Perfumes, and valu'd at *ten Daricks*. They offer'd likewiſe a young Bullock, a Ram, and a Lamb of a Year old for a Burnt-offering; with a He-Goat for a Sin-offering. They had likewiſe their Peace-offerings: That is to ſay, two Bullocks a Day, five Rams, with as many yearling Lambs and He-Goats. Theſe Sacrifices continu'd for twelve Days at one every Day.

The Oblations of the Tribes. Num. 7.

Moſes, as I have ſayd already, went no longer up to *Mount Sinai*, but into the *Tabernacle*, to receive God's Directions about the Laws and Rules that were to be eſtabliſh'd: which being wholly of divine Appointment and Inſtitution; and above the Reach of human Underſtanding, it was but Reaſon that the ſacred Authority and Obligation of them ſhould be perpetual. I have ſaid enough elſewhere to prove theſe Laws the Gift of God, and indiſpenſably binding to the *Hebrews*, as well in the Liberties of Peace as in the Neceſſities of War. But I ſhall have Occaſion to handle this Point more at large in a Tract by itſelf.

Moſes conſults God in the Tabernacle.

CHAP. IX.

Of Sacrifices.

Sacrifices, particular, and publick.

BEING now to handle the Point of Sacrifices and Purifications, I ſhall only mind the Reader of ſome few Laws upon that Subject. There are two Sorts of *Sacrifices:* the one particular and private; the other popular and publick: And theſe two differ in the Manner of the Celebration. One of them is call'd a *Burnt-offering*, or a *Holocauſt*; as who ſhall ſay, *the whole Sacrifice is to be burnt:* The other is an Offering of *Thanksgiving*, and to be eaten by the Preſenters of it. To begin now with the former. Levit. 1. *A Burnt-Offering.* When a private Man makes an Oblation of a *Burnt-Offering*, he brings a *Bullock*, a *Lamb*, and a *Goat:* the two latter not above a Year Old; but the firſt may be allow'd to be ſomewhat over: they muſt all be *Males*, and entirely conſum'd by the Fire. When they are kill'd, the Prieſt ſprinkles the Blood of them round about the Altar, and after they are well waſh'd, cuts them in Pieces, ſtrows them with Salt, and lays them altogether upon it; where the Wood lyes ready kindled beforehand. He waſhes the Feet and the Entrails, and then caſts them into the Fire with the Reſt. The Skin belongs to the Prieſt. And this is the Ceremony of a *Burnt-Offering*.

Levit. 3. *A Peace-Offering.* If the Oblation be a *Peace-Offering*, or an Offering of Thankſgiving, the *Sacrifices* are of the ſame Sort of Creatures, only they muſt be upward of *Yearlings* without Blemiſh; and Male and Female. The Prieſt, after the killing of them, ſprinkles the Blood upon the Altar, and lays alſo the Kidneys, the Kell, and the Fillets of the Liver, with all the Fat upon them, and the Rump of the Lamb. The Breaſt and the right Shoulder is the Prieſt's Due, and for the Overplus, they that offer the *Sacrifice* may eat of it during two Days; and the Remainder afterwards to be burnt.

The ſame Method is obſerv'd in the *Sin-Offering*; only thoſe that are not able to furniſh theſe Sacrifices, Levit. 5. *A Sin-Offering.* ſhall offer two young Pigeons, or two Turtles; the one for a *Burnt-Offering* and the other for the Prieſts to eat. But I ſhall explain my ſelf more at large, when I come to treat further of *Sacrifices*.

Sins of Ignorance. If any Man falls into the Sin of *Ignorance*, his *Sacrifice* ſhall be a *Lamb*, or a *She-Goat* of the ſame Age as before, for a *Sin-Offering*, and the Prieſt, inſtead of ſmearing the Altar with the Blood all over, ſhall only ſprinkle it upon the Horns, or Corners of it: The Kidney with the Kell and the Fibres of the Liver to be layd upon the Altar. The Fleſh and the Skins are to be reſerv'd for the Prieſts, and the Fleſh to be ſpent that Day in the Temple; it being againſt the Law to leave any Part of it till the next Day. If *Wilful Sins.* any Man commits a wilful Sin, though ſo cloſe that it is impoſſible to produce any legal Proof againſt him, the Law appoints a Ram for his Offering; and the Prieſts to eat the Fleſh of it; provided it be in the Tabernacle and the ſame Day. The *Sin-Offering* of the Heads of the Tribes is the very ſame with that of private Men, ſaving only that the *Sacrifices* are to be a *Bull* and a *Goat*, and the latter a Male.

Levit. 2. *Laws for Feaſts, and Sacrifices.* According to the Law, in all *Sacrifices*, as well private as publick, there was to be a certain Proportion of fine Flour: The [a] Quantity of one *Aſſar* to a *Lamb*; two to a *Ram*; and three to a *Bullock*; and this was to be conſecrated upon the Altar with a Mixture of Oyl. It was Part alſo of the Oblation; Half a *Hin* of *Oyl* to a *Bullock* (an antient *Hebrew* Meaſure of about *two Attick Choa's*) a *third* Part of it to a *Ram*, and a *fourth* to a *Lamb*. They were oblig'd likewiſe to provide juſt as much Wine as Oyl, and to pour the Wine about the Altar. If any one ſhall make an Offering of fine Flour for the Performance of a Vow, without Sacrificing, let him lay a Handful of it upon the Altar, and the Prieſt to eat the Reſt either boyl'd, (for it is kneaded with Oyl) or made into Cakes; the Sacrificer taking out of it what he finds neceſſary for *Burnt-Offerings*. The Law forbids the Sacrificing of the Dam and the Young one at the ſame Time, if the Young one be not at leaſt eight Days old. There are likewiſe other Sacrifices for the Recovery of Health, and divers ſuch like Occaſions; where Cakes are eaten with the Fleſh of the Sacrifice, and the Prieſts to take their Part; but nothing of it muſt be left till the next Morning.

CHAP. X.

Laws and Ordinances for the Regulation of Prieſt's Sacrifices, Feſtivals; *and other Matters* Political *and* Civil.

THE Law hath alſo order'd and appointed a yearling Lamb to be ſacrific'd every Num. 28. & 29. Day, Morning and Evening, at the publick Charge: And two upon the *ſeventh Day* or *Sabbath*, after the ſame Manner. And ſo likewiſe at the Beginning of the Month, over and above the ordinary Sacrifices, two *ſeven yearling Lambs*, a *Ram* and a *He-Goat* for a *Sin-Offering* in Caſe of any Thing forgotten.

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[a] Gr, Ασσαρῶνος μέτρον.

On the *Seventh Month*, which the *Macedonians* call *Hyperberetæus*, the Offering was a *Bullock*, a *Ram*, and *ſeven Lambs*, beſide thoſe already mention'd, and a *He-Goat* for a *Sin Offering*.

On the *tenth Day* of the ſame Month, was a Faſt till Night; and the Sacrifices were a young *Bullock*, *two Rams*, *ſeven* Lambs, and a *He-Goat* for *Sin*; with two other Goats over and above. One of theſe Goats was preſented alive before the Lord, and ſo let go into the Wilderneſs as a *Scape-Goat* to expiate for the People. The other was carry'd out into ſome ſweet, clean Place near the Camp; and there burnt to Aſhes, Skin and all without reſerving any Part of it: And the Bullock was likewiſe burnt at the ſame Time. Now this Bullock was not provided by the People, but by the High Prieſt: Who, after the Killing of him, and the bringing of his Blood with that of the Goat into the Temple, dipped his Finger into the Blood and ſprinkled the Cover of the Tabernacle ſeven Times, and ſo in like Manner the Floor; the whole Temple; the golden Altar; and the great Altar before the Door of the Tabernacle. After this, the extreme Parts of theſe Creatures, the Kidneys and the Fat, with Part of the Liver, were lay'd upon the Altar, the High Prieſt furniſhing a Ram alſo upon his own Account, and all preſented to the Lord for a *Burnt-Offering*.

Levit 23.

Upon the *fifteenth Day* of the ſame Month, Winter drawing on, the People were commanded, with their reſpective Tribes, to ſecure and fortify their Tents againſt the Rigour of the Seaſon; and likewiſe that, whenever they ſhould come into the Land that God had promis'd them they ſhould repair to the *Metropolis*, as the Seat of the *holy Temple*, and their celebrate an *Eight Days Feſtival*; with *Burnt-Offerings*, *Sacrifices*, and *Peace-Offerings*: Carrying Boughs in their Hands of Myrtle, Willow, Palms, and little Sprouts of Peach.

Ex. 12. 13. 23.

On the *firſt Day* of the *Eight* was to be preſented a *Burnt-Offering*, of *thirteen young Bullocks*, *fourteen Lambs*, *two Rams*, and a *Goat*, for an Offering of *Attonement*. The Number of the Lambs and Rams, with the Goat, was to be the ſame for ſix Days; but one Bullock to be abated every Day till the Number was brought down to ſeven. The *eight* was to be a Day of *Reſt*, and there were dedicated to God (as I have ſaid before) a *Calf*, a *Ram*, *ſeven Lambs*, and a *Goat* for a *Sin-Offering*. This was the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, upon the *Hebrews* erecting their Tents; and it has been conſtantly obſerv'd with all Ceremony by our People.

Levit. 23 Num. 9. Deut. 16.

The Paſſover. Ex. 23. Lev. 23.

The Feaſt of Unleavened Bread.

In the Month *Xanthicus*, which we call *Niſan*, and reckon upon as the Beginning of the Year: On the fourteenth of the Moon, when the Sun is in *Aries*; and that being the Month when our Forefathers came out of *Ægypt*, the Law injoyns us to offer the ſame Sacrifice every Year over again, which our Predeceſſors did at their Deliverance from the *Ægyptian Bondage*, under the Title of the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*. This Feſtival we celebrate through all our Tribes, without leaving any Remainder of the Oblation till the next Day. The *fifteenth* is the Feaſt of *unleavened Bread*; which laſts ſeven Days, and follows in Order next to the *Paſſover*. The Sacrifices are *two Bullocks*, *one Ram*, and *ſeven Lambs* for a *Burnt-Offering*; to which is added a *Goat* every Day for a *Sin-Offering*, toward the Entertainment of the Prieſts. On the ſecond Day of the Feaſt of *Unleavened Bread*, and the ſixteenth of the Month, they make an Offering to God of the

The Firſt Fruits.

Firſt-Fruits of their Grain, before they taſte of it themſelves; judging it a reaſonable Thing that the Author of all the Bleſſings they enjoy ſhould be ſerv'd firſt. And the Method of the Oblation is this. They take a Quantity of Corn-Ears, and dry them before the Fire upon a clean Hearth. After this, they break and bruiſe them, and ſo offer upon the Altar an *Aſſar*; one Handful of it to be left there, and the Reſt goes to the Prieſt. The People after this, are allow'd to reap at Pleaſure: And the Offering in this Caſe is a Lamb for a *Holocauſt*.

Levit. 23.

The Feaſt of Pentecoſt.

On the *Fiftieth Day* after the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, that is to ſay, at the End of ſeven Weeks or forty nine Days, was celebrated the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, ſo call'd by the *Greeks*, as denoting the Number of *Fifty*: the *Hebrews* call it [a] *Aſſartha* for the ſame Reaſon. On this Day they offered to God a wheaten Loaf of *two Aſſars* bak'd with Leaven, and two Lambs for a Sacrifice; which ſerv'd for the Prieſts Supper: But nothing was to be left of it till the next Morning. The *Burnt-Offerings* were three Calves, two Sheep, fourteen Lambs, and two Goats for a Sin-Offering. Now there are Burnt-Offerings and Reſt from Labour preſcrib'd in all their Feaſts, according to certain Rules and Limitations in both Caſes: With Directions alſo which of the Sacrifices are to be eaten.

There was likewiſe a Proviſion order'd out of the publick Stock of twenty four *Aſſars* of

[a] Petavius *confutes this in his Notes upon* Epiphanius, *p.* 63.

fine Flour, to be made into Loaves of Bread with Leaven, two and two to a Loaf. Now this Bread was to be bak'd on the *Sabbath Eve*, and ſet upon the holy Table next Morning; ſix Loaves on each Hand and one directly againſt the other, with two golden Cups of Incenſe over them; which were there to remain till the next Sabbath Day, and then given to the Prieſt to eat, and others ſet in their Places. The Frankincenſe being alſo burnt in the holy Fire, which conſumes the Burnt-Offerings; there was freſh Incenſe immediately ſupply'd upon freſh Loaves. The High Prieſt moreover offer'd twice a Day of the fineſt Flour ſteeped in Oyl, and a little bak'd, to the Proportion of an *Aſſar:* One Half of it to be caſt into the Fire in the Morning; the other in the Evening. But without more Words at preſent, I ſhall have Occaſion to be more copious upon this Subject in another Place.

CHAP. XI.

The Tribe of Levi *ſet apart for the Service of the Altar. Of Meats, and Perſons, clean and unclean. Laws for Women in Child-Bed; and in Caſe of Adultery and Jealouſy.*

Num. 3. *The Tribe of* Levi *ſet apart for God's Worſhip.*

THE Tribe of *Levi* being now ſet apart from the Reſt of the People for the peculiar Service of God, *Moſes* purify'd them with Water of the Fountain; and, ſacrificing according to Cuſtom, committed the *Tabernacle*, the *holy Veſſels*, and all other Things belonging to it, to their Care and Charge, under the Orders and Appointments of the Prieſts; inſomuch that they were now look'd upon as conſecrated to God.

Levit. 7. 17. *Meats, clean and unclean.*

Moſes declar'd himſelf at the ſame Time, upon the Difference of *Meats clean and unclean*; what might be eaten, and what not: Which we ſhall afterward give the Reaſon of as it falls in our Way. But for the *Blood* of any Creature whatſoever, it is abſolutely forbidden; upon an Opinion that the very Life and Spirit of that Creature is in it: neither is the Fleſh of any thing to be eaten that dy'd of itſelf; and ſo for the Fat of a Goat, a Sheep, or an Ox, it is all prohibited.

Of Perſons, clean and unclean. Levit. 13. 14.

It was alſo order'd that all *Lepers*, and ſuch as labour'd under a *Gonorrhœa* ſhould be turn'd out of the City; and ſo for *Women*, during the Time of their *natural Purgations*, to withdraw from the Converſation of Men for ſeven Days, and then permitted to return as purify'd. And ſo for one that has aſſiſted at the burying of a Corps, he ſhall not be reputed clean till ſeven Days after. But where the Pollution out-laſts the ſeven Days, let the Patient ſacrifice two Lambs: One to be dedicated, and the Prieſts to take the other. And the ſame Sacrifice ſerves in the Caſe of nocturnal Pollutions; only the Patient to dip himſelf ſtript in cold Water, as Men uſually do upon a Congreſs with their lawful Wives. But the *Lepers* are to all Purpoſes baniſh'd the City, and effectually human Converſation; as People little better than dead. But if it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver any Man from this Affliction upon his humble Supplications, and to reſtore him to a ſound Habit again, there are ſeveral Sacrifices that he is oblig'd to offer up to God in Acknowledgment of the Benefit he had receiv'd: But of this hereafter. This is enough to lay open the frivolous Vanity of that Story, that will have *Moſes* driven out of *Ægypt* as a *Leper*, and none ſo fit as he to conduct the *Hebrews* into the Land of *Chanaan*, that were tainted with this Malady as well as himſelf. For if it had been true, he would never have eſtabliſhed ſuch a Law for his own Honour; but on the contrary, he would rather have oppos'd it if it had been propounded: Eſpecially conſidering that in ſeveral Parts of the World, *Lepers* are ſo far from being ſubjected to Indignities and Contempt, that they are many Times advanc'd to Commiſſions of Honour and Truſt, in Charges military, eccleſiaſtical, and civil. Now if *Moſes* and the Multitude were in Truth tainted with this Malady, how came it that he did not rather eſtabliſh Laws in Favour of it? And it is now as clear as Day, that this ſcandalous Report was only a malicious Fiction, to make us and our Profeſſion odious. But *Moſes* being clean himſelf, and converſing with thoſe that were ſo, he ordain'd this Law for the Glory of God, and with a Regard to thoſe that were infected. But every Man is at Liberty to think of this Matter as he pleaſes.

Moſes *vindicated.*

Levit. 12. *Laws for Women in Child-Bed.*

In the Caſe of a Woman that is newly deliver'd of a Child, if it be a Male, ſhe is not allow'd to enter the Temple, or to be preſent at divine Service for forty Days after; nor, if it be a Female, for twice as many. But at the End of the Term aforeſaid, ſhe is bound to offer Sacrifices; Part to God, and the Remainder to the Prieſts.

Num. 5. *Laws in caſe of Adultery, or Jealouſy.*

If a man ſuſpects his Wife of Adultery his Offering muſt be an *Aſſar* of Barly-Meal; laying a Handful of it upon the Altar, and giving the Reſt to the Prieſts to eat. Some one of them ſets the Woman at the Gate that looks toward the Tabernacle; uncovers her Head, and writing the Name of God upon a Parchment, commands her to declare upon her Oath, if ſhe had ever been falſe to her Husband's Bed: To which ſhe anſwers with this Imprecation: “ If I have, *ſays ſhe*, may my Thigh rot, and my Belly burſt, “ and let me die miſerable: But on the other Hand, if it ſhall be found to be only a “ Fanſy, and an extravagant Jealouſy of my Husband's, I beſeech God to grant me the “ Bleſſing of a Male-Child, within ten Months from this Day”. After this Oath, the Prieſt took Water, and waſh'd the ſacred Name of God clear out of the Parchment; and then ſtraining the Water into an earthen Veſſel, caſt of the Duſt of the Floor and Walls of the Temple into it, and ſo gave it to the Woman to drink. If ſhe was innocent, ſhe ſhould ſuddenly conceive, and go happily through with her Burden: But if guilty of Incontinence and a falſe Oath both in one, ſhe was ſure to periſh with Horror and Infamy, as is ſaid before. Theſe are the Laws that *Moſes* gave to his Countrymen, concerning his *Sacrifices* and *Purifications:* Beſide a Preſcription of other Laws and Proviſions, as follows.

CHAP. XII.

Laws againſt Adultery and Inceſt. Prieſts reſtrain'd in their Marriages. The ſeventh Year's Sabbaoth; *and the* Hebrews *Jubilee. Ordinances of War. The People number'd. Two Silver Trumpets, and the Uſe of them.*

ADULTERY was abſolutely and expreſſly forbidden; *Moſes* very well underſtanding that there could be no Happineſs in a conjugal State, but in a mutual Faith and Confidence betwixt Man and Wife: And likewiſe how much it concerns, as well Governments as Families, that the Members both of the one and of the other ſhould be lawfully begotten. He condemn'd *Inceſt* as a moſt horrible Wickedneſs; whether with the Mother; the Mother in Law; the Aunt, whether by Father or Mother; the Siſter, or the Daughter in Law. He prohibited the Wife to live ſo much as with her own Husband, in the Time of her Purgations. He pronounc'd it alſo a moſt abominable Sin to have to do with Boys, or Beaſts; and all theſe Tranſgreſſions he made capital.

Levit. 18. 20, 21. *Inceſt a horrible Wickedneſs.*

As to the Prieſts, *Moſes* laid them under a double Obligation: For over and above the tying of them up to the ſame Laws with other People, they were likewiſe under a Prohibition of marrying with ſome Sorts of Women; as a mercenary Proſtitute, a Maid-Servant, a Slave, a publick Hoſteſs, or a Woman divorc'd upon any Account whatſoever. Now there were ſome certain Allowances alſo permitted to the Prieſts in ordinary, and yet deny'd to the High-Prieſt; as the marrying of a Widow, when the High-Prieſt was only to marry a Virgin. He was alſo injoyn'd not to come near the Dead; whereas the other Prieſts were ſuffer'd to pay all cuſtomary Reſpects to the Bodies of their dead Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, or Children: *Moſes* commanding them to behave themſelves with all Candour and Simplicity both in Word and Deed. If a Prieſt happen'd to have upon him any Maim or corporal Defect; he had his Part however of the Oblations among his Fellows; but *Moſes* would not ſuffer him to officiate at the Altar, or ſo much as to enter into the Temple: Looking upon it as the Duty of a Prieſt to demean himſelf with Purity and Reverence; not only in the Exerciſe of his Function, but in the Government alſo of his Life and Manners. Thoſe therefore that behave themſelves as they ought to do in the ſacerdotal Robe, are ſober and ſpotleſs in all other Reſpects as well as in their Office: Neither are they allow'd ſo much as to taſte of Wine in their Prieſt's Veſtments. Their Sacrifices are offer'd whole and without Blemiſh.

Prieſts not to marry ſome Sorts of Women.

Levit. 21.

No Prieſt with a Blemiſh, to ſerve at the Altar.

Levit. 10.

Theſe were the Laws that *Moſes* gave in the Deſert, and which he caus'd to be obſerv'd during his Life: Preſcribing others alſo for the Government of the People when they ſhould come into the Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Chanaan.* He order'd every *ſeventh Year* to be a Year of Reſt to the Earth, without either planting or plowing, anſwerable to what he had eſtabliſh'd in the Caſe of the *ſeventh Day.* He appointed likewiſe that all the Fruits which the Earth ſhould produce in that *ſeventh Year* ſhould be in common to *Strangers* as well as *Hebrews*, without laying up any Thing in Store. The like was to be done after *ſeven Times ſeven Years*; the next Year being the fiftieth, or the *Hebrews Jubilee*, wherein Debtors are diſcharg'd, and Servants made free: That is to ſay, ſuch as for ſome Tranſgreſſion of the Law had commuted Death for Servitude. Upon the Approach of this *Jubilee*, which ſignifies *Liberty*, there is a Reſtitution alſo of Lands to the ancient Poſſeſſors; and it is done after this Manner. The Buyer and Seller meet about it; and, upon balancing the Profits of the Eſtate with the Expences upon it, if the Profit be found greater than the other, the Seller takes his Ground again: But on the other Side, if the Charge exceeds the Profit, the Purchaſer receives what falls ſhort, and ſo quits the Poſſeſſion: If the Profit and Charge ſhall fall out to be

Levit. 25. *The ſeventh Year's Sabbaoth.*

The Year of Jubilee.

equal, the Eſtate goes to the firſt Owner. This was the Rule alſo upon the Sale of Houſes in open Villages; but for thoſe in wall'd Towns, there was another Method; which was this. If the Seller laid down the Purchaſe-Money before the Year was out, he had a Right to re-enter; but the Year once elaps'd, the Purchaſer was confirm'd in his Poſſeſſion. *Moſes* receiv'd this Body of Laws from God himſelf upon Mount *Sinai*, for the People which were then encamp'd at the Foot of the Mountain; and caus'd a Copy of them to be tranſcrib'd for the Uſe of Poſterity.

Num. 1.
Ordinances of War.
Moſes *numbers the People.*
Num. 26.
Gen. 48. 5.

Moſes having now ſufficiently provided for the ſettling of Religion, and the civil Government, his next Buſineſs was to eſtabliſh certain Laws and Ordinances of War for the Regulation of the Militia. And the firſt Thing he did towards it, was the iſſuing out of Orders to the Heads of all the Tribes (*Levi* only excepted) to take an exact Liſt of the whole Number of the People that were able to bear Arms. Now the *Levites*, being dedicated to the Service of God, could not attend any other Duty. There were found, in Fine, upon the View, ſix hundred and three thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty Men, from twenty to fifty, that were able to draw the Sword. And in the Place of *Levi*, *Moſes* made Choice of *Manaſſeh*, the Son of *Joſeph*, and of *Ephraim* for *Joſeph* himſelf: According to the Requeſt of *Jacob* to *Joſeph*, when he adopted *Joſeph*'s two Sons to himſelf, as is ſaid above.

The Iſraelites *Manner of camping and decamping.*
Num. 9.
A Review of the Levites.
Ex. 40.

Upon their pitching of their Tents, the Tabernacle was erected in the Middle of the Camp; with three Tribes on every Side, and large Streets and Paſſages betwixt them, and alſo with a Market-Place; where all Neceſſaries were to be ſold, and ſeveral Sorts of Tradeſmen orderly diſpos'd of in Shops and Standings about it; inſomuch that it had the Reſemblance of a regular and a well-contriv'd City. The *Prieſts* and *Levites* had the Quarter aſſign'd them that was next the Tabernacle: And an Account of the *Levites* was taken apart; which upon the Review amounted to 23880 Males, reckoning them from the Age of thirty Days upwards. So long as the Cloud before ſpoken of hover'd over the Tabernacle, they took it for an Intimation of God's Preſence there, and the Army reſted and lay ſtill; but as the Cloud mov'd, the Army decamp'd.

Num. 10.
Moſes's *Silver Trumpets.*

Moſes caus'd two *Silver Trumpets* to be made, according to this Deſcription. They were near a Cubit in Length; the Tube about the Size of a Flute, ſomewhat larger than a Reed, and juſt wide enough in the Mouth to receive the Breath for the toning of it; turning up at the End like the Lips of a Bell, or of an ordinary Trumpet. The *Hebrews* call this Inſtrument *Aſophra*. One of them was to call the People together: The other to ſummon a Council of the Princes about Affairs of State. And the ſounding of both together was a Summons for a *General Aſſembly*. Upon the moving of the *Tabernacle*, this was the Method. The three Tribes to the *Eaſtward* of it were to decamp upon the firſt ſounding: Thoſe to the *Southward*, upon the ſecond. The Tabernacle was then to be taken in Pieces, and mounted upon Carriages, Half and Half, betwixt ſix Tribes marching before it, and the other ſix that were to follow it; the *Levites*, all this while, keeping cloſe to it and round about it. Upon the third ſounding, that Part of the Camp mov'd that was toward the *Weſt*; and upon the fourth, that to the *Northward*. They made Uſe of theſe Trumpets alſo in their *Sacrifices*, and upon their *Sabbaths*, and other Occaſions. *Moſes* now *ſacrific'd*; and it was the *firſt paſchal Solemnity* after that in the Deſert, upon the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Ægypt*.

CHAP. XIII.

A Muttering againſt Moſes *for Want of Food, and a Flight of* Quails *to ſupply it.*

Num. 11.
A ſecond Mutiny, for Want of Food.

THE Army was now decamp'd from Mount *Sinai*; and paſſing from Place to Place, (of which hereafter) they came at laſt to *Iſeremoth*; where the Multitude fell into a direct Sedition againſt *Moſes*, telling him that it was at his Perſuaſion, they were inveigled out of one of the beſt Countries in the World, to come thither into a ſtarving Neceſſity; where, inſtead of the Bleſſings he had promis'd them, they were already upon the Point of periſhing for Want of Water: And if their *Manna* ſhould now fail them, they were all loſt beyond Redemption. When they had gone on a while, at this and a more inſolent Rate of Outrage againſt the good Man: One of the Company told them, they ſhould do well to call to Mind the Difficulties, Labours, and Hazards, that *Moſes* had undergone for their Sakes, and wholly to caſt themſelves upon the Goodneſs of God for their Relief; but this made the Matter ſtill worſe and worſe, and ſerv'd only to enflame the Mutineers. When *Moſes* ſaw the Multitude abandon'd to this Degree of Deſperation, he ſpake Words of Kindneſs and Comfort to them; notwithſtanding all the provoking Affronts and Indignities that had been put upon himſelf: Bidding them depend upon it that they ſhould ſuddainly have Fleſh ſufficient to ſupply them many

Days; but they gave no Credit to it, and breaking out into Exclamations, asking him in Scorn, how he ſhould take upon him to feed ſo many thouſand Men! His Anſwer was this, that God and his Servant *Moſes* would ſee them provided for, notwithſtanding all their Reproaches, and it ſhould be ſuddenly too. The Word was no ſooner out, but the whole Camp was fill'd with *Quails*; and the People gather'd them up; but it was not long before God took Vengeance upon the *Hebrews* for the Offences they had committed againſt *himſelf* and *Moſes*: For they were viſited with a Plague that coſt them a great many Lives. The Place where this Judgment befel them is call'd *Cabrothaba*, or the *Graves of Luſt*.

The Miracle of Quails.

CHAP. XIV.

Spies ſent into Chanaan. *The Delicacy, Plenty, and Strength of the Country tempts and affrights the Deputies. A Conſpiracy againſt* Moſes. Joſhua *and* Caleb *compoſe it.* Moſes *and* Aaron *obtain Mercy for the People.*

Num. 13. 14.

WHEN *Moſes* had brought the People into a Place call'd the *Streights*, upon the Borders of *Chanaan*, and an incommodious Quarter to live in, he call'd them together, and ſpake to them after this Manner. “There are two Bleſſings that God has promis'd us; Liberty, and the Enjoyment of a happy Land. By his gracious Bounty at this Inſtant we are in Poſſeſſion of one of them, and it will not be long before you come to be eſtabliſh'd in the other. We are already upon the Borders of *Chanaan*, and it is not in the Power of any King, City, or Nation, to hinder our Progreſs into the other. Let us alſo in the firſt Place provide an Army for the War; for there will be no gaining of this Country, but by Labour and Danger, and we muſt cut our Way to it by the Sword. Wherefore let us ſend *Spies* to take a View of the Condition of the Land, and the Strength of the People: But above all Things, let us be unanimous, and aſcribe all Honour to God; who will both aſſiſt us and fight for us.

Moſes *ſends Spies into the Land of* Chanaan.

When *Moſes* had made an End of ſpeaking, the People highly approv'd of what he ſaid, and upon his Motion made Choice of twelve eminent Men, one out of every Tribe, to ſend before them for Diſcovery. They made the Tour of the whole Land of *Chanaan*, from *Ægypt* and the Parts thereabouts, and ſo to the City *Amathe*, and to Mount *Libanus*. When they had well examin'd the Nature of the Soil, the State of the Country, and the Manners of the Inhabitants, they came back again; with a particular Account of what they had ſeen; finiſhing the whole Work in forty Days. The Report they made, was ſo much to the Advantage of the Place for a delicious fruitful Country; and the Samples of the Fruits themſelves that they brought along with them, were ſo tempting and lovely, that the People were one and all for a War to make themſelves Maſters of it. But then, on the other Hand, when the Deputies came to reflect on the Difficulties of the Enterprize: The impaſſable Rivers, and unacceſſible Mountains and Precipices; the ſtrong Holds, and fortify'd Cities that they were to encounter upon the Way; beſide a Race of Giants in *Hebron*, of ſo monſtrous a Bulk and Strength, that from their coming out of *Ægypt* to that Inſtant they had never ſeen any Thing comparable to them: Their own Hearts fail'd them in the firſt Place, and ſo they infected the Multitude with the ſame Apprehenſion.

The Deputies frighted at the Relation of the Country.
Num. 13.

The People were ſo diſcourag'd upon this Diſcourſe at the Hazard of the Undertaking, that they brake up in a Confuſion, and ſpent that whole Night with their Wives and Children in Lamentations and Outcries againſt God and *Moſes*. God promiſes fair, *they cry'd*; but he does nothing for us. They fell upon *Moſes* then again and again, and upon his Brother *Aaron* the High-Prieſt. When they had paſs'd away the Night in Outrage and Blaſphemy, they joyn'd early the next Morning in a Conſpiracy to ſtone *Moſes* and *Aaron* out of Hand, and ſo go their Ways back again into *Ægypt*.

Another Mutiny againſt Moſes.

Upon this deſperate Diſorder, [a] *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and *Caleb* of the Tribe of *Judah* (being the two only Diſſenters of the twelve that had been employ'd in the Diſcovery) did all that was poſſible to keep the Peace, for Fear of the dreadful Conſequences that might attend ſuch a Tumult, delivering themſelves to this Effect. “How is it poſſible for you, good People, to diſtruſt the Veracity and Goodneſs of God, and at the ſame Time to give Credit to vain Stories and Amuſements about the Land of *Chanaan*, that are put abroad on Purpoſe to abuſe you! Why ſhould not you rather believe, and follow thoſe that have taken ſo much Pains to put you into the Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of thoſe Bleſſings? What's the Height of Mountains, or

Joſhua *and* Caleb *quiet the Sedition.*

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[a] Gr. Ἰησȣ͂ς τȣ͂ Ναυήχȣ

Moſes *and* Aaron *intercede for them, and their Prayers are heard.*

A Cloud appears over the Tabernacle in Token of God's Favour.

“ the Depth of Rivers to Men of undaunted Spirits, and of honourable Reſolutions! “ eſpecially when God is both their Protector and Defender. Wherefore let us advance “ and attack the Enemy, *they cry'd*, without ſo much as the leaſt Queſtion of the Event. “ Only truſt God for your Guide, and follow us where we lead you.” This was the Courſe they took to pacify the People: But *Moſes* and *Aaron* threw themſelves proſtrate upon the Ground; and beſought God, not for their own Sakes, but to compoſe the troubled Minds of the ignorant People, and to deliver them from the Diſtemper of their impotent Paſſion. Their Prayers were heard; and there appear'd a Cloud over the Tabernacle, giving them to underſtand that God was preſent.

CHAP. XV.

Moſes *tells the People from God, that they themſelves ſhould never enter into the Land of* Chanaan; *but that their Children ſhall. They repent, and humble themſelves.* Moſes, *a Perſon of great Credit and Authority. A miſerable Famine in the Reign of* Claudius.

A denouncing Prediction.

MOſes, in the Strength and Confidence of this Viſion, thruſts himſelf into the Croud, and there laid before the People the Judgments that God had denounc'd againſt them for their Inſolence and Diſobedience: Not as a Puniſhment anſwerable to the Degree of the Trangreſſion, but as a fatherly Correction to his Children; “ for, *ſays* “ *he*, upon my entering into the Tabernacle with Supplications and Tears, to implore “ the Almighty in his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy, not utterly to deſtroy you from off “ the Face of the Earth, God was pleas'd to repreſent how ungrateful a Return you “ had made him for all his Benefits; and the Indignity you have now offer'd him in “ giving more Credit to the Impoſtures of your Spies, than to the Promiſes of God “ himſelf. I can yet aſſure you after this, that you ſhall not all periſh: neither will “ God ever ſuffer the Race of his choſen People to be wholly rooted out: But for the “ Land of *Chanaan*, you muſt never expect to enjoy either the Poſſeſſion or the Com- “ forts of it; for you are condemn'd to a wandring Life for *forty Years* in the Wil- “ derneſs, without either Houſe or Home; as a Puniſhment for your Iniquities. Now “ this will not hinder, but that in God's good Time your Children ſhall yet come to be “ Lords of that bleſſed Land, which their Fathers rendered themſelves unworthy of, “ by their Stubbornneſs and Unbelief.

The People repent and ſubmit.

Upon this denouncing Prediction of *Moſes*, the People went all flocking to him, in a Paſſion of Aſtoniſhment and Dread, to beg his Mediation to Almighty God on their Behalf for Pardon of their Sins, and a Deliverance out of the Wilderneſs. He told them that it was not with God as it is with Men in the Caſes of human Frailty, to be wrought upon by unreaſonable Importunities; for the Proceedings of the Almighty are founded upon certain Knowledge, Wiſdom, and Juſtice: And it was upon this Ground that Sentence had now paſſed upon them. It may be wonder'd at, perhaps, that *Moſes* being but one Man, ſhould be able to encounter the Rage of ſo many Thouſands, and bring them at laſt within the Bounds of Moderation and Reaſon: But God aſſiſting him, the Minds of the Multitude were prepared to be overcome. They had found by Experience, upon ſeveral Mutinies and Eſſays of Sedition, that Struggling did them no good: And this is a common Caſe in other Calamities.

Moſes *a Perſon of great Power and Credit.*

Moſes was a wonderful Man alſo in divers other Reſpects: That is to ſay, for his Piety and Reſolution: And ſo likewiſe for the Credit he had got in the World, to be believ'd in whatever he ſaid; and that not only in his Life Time, but his Authority continues ſtill as ſacred to Poſterity. For the *Hebrews* ſtand in as much Awe of his Laws and Precepts, at this very Day, as if he himſelf were preſent to puniſh them for their Diſobedience; and their Conſciences accuſe them without Need of any other Witneſſes. One might give ſeveral Inſtances in Proof of the Veneration all Men had for him, as a Perſon of an Authority more than human. And this for one among others. There were ſome People that came once from beyond *Euphrates*, a Four-Months-Journey, and with great Hazzard and Expence, out of a Reſpect to our Way of Worſhip. They offer'd Sacrifice, but were not allow'd any Part of their own Offering; the Laws of *Moſes* in ſome Caſes forbidding it: Others were not permitted to ſacrifice at all; and ſome again were forced to give off at half Way: Others, in Fine, were not ſo much as admitted into the Temple, and ſo quietly went their Way; Chooſing rather to reſign to the Appointments of *Moſes*, than to gratify their own Inclinations: [a] and this out of no other Apprehenſion than from their own Conſciences: But looking upon the Laws themſelves as of divine Inſtitution, they had the greater Reverence for the Legiſlator. There happen'd not long ſince in the Reign of *Claudius* and in the Pontificate of *Iſhmaël*, a little before the *Jewiſh* War, ſo pinching a Famine in *Judæa*, that Flour was at four *Drachma's* an *Aſſar*. There was brought up at that Time to the Feaſt of *unleaven'd Bread ſeventy Corus's*; [a] that is to ſay, thirty one *Sicilian Medimni*, and forty one *Attick*. The Prieſts were ready to ſtarve for Want of Bread, and yet not ſo much as one Man of them touch'd the leaſt Bit of this Proviſion: So tender were they of their Duty to the Law, and of incurring God's diſpleaſure, even for their moſt ſecret Sins. Who ſhall any longer doubt now of the Wonders *Moſes* wrought, when our very Enemies are forc'd to acknowledge the Divinity of the Writings he hath left behind him: And to confeſs that the Founder of our Commonwealth was no other than the immediate Inſtrument of God himſelf? But every Man is left to the Liberty of his own Thoughts.

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[a] *See* Selden *de* Synedriis Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 3. *p.* 70. Ed. Amſtel.

A dreadful Famine in the Days of Claudius.

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[a] *See a Letter of* Salmaſius *in the third* Faſciculus *publiſh'd by* Crenius.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

From the Year of the World 2455, to 2493.

CHAP. I.

The Iſraelites *make War upon the* Chanaanites, *contrary to the Advice of* Moſes, *and are ſhamefully overthrown.*

THE *Hebrews* had a hard Time of it in the *Wilderneſs*; and it was yet the moſt ſenſible Part of their Calamity, that God would not give them Leave to make War upon the *Chanaanites*. Their Hearts, in Short, were ſet upon't; but *Moſes*, from Time to Time, adviſing them ſtill againſt it; they told him plainly in the Concluſion, *that they would e'en go their own Way to work, and do their Buſineſs without him. He had a Mind*, they ſaid, *to keep them in Miſery, and make himſelf neceſſary to them, and that was all he look'd after.* In this Freak, Hand over Head, they reſolv'd upon the War, depending, as they ſaid, upon God for his Aſſiſtance: Not ſo much for *Moſes*'s Sake, as for the Love he bare to their Nation, and to the Memory of their worthy Anceſtors. They made no Doubt, but, if they behav'd themſelves like Men, he that had formerly given them Freedom, would now give them Victory: Or at worſt, they could deal well enough with the *Chanaanites*, even though *Moſes* ſhould do all he could to ſet God againſt them. "We are to maintain our common Liberty, *they cry'd*, without leaping out of one Slavery into another. What Matter is it to us, whether we ſerve *Pharaoh*, or *Moſes*? We change our Maſter, 'tis true, but not our Condition; ſo long as we ſuffer our ſelves to be ſeduc'd by the Illuſions of this Man's Vanity and Ambition. What a Stir does he keep with Stories of his *divine Colloquies* and *Revelations*! As if *Moſes* were the only Confident to the Privacies of God's ſecret Purpoſes and Counſels! Are not all *we* here of the Race of *Abraham*, as well as *he*? How comes *Moſes* then by the ſole Privilege of a divine Preſcience, and a Gift by himſelf in the Faculty of foretelling Things to come? Is not this the Land that God has promiſ'd us? Why do we not *diſpatch* then, and take Poſſeſſion of it, without being fool'd any longer under a Maſque of *ſeeking God* and ſubjecting our ſelves to the Arrogance of one ſingle Perſon? Let us bethink our ſelves, as we ought to do, of our preſent Diſtreſs; the Inconveniencies of a Deſert; our Wants daily growing upon us, &c. and what Remedy at laſt, but fighting the *Chanaanites* out of Hand, taking God for our Leader, without troubling our Heads any longer for the Conſent of our Legiſlator"? This was the Senſe of the Field, without Contradiction; and in that Heat the *Hebrews* march'd up furiouſly to the Enemy: But neither the Fierceneſs of the *Charge*, nor the Odds of *Number* was able to put the *Chanaanites* off their Guard and Reſolution; for they ſtood the Shock, and routed the *Hebrews*; kill'd a great many upon the Place, and purſued the Reſt; that ran away moſt ſhamefully, up to their very Camp. This unexpected Defeat went to the very Hearts of the *Hebrews*; for they were ſtill in Fear of worſe to come, and ſo conſcious of an ill and a raſh Thing done, in ſtriking a Battle without God's Direction, that they look'd upon this Overthrow as a juſt Judgment for their Fool-hardy Wilfulneſs.

Numbers 14. Deut. 1.

The Hebrews *bent upon a War with the* Chanaanites.

They fall foul upon Moſes *for oppoſing it.*

A dangerous Mutiny.

The Hebrews *attack the* Chanaanites;

and are beaten out of the Field.

The Overthrow a juſt Judgment.

The Spirits of the Multitude were ſo broken and ſunk with this Diſaſter, and the *Chanaanites* on the other Hand ſo puffed up and elevated with the Succeſs, that *Moſes* found no better Expedient in this Extremity, than to march them back again into the *Wilderneſs*, for Fear the Enemy ſhould follow the Blow, and do them yet a greater Miſchief. The People were convinc'd by this Miſcarriage, that nothing proſper'd with them,

Moſes *leads them back again into the Deſert.*

them, but by the Advice of *Moſes:* So that upon the Promiſe of an unconditional Obedience to him for the future, the *Hebrews* decamp'd, and return'd into the Deſert: With a Reſolution never to attempt any Thing again upon the *Chanaanites*, without a Direction from Heaven.

CHAP. II.

The Schiſm of Corah *againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron, *about the* High-Prieſthood.

The Levity, and Violence of a Multitude. Num. 16. 26. *and* 27.

A Deſperate Sedition Numb. c. 16. v. 41.

BUT it far'd here, as it does commonly with other great Bodies, when Things go Croſs; there will be Fault finding, Faction, Calumnies, and Diſobedience; and ſo it happen'd with the *Jews*. They were 600000 Men upon the Muſter, and a People not over tractable, at beſt, to their Superiors; but upon any Pinch of Neceſſity or Misfortune altogether intolerable; as well one to another as to their Governours. This malevolent Humour of theirs gave a Riſe to the moſt formidable Sedition that ever was heard of, either amongſt *Greeks* or *Barbarians*; and it had deſtroy'd them to all Manner of Purpoſes, if *Moſes* had not interpos'd to the preſerving of them, generouſly forgetting and forgiving all paſt Injuries, even from thoſe very People that were ſo lately within a little of ſtoning him to Death. But after all the Indignities they had put, not only upon God's Commandments, but effectually upon God himſelf, in the Perſon of his Legiſlator, Providence would not yet totally caſt them off, but graciouſly deliver'd them from the imminent Danger of the moſt deſperate Detection that ever was contriv'd. We are now to ſhew what this Sedition was, and how *Moſes* manag'd Affairs after it was compos'd: But firſt of the Cauſe and Occaſion of it.

The Sedition of Corah. Num. 16.

A Faction ſet up againſt Moſes *for taking ſo much upon him, and advancing his Brother* Aaron *to the* High-Prieſthood.

There was one [a] *Corah*, a Man famous among the *Hebrews*, both for his Blood and his Poſſeſſions, and one that had the Art of humouring the People; no Man living more popular. This *Corah*, ſeeing *Moſes* mounted above all his Fellows, and in the Exerciſe of Sovereign Power, took up an envious Pique againſt him. Now being *both of a Tribe*, and *Kindred*; *Corah*, the *wealthier* of the two, and as well *Born*; he thought it hard that *Moſes* ſhould have the Preference, and not without ſome Grumbling too; which made a mighty Noiſe among the *Levites* and his Relations, where ever he told his Tale. "Why 'tis a Scandal, *ſays he*, and a Thing not to be endur'd, for *Moſes* to take upon "him at this Rate, and to carry on his Ambition thus under a Maſque of Holineſs and "Religion; and by that Means to raiſe himſelf a Reputation to the Wrong of other "Men: As he gave lately the Prieſthood, and other Dignities to his Brother *Aaron*, "without any Right or Colour for it, no Conſent of the People to't, nor any Pretext "of Authority, ſave only his own arbitrary Will and Pleaſure. And that which makes "it worſe yet, is the Way he has of Screwing himſelf ſo inſenſibly into the Govern-"ment, that the People have loſt their Liberty before they know where they are. He "that in his own Conſcience finds himſelf worthy to be a Ruler, will take the good "Will and Approbation of the People along with him, without any Need of Violence "for the gaining of his End. Nay, in many Caſes, where Fairneſs and Honeſty will "not do the Work, the very Fame of Probity and ſquare Dealing keeps Men within "ſome tolerable Compaſs. But then what cannot be effected by Force may be ſupply'd by Craft and undermining: And that dark Way of proceeding ought to be "made exemplary in Time, before it breaks out into open practices upon the State. "What has *Moſes* to ſay for himſelf, for the conferring the *High-Prieſthood* upon *Aaron*, "and his *Sons* after him? If God (*ſays he*) has annexed the Honour to the Tribe of "*Levi*, I my ſelf may pretend a Right to the Preference, being of the ſame Stock with "*Moſes*, and his *Superiour*, both for *Riches* and *Years*. Or if it be to paſs by *Seniority*, it "belongs to the Tribe of *Reuben*; to *Dathan*, *Abiram*, and [b] *Phala*, who are the *Seniors* "of that Tribe, and Men of eminent Credit every Way among them.

Corah's *Ambition cover'd under a Pretence of the publick Good.*

The whole Camp in a Mutiny; and 250 leading Men in the Party.

An Outcry to have Moſes *ſton*

Corah's Pretext all this while was the publick Good; but his Buſineſs, in Truth, was to inſinuate himſelf into the Dignity by the ſupplanting of *Aaron*. This Calumny was deliver'd in Terms plauſible enough, and ſo is paſſed from one to another, gathering ſtill as it went, till in the End the whole Camp was full of it, and no leſs than two hundred and fifty of the principal Men among them joyn'd with the Faction, in a Conſpiracy to take away the High-Prieſthood from the Brother of *Moſes*, and transfer it to *Corah*. This ſet the Multitude all in an Uproar, crouding up to the *Tabernacle*, and roaring it out, "*Stone him, Stone him*; take away this Tyrant; and ſet the People at Liberty from "the unmerciful Oppreſſions that this Man lays upon us. If God had had a Hand (*they* "*cry'd*) in this Choice, he would never have confer'd the Honour upon a Perſon ſo "much below the Dignity of the Function; or if God had deſign'd it for *Aaron*, it "ſhould have come to him by the Suffrage of the People, not by the Favour of his Brother.

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[a] Gr. Κορῆς. [b] Gr. φαλαυς.

Moſes knew very well what *Corah* was a doing, and what Effect his artificial Way of Slander had upon the enrag'd Multitude. But in the Comfort and Support of a good Conſcience, and in the certain Knowledge that his Brother was promoted to the Prieſthood by God's Appointment, and not upon any private Account of his own, he made no Difficulty (being well skill'd in popular Arts) of preſenting himſelf before the People: and ſo he addreſſes to *Corah* in Words to this Purpoſe.

" I give it for granted, *Corah*, *(ſays he)* that you your ſelf, and your noble Companions
Moſes's Defence. " here *(pointing at the two hundred and fifty of the Faction)* are all worthy of Honour;
" in the mean Time, not excluding the reſt of this Multitude of People, how inferior
" ſoever to your ſelf, upon the Compariſon, both in Riches and other Faculties. *Aaron*
" was not made *High-Prieſt* for his *Wealth*; you your ſelf are worth two of him: Nor
" for his *Nobility*; for we are all of a Family, and derive from the ſame Progenitor: Neither
" did I rob any Man of his Right in what I gave to my Brother: Or if I had any
" Thing in my Eye, but Honour and Juſtice, I ſhould have given it to my ſelf inſtead of
" him, for *Charity begins at Home*: Beſide that I muſt have been a Mad-man to expoſe my
" ſelf to Danger, by doing an ill Thing for another, and reaping no Benefit by it my ſelf.
" But far be it from me to be guilty of ſuch an Improbity. God Almighty would
" never have ſuffer'd, either himſelf to be contemn'd, or you to be ignorant of the
" moſt acceptable Things you could do to pleaſe him. It was God himſelf that choſe
" the Prieſt; and it was God's Act that has diſcharg'd me of the Crime. But now ſuppoſing
" *Aaron* to be poſſeſs'd of the holy Character purely by a *divine Choice*, and without
" any Inclination of *Partiality* of mine to intervene: He ſhall make no Difficulty of caſting
" the Cauſe upon your Suffrages yet over again, without inſiſting upon the Legality
" of what has been done already, though with your own Approbation. This is to
" ſhew you that he hath no Ambition in him; and that he is ready to part with any
" Thing, let it be never ſo much his Right, for the purchaſing of your Peace. As to the
" Acceptance of what God has been pleas'd to offer us, there can be no Offence in it;
" and ſo on the other Hand, it would have been highly impious to have refus'd it. But
" nothing however can be more reaſonable than to allow the Benefactor a Right of
" ratifying and making good his own Bounty. Wherefore you cannot do better than to
" refer the Matter once again even to God himſelf, and ſo to abide by the Perſon he
" ſhall be pleas'd to make Choice of for the ſacred Function. Now it would be a ſtrange
" Thing for you, *Corah*, by your Ambition, to bar God the Liberty of chooſing his
" own Prieſt. This is the very Caſe, and without any further Controverſy, one Day more
" will bring this Point to an Iſſue. Let all the Pretenders to this Dignity appear to
Moſes's Appeal. " morrow Morning with their *Cenſers* in their Hands and Fire and Incenſe in them.
" You muſt have Patience, *Corah*, and wait God's Determination without preſuming to
" ſet up your own Authority above His: But do you appear alſo your ſelf, among the
" other Candidates for the Dignity; and I know not why *Aaron* may not come up too,
" as one of the Family, and a Perſon that hath behav'd himſelf faultleſly in the Function.
" When you are all together offer up your Incenſe in the Sight of the People, and let
" that Perſon whoſe Sacrifice ſhall be moſt acceptable to God, be declar'd to be
" the High-Prieſt, and then in courſe confirm'd by my Authority. This will ſet every
" Thing Right upon the whole Matter in Diſpute, and likewiſe diſcharge me from the
" Calumny of Partiality toward my Brother.

CHAP. III.

God's Judgment upon Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram; *and the Prieſthood ſettled upon* Aaron *and his Poſterity.*

WITH this Diſcourſe *Moſes* both quieted the People, and ingratiated himſelf into their better Opinion at the ſame Time; inſomuch that they look'd upon all he ſayd as exceedingly to the Purpoſe, and gave him in Fine the Character of a very good and a wiſe Man; and here the Council broke up.

Num. 16.
The People divided.

The next Morning all the People gather'd together to attend the Sacrifice, and to ſee what would become of the Election then in Queſtion. The Multitude was tumultuous and uneaſy; divided in their Inclinations, and not a little ſolicitous betwixt Hope and Fear, what might be the Event of that Conteſt. Some were for having *Moſes* expos'd; but the Men of Senſe and Sobriety were for Peace and Quietneſs; for if the Rabble got a Head once, they did not know but they might over-run the Government. For the common People are naturally Fond of new Things; querulous and envious againſt their Superiors; apt to receive and to ſpread Calumnies, and carry'd about with every Wind and Rumour. *Moſes* however ſent a Summons to *Dathan* and *Abiram*, to attend the

The Humour of the common People.

Buſineſs of the Day, and put in their Claims as they pretended; but the Meſſengers brought Word back that they abſolutely refus'd; ſaying that *Moſes* had gotten a Power into his Hands by indirect Means, and that they were reſolved to ſubmit no longer to the Uſurpation. Upon this Anſwer and Return, *Moſes* call'd to ſuch and ſuch of the Elders, and bad them follow him, which they did, without any Difficulty or Delay; and ſo away went *Moſes* (how much below him ſoever otherwiſe) in Perſon to the rebellious Faction. *Dathan* and his Companions hearing that *Moſes* and his Train were coming towards them, went out of their Tents with their Wives and Children, and there ſtood waiting to ſee what would become of this extraordinary Viſit; but with their Guards all at Hand to repel Force by Force, in Caſe of any Violence. *Moſes* went peaceably forward till he came to *Dathan*, and there he ſtopt, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and calling upon God with a loud Voice, that the whole Field might hear him.

They diſclaim his Authority.

Moſes *bids the* Elders *follow him, and they go to the Faction.*

Dathan *and his Companions advance toward them.*

Moſes*'s ſecond Appeal to God upon the Juſtice of his Cauſe.*

“Bleſſed God, *ſays he*, thou that art the Lord of the Heavens, the Earth and the Sea;
“ the irrefragable Witneſs of all my Actions, and that whatever I have hitherto done
“ hath been perfectly in Obedience to thy ſpecial Direction: Thou that in Compaſſion to
“ the *Hebrews* haſt ſo graciouſly provided for them in their Flight, and in their miſe-
“ rable Neceſſities; having been likewiſe upon all Occaſions my conſtant Support! Lord
“ hear my Prayer: Thou that knoweſt all Things, and ſearcheſt the very Secrets of our
“ Hearts, vouchſafe to bring the Truth to Light, and to lay open the Ingratitude of my
“ unrighteous Accuſers. Thou that art Privy to the whole Hiſtory of paſt Ages, and of
“ my Life in particular, not by Hearſay, but upon certain and infallible Knowledge;
“ Lord do thou bear Teſtimony to my Innocence, againſt the malicious Calumniators
“ of my Integrity and Conduct. Thou knoweſt, good God, that at ſuch Time as I was
“ ſettled in the comfortable State of a quiet, eaſy Life, under thy Bleſſing upon my In-
“ duſtry, and by the Kindneſs of my Father in Law *Raguel*, I quitted all the Pleaſures and
“ Conveniences of a plentiful and a ſafe Privacy, in Exchange for troubleſome, and
“ dangerous Commiſſions on the behalf of theſe People; expoſing my ſelf, firſt for
“ their Liberty, and now for their Security, to all Labours and Hazards. But ſince ſo
“ it is, after all this, that I am now fallen under the Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure of thoſe
“ very People, who by my Care and Providence have been redeem'd out of ſo many Ex-
“ tremities; Lord, *ſays he*, thou that didſt vouchſafe to appear to thy Servant out of the
“ *Fire* upon Mount *Sinai*, to let him hear thy Voice, and make him a Witneſs of the
“ Prodigies they wrought: Thou that gaveſt him the Honour of an Embaſſy into *Ægypt*,
“ bringing down the *Ægyptians* Pride, and delivering the *Hebrews* out of their Bondage:
“ thou, *ſays Moſes*, that laid'ſt the Power of *Pharaoh* at my Feet, turning the *Sea* into
“ *Dry Land*, and that *Dry Land* into *Sea* again, for the Safety of thy People, and the Con-
“ fuſion of the *Ægyptians*; furniſhing thoſe with Arms that were defenceleſs; converting
“ *corrupt Water* into *Sweet*; fetching *Fountains* out of *Rocks*, in the Extremity of Drought;
“ Food out of the Sea, and Meat from Heaven to ſupply their Wants; (a Thing never
“ heard of before:) Lord, *ſays he*, thou that haſt layd the Foundations of our Government,
“ and modell'd our Laws; thou that art the Judge and Witneſs of all Things, avenge
“ my Cauſe, and bear this Teſtimony for me: That I never was corrupted into the Favour
“ of an unjuſt Cauſe, or of a rich Man againſt a poor: And yet, now Lord *ſays he*, I find
“ Male-Adminiſtration lay'd to my Charge, as if I had elevated my Brother to the High-
“ Prieſthood, not by divine Appointment, but by the Impulſe of a private Affection, and
“ without any Authority from above for what I did. Lord be pleas'd to make it ap-
“ pear now, that all Things are govern'd by thy Providence, and brought to paſs by the
“ Interpoſition of thy holy Will, not by Chance; and out of thy wonted Kindneſs
“ to the *Hebrews*, vindicate thy ſelf unto them, upon *Dathan* and *Abiram*, for the Inſo-
“ lence of ſuggeſting thee to be circumvented by my Impoſtures; which is all one with
“ rendering thee paſſive and inſenſible. Lord, *ſays he*, viſit theſe blaſphemous Detra-
“ ctors from thy Glory with an exemplary Vengeance: Let them not die the common
“ Death of other Men; but as they are not worthy to live upon the Earth, let the Earth
“ ſwallow them up with their Families and Subſtance, for the Honour of thy Power,
“ and for a Document to Ages to come, that they may think more reverently of thy di-
“ vine Majeſty: And if I my ſelf ſhall be found guilty of the Charge exhibited againſt
“ me, may all thoſe Curſes light upon my own Head, and my Oppoſers be happy and
“ free. But when thou ſhalt pour out thy Wrath upon the diſobedient and the Troub-
“ lers of thy People, Lord preſerve the reſt in Peace and Unity, ſafe and untouch'd,
“ that live in a dutiful Conformity to thy Commandments: Neither will it ſtand with
“ the Methods of thy Juſtice, either to confound the Innocent with the Offenders,
“ or to puniſh the guiltleſs for the Faults of the guilty.

Theſe Words were interrupted with Tears, when all on a ſuddain the Earth fell a trembling into an Agitation like the rolling of an angry Sea in a Storm, which ſtruck the whole Multitude with a profound Aſtoniſhment and Horrour; and a diſmal Out-

The Earth opens, and ſwallows up Dathan *and his Train;*

cry was heard upon it, that ran through all their Tents. In the Concluſion the Ground open'd under the Feet of the Faction with a terrible Noiſe, and ſwallow'd them all up, every Man of them, with all that was dear to them; cloſing again immediately ſo exactly that the very Mark of the Rupture was not to be perceiv'd.

who fall unpity'd by all their Friends and Relations.

The Choice put to a ſecond Tryal.

Corah *and his Companions conſum'd with Fire from Heaven.*

A brazen Altar erected for a Memorial.

This was the End of a ſeditious, ſchiſmatical Faction; and an illuſtrious Inſtance it was of God's Providence and Power at once. And to make the Caſe more compaſſionable there was not ſo much as one of their Relations and Acquaintances that pity'd them. Nay, the whole Multitude had nothing in their Mouths but Joy and Acclamations, in Contemplation of this Effort of divine Juſtice. They look'd no further back upon Things paſt, than to raiſe in them a Deteſtation for the Memory of thoſe People, as the Peſt of their Nation, and Men that did not deſerve ſo much as human Tenderneſs. After the Extinction of *Dathan* and his Complices, *Moſes* conven'd the Candidates for the *Pontificate*: committing the Choice to God once more, to be conferr'd upon him whoſe Sacrifice ſhould appear to be beſt accepted. There was gather'd together *two hundred and fifty Perſons*, that both for their Fathers Sakes and their own, had an eminent Reputation among the People; and with theſe Men came forth *Aaron*, and *Corah*; who ſtanding before the *Tabernacle*, offer'd ſuch Incenſe in their *Cenſers* as they brought with them. While they were thus employ'd, there appear'd, all in an Inſtant, ſo fierce a Fire, that the Flame of burning Mountains, the Conflagration of whole Foreſts, with Winds and Bruſh-wood to aſſiſt it, was as nothing to it. It was clear and flagrant, and came undoubtedly from Heaven; for no natural Ingredients could have produc'd ſo ſubtle a Flame: By the Force of this Fire, *Corah* and his *two hundred and fifty Companions* were ſo totally conſum'd, that there was not ſo much as any Remainder of their Carcaſſes to be found, only *Aaron* ſurviv'd, untouch'd, as a moſt certain Evidence that this was the ſupernatural Work of an almighty Power. *Moſes*, for the perpetual Memory of this Judgment, in the tranſmitting of it to Poſterity, commanded *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron*, to faſten their *Cenſers* about a *braſen Altar* for a Warning to Generations to come, not to trifle and play Tricks with God Almighty. By this Time it was evident beyond all Contradiction that *Aaron* was not elevated to the *Pontificate* by Canvaſſing or Favour, but by God's Appointment; and that he held it ever after by the ſame Title.

CHAP. IV.

What befell the Iſraelites *in the Deſert, during the ſpace of* 38 *Years.*

Num. 16. 17.

The Iſraelites *impute all their Calamities to* Moſes.

Moſes *appoints the Tribes to bring in their* Rods. Num. 17.

BUT all this did not yet put a final End to the rebellious Humour, for it was follow'd with another Sedition, if poſſible, worſe than the former; which took it's Riſe from ſuch Cauſes as in all Likelihood would not be eaſily ſuppreſs'd: For when they had once taken up a Perſuaſion that all Things came to paſs by Providence and by the Will of God, they reckon'd every Thing to be done for *Moſes*'s Sake. So that all the Severities of divine Juſtice were caſt upon his Account, as if God would not have been ſo rigorous againſt Sinners, if *Moſes* had not preſs'd him to it, and it was not ſo much for their Wickedneſs that they were puniſh'd, as to gratify *Moſes*. "What was the Fault, *they cry'd*, of all thoſe noble and excellent Men that loſt their Lives upon *Moſes*'s Inſtigation; but the exceſſive Zeal and Affection they had for the Worſhip of their God? and *Moſes*, *they ſaid*, made his Profit of theirs and of the Peoples Ruin, by confirming his Brother in the pontifical Dignity, and entailing it upon his Line: for after paying ſo dear for the Competition, no Body elſe would ever pretend to it again for the future." Now this was a Time for the Relations of the Deceas'd to manage with the Multitude, and to dilate upon the abſolute Neceſſity of putting ſome timely Check to the Pride and exorbitant Power of *Moſes*: *which the People might eaſily do*, they ſaid, *and it concern'd them to take it into their Care*. *Moſes* found a Storm a coming, and very prudently to prevent the mortal Conſequences that might probably follow upon ſuch a tumultuary Practice and Diſpoſition, he order'd an Aſſembly to be call'd, where he heard their Grievances, and without one Word of Anſwer, for Fear of making Matters worſe, appointed the *Heads* of the *Tribes* to bring their *Rods*, with the *Names* of their *Tribes* inſcrib'd upon them: And He to be preferr'd to the Dignity, upon whoſe *Rod* ſhould be found any particular Mark of God's Favour. This they all agreed to, and brought their *Rods* with *Inſcriptions*, as directed; *Aaron* among the reſt: And his *Rod* bare the Inſcription of the Tribe of *Levi*. *Moſes* layd them up for the preſent in the Tabernacle of God, and the next Day produc'd them, which were eaſily known again; for the Princes that brought them, and the Reſt of the People, ſaw their own Marks upon them.

They

Aarons Rod *buds.*

Aaron's *Election farther confirm'd.*

They found all the reſt of the *Rods* juſt as they left them the Day before, only *Aaron*'s ſprouted out with *Branches*, and *Buds*; and which was yet a greater Wonder, bearing *ripe Almonds*; the Rod being of that Wood. The Strangeneſs of this Spectacle put the People to their Wits End; but though they had ſome grudging ſtill to *Moſes* and *Aaron*, the Animoſity and Paſſion of the Enmity was yet taken off, and they all ſtood in Admiration at the Judgment of God; reſign'd themſelves to his holy Pleaſure, and yielded the Right of the Election to *Aaron*, who was now the third Time confirm'd by God himſelf in the Prieſthood, where it reſted without any following Contradiction. This, in Fine, put a happy Period to the Troubles of the *Hebrews* after a long Courſe of Violence and Sedition.

The Levites *exempted from military Offices.*

The Prieſts *Allowance.*

The Tribe of *Levi* being ſet apart for the Service of God in holy Offices and Duties, *Moſes* exempted them from the Burden of all military Charges; and for Fear the Care of providing Neceſſaries for Life might divert them from attending the Duties of their Function, he order'd it, that ſo ſoon as ever the Land of *Chanaan* ſhould by God's Aſſiſtance come to be conquer'd, there ſhould be *forty eight* of the beſt and faireſt *Cities* allotted for the Entertainment of the *Levites*, with *two Thouſand Cubits of Land* round about, and contiguous to the Walls of the Place; beſide the Impoſition of a *Tenth* Part of the yearly Profits ariſing from the Fruits of the Earth, to be pay'd as a Duty on the whole People, to the *Prieſts* and *Levites:* Which hath been religiouſly obſerv'd ever ſince. Let this ſuffice as to the Revenue of *this Tribe* upon the People, and we ſhall now come to what properly belongs to the Prieſts themſelves.

Moſes provided that of the *eight and forty Cities* before ſpoken of, the *Levites* ſhould yield *thirteen* of them to the Prieſts, and the *Tenth* part of the *Tithes*, beſide the *Firſt-Fruits* of all the Products of the Earth as an offering to God: The *Firſtling* of all Four-footed Beaſts offer'd in Sacrifice; if a Male, it is to be brought to the Prieſts to ſacrifice; to be eaten in the City with their Family; but for thoſe which the Law of the Country will not permit to be eaten, the Owner ſhall preſent a *Shekel and a Half* inſtead of a *Firſtling*, and for the firſt born of a Man, *five Shekels:* and there is a Duty alſo to be allow'd upon Wool and Corn, as a Cake upon thoſe that bake Bread.

Of the Nazarenes. Num. 6.

As for the *Nazarenes* that tye themſelves up by a Vow, neither to cut their Hair, nor to drink Wine; when the Time of their Vow is expir'd, and they preſent themſelves to have their Hair conſecrated, whatever they offer in Sacrifice belongs to the Prieſts: And ſo for thoſe that call themſelves *Corban*, that is by Interpretation a *Gift*, when they deſire to be diſcharg'd of their Obligation and voluntary Vow, there is a Duty belongs to the Prieſts, of *Fifty Shekels* for a *Man*, and *thirty* for a *Woman*; and they that have not wherewithall, muſt remit themſelves to the Diſcretion of the Prieſt.

They that kill Beaſts for private Uſe, and not for Sacrifice muſt allow the Prieſts the Breaſt of the Beaſt, and the right Shoulder. This was the Allotment of *Moſes* for the Prieſts, beſide *Sin-Offerings*, which we have ſpoken of in the laſt Book before this. He ordain'd likewiſe that in all Contributions to the Order of the Prieſts their Wives, Children, and Servants ſhould have their Share; ſaving in *Sin-Offerings*, and thoſe are only to be eaten by the Prieſts that officiate. It muſt be in the Temple too, and on the ſame Day.

The Sedition cruſh'd, and Moſes *decamps.*

Moſes *deſires a Paſſage through* Idumæa; *and the King refuſes it.*

Matters being thus ſettled, and the Sedition cruſh'd, *Moſes* decamp'd, and with his whole Army march'd to the Borders of *Idumæa*, ſending his Ambaſſadours before hand to the King there, to deſire a free Paſſage for his Troops through his Country; *upon Aſſurance that he would give him no Manner of Trouble, and that whatever he had he would pay for.* His paſſage was however refuſ'd, and an Army drawn up to the Frontiers ready to oppoſe him if he ſhould offer to force his Way. *Moſes* had Recourſe to God for Advice, whoſe Anſwer was, that he would not have him the Aggreſſor and ſo he withdrew to take his Way by the *Deſert.*

The Death of Mariam *the Siſter of* Moſes. Num. 20.

Forms of Purification. Num. 19.

At this Time dy'd *Mariam* the Siſter of *Moſes*, at the Beginning of the Month *Xanthicus*, and in the fortieth Year compleat after the coming out of *Ægypt*. She had a publick, and a ſplendid Burial upon a Mountain known by the Name of *Sin:* And after thirty Days of Mourning, *Moſes* purify'd the People. The Prieſt took a *young red Heifer* that had never known the Yoak, brought it out a little Way from the Army, and there in a very clean Place kill'd it, dipping his Finger ſeven Times in the Blood, and therewith ſprinkling the *Tabernacle* of God. After this, he put the Heifer whole into the Fire, Skin, Entrails and all, with a Stick of Cedar, Hyſſop, and a little ſcarlet colour'd Wool. When all was conſum'd, a young Man of an unſpotted virgin Chaſtity, was employ'd to gather up the Aſhes, and lay them up in the cleaneſt Place that could be found. Now whoever ſtood in Need of being purify'd, either for touching a dead Body, or for aſſiſting at a Funeral, he had no more to do, than to caſt of theſe Aſhes into Fountain-Water; dip a Bunch of Hyſſop in it, and ſprinkle himſelf with it on the third and the ſeventh Day: And this was the Ceremony of the *Purification*, which *Mo-*

ſes commanded to be obſerv'd whenever the *Hebrews* ſhould come to be poſſeſs'd of the Land which God had promiſ'd them.

Moſes *marches through the Deſert into* Arabia.

The Death of Aaron.

After this *Purification* was over for the Death of his Siſter, *Moſes* led the Army through the *Deſert* into *Arabia*, and coming to their capital City, formerly call'd *Arce*, at preſent *Petra*, where there was a very high Mountain, *Aaron*, being foretold by *Moſes* that he was near his End, went up this Mountain, took off his *Pontifical Stole*, and deliver'd it to his Son *Eleazar*, as the next Heir to the Dignity, and in the Sight of the whole Army ended his Days there, in the hundred twenty and third Year of his Age, and in the firſt Moon of the Month, which the *Athenians* call *Hecatombæon*; the *Macedonians*; *Lous*, the *Hebrews*, [a] *Sabba*; and the *Romans*, *Auguſtus*. His Siſter dy'd alſo in the ſame Year.

CHAP. V.

Sehon *and* Og *defeated by* Moſes, *and their Lands diſtributed by Lot to Two Tribes and a Half of the* Hebrews.

Num. 21.

WHEN the Mourning for *Aaron* was paſt, (which laſted thirty Days) *Moſes* march'd with the Army to the river *Arnon*, that falls from the Mountains of *Arabia*, and running through the whole *Deſert*, empties itſelf into the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, dividing the *Moabites* from the *Amorites*. The Country is very fruitful and wants for nothing. The King's Name of the latter was [b] *Sehon*, to whom *Moſes* ſent very reſpectfully for Leave to paſs his Troops through his Country, offering any Security to ſave him and his People harmleſs, to all manner of Purpoſes. *Sehon* deny'd him Paſſage, and march'd his Troops preſently to prepoſſeſs the Fords of the River, and oppoſe his coming over.

The Hebrews *fall upon the* Amorites, *and defeat them.*

Sehon *their King ſlain.*

When *Moſes* found that the *Amorites* were reſolved upon a War, he could hardly digeſt the Affront, and ſo reckon'd it his beſt Courſe for himſelf to give the firſt Attack; for the *Hebrews* being a ſlippery People, he did not know but Want and Idleneſs might debauch them into their old Freaks over again. But however for Fear of the worſt, he conſulted God in the firſt Place whether he ſhould attempt the forcing of his Way by the Sword, or not. This he did, and obtain'd not only a Permiſſion to do it, but an Aſſurance of Victory. *Moſes*, upon this Encouragement, animated the Army into a Confidence of Succeſs; telling them, *that now was their Time to ſignalize their Valour, when they had both divine Approbation and human Authority to ſecond their Inclinations.* Upon theſe Words, without any Heſitation or Delay, they march'd up and made a furious Charge upon the Enemy. The King and his Army fell into a *Panick Terror* upon the very Sight of them, and after all their big Words and Menaces at a Diſtance, they had not the Heart ſo much as to look the *Hebrews* in the Face. Their only Hope was in their Heels, and in their wall'd Towns if they could come at them: But they were ſo cloſe purſued, that their Flight little avail'd them. They fell into a direct Rout upon the very firſt Shock, and in that Confuſion they all ran ſeveral Ways to ſave themſelves; the *Hebrews*, light arm'd and ſwift of Foot, at the Heels of them, with their Slings, Darts and Arrows, reaching thoſe at a Diſtance that they could not otherwiſe overtake. A World of them were cut off at the River; *Sehon* their King among the reſt: Where they ſtopped to quench their Thirſt, for it was an exceſſive Heat. The Slaughter, in Fine, was terrible, and never a more abſolute Victory. The *Hebrews* had the Spoil of the Field, a prodigious Booty, and that which they moſt wanted, Corn in Abundance; for the Harveſt was yet upon the Ground: All was their own in Short; they went whither they would, did what they would, and took what they would, without either Reſiſtance or Controul; for there were hardly any left behind to oppoſe them; and, the Work once over, they were at Leiſure to make merry.

This befell the *Amorites*, for Want both of Conduct and Courage; for they had neither Foreſight to prevent the Miſchief, nor Reſolution to encounter it. This Place, which the *Hebrews* had now made themſelves Maſters of, is a Kind of *Peninſula*, betwixt three Rivers; *Arnon* on the *South*; *Jaboc* (that drops into the River *Jordan*) on the *North*, and the River *Jordan* it ſelf on the *Weſt*.

Og *the King of* Galadene, *and his whole Army cut off.*

While Matters were in this Condition, the *Iſraelites* found they had yet another Enemy to cope with, which was [c] *Og* the King of *Galadene*, and of *Gaulonitis*, who was marching with a powerful Army to the Relief of *Sehon* his Friend and Ally. He was met with upon the Way with the News of the Battle and a total Defeat; but this was not enough yet to deterr him from putting the main Cauſe to the Iſſue of another Tryal. He did ſo, and his Confidence deceiv'd him; for he and his whole Army were cut off, to a Man. After this Victory, *Moſes* paſs'd the River *Jaboc*, and made an Inroad into *Og's* Dominions, deſtroying all the Cities wherever he came, and putting the Inhabitants to the Sword; which were a very rich and a powerful People. The King himſelf was brave, and daring to the higheſt Degree, and to his Courage, a goodly Man of Strength and Stature, as appeared by the Dimenſions of a Bed of his, that was found in his Palace at *Rabatha*. The Frame of it was of Iron; the Breadth of it four Cubits, and the Length nine. The Fall of this Man did not only ſettle the *Iſraelites* in a preſent State of Security and Quiet; but laid the Foundation of great Advantages to come: For they poſſeſt themſelves of no leſs than *ſixty* of his *ſtrong Holds*, and well fortify'd Cities, and the whole Army to a Man all this while moſt prodigiouſly enrich'd with the Booty.

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[a] Bochart, *in his* Hieroz *part.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 13. *ſhews it ſhould be* Ab, *or* Abba. [b] Gr. Σίχων. [c] Gr. Ὤγης.

CHAP. VI.

Moſes *makes War upon the* Madianites. *The Hiſtory of* Balaam *and* Balaak. Zimri *oppoſes* Moſes. Phineas *kills* Zimri *and* Cosbi.

SOON after this, *Moſes* remov'd his Camp to a great Plain over againſt *Jericho*, an opulent City, and famous for Palm-Trees and Balſam. The *Iſraelites* were now ſo fluſh'd with Victories, that nothing would down with them but more War; and *Moſes* thought it Pity this martial Humour ſhould lie idle: So that after ſacrificing and feaſting, he ſent away a Detachment from his Army to lay waſte the Country of the *Madianites*, and to deſtroy their Cities. The Ground of the War was this.

Moſes *makes War upon the* Madianites.

Balaak, the King of the *Moabites*, and an ancient Allie of the *Madianites*, finding the *Iſraelites* grow ſo faſt, began to have ſome Apprehenſion for himſelf, and of his own Safety. He did not know, it ſeems, that God had forbidden the *Hebrews* to attempt any other Conqueſt than that of *Chanaan*; ſo that he was either not well inform'd, or not well adviſ'd upon this Matter. As to the Point of making War upon a People elevated, and puffed up with ſuch a Courſe of Succeſſes, it was a Thing he durſt not ſo much as think of; but he was willing enough yet to put ſome Stop to their farther Progreſs, and ſo ſent his Ambaſſadors to the *Madianites*, to conſult what might be done for the common Security of them both. The *Madianites* ſent away preſently *Balaak*'s Ambaſſadors, and ſome Men of Honour with them, to one *Balaam* that liv'd beyond the *Euphrates*; a famous Prophet in thoſe Parts, and their particular Friend; deſiring him only to come over to them, and curſe the *Iſraelites*. He treated the Ambaſſadors with great Generoſity and Reſpect, asking Counſel of God after Supper, what Return he ſhould make them. His Order was, that he ſhould not comply with them, and ſo with that Anſwer he went back, telling them that he had the greateſt Mind in the World to gratify their Deſires, but that God was againſt it, to whoſe Goodneſs he ſtood indebted for the Reputation he had gotten of a true Prophet; declaring farther to them, that the Army which they would have him to curſe was highly in God's Favour. And therefore it was his Advice, that they ſhould rather addreſs themſelves to the *Iſraelites*, and ſecure a fair Underſtanding with thoſe People upon what Terms ſoever. With this Reſolution he diſcharg'd the Ambaſſadors: But the *Madianites*, upon the violent Importunity of *Balaak* (who was much unſatisfy'd with the Anſwer) ſent the ſame Meſſengers a ſecond Time, upon the ſame Errand; and *Balaam*, out of a Deſire to keep fair with the World, went and conſulted God a ſecond Time upon the ſame Queſtion. *Why then you may go along with the Ambaſſadors*, ſays the *Oracle*; and *Balaam*, not conſidering with what Air it was ſpoken, went ſimply along with them. As they were upon the Way, an *Angel* met them in a narrow Place betwixt two Walls, and not Room enough for two to paſs. *Balaam* was mounted upon an *Aſs*, which at the Sight of this Viſion, ſtopt, and upon his ſtriking, and preſſing to make her go forward, ſhe cruſh'd him up againſt the Wall; the Angel keeping the Way ſtill, and the Prophet ſtill correcting his *Aſs*; but it pleaſed God at length to open the *Aſs*'s Mouth, in a Complaint of the Injuſtice of her Maſter, to beat her at that Time for not going forward, when the *Angel* of the Lord ſtood there in the Paſſage, to divert him from doing what he was about to do. The *Aſs* urging alſo, that this was the firſt Time ſhe had ever diſobey'd him. *Balaam* was ſurpriz'd, and affrighted to hear the Aſs talk like a Man; and the *Angel* rebuked *Balaam* for what he had done, telling him, *That it was not the Fault of the* Beaſt, *but the Fault of the* Prophet, *in preſuming to take a Journey, contrary to the declared Will of God.* The Prophet would have gone back, but God bad him go forward, upon Condition, that he ſhould ſay nothing but what he himſelf put in his Mouth.

Num. 22, 23, 24.

Balaak *conſults the* Madianites *how to ſecure himſelf againſt the* Hebrews.

Balaak *would have* Balaam *to curſe the* Iſraelites.

But God forbids it.

Balaam *importun'd a ſecond Time.*

Balaam *goes along with the Ambaſſadors.*

An Angel ſtops him in a narrow Paſſage.

Balaam *preſſes forward, and the* Aſs *reproves the Prophet.*

Upon the Condition aforeſaid, *Balaam* went to *Balaak*, and, after a very gracious

Balaam *goes to* Balaak.

Reception,

Balaak *takes* Balaam *up to the Top of a Mountain, where they may ſee the Armies.*

Seven Altars erected, and Sacrifices prepar'd.

Num. 23.

Balaam *looks toward the* Iſraelites, *and propheſies.* Num. 24.

Reception, deſir'd the King he might be conducted to ſome of the high Mountains thereabouts, where he might take a View of the Camp of the *Hebrews*. So *Balaak* himſelf took *Balaam* along with him, with his Royal Train, up to the Top of a Mountain, a Matter of ſixty Furlongs from the Army: And when the Prophet had made his Remarks, he directed *ſeven Altars* to be rais'd, and *ſeven Bulls*, and as many *Rams* to be prepared for *Sacrifices*; which was done out of Hand, and the Victims preſently offer'd up in Order to the forming of a Judgment upon the Matter in Queſtion betwixt the two Armies. So ſoon as he had well digeſted his Obſervations, he deliver'd the Reſult of his Preſages with his Face toward the Army of the *Iſraelites* in theſe Words.

" You are the happy People, *(ſays he)* that by the Bleſſing and Bounty of God ſhall enjoy Plenty of all good Things in Abundance; you ſhall have Providence for your Guide, your Protector, and Support, and a Reputation beyond all other Mortals, for the Innocence of your Lives, the Probity of your Manners, and your Love and Practice of Virtue; and the Fame of your Poſterity ſhall yet exceed that of your Forefathers; for God will take you into his peculiar Care and Protection, and make you, of all Nations under the Sun, the moſt bleſſed. You ſhall enter into Poſſeſſion of *the Land of Promiſe*, whither God hath ſent you, and it ſhall be to you and your Poſterity for ever. The whole Earth and Sea ſhall be full of your Glory; and you ſhall have ſo numerous an Iſſue, that in all Parts of the World there ſhall be found of your Stock and Family. Oh thou wonderful and bleſſed Army! to grow to ſuch a Bulk out of the Loyns of one ſingle Man. The Land of *Canaan* muſt at preſent content you, though a Spot of Ground not anſwerable either to your Dignity or Number; but know that the Time is a coming, when you ſhall have the whole World for your Habitation. Your Children ſhall people the *Iſlands* as well as the *Continent*, and be as the Stars in the Heavens for Number. And yet in that infinite Multitude, you ſhall feel no Want of any Thing: But God ſhall give you Plenty in Peace; Courage and Victory in War, and the Children of your Enemies ſhall be your Servants; wherefore may our Adverſaries be yours too, for it ſhall be Ruin to them to riſe againſt you, and the Wives and Children of your Adverſaries ſhall have little Reaſon to thank their Husbands, and their Fathers, for any News they ſhall bring them from ſuch an Encounter. You are to bleſs the Providence of God, in Fine, for all theſe Gifts and Graces: That God, I ſay, who alone can exalt or bring down, as the Caſe requires it.

Balaak *highly offended at* Balaam

These were the Words of *God*, not of *Balaam*, for he was out of himſelf, and under the Power of a ſupernatural and prophetical Spirit Balaak all this while in a Rage, and ſtorming at him, that he had not kept Covenants, *Being brought over with great Rewards*, he ſaid, *to* curſe *the* Iſraelites, *and when it came to the Point, he had nothing but Prayers and Bleſſings for them.* To which *Balaam* made this Reply.

Balaam *excuſes himſelf to* Balaak.

" And does King *Balaak* think, *ſays he*, that where Prophets are upon the Subject of Fatalities, and Things to come, they are left to their own Liberty what to ſay and what not; and to make their own Speeches? We are only the *paſſive Inſtruments* of the *Oracle*; the Words are put in our Mouths, and we neither think, nor know, what we ſay. I remember very well, *ſays he*, that I was invited hither with great Earneſtneſs, both by your ſelf, and by the *Madianites*, and that it was at your Requeſt I came; and with a Deſire to do all that in me lay for your Service. But what am I able to do againſt the Will and Power of God? Nay, I had Thoughts and Wiſhes of doing what I found afterwards I was not at Liberty to do. When once a ſuperior Power takes Poſſeſſion of us, we are no longer under the Government of our ſelves. I had not the leaſt Thought of ſpeaking one good Word of the *Iſraelites Army*, or of the Bleſſings that God hath in Store for them: But ſince God hath decreed to make them great and happy, I have been forced to ſpeak as you have heard, inſtead of what I had otherwiſe deſign'd to ſay. But now to anſwer the very Wiſhes, both of your ſelf, and the *Madianites*, with all poſſible Decency and Reſpect, let us erect *other Altars*, and provide *new Sacrifices*, and try once again yet, if God will give me Leave to curſe theſe People". *Balaak* approv'd the Motion, and the Sacrifices were renew'd; but God would not yet be prevail'd upon for Leave to *curſe* the *Iſraelites*. Nay, on the contrary, he fell upon his Face, and foretold the Fate of ſeveral great Kings, and famous Cities; ſome not as yet in Being, others now extant, that in our Memory have anſwer'd the Predictions, in ſeveral Actions both at Sea and Land, from whence may be reaſonably inferr'd, a Probability alſo, that the other Parts of the Prophecy are not idle.

Balaam *propoſes new Altars and Sacrifices, and to conſult God a ſecond Time.*

The Credit of Balaam's *Predictions.*

Balaak was ſo nettled at this Diſappointment of his Hope and Expectation, that he diſmiſs'd the Prophet without either Honour or Reward, and ſo took his Leave; but coming to *Euphrates*, he bethought himſelf, and ſent to ſpeak with *Balaak*, and the Princes of the *Madianites* yet once more; and that which he had to ſay was to this Purpoſe.

Balaam *offers* Balaak *an Expedient inſtead of curſing.*

“ To the End, *ſays he*, that King *Balaak*, and you the Princes of *Madian*, may know the great Deſire I have to pleaſe you, though in ſome Sort againſt the Will of God, I have bethought my ſelf of an Expedient that may perhaps be for your Service. Do not flatter your ſelves, that the *Hebrews* are ever to be deſtroy'd by War, Peſtilence, Famine, or any other of thoſe common caſual Calamities: For they are ſo ſecure under God's ſpecial Providence, that they are never to be totally extinguiſhed by any of thoſe depopulating Judgments. Some temporary Afflictions they may ſuffer, and inevitably they will; but in a little Time they'll recover, and be the better for them. Now if the gaining of ſome ſmall and ſhort-liv'd Advantage over them may give you any Satisfaction, hearken to my Advice. Send into their Camp a Proceſſion of the lovelieſt Virgins you can pick out; dreſs them up with all the Ornaments of Art to aſſiſt Nature. Give them their Leſſons, how to behave themſelves upon all Occaſions of Courtſhip and Amour. If the young Men ſhall make Love, and proceed to any wanton Importunities, let them threaten immediately and peremptorily to be gone, unleſs they will actually renounce their Countries Laws, and the Honour of that God that preſcrib'd them; and finally engage themſelves to worſhip after the Manner of the *Madianites* and the *Moabites*”. This, *ſays he*, will provoke God, and draw a Vengeance upon their Heads; and ſo he departed.

The Madianites *follow* Balaam's *Counſel.* Num. 25.

The *Madianites* ſent their Daughters with Inſtructions, according to *Balaam*'s Advice, and the young Men were preſently charm'd with their Converſation and Beauty, ſtill preſſing more and more upon them for further Endearments and Reſpects. The Girls gave them the Hearing, and allow'd them Liberties, even to the Degree of Tenderneſſes and Embrace. This went on, till they found they had them ſure in the Toil; and when they were once warm'd and hamper'd, the Laſſes made a Countenance all on a ſudden, as if they were that Inſtant to be gone; but upon affectionate Supplications, with Sighs and Tears, on the other Hand, not to forſake them, and ſolemn Oaths and Vows over and above, of Love and Honour, with Life and Fortune, all at their Feet; they were prevail'd upon to ſtay and treat a little longer. They found by this Time they could do what they would with them, and the Courſe they took was this; one ſpeaking in the Name of the reſt.

And gain their Point.

“ It is not for Want, *ſays ſhe*, either of Fortune, or of Credit; the Love of our Parents, or the Kindneſs of our Friends and Relations, nor for the proſtituting of our Beauties (ſuch as they are) that we are now come, moſt illuſtrious young Men, into your Quarters; but out of pure Hoſpitality and good Nature to you, as you are Strangers, and may perhaps have Need of us. For theſe Reaſons, and upon an Opinion alſo that you are good Men, we have made no Scruple of treating you with an innocent and a generous Freedom. You ſay you love us, and ſhould be very loath to part with us: If ſo, we are not at all averſe to the gratifying of your Deſires; but you muſt firſt ſecure us of a conjugal Faith; (for nothing elſe will do) and that the Love we have for your Converſe, may be warranted by the Reputation of becoming your Wives; for we ſhould be loath to be turn'd off for Variety, and ſent back again to our Relations, with Scandal and Reproach. You will not blame us, we hope, for being a little ſolicitous in ſo tender a Point”. The young Men ſtuck at nothing that might advance the Ends of their Love, and ſo the Virgin went on. “ Since, *ſays ſhe*, we are thus far agreed, it will become us to mind you of ſome other little Differences that remain yet to be adjuſted. You have certain Ways of Life and Cuſtom, that are altogether peculiar to your ſelves; even to particular Meats and Drinks. Now if we live together, you muſt reſolve to do as we do, and to worſhip as we worſhip; for by the Reverence you pay to our Gods, we ſhall be able to judge of the Affection you have for our ſelves. No Body will blame you for adoring the Gods of the Country where you are; and the Gods in Truth, of almoſt all other Countries too; whereas yours is a ſingular God, that's only to your ſelves”. She left them in Concluſion, to this Choice, either to live there, and do as other People did, or to be gone ſome whither elſe, where they might do what they thought fit.

The Iſraelites *fall from Luſt to Idolatry.*

The young Men were ſo blinded with Paſſion, and abandon'd to their Pleaſures, that whatever the Women propounded, they ſwallow'd it, though to the renouncing of the Religion of their Forefathers, and the Laws of their Country, without ever examining the Conditions: So that they join'd with them immediately in the Opinion of a *Plurality* of *Gods*; in the Manner of their *Worſhip*; the common Uſe of all *Meats* indifferently; and for the Women's Sakes, in Short, they ſtuck at nothing though never ſo unwarrantable. This Infection ſpread it ſelf inſenſibly over the whole Camp, and it was followed with a more dangerous Sedition than the former; inſomuch, that there was hardly any Face left of the Order, Piety, and Devotion of former Times. For when the Youth came once to have a Hankering after the Novelty of ſtrange Cuſtoms and Manners, there was no ſtopping of them in that Career: But great and ſmall, one with another, were all corrupted and confounded in this Apoſtaſy.

Zimri, *an Hebrew, marries* Cosbi, *a* Madianite.

A ſtrange Marriage leads to a ſtrange Worſhip.

Moſes *falls ſeverely upon the Scandal of the Apoſtaſy.*

[a] *Zimri*, one of the Principals of the Tribe of *Simeon*, married *Cosbi*, a *Madianite*, the Daughter of one *Zur*, a Perſon of eminent Quality in that Country. This ſame *Zimri*, at the Inſtance of his Wife, and in Contempt of the *Moſaical* Rites and Conſtitutions, made open Profeſſion, both of a ſtrange Worſhip, and a ſtrange Marriage. While Matters were in this Diſorder, *Moſes*, for Fear of worſe Conſequences, called the People together, and there fell upon a Diſcourſe, how unworthy a Thing it was, and how great a Scandal to the Memory of their Anceſtors, for them to value the gratifying of their Luſts and Appetites above the Reverence they ow'd to their God, and their Religion; how much it behoved them to repent in Time, and to ſhew themſelves brave Men; not in the Violation of Laws, but in the Maſtery of unruly Affections. He minded them how incongruous a Thing it was too, for Men that had been virtuous and modeſt in a Deſert, to lead ſuch profligate Lives in a good Country, and ſquander away that in Luxury, which they had honeſtly gotten together in the Time of their Diſtreſs. He did this to try, whether either Shame, Reaſon, or Conſcience would work upon them: But without naming any Creature all this while: For a perſonal, particular Reproof, he thought, might have made them deſperate; and it was his Buſineſs to reclaim, not to expoſe them. This oblique Diſcourſe of *Moſes* gave *Zimri* an Occaſion to riſe and ſpeak.

Zimri *breaks out into inſolent Reflections upon* Moſes.

“Moſes, *ſays he*, you are at Liberty to uſe your own Laws. They have been a long Time in Exerciſe, and that Cuſtom is all that is to be ſaid for their Strength, and Credit. If it had not been for this, you would have found long ſince to your Coſt that the *Hebrews* are not to be impoſed upon; and I my ſelf am one of the Number that will never truckle to your tyrannical Oppreſſion. For what's your Buſineſs all this while, but under a bare Pretext, and Talk of *Laws*, and *God*, to bar us, not only the Exerciſe, but the very Deſire of Liberty? To eſtabliſh your own Greatneſs upon our Miſery and Ruine; depriving us of that Freedom, which all People have a Right to that are not under a Maſter? What are we the better for coming out of *Ægypt*, if it be only in Exchange for a more grievous Bondage under *Moſes?* You are to make here what Laws you pleaſe, and we to abide the Penalties of them, at your Will and Pleaſure, when at the ſame Time 'tis only you your ſelf that deſerve to be puniſhed; for abrogating ſuch Cuſtoms and Privileges as are authorized and eſtabliſhed by the common Conſent of Nations, and ſetting up your own Will and Fancy, againſt general Practice and Reaſon. What I have done, I take to be well done, and ſhall make no Difficulty to confeſs and juſtify it. I have, as you ſay, married a *ſtrange Woman.* I ſpeak this with the Liberty of an honeſt Man, and I care not who knows it. I never meant to make a Secret of it, and you ſhall never need to look further for an Informer. I do acknowledge, that I have changed my *Way* of *Worſhip* too; and I reckon it very reaſonable for a Man to examine all Things that would find out the Truth, without being tied up, as if it were in a *deſpotique* Government, to the Opinion and Humour of one ſingle Perſon: Beſide that I ſhall not thank any Man that takes upon him to over-rule me in my *own Affairs*”.

Zimri *the Mouth of the Faction.*

Moſes *diſcharges the Aſſembly.*

Zimri was in this Speech the Mouth of the Faction, and the People when it was over, ſtood waiting quietly to ſee what would be the Iſſue of ſo audacious an Affront; for they were much afraid that Miſchief would follow upon it; eſpecially obſerving that *Moſes* gave not one Syllable in Return to ſo inſolent a Provocation; for one Word, he thought, might beget another, till it came to Blows, eſpecially in a Multitude diſpoſed already to take Fire. Upon this Conſideration, he immediately diſcharged the Aſſembly; but this Outrage, in all Likelihood, would not have ſtopt there yet, if *Zimri* had not been ſoon after cut off, in ſuch Manner as will now appear.

The Zeal of Phinees.

There was one *Phinees* that reſented this Contumacy of *Zimri* to the higheſt Degree of Indignation. He was one of the braveſt Youths of his Time, and as eminent for the Honour of his Extraction, as he was for his perſonal Virtue. *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt was his *Father*, and *Moſes* his *great Uncle.* This *Phinees*, was ſo ſenſible of the Danger of letting ſuch an Indignity paſs unpuniſhed, and of ſuffering the Laws to be trampled upon, and deſpiſed, that he took up a Reſolution of a Revenge upon the Ringleader of this Indignity; being very well aware, that in all ſuch Caſes, the greater the Man is, the greater is the Neceſſity of making him an Example. Now as *Phinees* was a Perſon both of Body and Mind, fit for the Execution of ſuch an Exploit; ſo without any more ado, he went directly to the Tent of *Zimri*, and with his drawn Sword killed *him*, and *Cosbi*, both at a Thruſt. This glorious Action created ſuch an Emulation among thoſe of his Cotemporaries who had but any Spark of Honour in them, that they fell immediately upon the Remainder of the Faction; and they that ſcaped the *Sword*, died by the Judgment of a *Peſtilence* that followed ſoon after, which took away, not only thoſe that had been Actors in the Sedition, but thoſe of their Kindred alſo, that by their Intereſt or Authority might have interpoſed to prevent it. This Plague ſwept away to the Number of *fourteen thouſand Souls.*

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[a] Ζαμβρίας. Gr.

Phinees *kills* Zimri *and* Cosbi *in their Tent.*

The whole Faction deſtroyed betwixt the Sword and the Plague.

Moſes was ſo irritated by theſe Practices of the *Madianites*, that he ſent out an Army againſt them utterly to extirpate the Nation. But we ſhall give an Account hereafter of that Branch of the Story, and in the mean Time take up again where we left off. It would be but juſt and reaſonable, in this Place to extol the Candor, and clear the Generoſity of *Moſes* upon the Matter. As to this *Balaam* that was invited by the *Madianites* to *curſe* the *Hebrews*; though he could not prevail for Leave from God to do it, he yet gave the Enemy ſuch Counſel, as the *Hebrews* were almoſt ruined by it; in the miſleading, and corrupting of them in their Religion. Of this *Balaam*, *Moſes*, I ſay, makes honourable mention in his Writings, inſerting his very Reſolutions and Predictions. If *Moſes* had not been very ſincere, he might have aſſumed the Credit of them to himſelf, and not one Witneſs upon the Face of the Earth to diſprove him; but he choſe rather to do Right to his Memory. People may think of this as they pleaſe. But to purſue my Relation.

Moſes *ſends out an Army againſt the* Madianites. Num. 31.

The Candour and Sincerity of Moſes.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrews *obtain a notable Victory over the* Madianites.

Gel. 6. Fol. 117. Num. 31.

MOSES, as I was ſaying, ſent *twelve thouſand* Men againſt the *Madianites*; a thouſand out of every Tribe, and *Phinehas* to command them; by whoſe Means the Laws were vindicated; and *Zimri*, the Violator of them, juſtly puniſhed.

Upon Intelligence given to the *Madianites* that the Enemy was already upon the Borders, and drawing toward them, they got their Troops together; fortified ſeveral Paſſes as far as their Time would give them Leave, and ſo put themſelves in Poſture to ſtand a Battle. The *Madianites* were utterly broken upon the firſt Encounter, and the Number of the Slain was incredible. *Five Kings* among the Reſt, as [a] *Ochus*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Ures*, and *Recem*, the fifth. The capital City of *Arabia* is known by his Name to this Day, in Memory of the King that built it. They call it *Rekem*, and the Grecians, *Petra*. Upon this Rout, the *Hebrews* laid waſte the Country, putting all to the Sword, ſaving only the Girls, according to *Moſes*'s Order to *Phineas*, who brought back the Army ſafe and ſound, with a memorable Booty, as fifty two thouſand and ſixty ſeven Oxen; ſixty thouſand Aſſes; Houſhold Plate and Veſſels of Gold and Silver, to an immenſe Value: For the Pomp and Magnificence they lived in was beyond Imagination. They brought away alſo a Matter of thirty two thouſand Virgins.

Moſes *routs the* Madianites; *deſtroys their Army, and cuts off five Kings.*

Recem (*or* Petra) *the capital of* Arabia.

A prodigious Booty in Cattle and Treaſure, beſide 32000 *Virgins.*

Moſes made a Diſtribution of the Booty; one fiftieth Part to *Eleazar*, and the *Prieſts*; another fiftieth to the *Levites*; and the Reſt to the People, which gave them the Means of enjoying the Fruits of their Toils and Hazards, in Peace and Plenty. *Moſes* was now far gone in Years, and having received a Command from God to leave *Joſhua* his Succeſſor, he conſtituted, and declared him ſo, in the ſeveral Functions of a *Prophet*, a *Leader*, and a *Governour*, being trained up by himſelf to a perfect Underſtanding of the Laws both of God and Man.

The Diſtribution of it.

Moſes *now in Years leaves* Joſhua *his Succeſſor.*

The two Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*, and the one Half of that of *Manaſſes*, joined about this Time in a Petition to *Moſes* for a Grant of the Country of the *Amorites*; a Place lately conquered, and an excellent Ground for Paſture, and therefore the more commodious for them that had ſuch vaſt Poſſeſſions in Herds and other Cattle. *Moſes* took this Requeſt of theirs only for a Pretext to avoid fighting, and charged them downright with Juggling, Sloth, and Cowardice. "You "have a Mind, *ſays he*, to live in Eaſe and Luxury, and by appropriating to your ſelves "the Advantages of a common War, to give the Slip to the Reſt of your Compa"nions. They have a great Deal of Work yet upon their Hands, in carrying on

The Tribes of Gad, Reuben, *and half* Manaſſes *beg the* Amorites *Country.* Num. 32.

Moſes *charges them with Self-Ends.*

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[a] Or, Ὥεος, Gr.

They clear themſelves to Moſes.

Moſes *grants them the Requeſt upon Conditions.*

“ their Conqueſts beyond *Jordan*, and making their Way into the Land that God hath promiſed them, over the Bodies of their Enemies”. *Moſes* diſcovering himſelf to be much unſatisfied; the Petitioners excuſed themſelves, that it was neither Fear, nor Lazineſs, that mov'd them to do what they did, but only the Deſire of ſome convenient Place to ſecure what they had got, that they might be the more at Liberty to attend the War; ſetting forth, that if *Moſes* would be pleas'd to aſſign them Towns of Safety for their Wives, their Children and their Goods, they were ready to march wherever they ſhould be commanded, and venture their Lives in the common Cauſe. *Moſes* was ſo well ſatisfy'd with what they ſaid, that he call'd for *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt, *Joſhua*, and the reſt of the *Magiſtrates*; and in their Preſence gave them the Land of the *Amorites* according to their Requeſt; but upon Condition that they ſhould joyn with their Countrymen in a League offenſive and defenſive, againſt a common Enemy; and never lay down Arms till the War ſhould be over. Upon theſe Terms, they obtain'd what they deſir'd, and were put in Poſſeſſion of ſtrong Cities, where their Wives, Children, Baggage, and Fortunes might be in Safety.

Moſes *builds ten Cities beyond* Jordan.
Three Cities of Refuge.

Bozor, Ariman, *and* Gaulanan.

There were *ten Cities* built in that Country by *Moſes*; Part of the *forty eight* heretofore mention'd: He made *three* of them *Sanctuaries*, or Places of Refuge for thoſe that fled thither, in the Caſe of killing a Man by *Chance-Medley*, and without *Malice Prepenſe*. The *Refugee* was to continue in Baniſhment during the Life of the High-Prieſt, under whoſe Juriſdiction the *Homicide* happened, and upon his Deceaſe he was permitted to return. During this Baniſhment it was lawful for any of the Kindred of the Man that was ſlain, to kill the *Homicide*, if he found him without the Walls of the City of *Refuge*; but it was not permitted to any other. The Names of theſe Cities of *Refuge* were *Bozor*, on the Borders of *Arabia*; *Ariman*, in the Country of *Galadene*; and *Gaulanan*, in the Land of [a] *Batanæa*. *Moſes* provided alſo, that upon the taking of *Chanaan*, there ſhould be three Places of *Refuge* erected there alſo among the Cities of the *Levites*, with the ſame Privileges as the former.

Daughters allow'd to inherit if they marry into their own Tribe.

About this Time there died an eminent Perſon of the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, called *Solophades*, leaving no male Children, but only Daughters. Some of the chief Men of the Tribe conſulted *Moſes*, whether or no theſe Daughters were to inherit. The Reſolution was given, that they were to inherit if they marry'd *into* the Tribe, but not if they marry'd *out* of it; upon which Occaſion he paſs'd an Ordinance, that *every Tribe ſhould keep its own Inheritance, without alienating or transferring it.*

CHAP. VIII.

Sel. 7. *Fol.* 118.

The Life, and Laws of Moſes.

Moſes *calls the People together to* Abila.

Moſes's *Dying Speech.*

IT was now forty Years within thirty Days, ſince the *Hebrews* came out of *Ægypt*, when *Moſes* call'd the People together at a Place known at preſent by the Name of *Abila*, by the Side of the River *Jordan*, near a Field of Palm-Trees, and when the Multitude were met, he deliver'd himſelf in a Speech to them to this Effect.

“ Since it is the Will of God now in the hundred and twentieth Year of a waſted, troubleſome Life, to take me out of this World, (the Courſe of Nature alſo requiring it) and ſo to order, that I can be no longer uſeful to you, either with my Arms, or Counſels, in your further Progreſs beyond *Jordan*, toward the Land of *Chanaan*; it will be yet a great Comfort to me at my laſt Hour, to leave my valiant Fellow-Soldiers, Labourers, and Sufferers, in ſo hopeful a Proſpect of all the Good their own Hearts can wiſh. I muſt not be wanting to my Duty however, (even in this critical Extremity) of conſulting your Happineſs, and ſo far as in me lies, of promoting it alſo, by telling you what that Happineſs is, and directing you to the Means of attaining it: And in ſo doing I ſhall entitle my ſelf to an everlaſting Eſteem in your Memory. I make no Doubt but I ſhall find Credit with you, and I may take upon me to ſay, that I deſerve it too, if it were but for the indefatigable Conſtancy of my Endeavours to advance your Welfare; wherein I never diſappointed, or deceiv'd you: Beſide, that the Words of a dying Man are ſacred and ſincere.

“ As to the Subject of humane Felicity, you may aſſure your ſelves, that no Man can be happy, but in the Favour of God, and that it belongs to him alone to confer Bleſſings upon the Righteous, and to take away from the Wicked. Do but behave your ſelves anſwerably to what God requires at your Hands, or according to the Precepts and Inſtructions that you have receiv'd from me by his Commiſſion, and you ſhall be celebrated for your Virtue, and envy'd for your Proſperity: And not

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[a] Or Batanitis.

“ only ſo neither; but the Bleſſings that you are poſſeſs'd of ſhall be continu'd to you, and thoſe you want ſhall be ſuperadded. Only reſign your ſelves to God's Will, and obey his Commandments, and all this ſhall be made Good to you. But have a Care how you give a Preference to any other Laws, comparatively with thoſe which God ſent you by me; or how you allow your ſelves in any Innovations in Matters of Worſhip and Religion. Follow my Advice, and you ſhall be victorious and invincible; for when you have God on your Side, what Matters it who is againſt you? The Rewards of Virtue are glorious and certain; over and above that Virtue it ſelf is the greateſt, and that all other Advantages are caſt in by Way of Acceſſion. Practiſe it one with another, and you ſhall be both happy your ſelves, and likewiſe make others ſo, to the Comfort of your preſent State, and to your immortal Honour in Times to come. All this you may promiſe your ſelves, if you neither violate, nor ſuffer to be violated, the written Laws I brought you by God's ſpecial Direction; and if you make the Wiſdom and the Righteouſneſs of thoſe Laws your daily Meditation and Study. This will ſecure your Eſtabliſhment; and if I may but ſee you now in a State of Settlement before I leave the World, I ſhall depart in Peace. All I can do towards it will be to recommend you to the Obſervance of thoſe Precepts of Piety and Prudence that are given you for your Inſtruction and Practice, and to an obedient Compliance with the Orders of your Superiours that ſhall be appointed and provided for your Well-Being and Safety. That God, under whoſe Government you have acted hitherto, and to whoſe Goodneſs you ſtand indebted for all the Benefits you have receiv'd from me: That God, I ſay, will never forſake you; but watch over you and protect you ſo long as you worſhip him as you ought to do. You ſhall not want excellent Monitors neither, as *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt*; *Joſhua*; the *Senate*; and the *Principals* of the *Tribes*. Treat them with all Reverence and without any Thing of Cavil or Croſſneſs, as ever you hope to be happy; for he that cannot obey well, can never govern well, when it comes to his Turn. Have a Care how you take *Mutiny* for *Liberty*, as you have done formerly, and how you ſet up for a Privilege of thwarting the Commands of your Governours, under that Notion. You have been too much given to this Miſtake in Times paſt; pray mend it for the future, and your Affairs will thrive the better for it. God forbid you ſhould ever be ſo impetuous and intemperate toward any of my Succeſſors, as you have, but too often, been to me; inſomuch that (as you know very well) my Life hath been more in Danger from you ſometimes, than from the Enemy. I do not ſpeak this to reproach you; for I was not tranſported, you ſaw, at the doing of the Thing, neither would I afflict you with the Memory of an ill Thing done, at a Time when I am upon the very Point of taking my eternal Leave of you; only be wiſer for the future, and be not puff'd up with the Wealth and Plenty of the Land of *Chanaan*, when you ſhall come to take Poſſeſſion of it; but know it to be your Intereſt, as well as your Duty, not to behave your ſelves frowardly to thoſe that are ſet over you: For if ever Wealth and Luxury ſhall make you inſolent, to the Contempt of Religion, Authority and Virtue, God, of a Protector, will become your Enemy. You ſhall loſe that Land again with Infamy, that you got with Honour and Courage; and be ſcatter'd all over the Face of the Earth, as the moſt deſpicable of Mankind. When it comes to that once, it will be too late to wiſh Things undone again, and that you had contain'd your ſelves within the Bounds of your Laws and Duty. Now to prevent the Danger of this mortal *Apoſtaſy* for the Time to come, *give no Quarter* where you get the better of it, for in ſo doing you cut off all the *Seducers*. As for their Temples, Groves, and Altars, let them be deſtroy'd, one and all, with Fire and Sword, wherever you come; even to the Extinction, if it were poſſible, of the very Memory of them. This, in Fine, is the only Way to ſecure your ſelves to all Purpoſes; but yet for Fear of the worſt, and to aſſiſt the ignorant toward the Underſtanding of their Duties, I have written a Body of Laws by the Command of God himſelf; and ſuch a Form of Adminiſtration, publick and private, that you ſhall be certainly the happieſt People under the Sun, if you conform your ſelves to thoſe Rules and Meaſures.

When *Moſes* had made an End of ſpeaking, he deliver'd them a Book of *Laws* and *Precepts* in Writing, with Reſpect to Government and good Manners. This Book was but the Prologue to a final Separation, and brought ſeveral Things to their Mind that made the whole Multitude burſt out into an exceſſive Weeping. Some were at their Wits End what ſhould become of them when *Moſes* was gone, and all in Deſpair of ever getting ſuch another Commander. Others were upon the Subject of his Bravery and Conduct, what Pains he had taken, and what Dangers he had run, and how generouſly and chearfully he did every Thing for their Good. Some

Moſes delivers them a Book of Laws and Precepts for Government and good Manners.

again were at a Loſs for a *Mediator*, who ſhould conſult God for them when they wanted Advocates, or intercede for them when he was angry? But nothing went nearer them than the Memory of their Outrages againſt *Moſes* in the *Deſart*; upon which Reflection they were all tranſported into ſuch violent Lamentations, that what with Shame and Guilt, it carry'd them out of all Government of themſelves, till *Moſes* at laſt, by his Perſuaſion and Authority, put an End to the Sorrow, and to the Meeting, both at once: But firſt recommending to them the Study and the Uſe of his Book of *Laws*.

An Abſtract of the Laws themſelves. Deut. 4.

It will be worth my while now, before I paſs over to other Matters, to inſert the Laws themſelves, that the Reader may ſee how anſwerable they are to the Majeſty of the Compiler of them, and the Original of our Uſages and Cuſtoms. Every Thing that he wrote is yet extant, and we muſt take it as he left it without any Room for Ornament or Variation. We have only taken the Liberty of altering the Method, and of reducing thoſe ſeveral *Laws* that *Moſes* brought one after another, as God was conſulted about them, into their proper and natural Place and Order. I have premoniſhed the Reader of this, to prevent the Calumny which ſome of our own People might otherwiſe have raiſed upon it, as if *Moſes* had not been fairly dealt withal in this Part of the Relation. Now I ſhall only take Notice in this Place of the *publick Laws* and *Conſtitutions* that have Regard to the *Policy* of their Government; but for Matters of *private Dealing* and *Contract*, whether among our ſelves, or with Strangers, I ſhall treat of them in a Commentary, that I propoſe, God willing, to make publick, concerning the *Cuſtoms* and *Reaſons* of thoſe *Laws*.

*How the Iſraelites are to govern themſelves in the Land of Ca*naan.

When you ſhall have made your ſelves abſolute Maſters of the Land of *Chanaan*; ſettled your Plantations, and built your Cities, you will have nothing more to do toward the maintaining of your ſelves in the full, ſafe, and eaſy Enjoyment of your Acquiſitions, than to love God, and keep theſe his following *Commandments*, which will eſtabliſh your Felicity upon a Foundation never to be ſhaken.

One holy City.

Let there be *one holy City* in the Land of *Chanaan*, to be erected in ſome certain Place for the Fruitfulneſs and Beauty of the Situation, which God by his Prophet ſhall make choice of, and appoint. Let there be *one Temple* in it, and *one Altar*, and that *Altar* to be made of unhewn Stones out of the Quarry, gather'd up here and there, and ſo put together and varniſh'd, for the better Grace of the Work, and to make it the more agreeable to the Eye: The Aſcent not to be made by Stairs or Steps, but by a gradual Riſing of the Ground for the Decency of the Approach. But there muſt be no more *Temples* or *Altars* in any other City; for the *Hebrews* are but *one Nation*, and worſhip but *one God*.

One Temple, and one Altar.

Blaſphemy made Death.

Whoever ſhall *blaſpheme* the holy Name of God, let him be ſtoned to Death; his Body expoſed upon a Gibbet for one Day, and afterwards thrown into the Ground with Infamy and Contempt.

The whole Nation to worſhip thrice a Year at Jeruſalem. Deut. 16.

Let the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* come up from all Quarters to this *holy City* and *Temple*, to worſhip thrice a Year, and offering up Thankſgivings for Benefits receiv'd, to implore future Bleſſings; and ſo by the Freedom of a chearful Tenderneſs of Converſation, to create friendly Diſpoſitions, one toward another. It is a Matter of common Convenience for People of the ſame Stock, Intereſt, and Profeſſion, to be thoroughly acquainted; for there is a wonderful Force many Times in the Impreſſion of a Word, a Look, or an Action; as on the contrary, without theſe Meetings and Interviews, all the Comforts and Advantages of Communication are loſt to us.

Tenths. Deut. 18.

Let there be alſo reſerved to the Value of *another Tenth* of the Fruits of the Earth (over and above the Dues to the *Prieſts* and *Levites*) out of the Sale of them in the Market, to be laid out in Sacrifices and Entertainments, that ſhall be celebrated in this City; as it is but reaſonable to dedicate the Fruits of the Land to him that gives us *Gratis* the Propriety and Poſſeſſion.

Not to offer the Hire of a Harlot. Deut. 23.

Thou ſhalt not offer in *Sacrifice* the Hire of a *Proſtitute*, for God is not pleaſed with any Thing that is either wicked or ſhameful; and there is no fouler Uncleanneſs than this Mixture of Bodies. And ſo in like Manner for the Hire of a Bitch to keep up the Strain of a Hound, a Sheep, or a Dog, as it is for the Hire of a Strumpet. Let no Man ſpeak Ill of the Gods of other Nations, nor rifle their Temples, nor take away any Thing out of them that is dedicated to divine Uſe or Worſhip.

Only the Prieſt to wear a mixed Garment. Deut. 22.

Let no *Iſraelite* wear a mix'd Garment of Wool and Linen, unleſs he be a [a] Prieſt; to whom alone it belongs.

The Prieſt to read the Law on the Feaſt of Tabernacles. *Deut.* 11.

In every *ſeventh Year* when the *Feaſt of Tabernacles* ſhall be celebrated in the *holy City*, let the *Prieſt*, from a high Pulpit, where he may be heard by the whole Congregation, read the Book of the *Law*, and all Sorts of People without Exception, Women, Children, yea and Slaves themſelves too, be admitted to the hearing of it: for when the Law is once thoroughly imprinted in Peoples Minds, it will never out of their Memories: Beſide that it takes away the common Plea of pretended Ignorance. Laws have more Force alſo upon the Conſciences of Offenders, when they tell them before Hand what they are to truſt to in Caſe of Diſobedience, and mingle Terrour with Authority. What Men receive by the Ear ſinks into their Minds, and they find themſelves ſo far convinced of the Intent and Reaſon of Laws, that they have effectually their own Accuſers upon the Violation of them.

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[a] *That this is falſe,* Bochart *ſhews in his* Hierozoic. *l.* 2. *c.* 45. *p* 491. Ed Lond.

Children to be early inſtructed in the Law.
Deut. 6.

Memorials of God's Mercy.

Above all Things let Children be early inſtructed in theſe Laws, as the moſt neceſſary and profitable Diſcipline they can be trained up to. Wherefore let them twice a Day, Morning and Evening, be conſtantly minded of the Goodneſs of God that brought them out of the Land of *Ægypt*; and ſo of his other Mercies; for it is equally reaſonable to give God Thanks for former Bleſſings, as to pray for New ones. Let them have Memorials of God's Power and Bounty, by Inſcriptions upon their Doors. their Heads, about their Arms, *&c.* ſo that which Way ſoever they turn themſelves they may have Remembrancers of God's Providence ſtill in their Eyes.

A Council of Seven in every City.

Magiſtracy to be honoured.

Let every City have a Council of *ſeven Magiſtrates*; Men of exemplary Virtue, and Lovers of Righteouſneſs, [a] and to each of theſe Rulers let there be two *Levites*. Let the Dignity of the Seat of Judgment be kept ſacred, and no Man preſume to utter an irreverent and intemperate Word in the Face of the Court; for the Practice of this Veneration toward political Governours will wont us by degrees to a Love and Awe of Piety, as well as of common Juſtice, and to an affectionate Senſe of our Duty to God himſelf, in the Deference we pay to his Miniſters. There muſt be no Appeal from the Sentence of the Judge, unleſs in Caſe of manifeſt Error and Corruption. Juſtice is the main End of Judgment; and it is to be adminiſtred without any Regard either to Power, Intereſt, or Affection. It is a Reproach to the divine Power and Goodneſs, to be more afraid of a great Man than of God himſelf, as if the latter were the weaker of the two: And this is in Truth the Caſe of ſuch Partialities. If it ſhall ſo fall out that the Judges are either not informed at all, or miſinformed, and conſequently Strangers to the Queſtion, and ſo incompetent; (which many Times happens) let the Cauſe be carried up entire to the holy City, for the High-Prieſt, the Prophet, and the Senate to decide the Controverſy.

No Men condemned under two or more Witneſſes, and Men of Probity.
Deut. 19.

Let no Accuſation be admitted, but from the Mouth of two, three, or more Witneſſes; and let them be Men of Probity too, and an unſpotted Reputation.

A Woman's Teſtimony not to be admitted.

The Teſtimony of a Woman ſhall not be reputed a warrantable Evidence, becauſe of the natural Levity of the Sex, and that they talk too much at Random.

No Slave to be a Witneſs.

No Slave ſhall be allowed of as a competent Witneſs, becauſe of the ſervile and mercenary Condition of his Mind and Quality, which may probably be wrought upon, either by Fear, or by Profit, to give a falſe Teſtimony.

The Puniſhment of a falſe Oath.

Whoever ſhall be Convict of a *falſe Oath*, ſhall be liable to the ſame Puniſhment that the accuſed ſhould have ſuffered if the Charge had been proved upon him.

Puniſhment in the Caſe of Blood.
Deut. 21.

In the Caſe of *Homicide*, when a Man ſhall be found dead in a Field, and he that kill'd him doth not appear, nor any perſonal Jealouſy of a Malice Prepenſe againſt him, let there be a ſtrict Enquiry upon the Life of the Man and publique Rewards offered by Proclamation for the Diſcovery. If after all this Search and Diligence, it ſhall not yet be made out how he came by his Death, let the Magiſtracy, and the neighbouring Townſhips meet together, and take an exact Meaſure which of them was neareſt to the Place when the dead Body was found; and let the Inhabitants of the Place that ſhall be found neareſt, provide a Heifer, and bring it into a fallow Spot of Ground that is fit for neither planting nor ſowing, and there let the Sinews of the Neck be cut, the *Prieſts*, *Levites*, and *Elders* waſhing their Hands with Water over the Head of the Heifer, and purging themſelves by an open Proteſtation that they know nothing, either directly or indirectly, of the *Homicide:* finiſhing the Ceremony with Prayers to Almighty God to preſerve that Place and People from the Guilt of Blood for the Time to come.

Ariſtocraſy the beſt Form of Government.

As to the Matter of Government, *Ariſtocraſy* is the beſt Form, wherefore let the *Hebrews* ſtick to it, and maintain it; for whenever they caſt it off it will be to their Loſs; for they have nothing above them but the Laws, and thoſe Laws are a ſtanding Rule what they are to do; but let it ſuffice, that they have God for their King, and their ſupreme Governour.

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[a] *See* Selden *de* Synedr. Hebr. *l.* 2. *cap.* 6 *p.* 165, 166, 167. Ed. Amſtel.

Now

Advice in the Choice of a King. Deut. 17.

Now after all this, if you ſhould come to have a Hankering for *Monarchy*, be ſure you chuſe your King out of your own Stock and Lineage: a Perſon of Juſtice, and good Faith, without Paſſion or Guile: One that ſhall depend upon the Direction of God and the Laws, more than upon his own Wiſdom: One that ſhall take the Advice of the High-Prieſt and Elders along with him in all he does, without ſetting his Mind upon a Multitude of Wives, or the Pomp of Treaſure and Horſes, for Fear the ambitious Affectation of this Power and Magnificence, ſhould tranſport him into Encroachments upon your Laws and Liberties, and make him greater, in Fine, then would ſtand with your Eaſe and Convenience.

No Land Marks to be removed. Deut. 19.

Remove no *Boundaries*, or *Land-Marks*, whether your own or your Neighbours; for they are the beſt Security we have for a common Peace. Let them be kept as firm as the Foundations of the Earth, and as if Providence it ſelf had fixed them there. The breaking in upon theſe Bounds opens a certain Way to Wars and Tumults; and what *Avarice* does in one Caſe, *Ambition* does in the other. The Firſt Fruits of Trees that bear before the fourth Year from their planting, are not either to be offered to God, or to be eaten by Man: For coming before their Time, they are rather Obortions than a natural Production. But in the fourth Year, when the Fruit comes to Maturity, let all be gathered and tranſported to the holy City, to be there ſpent by the Owner, (together with the Tenths of other Fruits) in treating his Friends and Acquaintances, Widows and Orphans. But in the Fifth Year, the Proprietor has the whole Product to himſelf.

Of the Firſt Fruits of Trees under Four Years Growth.

Planting of Vines.

Let no Ground be ſowed that is planted with Vines; for the Earth hath enough to do to attend the Service of that Plant, without the ſuperfluous Vexations of the Plow over and above.

To plow with Oxen alone.

Let the Earth be plowed with Oxen alone; for Beaſts of ſeveral kinds are not to draw in the ſame Yoke.

The Seed to be ſimple.

Let the Seeds to be ſown be ſimple and unmixt, not two or three Sorts together, for the Confuſion of ſuch Diverſities is unnatural.

No adulterate Mixtures.

Let there be no adulterate Mixtures betwixt the Female of one kind, and the Male of another, leſt Men ſhould be tempted alſo by the Corruption of this unnatural Example into the Liberty of inordinate Luſts: As the fouleſt Extravagances have taken their Riſe many Times from trivial Beginnings, wherefore let nothing be permitted in humane Converſation; that by a perverſe Hint of applying it, may tend to the Depravation of good Manners. So that it is not for Laws to paſs over in Neglect, even the ſmalleſt things in Appearance when ſo great Matters depend upon them.

Gleanings of Corn and Grapes to be left for the Poor. Deut. 24.

Let not the Harveſt-reapers ſweep away the whole Crop, but leave a large Allowance of Gleanings for the Neceſſities of the Poor; and ſo for Cluſters of Grapes upon the Vintage, and Wind-falls upon the gathering of Olives, let there be a compaſſionate Remainder left for thoſe that have nothing to eat of their own. The Reward of the Charity will infinitely more than countervail the Charge of the Bounty, for God will bleſs the Land with Fertility, and the Owner of it with Plenty, when a Man has a Regard to the Wants of the neceſſitous, as well as to his own Convenience. The Ox is not to be muzzel'd when he treads out the Corn; for it would be unreaſonable to deny any Thing a Part in the Fruit of its own Labours.

No Muzzling of the Ox when he treads out the Corn. Deut. 25.

Deny no Paſſenger Fruit that is a gathering, upon a Journey.

Let no Paſſenger upon a Journey be refuſed to taſte of ripe Fruit if he deſires it, whether of the Country or a Stranger; but let him take and eat and Welcome, as if it were his own, provided he carry none away with him.

Give Grapes to a Paſſenger upon the Way as they go to the Preſs.

Let no Man in bearing Grapes to the Preſs, refuſe a Bunch of them to a Traveller that meets him upon the Way; for it would be very hard to deny any Man ſo ſmall a Proportion of the good Things that God had beſtowed upon Mankind, *Gratis*, and in ſuch Abundance; eſpecially conſidering the Nicety of the Seaſon, according to the Courſe of Providence, and how ſoon it will be over. Nay if Men ſhould be ſo ſcrupulous upon a Point of Modeſty, as to forbear touching, or deſiring any Thing, let them be invited, and entreated to take and pleaſe themſelves. If they be *Iſraelites*, they are to be look'd upon as Partners and Fellow-ſharers in what you have, being all of the ſame Blood and Brotherhood. If *Strangers*, let them be deſired to accept of ſuch a Reſpect as a Preſent of Hoſpitality out of God's Bounty. We are not to account any Thing loſt that is thus beſtowed; for when it pleaſes God to ſhower down his Bleſſings upon the Sons of Men, it is not for this or that Man's ſake, or Uſe alone, but a Depoſitum with them as Truſtees for the common Service of thoſe that Want. Neither can Men do a greater Right to Gods Magnificence towards themſelves, than by communicating Part of the Bleſſings to others. Whoever ſhall preſume to act contrary to what is here preſcrib'd ſhall receive forty Laſhes ſave one from the Hand of the common Executioner; a ſervile Puniſhment, but good enough for a mercenary Freeman, that ſacrifices his Dignity to his Avarice. It is all the Reaſon in the World ſays *Moſes*, that thoſe People that ſuffer'd ſo much themſelves in *Ægypt*, and the *Wilderneſs*, ſhould from the Experience of their own Miſery, contract ſomewhat of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for their Neighbours: So far at leaſt, as being in Plenty themſelves to aſſiſt the needy in ſome Degree out of their Abundance.

A third to the Poor.

Beſide the *two yearly Tenths* already appointed to be pay'd, the one to the *Levites*, the other to the *holy Feaſts*, there remains yet a *Third* to be every third Year divided among the poor *Widows* and *Orphans*.

The firſt Fruits to the Temple, Deut. 26.

Let every Man carry his *Firſt-Fruits* to the *Temple*, and after *Thankſgivings* to God for the Earth that brought them forth, and *Sacrifices* celebrated in due Form of Law, let him give them to the Prieſts: And this being done, and the *Tenth* with the *Firſt-Fruits* for the *Levites* and the *Feſtivals*, preſented according to Cuſtom, let him when he is ready to go Home again, give God Thanks before the Door of the Temple for delivering the *Hebrews* from their grievous Slavery, and putting them in Poſſeſſion of ſo fair, and plentiful a Country: Publiquely declaring that he has paid his *Tenths* according to the Law, and Appointment of *Moſes*. Let him then pray to God both for himſelf, and for the publique, to grant them not only a Continuance of his Graces, and Mercies toward them, but by his infinite Power and Goodneſs, to vouchſafe them an Augmentation of thoſe Bleſſings.

The Choice of a Wife.

When Men are of Years to *marry*, let them make their Choice out of Virgins that are Well-born, and Well-nurtur'd, and the Children of virtuous Parents; but let not him that will not marry a Virgin, preſume to ſeduce the Wife of another Man, to the Diſquiet, and Affliction of her Huſband.

Love is no Plea for a Free-man that marries a Bond-Woman.

Let not a *Freeman* marry a *Bond-Woman*, and then plead Love in his Defence: for a Man forfeits his Dignity when he can no longer command his Paſſions.

[illegible] Man [illegible] a Harlot.

Let there be no marrying with a *Harlot*; for God will not receive a *Nuptial-Sacrifice* from an *unclean Body*; beſides the libidinous Marriages are commonly attended with a ſuitable Iſſue, both for want of Sobriety and Honour.

The Caſe of a Woman that marries for a Virgin, and is none, Deut. 24.

If any Man thinks he has marry'd a Virgin, and finds afterwards that he was miſtaken, let him put the Cauſe upon a Tryal, and bring his Proofs, while on the other Side the Father, the Brother, and the Next a-kin may appear on the Behalf of the Woman: If ſhe be acquitted, her Accuſer ſhall be bound to live in Wedlock with her, and that Marriage never after to be diſſolv'd, unleſs upon poſitive Evidence beyond Contradiction; but whoever ſhall be found in ſuch a Caſe as this, raſhly and ſcandalouſly to calumniate an innocent Perſon, let him have the corporal Puniſhment of nine and thirty Stripes, and ſtand condemn'd in a Mulct of *fifty Sicles*, to the Father of the Woman. But if it ſhall be made out that ſhe was corrupted before her Marriage, ſhe ſhall be ſtoned to Death for her Incontinence, if a Perſon of a mean Quality; or if otherwiſe, as of the Family of a Prieſt, let her be burnt alive.

No transferring the Right of Primogeniture to a younger Child. Deut. 21.

If a Man have two Wives, and a much greater Value for the one than for the other; (whether upon the Account of Beauty, Inclination, or what other Motive ſoever) in Caſe the Huſband ſhall be prevail'd upon by the Favourite-Wife to demand a Right of *Promogeniture* for her younger Son to the Prejudice of an elder Son by another Wife (for by my Laws, ſays *Moſes*, the Seniority entitles him to a double Portion) let it not be allow'd of: For it is unjuſt that the elder Son ſhould be robb'd of his Birth-right for the Partiality of the Father to one Wife more than the other.

Of debauching a Woman contracted to another Man.

If any Man ſhall debauch a Virgin contracted to another Man, they are both guilty, and ſhall both ſuffer Death; the Man for corrupting the Woman, and the Woman for conſenting: The one for ſeducing the Woman into the Preference of a ſcandalous Uncleanneſs to an honourable Marriage; the other for yielding her ſelf a Proſtitute, either for Luſt or Profit. But if a Man ſhall be found to have forced a Woman alone, and no Body within Diſtance of coming to her Relief, the Man only ſhall dye.

The Penalty of corrupting a Virgin that's Free.

He that ſhall corrupt a Virgin that's under no Obligation to any other Man, let him marry her, or if her Father will not agree to it, let him give him *fifty Sicles* for a Compoſition.

The Caſe of a Mans parting with his Wife.

If a Man has a Mind to part from his Wife upon what Cauſe ſoever; as there are Pretences in Abundance, let him give it under his Hand that they ſhall never come together again; ſhe may marry another Man, but without that Diſcharge ſhe cannot, neither will the Divorce ſtand good; but in Caſe the ſecond Huſband ſhould die, and the Woman have a Mind to go back to her firſt again, it is not to be permitted.

The Caſe of a Husband that dies, and leaves his Wife without Iſſue.

Where a Husband dies and leaves his Wife without Iſſue, let the Brother of the deceaſed marry the Widow, and in Caſe of a Son by the ſecond Husband, let him bear the Name of the Family, and inherit the Eſtate; for it concerns the publique, that Names and Families ſhould be preſerv'd, their Poſſeſſions kept entire, and it is a Relief to the Woman to live with ſo near a Relation to her firſt Husband. But if the Brother refuſe to marry her, let her complain to the Senate, that whereas ſhe offer'd her ſelf to ſtay in the Family, and to bring Children to it, her Husband's Brother had given her the Repulſe, and put a Diſhonour upon the Memory of her dead Husband. The Elders ſhall then interrogate the Brother upon the Reaſon of his Refuſal, and whether it be more or leſs, the Iſſue will be this in the Concluſion: The Widow ſhall looſen the Lappet of the Brothers Shoe, and ſpit in his Face, telling him that he deſerv'd all this for caſting a Diſhonour upon the Memory of the deceaſed. After this, he departs the Court with a Mark of Infamy that he carries to his Grave; and ſo the Widow is left at Liberty to marry again where ſhe pleaſes.

A Maid, Widow, or Wife that's taken Priſoner, and then marries. Deut. 21.

If any Man takes a Maid, Widow, or Wife, Priſoner, and hath a Mind to marry her, they are not to accompany together as Man and Wife, till the Priſoner ſhall have ſhaved her Head, and run through the whole Courſe of her mourning for the Friends and Relations ſhe loſt in the Battle; and this Ceremony being over, ſhe is at Liberty to enjoy the Comforts of Mirth and Marriage. It is a reaſonable Thing, for him that takes a Woman to have Children by her, to indulge the Will and Affections of his Wife, and not ſo abſolutely purſue his own Satisfactions, as to neglect hers. But after *thirty Days mourning*, which is enough for any ſober Man, it may be ſeaſonable to marry. If the Man ſhould prove fickle, and grow weary of her, he muſt not think to make her a Slave again, for ſhe hath purchaſed her Freedom to go whither ſhe pleaſes.

Of undutiful Children.

When Children ſhall behave themſelves undutifully, and contemptuouſly toward their Parents, without any Regard to filial Reverence, Piety, or good Manners, let the Father and Mother in the firſt Place, (whom Nature has made their Judges) inſtruct, and tutor them by ſome Diſcourſe to this or the like Purpoſe.

Good Advice to Children.

"You ſhould conſider, Children, that the conſcientious End of Marriage is not "either Wealth, or Pleaſure, but firſt to have Children, as a Bleſſing which we are "to acknowledge with Joy and Thankfulneſs; and then to train up thoſe Children "to the Knowledge and Exerciſe of Virtue, and Submiſſion; that they may ſo "live, as to be a Comfort, and a Stay to their aged Parents. You cannot ſay that "we have ſpar'd for any Thing in the Care of your Inſtitution, that might honeſtly "qualify you for all the agreeable Advantages of a happy Life. And what Return "at laſt for all his Tenderneſs? But Youth is raſh and frail, and the Errors of it are "not unpardonable. Come *Children*, you have been to blame; be ſo no more, but "repent, and amend, before it be too Late. You are not aware perhaps how God "himſelf is wounded in your unnatural Croſſneſs to thoſe, from whom, next under "him, you received your Being; and that your heavenly Father takes all to him"ſelf that you commit againſt your earthly Father, under the *Analogy* of that com"mon Appellation, being the Father of all Fleſh living. To ſay nothing of the "inevitable Severity of the Law in that Point, which I had rather you ſhould underſtand by Diſcourſe than Experience.

Incorrigible Obſtinacy in Children to be puniſh'd with Death.

If this Way of Reaſoning take Effect, it will be but a Piece of charitable Juſtice to paſs it all over as a Slip of Ignorance without Malice: Beſide that it would be for the Honour of Governours, and the Comfort of Parents ſo to do; but if neither Authority, nor Advice can prevail, and that rebellious Children will ſtill perſiſt in an incorrigible Contumacy, there is no Way left then, but to turn the Laws looſe upon them, which will have them carry'd out of the City, and there ſtoned to Death; the Bodies to be expoſed upon a Gibbet for one Day, and at Night to be taken down and bury'd.

Publique Enemies to be allow'd Burial.

The ſame Thing is to be done in all other Caſes of capital Puniſhment. Publique Enemies are not to be deny'd Burial. The dead muſt be allow'd Earth to cover them. The Law preſcribes the Puniſhment, and it would be Injuſtice to go beyond the Sentence.

No lending betwixt Hebrews, *upon Uſury*, Deut. 23.

It is not lawful for one *Hebrew* to lend unto another, either Money, Meat, or Drink upon *Uſury*; for it is not fair to make Advantage of the Neceſſities of a Brother. Let it ſuffice, that the Conſcience of a good Office does more than countervail the Profit of it; ſo that the very Charity is clear Gain if Men would but truſt God Almighty for their Reward, which never fails, ſooner or later, to follow good

Works. As for thoſe that borrow, either Mony, or Fruits, wet or dry, let them be ſure to make a chearful Repayment of it, ſo ſoon as ever God ſhall put them in Condition ſo to do: Which is no more than depoſing ſo much in another Hand for your own Uſe to be in Readineſs upon ſuch another Occaſion.

In Caſe of a Debtor, that hath neither the Shame, nor the Conſcience, to reſtore what he borrow'd; the Creditor ſhall not enter into his Houſe to take a Pledge, but demand it at the Door, where the Debtor himſelf is to deliver it, but upon the Order of the Judge in Favour of the Creditor, there muſt be no oppoſing of it. If he that has given the Pawn can conveniently ſpare it, let the Creditor keep it till he receives Satisfaction; but if he be very indigent, and wants it, let it be return'd before Sun-ſet; eſpecially if it be a Garment, leſt he ſhould want it to keep him Warm in the Night. Such is the Tenderneſs of almighty God in favour of the Poor.

Debtor Creditor.

Take not a *Mill* in Pawn, or any Thing that is eſſentially Neceſſary to the working of it, for Fear it ſhould deprive ſome poor People of the Means of a Livelihood.

A Mill not to be taken in Pawn, Deut. 24.

Let it be Death to *ſpirit* away, or to ſteal a Man; and he that ſteals Gold or Silver, let him reſtore double.

Death to ſpirit away any Body.

He that ſhall kill a Thief in the Act of ſtealing, or of breaking into a Houſe, ſhall be acquitted.

Lawful to kill a Thief in the Act of ſtealing.

He that ſteals a labouring Beaſt ſhall be condemn'd in *four times the Value* of it; unleſs it be an Ox, and then the Penalty ſhall be *Quintuple*; but if the Party be not able to pay the Fine, let him be turn'd over for a Slave to the Perſon he has wrong'd.

The Penalty of ſtealing a labouring Beaſt.

If one *Hebrew* be ſold to another, he ſhall ſerve ſix Years, and be made free the ſeventh; but if it ſhould ſo fall out, that he hath Children in his Maſter's Houſe by any of his female Fellow-ſervants, and ſhall think fit, out of ſome particular Inclination to out-ſtay his Time, he ſhall be freed in the Year of *Jubile*, with his Wife and Children.

The Caſe of ſelling one Hebrew *to another.*

If any Man ſhall find Gold and Silver, upon the Way, let him ſeek and enquire who it was that loſt it, in Order to the reſtoring of it; for it would be inhumane to make Profit of another Man's Misfortune. And ſo for Cattle that ſhould be ſeen aſtray, and wandring in a Deſert: Either let the Maſter be found out to whom they belong, or let the Finder keep them to himſelf, till the right Owner may be heard of, calling God to Witneſs that he does not covet the Goods of any other Men.

Finding Gold and Silver upon the Way.

Whoever ſees a Traveller at a Loſs for Want of knowing his Way, let him give him his beſt Direction, and Advice, to ſet him forward on his Journey. It is barbarous, either to make Sport with him, or to hinder his Bus'neſs.

Set a Traveller into his right Way.

Speak no ill either of the deaf, or of the abſent.

Speak no Ill of deaf, or abſent.

If one Man ſtrikes another upon a ſudden Quarrel, and not with a Sword, let Juſtice be immediately done upon the Aggreſſor, by the ſame Number of Blows that he gave the other: But if he that was ſtruck be carry'd Home; lay'd-up ſick for ſeveral Days, and then die, there ſhall lie no Action of Murder in the Caſe; but if he recovers, the other ſhall bear the whole Charge of his Cure, Doctors, Apothecaries, Surgeons, Keepers and the like

Striking upon a ſudden Quarrel.

If any Man ſhall kick a Woman-with-Child, ſo that ſhe miſcarries, the Judges ſhall condemn him in a Summ of Mony for the Loſs of a Subject: Beſide another Summ by the Way of a Fine to her Husband. But if ſhe dies of the Stroke, the Man muſt die too, for Life muſt anſwer for Life.

Of beating a Woman and making her miſcarry.

If there ſhall be found in the Poſſeſſion of an *Iſraelite*, the Preparation of any mortal, or dangerous Poiſon, he ſhall ſuffer Death for it to anſwer for the Lives of thoſe againſt whom it ſhall appear to have been deſign'd.

Finding a mortal Poiſon in the Poſſeſſion of an Iſraelite.

He that ſtrikes out another Man's Eye ſhall forfeit his own, and make Satisfaction in Kind, an Eye for an Eye, unleſs he ſhall otherwiſe think fit to compound for it with Money; for the Law will ſo far allow a Man to be a Judge in his own Caſe, where he ſhall think fit to moderate the Rigour of a Penalty for an Injury done to himſelf.

An Eye for an Eye.

If an Ox be miſchievous, and given to goring, let his Maſter kill him. If an Ox kill any Body let him immediately be ſton'd to Death, and no Man preſume to eat of his Fleſh; but if it ſhall appear that the Maſter had been forwarn'd of the Fierceneſs of this Beaſt, and gave no Heed to it, he himſelf ſhall ſuffer Death for not preventing the Death of another Man. If an Ox ſhall kill a Man or a Maid Servant, the Ox ſhall be ſton'd, and the Owner of the Ox ſhall ſtand condemned in *thirty Sicles* to the Maſter of the Slave that was ſlain. If one Ox ſhall kill another let the living and the dead be both ſold, and the Money divided betwixt their two Maſters.

The Caſe of an Ox that gores.

If any Man digs a Pit or a Well, let him cover it with Boards, and caſt up a

Let no Pit or Well lye open, Deut. 22.

Mound about it when he goes from it, not to engroſs the Water but to give Notice of the Danger, and to keep Man and Beaſt from falling into it; or in Caſe any Beaſt ſhall drop in at unawares; and be loſt for Want of ſuch a Fence, or Cover, the Owner of the Ground ſhall make Satisfaction to the Value of the Beaſt.

A Depoſitum *is a Truſt that is ſacred.* Deut. 24.

Whoever receives a *Depoſitum*, that is to ſay, ſomewhat in Truſt for the Uſe of another Man; let him preſerve it as a Thing ſacred, and not to be touch'd by Man, Woman, or Child, though the whole World were to be gotten by it, to the Prejudice of the Creditors. And Witneſs or no Witneſs, either to the Truſt, or to the Fraud, does not one Jot alter the Caſe. The Conſcience is the only Judge, and Evidence, of what we ought to do, and of what we do, and whether we do Well or Ill; and according to that inward Teſtimony we ſtand or fall to a God that is not to be impos'd upon. But now ſuppoſing the *Depoſitum*, *bonâ Fide* to be loſt; and he that had it in Charge not to blame neither. Where it ſo falls out, let the Truſtee apply himſelf to the *ſeven Judges*, and there make Oath in the Preſence of God, that he never employ'd any Part of it to his own Uſe, and that neither directly nor indirectly he had any Hand or Privity in the going of it; and this ſhall be ſufficient to acquit him of having perform'd his Truſt. But yet if it ſhall afterward be made appear, that he ever converted any Particle of this *Depoſitum* to his proper Benefit, he ſhall be obliged to make Good the Whole.

Give the Labourer his Hire.

God will have the ſame Strictneſs of Juſtice to be alſo obſerved in the Punctuality of paying the Labourer his Hire, which conſiſts partly in not defrauding him of any Portion of his Due, and partly in not delaying the Payment of it; but upon the ſame Day, when he makes an End of his Work, let him receive his Wages.

Children not to be puniſh'd for their Father's Faults.

Children are not to be puniſh'd for the Iniquity of their Fathers, but where they are good, they deſerve rather to be pity'd, for lying under the Lot of having ſuch Fathers: Beſide the Equity of reſpecting them for their own Virtues rather than making them odious for the Failing of others. Neither is the Lewdneſs of Children in all Caſes to be imputed to their Parents; for there are ſome Natures ſo harſh, and intractable, that all the Gentleneſs of good Example, Care, and Diſcipline, can never work upon them.

There are an abominable Sort of People, that out of ſome unnatural Affectation, make themſelves *Eunuchs*, and in ſo doing, deſtroy as much as in them lies, the very Intent of Nature and Providence, in Male and Female; cutting off the Means of encreaſing, and conſequently of Poſterity, both at once, to the Diſappointment of the main End of their Creation. Their Minds were firſt corrupted, before they came to make this Experiment upon their Bodies. Theſe Men are to be avoided, and deteſted as the worſt of Monſters, wherefore let nothing be caſtrated, neither Man nor any other living Creature, for it is a Departure from the very Inſtitution of Nature.

All Caſtrations *forbidden.*

Theſe are the Laws you are to obſerve in Times of Peace, and I hope by the Bleſſing of God, they will be continu'd unchangeably ſacred, and inviolable, to your ſelves, and your Children after you for ever. But yet, in regard of the Uncertainty of humane Affairs; and that upon ſome Ground or other, whether of Malice, or Miſadventure, Difficulties and Troubles will inevitably ariſe, I ſhall endeavour in a few Words, the beſt I can, to prepare you for the obviating of thoſe Contingencies, ſo far at leaſt as a reaſonable, and a political Foreſight of Things may enable me, that you may not be taken unprovided how to acquit your ſelves upon Occaſion.

Keep to old Laws, Cuſtoms, and Diſcipline.

I wiſh you with all my Heart in a quiet Poſſeſſion of the Land that God hath allotted you; and that you may come to reap the Fruit of your Induſtry and Patience, in Peace, and Plenty, without the Hazard, either of open Enemies from abroad, or of Worſe in your own Bowels; for a *Schiſm* at Home would endanger the overturning of the Laws, Cuſtoms, Diſcipline, and Religion of your Forefathers; which are no other than the Ordinances of God himſelf, being warranted by the Stamp and Authority of his divine Approbation. From theſe Conſtitutions you are never to depart.

Advice in Caſe of a War. Deut. 20.

But if it ſhall be your Fortune, either now, or hereafter, to fall under the Neceſſity of a War, God grant it may be a foreign one, and for the Decency of the Proceeding, let it be advanced in Form. You ſhall do well to let your Heralds, or Embaſſadors be ſent in the firſt Place with Memorials, and Declarations upon the Matter in Queſtion; for according to the Courſe of Reaſon and Nature, Words ſhould go before Blows. You may give to underſtand that your Buſineſs is not to enrich your ſelves with Priſoners, or Booty: How unwilling you are to put Things to Extremities, and how deſirous of Peace, upon any reaſonable Terms; notwithſtanding all the Advantages of Numbers, Horſe, Arms, military Proviſions, and more than all the reſt, of an Almighty and a gracious God to fight your Battles. But is your

Competitor ſhall yet think fit to put the Cauſe upon a Tryal of War, draw out your Men againſt him, committing the Government of the Whole to God, and next under him to the braveſt Man of Arms, Policy, and Courage, that you can pitch upon, as his Deputy. Have a Care of many Heads; for they do commonly more Hurt than Good: Not only for Want of Agreement, but in the Matter of Execution and Diſpatch. Look to the Choice of your Levies, for the Minds of Men muſt be conſider'd as well as their Bodies. Let them be daring as well as robuſt, for the leaſt Mixture of Cowardice may be enough to unſpirit, and to debauch a whole Army.

Perſons excepted out the Militia.

You ſhall except out of this *Militia* the Maſters of new built Houſes that they have not yet liv'd a Year in: The Planters of Vineyards that have not as yet taſted the Fruit of their own Vines, and new-marry'd Men that have not taken their Wives Home with them yet, who when they ſhould be venturing their Lives for their Country, will be indulging them for their Pleaſure.

Obſerve good Order in the Camp. Cut down no Fruit Trees for common Uſe.

Keep good Order in your Camp, and allow no Liberties that are harſh and cruel. When you want Wood at any Time upon a Siege, as for an Engine, or ſome military Uſe, ſpare all Fruit-Trees, upon this Conſideration, that they were both created and planted for other Uſes. If they had Tongues they would expoſtulate the Matter with you, why thoſe that were no Cauſe of the War ſhould be deſtroy'd for the Service of it: And for their Parts, if they were at Liberty to tranſplant themſelves they could be as well elſewhere.

No Quarter to the obſtinate.
The Canaanites *to be rooted out.*

When you have the Fortune to overcome in Battle, give no Quarter to thoſe of your Enemies that were obſtinate and ſtood it out, but preſerve the reſt, and make them your Tributaries, ſaving only the *Chanaanites*; and thoſe you are to extirpate, even the whole Nation of them, Root and Branch.

No Man to put on a Woman's Habit, nor a Woman a Man's.
Deut. 22.

[a] Let no Man appear in a Woman's Dreſs or Habit, nor any Woman in a Man's; but eſpecially in a military Action.

The Form of the Hebrew *Commonwealth.*

This was the Form and Polity of the *Hebrew* Commonwealth as *Moſes* left it, and he delivered other Laws alſo that he had written ſome forty Years before: Of which in another Tract.

Deut. 30, 31, 32, 34.
A prophetical Hymn, and Benediction.
Deut. 33, 34.

He held *Aſſemblies* ſeveral Days after this, ſucceſſively; beſtowing his Benedictions upon thoſe that liv'd in Obedience to his holy Laws, and purſuing the malicious Tranſgreſſors of them with bitter Maledictions. He then recited a Kind of a prophetical *Canticle* in *Hexameter Verſe*, containing a Diſcourſe of Things to come, and in the very Order as they fell out after, without any Variation either in the Matter it ſelf, or in the *Series* of the Story. This he left in Writing to be kept in the Oratory. He delivered his *Books* to the Prieſts, and alſo the *Ark*, wherein were the *ten Commandments*, written in *two Tables*, leaving it in Charge to the People, that ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be Maſters of the promis'd Land, and ſettle their Plantations, they ſhould take their Revenge of the *Amalekites*, for the Indignities they had formerly put upon them in the Deſart.

The Chanaanites *to be deſtroy'd, and an Altar erected betwixt Mount* Garizim *and* Gebal.
Deut. 27, 28.

He commanded alſo that upon the taking of *Chanaan*, and putting the whole Multitude to the Sword, they ſhould raiſe an *Altar* to the *Eaſtward*, not far from [b] *Sichem*, betwixt two Mountains, *Garizim* on the *Right Hand*, and *Gebal* on the *Left*, and ſo dividing their Army into *twice ſix Tribes*, they were to diſpoſe of thoſe two Diviſions upon theſe two Mountains, together with the *Prieſts* and *Levites*. They were to pray in their Turns, and *Garizim* to lead the Office, imploring all Sorts of Bleſſings from Almighty God upon thoſe that kept his holy Commandments and walked in the Ways of his Servant *Moſes*: The Tribes upon *Gebal*, by Way of *Reſponſe*, at the Cloſe, returning their Acclamations, in Token of approving what the other had done. And then after the ſame Manner they follow'd with their Maledictions, which were pronounced and ratify'd with the ſame Solemnity as before. Theſe Bleſſings and Imprecations were at that Time committed to Writing, for a perpetual Memory of the Thing. He cauſed them alſo, when he was dying, to be engraven on each Side of the *Altar*, the People aſſiſting and offering up Sacrifices and Burnt-Offerings: A Thing not warrantable in it ſelf, and therefore not to be brought into Precedent. You have here the Ordinances and Conſtitutions of *Moſes*, which the *Hebrews* obſerve moſt religiouſly to this Day.

Bleſſings and Maledictions.

The People under an Oath to obſerve God's Laws.

Upon the Day following, the whole Multitude being gather'd together, Men, Women, and Children, the meaneſt of *Slaves* themſelves not excepted, *Moſes* bound them with an *Oath* to the Obſervance of theſe Laws according to the Will of God, and that neither Favour, Terror, nor any other Pretence, ſhould ever make them depart from their Obedience to thoſe Precepts; but that if any *ſingle Perſon*, though never ſo near or dear to them, or any *Body* of Men, ſhould ever attempt an Innovation, they would joyn as one Man againſt him and them, to perſecute the People, raſe their Cities, and not leave them ſo much as one Stone upon another, if they had Power to compaſs it. But otherwiſe, in Caſe of inſuperable Difficulties, they would at leaſt make a publick Proteſtation againſt the Wickedneſs, and diſclaim to any Thing of Conſent to't. This was the Summ and Subſtance of the Oath the Multitude took upon this Occaſion. *Moſes* inſtructed them further alſo, how they ſhould govern themſelves in their Sacrifices, and what Meaſures they were to take in all great Enterprizes; to know whether they had God's Approbation or not, by obſerving the Stones upon *Aaron*'s Breaſt-Plate, as is already ſet forth.

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[a] *See* Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 22.

[b] Gr. Σικίμων πόλις.

Joſhua's *Predictions.*

While *Moſes* was yet alive, *Joſhua* foretold, by the Spirit of Prophecy, what he himſelf was to do for the Welfare of the People, either in War abroad, or in a legal Adminiſtration at Home; preparing the Multitude by his Diſcourſes for the Entertainment of their new Way of Diſcipline. He told them alſo, that what he ſaid was by a divine Impulſe; and that if ever they would depart from the Religion of their Country, they ſhould fall into great Calamities; their Land ſhould be over-run with Foreigners, their Cities ſack'd, their Temple laid in Aſhes, and themſelves ſold for Slaves, to a mercileſs and a barbarous People; till they came at laſt to a late and unprofitable Repentance: Not but that God would be pleaſed in Time to come, to reſtore them to their Cities and their Temple. But yet that after ſuch a Reſtauration, they were ſtill in the future, to be loſt over and over again.

Joſhua *order'd to march againſt the* Chanaanites. Deut. 31.

Moſes being now ready to diſcharge himſelf of his Commiſſion, order'd *Joſhua* to march with his Army againſt the *Chanaanites*, in a full Aſſurance that God would proſper him in his Undertaking, and not without Preſages likewiſe of all Sorts of Bleſſings to the People, of whom he took his laſt Leave in the Words following.

Moſes's *laſt Speech and Advice to the People.* Deut. 33, 34.

Since it is the Will of God to call me to my Fathers, and ſo to order it, that this very Day is to be the laſt of my Life, it will become me, while I am yet living, and in your Preſence, to give him Thanks for all his Cares and Providences extended to you, and your Affairs; not only in your Deliverances from all Manner of Calamities, but in the Bounty of innumerable Bleſſings and Benefits; and I muſt likewiſe acknowledge his infinite Goodneſs to my ſelf, in proſpering and aſſiſting all my reaſonable Endeavours for your Comfort and Advantage: Wherein my Part hath been only ſubſervient, and miniſterial, toward your Well-Being; while God himſelf was the firſt Mover and Perfecter of it: For all which Providences, his holy Name be praiſed; and to his gracious Protection, now as a dying Man, I reckon it a Duty to recommend you. I muſt mind you likewiſe of the Honour and Veneration you owe to that Almighty Power, which alone, and no other, you are to worſhip or adore. And pray ye have a Care to put a true Value alſo upon the Laws he hath given you, as the moſt ſacred and ineſtimable of all his Bounties. Make it the Caſe but of a common Lawgiver, *to have his Ordinances trampled upon, and his Authority deſpiſed, how unpardonable an Affront would this be, even from one Man to another? But who ſhall ſtand againſt the Indignation of an incenſed God then, who is your* divine Lawgiver, *when he ſhall be provoked to call you to an Account for the Contempt of his Commandments.*

Moſes *univerſally lamented.*

Deut. 34.

Theſe laſt Words of his were accompany'd with a thouſand Benedictions to the Tribes, and not without ſeveral prophetical Preſages of Things afterward to befal them, and which accordingly came to paſs. The Multitude fell all into a violent Paſſion of Weeping at this Diſcourſe of *Moſes*: The Women beating their Breaſts, and their very Children under a miſerable Impatience of Lamentation. Such was the Tenderneſs that even theſe poor Innocents had for the Dignity and Virtue of ſo great a Man, upon the Apprehenſion of his approaching End. The Grief, in Fine, was univerſal, and without Diſtinction, of either Age, Sex, or Quality. Some of them were afflicted to think what would become of them for the Time to come; others to conſider how ill they had treated him in Time paſt, and that they never underſtood the Value of the Bleſſing they enjoy'd, till they were now to loſe it. But the Force of this Impreſſion did not appear in any Thing ſo much, as in the Effect it had upon the Conſtancy, and Magnanimity, even of the Comforter himſelf. For after all his philoſophizing upon the Contempt of Death, and his conſolatory Counſels of Reſignation, and Submiſſion to the Will of God, and to the Law of Nature, he yielded himſelf up at laſt to the Weakneſs he condemn'd, and wept for Company. While he was now moving toward his laſt Retreat, and the Multitude all in Tears attending him, he gave a Sign with his Hand to thoſe at a Diſtance to ſtop where they were, and deſired thoſe nearer Hand not to trouble the Peace of his laſt Hour, with thoſe fruitleſs and unſeaſonable Importunities. So they kept back to gratify his Intimation, but ſtill looking after him with weeping Eyes and ſad Hearts, as far as they could ſee him. He took along with him only the *Elders*, *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt, and *Joſhua* his *Succeſſor*.

Moſes *within Sight of the Land of* Chanaan.

When he came to *Abarim*, a very high Mountain over againſt *Jericho*, he took a View of the fair and fruitful Country of *Chanaan*, diſcharged

the

Moſes taken away in a Cloud.

the Senators, and after a final Leave taken of *Eleazar* and *Joſhua*, with mutual Embraces, *Moſes* was taken away from them in a Cloud, while they were yet diſcourſing, and tranſlated into a certain Valley. The Holy Scripture ſays he died, leſt People ſhould imagine him, becauſe of the Excellency of his Perſon, to be yet alive, and with God. He lived a hundred and twenty Years: And within one Month of a third Part of that Time in his Command over the *Hebrews*. He departed this Life in the laſt Month of the Year, and the firſt Day of the Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Dyſtrus*, and we, *Adar*.

The Age and Death of Moſes. Deut. 34.

Moſes's Character.

He was a Man of admirable Wiſdom, and one that made the beſt Uſe of what he underſtood; an excellent Speaker, and no Man better ſkill'd in moving the Affections of the People than himſelf: So great a Maſter of his Paſſions, that he liv'd as if he had none, and as if he had known them only by their Names; or elſe as he obſerv'd them in other Men: Never a greater Captain, nor a Prophet equal to him; for all his Words were Oracles. The People mourned for him thirty Days, and the Death of this holy Man was the moſt ſenſible Mortification they ever felt, and this was not only his Character, among thoſe that knew him in his Life and Death; but he has made himſelf as famous to Poſterity in his Writings, as he was to the Age he liv'd in, for his Actions. This is all we have to ſay concerning the End of *Moſes*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.
BOOK THE FIFTH.

From the Year of the World 2493, to 2850.

CHAP. I.

Joſhua *ſucceeds* Moſes *in his Command over the* Hebrews; *fights and ſubdues the* Chanaanites, *and divides their Lands by Lot among the Tribes.*

Joſhua 1.
Joſhua *ſends Spies to* Jericho.
Joſh. 2.

Calls the Tribes together:

Minds them of their Promiſes:

and marches from Abila *with* 50000 *Men to the Banks of* Jordan.

The Spies bring Intelligence of the State of Jericho.
Joſh. 2.

Rahab *conceals the Spies.*

The Spies promiſe Rahab *Protection.*

MOSES being now tranſlated, as aforeſaid, the laſt Duties paid to his Memory, and the mourning Ceremony over, *Joſhua* order'd the People to be in Readineſs to march, and ſent away his Spies to *Jericho*, to learn how they ſtood affected, and to view the Strength and Condition of the Town: So drew out his Army, with a Deſign to paſs the River *Jordan* by the firſt Opportunity. Upon this Occaſion he conven'd the Princes of the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſes*; [for one Half of *Manaſſes* was allow'd to plant and ſettle in the Country of the *Amorites*, which was a ſeventh Part of the Land of *Chanaan.*] minding them of their Promiſes to *Moſes*, and deſiring them, both for his Sake, and their own, that they would now be as good as their Words; and do it chearfully too, as a Juſtice to the Memory of their glorious Patron that had been ſo particularly careful for them, even with his Laſt Breath. They came in with their Aſſiſtance very frankly; inſomuch that *Joſhua* march'd from *Abila* with *fifty thouſand Men*, a matter of ſixty Furlongs, toward the Banks of the River *Jordan*. Immediately upon their encamping, the *Spies* brought *Joſhua* an Account of the State of *Jericho*, and what the *Chanaanites* were a-doing. They came thither as Strangers, they ſaid, and ſo went whither they would, and ſaw whatever they had a Mind to, without any Stop or Queſtion. They took a View of the Walls, the Gates, and the Ramparts; all the Weakneſſes and Strengths of the Town, paſſing the whole Day for Men of Curioſity only, without any Deſign. They took up toward Evening, in a little Quarter near the Wall, where they refreſhed themſelves; and after eating, came the News, as they were diſcourſing how to get back again, that Intelligence was brought the King as he was at Supper, of ſome certain *Spies* that were come out of the *Hebrew* Camp, and lay hid in the Houſe of [a] *Rahab*; and that Order was given immediately for the ſeizing of them, and putting them to the Torture to know their Buſineſs. So ſoon as *Rahab* underſtood that the Houſe was to be ſearch'd, ſhe cover'd the *Spies* under a Parcel of Flax that lay a drying upon the Wall, and upon the coming of the Meſſengers to look for theſe People, *Rahab* told them indeed, of certain Strangers that came thither the Evening before, about Sun-ſet, and went their Way again after Supper; and if they were dangerous Men, they might eaſily be overtaken. The Woman talk'd and look'd ſo innocently, that the Officers preſently poſted away toward the River *Jordan*, without ever ſearching the Houſe in Hope to catch them that Way in their Return; but having loſt their Labour without making any Diſcovery, they let the Buſineſs fall. So ſoon as the Hurry was over, *Rahab* called forth her Gueſts; minded them of the Riſque ſhe had run for their Sakes; for if they had been diſcover'd it would certainly have coſt her, and her Family their Lives. *Wherefore*, ſays ſhe, *whenever you come to take this Place, (as I have a Revelation from God that it will be ſo) do you take as much Care of Mine, and my People's Lives, as we have done of yours.* The *Spies* promiſed, with Oaths, that her Kindneſs ſhould be punctually requited, and therefore adviſed her in Order to it, that whenever ſhe found the Town in any Danger, ſhe ſhould withdraw with what Friends and Goods ſhe had, into her own Houſe, and hang out a *Red String* before her Door. The General, they ſaid, ſhould be told of the Token, and of the Meaning of it, and would undoubtedly provide for the Safety of whatever

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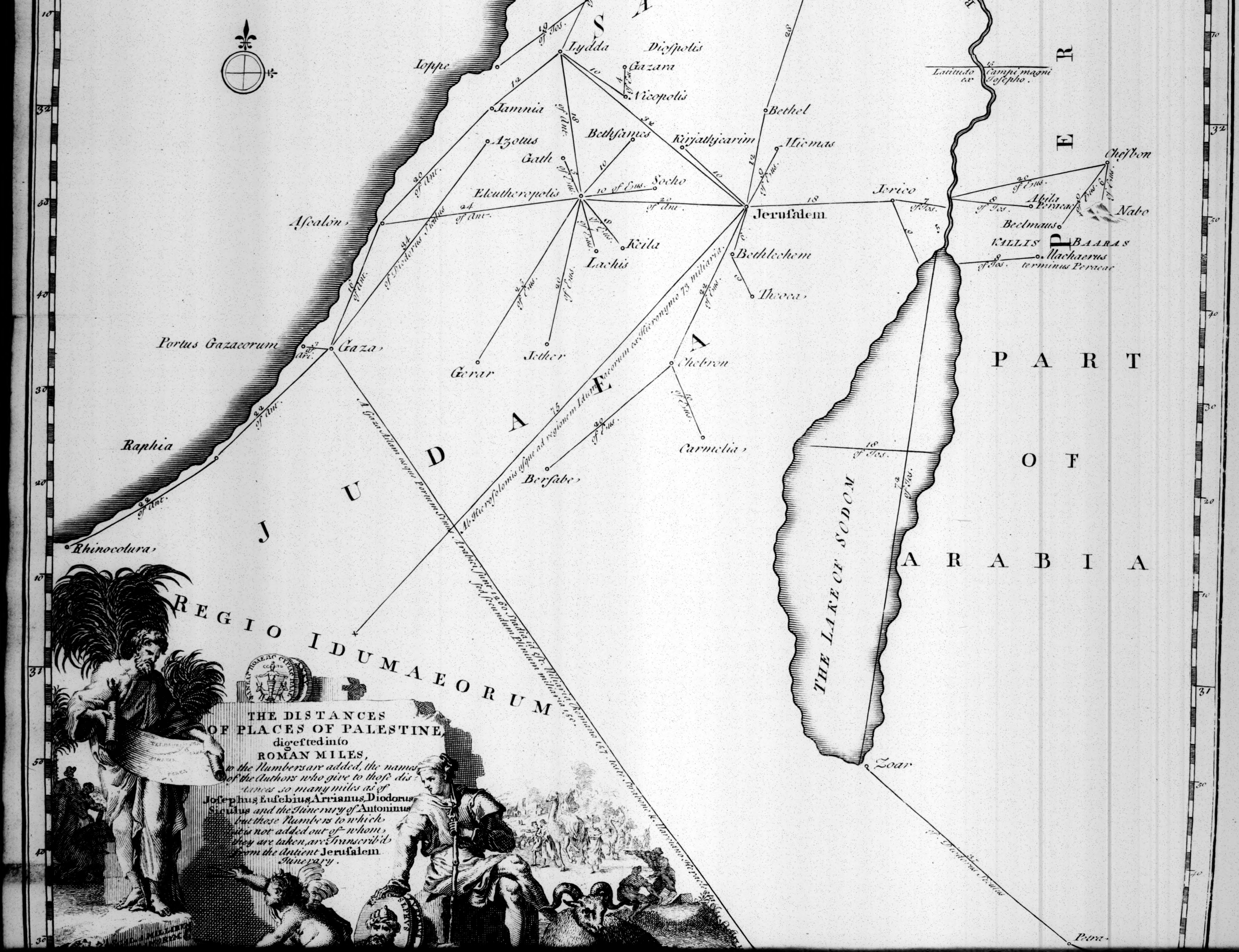
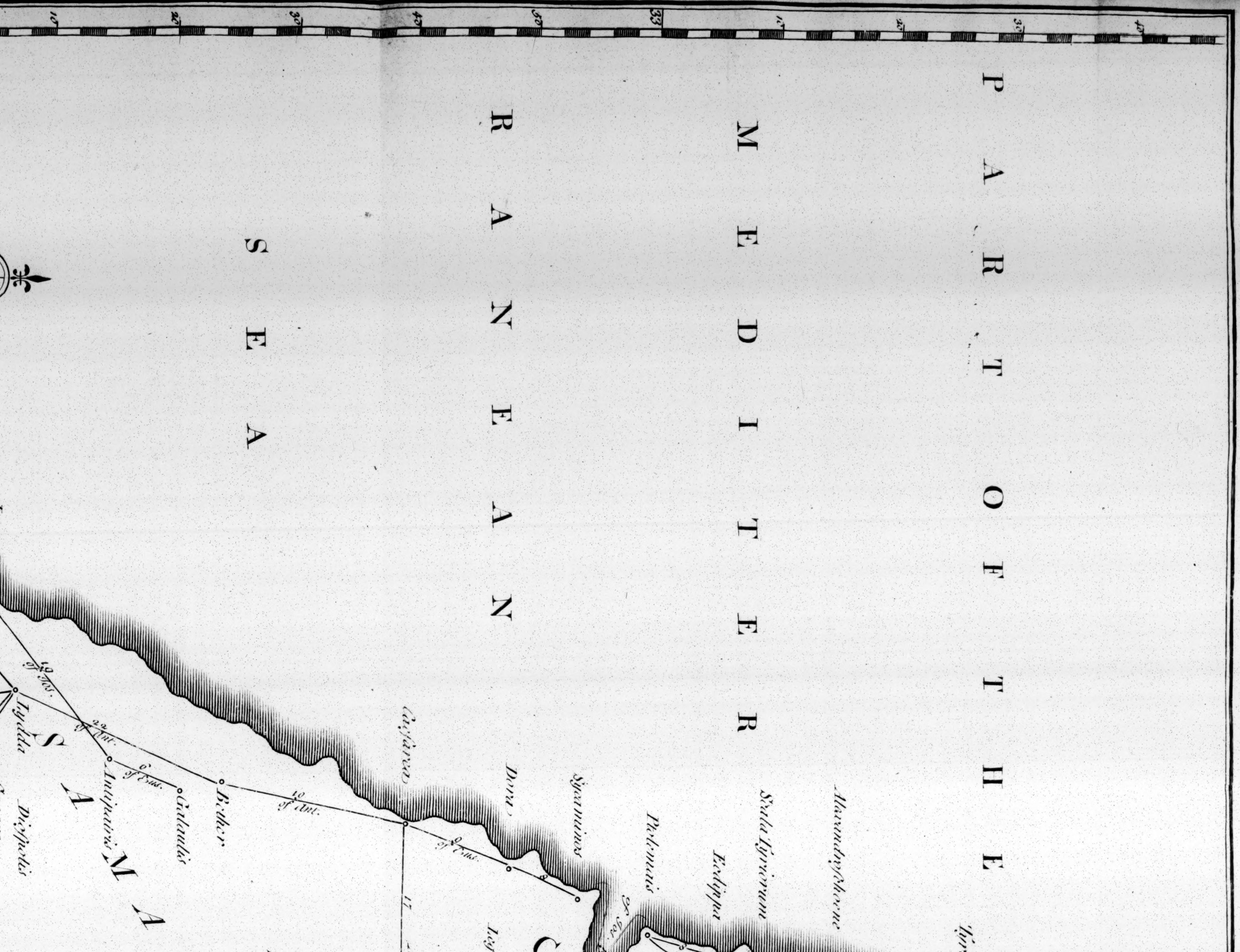
[a] Gr. Ῥαχάβη.



THE DISTANCES OF PLACES OF PALESTINE, digested into ROMAN MILES,
to the Numbers are added, the names of the Authors who give to those distances so many miles as of Josephus, Eusebius, Arrianus, Diodorus Siculus and the Itinerary of Antoninus but those Numbers to which it is not added out of whom they are taken, are Transcrib'd from the Antient Jerusalem Itinerary.

Ioppe
Lydda
Diospolis
Gazara
Nicopolis
Jamnia
Azotus
Gath
Bethsames
Kirjathjearim
Bethel
Micmas
Ascalon
Eleutheropolis
Socho
Jerusalem
Keila
Lachis
Bethlechem
Theoca
Portus Gazaeorum
Gaza
Gerar
Jether
Chebron
Carmelia
Bersabe
Raphia
Rhinocolura
J U D A E A
REGIO IDUMAEORUM
A Gaza Ailam usque Portum Sinus Arabici sunt 1260 Stadia id est Milliaria Romana 167 · teste Strabone & Marciano Heracleota sed secundum Plinium milliaria 150.
Ab Hierosolomis usque ad regionem Idumaeorum ex Hieronymo 73 milliaria.
of Ant.
of Eus.
of Jos.
of Diodorus Siculus
THE LAKE OF SODOM
Zoar
Petra
Jerico
Latitudo Campi magni ex Josepho.
Chesbon
Abila Peraeae
Nabo
Beelmaus
VALLIS BAARAS
Machaerus terminus Peraeae
P E R
PART OF ARABIA


PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SAMARIA
GALILAEA
GAULONITIS
RAEA
River Jordan
Lake of Tiberias
Lacus Samochonites
Lacus Phiala
Sidon
Tyrus
Alexandroschene
Scala Tyriorum
Ecdippa
Ptolemais
Sycaminus
Dora
Caesarea
Legio
LEGIONIS CAMPUS
Cimmona
Sippori
Ramma
Nazareth
Tabor
Endor
Tiberias
Sennabris
Hippos
Gadara Metropolis of Peraea
Abila
Capitolias
Dan
Paneas
Cadus
Maximianopolis
Stradela
Dothaim
Scythopolis
Sebaste
Samaria
Neapolis
Silo
Acrabbim
Aser
Bethar
Antipatris
Lydda
Diospolis
of Ant.
of Jos.
of Eus.
33

ſhould be found within thoſe Walls. *She might depend upon it*, they ſaid, *that they would be true to what they had ſworn; only if any of them ſhould be found in actual Hoſtility, they could not undertake for their Safety.* Upon theſe Conditions they parted; *Rahab* having provided a Rope to let them down from the Wall, by which Means they made their Eſcapes, and returned to the Camp with the Intelligence of what they had ſeen and obſerv'd, and the whole Buſineſs of *Rahab*, with all the Circumſtances: That of the Oath eſpecially; in which Caſe the General conſulted *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt*, and the *Elders*, who did authoritatively pronounce the Promiſe to be binding, and ſo ratify'd the Obligation.

Rahab *conveys away the Spies.*

The *Hebrews* were now encamped upon the Banks of the River *Jordan*, on their Way to *Jericho*; but the Waters being out, the Current, of it ſelf, rapid and impetuous; not ſo much as a Boat, or a Bridge to help them over, nor the Means of building any; with an Enemy over and above, ſo near, and the Town at laſt on the wrong Side of the Water: The General's Heart was ready to ſink under the Apprehenſion of ſo many invincible Difficulties, till it pleaſed God to aſſure him by a comfortable Revelation, that thoſe Obſtacles ſhould be remov'd, and the River made fordable for the tranſporting of his Troops.

The Hebrews *encamp upon* Jordan. Joſh. 3.

After two Days Expectation of this miraculous Providence, *Joſhua* paſs'd the River with his Army. In the firſt Place, went the *Prieſts*, with the *Ark*: The *Levites* after them, with the *Tabernacle*, and the *holy Veſſels*: After the *Levites*, follow'd the whole Army, which was ranged according to the Order of their ſeveral Tribes: The Women and Children in the Middle, the better to ſecure them againſt the Violence of the Stream. It was obſerv'd upon the Prieſt's firſt Entrance into this Paſſage, that the Fierceneſs of the Current abated, and the Water fell. They found the Bottom firm, and by Degrees, the Chanel came to be as dry as a Pavement: So that the whole Multitude forded it over, without any farther Doubt or Trouble, when they ſaw every Thing ſucceeded according to what God had foretold them. But the *Prieſts* continu'd ſtill in the Middle, till the People were all paſs'd over, and landed on the other Side. So ſoon as the Army was got aſhore, the *Prieſts* follow'd them, and left the River to its natural Courſe again, which immediately fill'd up the Chanel, and put every Thing into the ſame State as before.

Their miraculous Paſſage.

The Order of their March.

The Army marched from thence fifty Furlongs toward *Jericho*, and there encamped within ten Furlongs more of the Place. Here it was that *Joſhua* erected an *Altar* of the *twelve Stones*, which *twelve Princes* of the *ſeveral Tribes* brought along with them out of the Bottom of the River, by the Prophet's Order and Command, for a Token and a Memorial to future Ages of this miraculous Separation of the Waters; and upon *this Altar* did *Joſhua* ſacrifice, celebrating the *Feaſt* of the *Paſſover* alſo in the ſame Place; and in a State of Plenty and Abundance, equal to the Degree of Want and Miſery, that they had hitherto endur'd; for the *Chanaanites* Harveſt was at this Time ripe upon the Ground; Cattel, and other Booty every where expos'd, and the *Hebrews* had it all at Mercy, only the *Manna* fail'd them now at laſt, after a Subſiſtence of forty Years upon it in the Wilderneſs.

An Altar of twelve Stones. Joſh. 4, 5.

Joſhua *ſacrifices upon it, and keeps the* Paſſover.

Their Manna *fails them.*

The *Iſraelites* living thus at Diſcretion upon the *Chanaanites* Country, without any Sort of Check or Controul, gave the *Hebrew General* to underſtand, that the Enemy was not to be drawn out of their Holds, though but to the Hazard of a Skirmiſh, or a Sally, by any Provocation or Affront whatſoever: So that he bethought himſelf of making ſome Tryal rather what might be done by a *Siege*. Upon the firſt Day of the Feſtival, the Prieſts took up the *Ark*, and ſo marched forward with it in the Middle of a Guard of Soldiers; ſeven other Prieſts going before them, with ſeven Horns or Trumpets, ſounding, to animate the Army to behave themſelves like Men. And thus they went round about the Walls of the City with the Elders after them; but the Prieſts only ſounding; and when they had gone the Circuit of the City, they went back again to their Camp without any more Ceremony. This was the firſt Day's Work; and when they had done the ſame Thing over again for ſix Days ſucceſſively, *Joſhua* called the Army and the People together, on the ſeventh, and told them for News, that the Town ſhould that Day be delivered up to them without any Hazard or Trouble; for the very Walls ſhould fall down of their own Accord, and leave the Place naked; giving them in Charge at the ſame Time, not to ſpare any Creature that had Life in't; and that neither Wearineſs of doing Execution, Tenderneſs of Nature, or any other Conſideration of Booty or Flight, ſhould prevail upon them to hold their Hands; but that they ſhould put all to the Sword without reſerving any Thing of the Spoil to their own Advantage. What Gold or Silver ſoever ſhould be found, they were order'd to lay it in one Maſs all together; for it ſhould be dedicated to God, as the Firſt-Fruits of the Victory obtain'd over that City; ſaving only that *Rahab*, with her Family and Relations, ſhould be preſerv'd for the Sake of the *Spies Oath* and *Promiſe*.

The Chanaanites *keep to their Holds.* Joſh. 6.

The Prieſts carry the Ark *round* Jericho *for ſix Days ſucceſſively.*

The Walls fall, of themſelves, on the ſeventh Day.

The Iſraelites enter the Breach.

All put to the Sword but Rahab and her Friends.

A prodigious Booty.

With theſe Words, he marched with his Army toward the City, and went the Round of it with the Prieſts, the Senate, and the Soldiers, in the ſame Order as before. Upon the ſeventh Time going about it, they made a little Stop, and the Wall fell down all on a ſudden, without any Engine or Force bent againſt it. This terrible Surprize put the People into ſuch an Amazement, that they had not the Hearts left them to ſtrike a Stroke: So that the *Hebrews* entered the Breach, and cut off all before them without the leaſt Hazzard or Reſiſtance. Some in the Streets, others in their Houſes; ſome in one Place, and ſome in another, till it came, in Fine, to an univerſal Slaughter, without ſparing either Women or Children; ſo that the City was only a Pile of dead Bodies in the Concluſion, and no Way of ſcaping the common Fate. This Deſolation ended in the burning of the City, and the Country about it; only *Rahab*, and her Friends and Family were reſcued by the *Spies*, who being brought to the General, received his Acknowledgments for the good Office ſhe had done his Agents; promiſing withal, that ſhe ſhould not fail of a ſuitable Reward, which he ſuddenly made good to her by the Honour of conſiderable Favours and Benefits. What the *Fire* had ſpared, was deſtroyed by the *Sword*; with a prophetical Curſe upon any Man that ſhould ever preſume afterward to rebuild it, wiſhing that whoever ſhould take upon him to lay the firſt Stone of a new Foundation, might loſe his eldeſt Son, and he that ſhould finiſh the Work, his youngeſt; and God would not ſuffer this Malediction to paſs in vain neither, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter. There was taken in this Town to an ineſtimable Value in Gold and Silver, and likewiſe of Braſs; without any Diminution of it for the Profit of any particular Perſon: But *Joſhua* delivered it up to the Prieſts, to be depoſited in their Treaſury; and this was the Fate of *Jericho*.

Joſh. 7.

Achar's Tranſgreſſion.

But it ſo fell out that one [a] *Achar*, the Son of *Zebedee*, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, had gotten a rich Cloak of the King's, of Cloth of Gold, and a huge Maſs of the ſame Metal, weighing two hundred Shekels. This Man thought it ſomewhat unreaſonable to give that to God that he had no Need of; that which he had ventured his Life for, and had ſo much Occaſion to make Uſe of: So that he digged a Hole in the Ground under his Tent, and there hid it; imagining that ſo long as his Fellow-Soldiers knew nothing of it, the Concealment might paſs upon God himſelf. The Army at that Time was encamped at a Place called [b] *Gilgal*, which ſignifies *Liberty*: For being now paſſed the River, they reckoned themſelves as good as ſecured from the Slavery of *Ægypt*, and the Miſeries of the *Deſart*.

The Iſraelites worſted at Ain.

Their Faſting and Humiliation.

Some few Days after the razing of *Jericho*, *Joſhua* ſent out a Detatchment of 3000 Men to *Ain*, a City a little above; where they engaged the Enemy, and were beaten back with the Loſs of ſix and thirty Men. The Tidings of this Repulſe put the *Iſraelites* to a terrible Anxiety of Thought, not ſo much for the Number of the ſlain (though their near Relations and Men of Honour and Experience) but for the Ill-boding of the Diſappointment; for they looked upon the Difficulties of the War (even according to God's Promiſe) to be as good as over, when they were poſſeſſed of the Land; but *their Enemies had now taken Heart again*, they ſaid, and immediately, upon this Reflexion, they put on Sackcloath, and ſpent that whole Day in Faſting, Weeping, and Mourning; ſo grievous was the Senſe they had of the Diſgrace that was befallen them. The Spirits of the Army were ſo ſunk upon this Diſaſter, and caſt down into ſuch a Deſperation of better Things for the future, that *Joſhua*, upon this Occaſion, addreſſed himſelf with a more than ordinary Aſſurance to Almighty God, ſaying,

Joſhua's *Prayer and Appeal.*

" Lord, *ſays he*, it is not any Temerity, or Ambition of our own that has brought " us hither to make War upon theſe People, but a pure Deference and Reſpect to " the Perſwaſion of thy Servant *Moſes*, that hath incited us to this Undertaking, " and not without the Warrant of many Signs and Miracles to convince us that he " had Reaſon and Authority on his Side; when he told us that thou thy ſelf had'ſt " promiſed us the Poſſeſſion of this Country, and to give us Victory over all our " Enemies. But what a Change is here all on a ſudden, in the Diſappointment " of our Hopes, and in the Loſs of our Friends! As if either *Moſes*'s Predictions had " not been of divine Inſpiration, or otherwiſe thy Promiſes and Purpoſes variable. " If this be the beginning of a War, we cannot but dread the further Progreſs of " it, for Fear this Miſcarriage upon the firſt Experiment, ſhould prove only the " Earneſt of greater Evils to come: But Lord, thou alone that art able to give us " Relief, help us, and ſave us. Vouchſafe unto us, Comfort, and Victory; and " be graciouſly pleaſed to preſerve us from the Snare of deſpairing for the future.

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[a] *Scr.* Achan *the Son of* Zerah.

[b] *Gr.* Galgala. Maſius *in his Commentary upon the fifth Chapter of* Joſhua *ſhews this to be an Error.*

Joſhua delivered this ejaculatory Prayer grovelling, with his Face upon the Ground, till upon finiſhing, God bid him *riſe, and purge the Army from a Pollution that had defiled it; for there was a ſacrilegious Fraud that lay unaccounted for among them; and that Corruption was the true Cauſe of the Miſchief that had lately befallen them; but,* ſays the *Oracle, let there be Lots caſt, to find out the Criminal, and then let him be puniſhed, and the* Iſraelites *ſhall certainly carry their Cauſe, and be victorious.* *Joſhua* made a Report of all this to the People, and calling to him *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt and the Princes of the Tribes he put the Tribes to the firſt Teſt of the *Lot*; and the *Lot* falling upon the Tribe of *Judah*, they caſt *Lots* next upon the ſeveral *Families* of that Tribe, and the Lot fell upon the Family of *Zacharias*; bringing the Queſtion in Fine, to the individual Perſon that committed this Sacrilege; and it fell then, upon a perſonal Examination of Man by Man, upon *Achar*; who thereupon was forthwith taken into Cuſtody, and finding that there was no trifling with divine Juſtice, his Conſcience alſo riſing up in Judgment againſt him, he confeſt the ſacrilegious Theft, and delivered it up in the Sight of the People, whereupon he was immediately put to an ignominious Death, and his Body committed to the Earth in a ſcandalous Manner, like a common Malefactor, which was a Puniſhment but ſuitable to his Deſert.

God bids him purge the Army of Sacrilege, and caſt Lots to find out the Offender.

The Lot falls upon Achar.

Who confeſſes the Fact, and is ſtoned to Death.

When the Army was purged, *Joſhua* drew them out toward the City of [a] *Ain*; planted his Ambuſhes, and early next morning preſented himſelf in Sight of the Enemy with his main Body. The *Ainites* were ſo elevated with their former Succeſs, that ſo ſoon as they had the *Iſraelites* in their Eye, they immediately advanced in a furious Manner againſt them to give them Battle; the one giving Way by little and little, as for Fear, and the other preſſing upon them as in a full Aſſurance of a certain Victory. By this Stratagem of a pretended Flight, the *Ainites* were drawn into the Toil; for immediately upon a Signal given *Joſhua* put a Stop to the Army, and the *Ambuſh* almoſt in the ſame Inſtant, entered the Town, with little or no Oppoſition; for the Inhabitants were moſt of them gotten together upon the Walls, out of a Curioſity to ſee the Action, and inferring from the Countenance of Things, that the Day was as good as their own already. It came however to a terrible Slaughter; and in the mean Time, the Army being totally routed before the Town, had no other Retreat left them, but to fly back again to the City for Sanctuary: Which was the Courſe they ſteered; upon a Preſumption that the Place was ſtill in the ſame State they left it. But when they came to find it taken, their Houſes rifled and burnt, and their Wives and Children, either deſtroyed or Priſoners; the miſerable Remainder of them that ſcaped the Sword, were forced to betake themſelves to the wild Fields and Woods, for Refuge. It was an incredible Booty that was taken upon this Encounter: A World of Women, Children, and Bondſlaves; Plate, and coſtly Furniture, to a prodigious Value; a great many Flocks, and Herds of Cattle, and mighty Summs of Current Money. The Country, in ſhort, was exceſſively rich; and the whole Spoil of it was divided among the Soldiers, which were then encamped in *Galgala*.

Joſhua *takes* Ain. Joſh 8.

The Chanaanites *routed.*

An ineſtimable Booty.

When the [b] *Gibeonites* (being near Neighbours to *Jeruſalem*) came to underſtand the miſerable Condition of *Jericho* and *Ain*, they began to conſider that their own Turn might be next; but however, being prepoſſeſſed with an Expectation that the whole Nation of the *Chananites* were to be rooted out, they thought it not worth their while to make any barefac'd Application to the *Hebrews* for Favour. They called however upon their Neighbours the *Chephirites*, and thoſe of [c] *Kiriath-jearim*, to join with them in the Propoſal of a fair Alliance with the *Hebrews*. If they could obtain it; well and good, they ſaid; or if not, it was a Caſe common to them both, and they ſhould do well to unite in a common Defence. The Advice was found reaſonable, and ſo they diſpatched away an Embaſſy to *Joſhua*, of the fitteſt Men they could pick out to manage ſuch a Commiſſion. They had it in their Inſtructions, not upon any Terms to own themſelves for *Chanaanites*, but rather to let fall Words by the By, that they lived a great Way off, and had no Manner of dealing with thoſe People. *They had heard much*, 'tis true, *of the Reputation of the* Hebrews, and they were now come to attend their General upon this Occaſion. *It might be ſeen by their Cloaths, that they had come a great Way; for they were New when they ſet out, and they were now worn all to Pieces in their Journey.* And the Stuff of them was Courſe and Thread-bare too, for the better Credit of the Impoſture. In this Habit they preſented themſelves before the Aſſembly, with their Teſtimonials, that they came as Commiſſioners from the *Gibeonites*, and their neighbouring Cities to enter into a Treaty of Friendſhip with them, ſaving only the Rights and Privileges of their Country; for they found, that by God's Grace and Bounty,

The Gibeonites *ſtartled at the Fate of* Jericho *and* Ain.

Joſh. 9. *They ſend Deputies to* Joſhua.

The Deputies Inſtructions.

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[a] *Gr.* Ἄινα. *Scr.* Ai. Steph. Byzant. Ἄννα, *and* Berkelius *fancies it to be the ſame with* Κανὰ *and* Κάναθα *in* Joſephus. *See* Berkelius, *p.* 134. [b] Gr. Γαβαωνῖται. [c] Gr. Καριαθιαριμῖται.

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Joſhua ſtrikes up a League with them.

Joſhua's Miſtake.

Joſhua would come off, but cannot.

The Gibeonites made Drudgers.

they were put into the Land of *Chanaan*, wherein they gratulated their good Fortunes, deſiring only to be admitted as their Friends and Confederates; making an Oſtentation of their Rags all this while, as the Evidence of their Sincerity. *Joſhua* gave ſo much Credit to the Pretences, both of their Words, and Cloaths, that taking for granted they were not *Chanaanites*, he ſtruck up an Amity with them: The *High-Prieſt*, and the *Elders*, at the ſame Time giving them the Oaths of *Friends* and *Allies*, and that they ſhould never do any thing contrary to the Tenor of that Obligation. The Agreement was ſolemnly executed, in the Preſence, and with the Approbation of the whole Multitude. By this Artifice they gained their Point, and ſo returned to their own Home. It happened ſoon after this, that upon *Joſhua*'s drawing his Army to that Quarter of the *Chanaanites*, that looks toward the Plains; he was given to underſtand that theſe *Gibeonites* did not live far from *Jeruſalem*, and that they were of the ſame Stock with the *Chanaanites*: So he ſent for ſome of the chief Men of the Country to come to him, and told them plainly that they had not dealt with him like Men of Truth and Honour. They excuſed themſelves upon the Neceſſity of the Caſe; for *they had no Way elſe to be ſafe*, they ſaid. Upon this Difficulty, the *High-Prieſt*, and the *Elders* were conſulted, as to the Obligation of the Treaty, and were all poſitive in their Opinion, that an Oath ſo circumſtanced, and ſo ratified, was abſolutely ſacred, and inviolable: But that the Point might yet in ſome ſort be modiſied, by ſetting them apart for the doing of ſervile Offices in the publick Drudgery: Which was the Condition they ſtood afterwards condemned to; and upon thoſe Terms they were well enough content to compound for their Lives.

The King of Jeruſalem makes War upon the Gibeonites. Joſh. 10.

They ſend to Joſhua for Succour.

Joſhua relieves them, and routs the Enemy.

A terrible Tempeſt.

The Sun ſtands ſtill in his Courſe.

Five Kings taken, and put to Death in the Cave of Makkeda.

When the King of *Jeruſalem* came to be informed that the *Gibeonites* were revolted, and gone over into Alliance with the *Hebrews*, he took it ſo heinouſly, that he preſently ſent to four neighbouring Kings to join with him in a War againſt them. They debated the Matter, and came immediately to a Reſolution, drew their Troops together, and encamped near a certain Fountain not far from the City, which they were then preparing to beſiege; the *Gibeonites* applying themſelves to *Joſhua* for Aſſiſtance. Matters were now come to this Paſs, that they were to be ruined by their own People, and forced to fly for Protection to thoſe that were in Arms expreſly to deſtroy them. But ſo it was however, that they had no Hope of Safety under the Sun but in their new Friendſhip. Upon the firſt Intelligence of this Enterprize, *Joſhua* marched with his whole Army, Night and Day, to ſuccour the *Gibeonites*, and fell upon the Enemy early in the Morning, as they were juſt about to attack the Town, routed, and had the Chace of them along the Hills, till they came to the Valley of *Bethora*. The Hand of God was never more viſible in any humane Action than it was in this Battle; for, over and above the dreadful Thunder and Lightning of that Day, with a violent Tempeſt of Hailſtones of a prodigious Size, there was yet one Prodigy ſtranger than all the reſt, and ſuch a one as was never heard of before: The Sun it ſelf ſtood ſtill in the Firmament, that the *Hebrews* might not want Day-light for the perfecting of their Victory. Upon this Rout, the *five Kings* were purſued to the Cave of *Makkeda*, where they were found by *Joſhua* taken, and all put to Death. The Miracle of the lengthening of this Day beyond its natural Meaſure, and of the Sun's ſtopping in its Courſe, is moſt expreſly atteſted in the holy Scriptures, according to the Copies, reſerved in the Temple.

After this Defeat of the *five Kings* that made War upon the *Gibeonites*, *Joſhua* went back again to the mountainous Part of *Chanaan*, where he put a great many People to the Sword; ſeized a World of Cattle, and ſo went away with the Army to [a] *Gilgal*.

Joſh. 11.

A Confederacy of the Chanaanites againſt Joſhua.

An Army of 300000 Foot, 10000 Horſe, and 2000 Chariots.

The Fame of the *Hebrews* for their martial Exploits, and the Numbers of the ſlain, made ſo great a Noiſe every where, that the very Reputation of their Arms carried a Terror along with it. But this did not yet hinder the *Chanaanite Kings* of Mount *Libanus* and thereabouts, nor thoſe of the *Plains*, together with the *Philiſtines* from joyning in a Confederacy againſt them; for they drew their Forces together and encamped at [b] *Berothe*, a City of *Galilee*, not far from the *Upper Cædeſa*, which is alſo in the Country of *Galilee*. Their whole Strength was computed to amount to 300000 Foot, 10000 Horſe, and 2000 Chariots. The Thought of this formidable Power caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits, not only of the *Iſraelites* in general, but upon *Joſhua* himſelf, that the Dread they had for ſo unequal an Encounter, fell little ſhort of a downright Deſpair: But upon God's reproving them for their Faint-Heartedneſs and Diſtruſt; and encouraging them with freſh Aſſurances of Victory and Protection; commanding them likewiſe to hamſtring the

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[a] Gr. Γάλγαλα.

[b] Maſius *would have it* Meroth *and not* Beroth. *See his Comment upon* Joſhua, *c.* 11.

Enemies Horſes and burn their Chariots, the General took Heart upon it, and forthwith marched with a full Aſſurance of Succeſs toward the Enemy. Upon the fifth Day he came up to them, and fought them. The Encounter was obſtinate, and ſo bloody, that the Truth of the Action would be almoſt incredible; but however the Confederates were abſolutely broken; vaſt Numbers kill'd in the Purſuit; all the Kings ſlain, and the whole Army, in Effect, entirely cut off: Nay, ſuch was the Rage of the Victors againſt the conquer'd Party, that when they had no more Men to kill, they wreak'd their Fury upon the Horſes and Chariots. The Fortune, in Fine, of this Day, made *Joſhua* abſolute Maſter of the Country. He took their Towns; kill'd all he could come at; did what he thought fit, and no Creature left to oppoſe him. Their Country, in Short, was wholly depopulated, and the very Nation it ſelf extirpated, ſaving only ſome few Stragglers that had the good Hap to get out of the Way into ſtrong Holds, or to hide themſelves. And all theſe Diſtreſſes were but the miſerable Devaſtations of *one five Years War*.

A bloody Battle.

The Chanaanites *overthrown, and their Kings ſlain.*

Joſhua *lays the whole Country waſte.*

Upon this fatal Overthrow, *Joſhua* moved his Camp from *Gilgal* up the Mountains toward *Siloe*, where he planted the holy *Tabernacle*; with an Intent to wait a while there, for the firſt Opportunity of erecting a *Temple*: The Situation of the Place being both commodious and delicious, and in all Reſpects agreeable to the Deſign. From thence he took all the People along with him to *Sichem*, where he erected an *Altar*, as *Moſes* in Time paſt had foretold and appointed. This being done, he divided his Army: One Half he order'd to Mount *Garizim*, and the other to Mount [a] *Gibal*, where there was likewiſe another *Altar* built; the *Prieſts* and *Levites* being alſo divided. Here they offered their Sacrifices, and when they had denounced the Maledictions (formerly mentioned) and engraven them upon the *Altar*, they returned to *Siloe*.

Joſhua *marches from* Gilgal *toward* Siloe, *and build an Altar there* Joſh. 18.

Joſhua *erects another Altar at* Sichem, *and thence marches in two Bodies to Mount* Garizim *and* Gebal, *where they raiſe a third Altar.*

Joſhua was now far gone in Years, and conſidering that the *Chanaanites* had yet ſeveral Places of Strength left them, which, betwixt Art and Nature, were in a Manner impregnable; (for the *Chanaanites* had an Inkling by a Tradition from their Fathers, that a People out of *Ægypt* had a Deſign to over-run them, and therefore let no Time ſlip to ſecure and fortify themſelves:) *Joſhua*, I ſay, being aware of all this, call'd a general Aſſembly of the People to meet at *Siloe*, where the Appearance was very great; and all the People wonderfully unanimous and chearful. *Joſhua*, upon this Occaſion, ſumm'd up what he had to ſay in few Words, and laid the Matter in Hand before them. He gave them a ſhort Hiſtory of the great Things they had done, and ſucceeded in, already, by the Aſſiſtance of God's Favour and Protection, as a People that religiouſly obſerv'd his Laws. He minded them how God had given them Victory over *one and thirty Kings*, that had the Confidence to take up Arms againſt them; rooting out the very Generations of their moſt mighty Oppreſſors. But in Regard, that the Conqueſt was as yet but imperfect; ſome of their Cities being already taken, and a great many others remaining in their Hands that were better mann'd and fortify'd; and that it would be a Work of Time to reduce them, he thought it adviſeable, in the firſt Place to diſmiſs thoſe of their Friends that came from beyond *Jordan*, to join in the Riſque of the common Cauſe; and with all due Reſpects and Acknowledgments, to ſend them back to their own Lot again. And ſecondly, that Commiſſioners ſhould be choſen reſpectively out of every Tribe; Men of approved Skill and Integrity; and their Buſineſs ſhould be, to take an exact Survey of the Country, and to make a full Report of it without Fraud or Delay.

Joſhua *calls an Aſſembly at* Siloe:

And minds the People of the great Things God had done for them.

Joſhua *adviſes the diſmiſſing of the two Tribes and a Half that came from beyond* Jordan. Joſh. 18.

And the ſending of Commiſſioners to ſurvey the Country.

The People, every Man of them, were highly pleas'd with the Motion, and ſo *Joſhua* preſently order'd his Agents to enter upon the Work, appointing them for their Aſſiſtants, Men that were well ſkill'd in *Surveying*, and ſo could not well be impos'd upon, or miſled in the Account.

Commiſſioners are choſen.

They had it in their Inſtructions alſo, notwithſtanding the Survey upon Meaſure, to make a final Eſtimate upon the Quality or Goodneſs of the Land, as one Piece might fall out to be better or worſe than another; for there are in *Chanaan* a great many fair large Fields, that being put in Balance with ſome others, might be allow'd a Preference of profitable and fruitful; but upon confronting them with *Jericho* or *Jeruſalem*, they would be found comparatively to be little or nothing worth. The Country indeed is not large, and a good Part of it mountainous; but for the Plenty, Growth, and Beauty of the Productions, no Place whatſoever goes beyond it. For this Reaſon it was concluded, not to value the Lots barely by the Meaſure, but by the Virtue of them: For one Acre ſometimes might fall out to be worth a thouſand. There were ten Men employ'd upon this Commiſſion to anſwer the ſame Number of Tribes concern'd in the Queſtion. Theſe ten Commiſſioners took both a View and an Eſtimate of the Country, and within ſeven Months after,

With Inſtructions to make an Eſtimate not upon Quantity, but Equivalence.

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[a] *Scr. Ebal.*

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The Tabernacle *at* Siloe.

they came back again with the whole State of the Computation to *Siloe*, which was at that Time the Seat of the *Tabernacle*.

Joſh. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19. *A Partition of the Whole by Lot into nine Parts, to anſwer the nine Tribes and Half.*

Joſhua then calling to his Aſſiſtance *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt*, with the *Elders*, and *Princes* of the *Tribes*, made a Partition of the Whole, into ſo many Shares, to be divided among *nine Tribes*, and *one Half Tribe* of *Manaſſes*; every one to have in Proportion, according to the Rate and Equity of the Diſtribution.

The Lot of Judah.

Upon putting it to the *Lot*, the Tribe of *Judah* had for *their Lot* all the *Upper Judæa*, reaching in Length to *Jeruſalem*, and in Breadth to the Lake of *Sodom*: Comprehending alſo the Cities of *Aſcalon* and *Gaza*.

Simeon.

The Tribe of *Simeon*, had that Part of *Idumæa* which borders upon *Ægypt* and *Arabia*.

Benjamin.

The Tribe of *Benjamin*, had that Part of the Country that ſtretches out in Length from the River *Jordan* to the Sea; and in Breadth, from *Jeruſalem* to *Bethel*. This is a ſmall Territory, but the Quality makes amends for the Quantity; for *Jericho* and *Jeruſalem* are comprized in it.

Ephraim.

The Tribe of *Ephraim* had for their Lot the Country in Length from *Jordan* to *Gadara*, and in Breadth from *Bethel* to the large *Plain*

The Half Tribe of Manaſſes.

The Half Tribe of *Manaſſes* had their Lot, Length-ways, from *Jordan* to the City *Dora*; and Breadth-ways, to *Bethſana*, which is now known by the Name of *Scythopolis*.

Iſſachar.

The Tribe of *Iſſachar* had for their Lot, all betwixt *Jordan* and Mount *Carmel*, which reaches out in Breadth, to Mount [a] *Itabyr*.

Zabulon.

The Tribe of *Zabulon* had for its Lot, the whole Country that borders upon Mount *Carmel*, and the *Sea*, and ſo far as *Genezareth*.

Aſſer.

The Tribe of *Aſſer* had for their Lot, the Country behind Mount *Carmel* over-againſt *Sidon*, reckoning the City of [b] *Arce* alſo; otherwiſe *Actipus*.

Nephthali.

The Tribe of *Nephtali* had for their Lot, the *Upper Galilee*; and the Country Eaſtward to the City of *Damaſcus*, Mount *Libanus*, and the Head of the River *Jordan*, which has its Riſe from that Side of it that borders upon the City *Arce* toward the *North*.

Dan.

The Tribe of *Dan* had the Vallies toward the *Weſt*, which are bounded by *Azotus* and *Dora*; and to them likewiſe belong the Cities of *Jamnia* and *Gittha*, and the whole Country from *Aceron* to the Mountain, where the Portion of the Tribe of *Judah* begins.

The Amorites *Country already diſpos'd of.*

This was the Diviſion that *Joſhua* made of ſix Provinces of the *Chanaanites*, that took their Names from ſo many of the Sons of *Chanaan*: And of this Country did he deliver the Poſſeſſion to the aforeſaid *nine Tribes and a Half*: But as to *Amorrhæa*, ſo call'd from one of the Sons of *Chanaan*, *Moſes* had diſpoſed of it long ſince to the *two other Tribes and a Half*, as we have ſhew'd above: But then the Regions of the *Sidonians*, the *Arucæans*, *Amathæans*, and *Arithæans*, are not to be reckon'd into this Diviſion, not being at that Time inhabited.

Joſhua *charges all the Tribes utterly to root out the* Chanaanites.

While *Joſhua* was now ſtruggling with the Infirmities of old Age, and the Cares of the Government, he found evidently that as he was no longer able to diſcharge the Offices of his Function in his own Perſon, ſo there was no depending, either upon thoſe that acted for him, or thoſe that were to ſucceed him in the publick Adminiſtration; for they had no Regard at all, he ſaw, to the common Good. Wherefore he gave it in Charge to every Tribe reſpectively, not to ſuffer any Thing of the Race of the *Chanaanites* in the Land where they had to do; minding them how ſolemnly *Moſes* had declar'd himſelf in this Matter, to whoſe Advice and Opinion he doubted not of their giving both Heed and Credit: Beſide, that their own Security, and that of their Laws, Rights, and Religion, depended all upon it, and that he had Experience, as well as Authority for what he ſaid. He enjoyn'd them farther, to deliver up to the *Levites* the *thirty eight Cities* that were deſign'd them, being in Poſſeſſion of ten already in [c] *Amorrhæa*, on the other Side of the River. Three of theſe were to be Cities of Privilege or Refuge. In the Tribe of *Judah*, the City of *Hebron*; in that of *Ephraim*, *Sichem*; and in the third of *Nephthali*, [d] *Cedeſe* in the *Upper Galilee*: To all which they readily agreed, out of a Veneration they had for the Obſervance of the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Moſes*. He proceeded after this, to a Diſtribution of the Booty, which, in Herds and Flocks, Money, Plate, Furniture, and other Pillage, amounted to a Value not to be imagin'd, for it was a large and plentiful Country, and the *Iſraelites*, one and all, from the higheſt to the loweſt made their Fortunes out of the Spoil.

Joſh. 20, 21.

Cities of Sanctuary, Hebron, Sichem, *and* Cedeſe.

A Diſtribution of the Booty.

Joſh. 23.

The next Thing *Joſhua* had to do, was the calling together of his Auxiliaries that came to him from beyond *Jordan*, and had their Part in the Honour of his late Conqueſt. They were computed to be a Matter of 50000 Men, and upon their meeting, *Joſhua* deliver'd himſelf to them to this Effect.

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[a] *Or* Tabor.

[b] *See* Berkelius's *Notes upon* Steph. Byzant. *p.* 76, 167.

[c] *The Land of the* Amorites.

[d] *Or* Cades.

late

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Joſhua's ſpeech to his Troops from beyond Jordan.

Joſhua diſcharges his Auxiliaries.

“ Since it hath been the good Will and Pleaſure of our heavenly Lord and Fa-
“ ther, Firſt to put us in the Poſſeſſion of this Land; and then, to promiſe the
“ Continuance of it to our Poſterity; and ſince God has been likewiſe pleaſed to make
“ Uſe of your ready and chearful Aſſiſtance toward the Execution of this holy
“ Purpoſe, it is but Reaſon, for you that have born ſo great a Part in the Dangers
“ and Difficulties of this War, to put in for a Share alſo in the Comforts and Bleſ-
“ ſings of a common Peace: To which End, we think it but Juſtice to diſcharge
“ you from any farther Attendance at preſent; not doubting of the ſame Affection
“ and Good-Will from you for the future, if ever there ſhould be ſuch another
“ Occaſion. We are now to give you a thouſand Acknowledgments for all the
“ Toils and Hazards you have hitherto undergone with us; and pray let the Senſe
“ of good Offices gone and paſt, be improv'd into a mutual, and an inviolable
“ League of Friendſhip for the Time to come; remembring that we ſtand indebted for
“ the Advantages that at this Inſtant we enjoy, next under God, to the Force of
“ this reciprocal Aſſiſtance; and that Providence hath evidently made us neceſ-
“ ſary one to another. It may be conſider'd alſo, after all you have done and ſuf-
“ fer'd, that your Services are not unrewarded, ſo far at leaſt as an ineſtimable
“ Booty in Gold, Silver, and whatever elſe is moſt precious, may paſs for a Recom-
“ pence: Beſide the engaging of a Friend, in me, that will never forget the Re-
“ ſpect; for you have moſt religiouſly executed the laſt Will of *Moſes*, and left
“ nothing undone that I could take kindly at your Hands. Wherefore I ſhall now
“ leave you at Liberty to depart to the Lot of your Inheritance, which I wiſh you
“ much Joy in. But pray ye, let no Diſtance of Place ſet Limits to our Friendſhip;
“ the Interpoſition of Rivers muſt never divide our Affections; for on which Bank
“ ſoever, we are all *Hebrews* ſtill. *Abraham* was the common Father of us all, let
“ our Abode be where it will, and it was from one and the ſame God that all our
“ Forefathers received their Being: And that God we are all to worſhip, according
“ to the Ordinances and Inſtitutions left us by *Moſes*. So long as we ſtand firm to
“ that Way of Religion, we may be ſure of the Favour and Protection of that God
“ for our Comfort. But whenever you apoſtatize into a Hankering after *Strange*
“ *Gods*, the God of your Fathers will caſt you off.” With theſe Words, he took a
ſolemn and diſtinct Leave, both of the Princes, and of the People to whom he ad-
dreſs'd his Speech; who upon this Diſmiſſion return'd to the Place whence they
came, the reſt conducting them ſome Part of their Way, till after much Weeping and
Reluctancy, they came with great Difficulty in the End to a final Separation; *Joſhua*
continuing ſtill in the ſame Place where he was.

Joſhua's laſt Adieu to his Friends from beyond Jordan.

Joſh. 22. *An Altar erected in Memory of the League between the Borderers on both Sides the River.*

The Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* were no ſooner paſs'd the River, with thoſe of *Manaſſes* that follow'd them, but they erected an *Altar* upon the farther Bank, to remain as a monumental Record to Poſterity of the Allyance that was then contracted betwixt the Borderers on both Sides of the *Jordan*. The News of this *Altar* was immediately carry'd over to their Friends on the other Side of the Water, without one Word of the Intent and Meaning of it; which put their Aſſociates into ſo outragious a Jealouſie of their Confederates, as Apoſtates and Innovators, that they preſently betook themſelves to their Arms, for the Vindication of the Worſhip and Religion of their Forefathers; and to avenge the Cauſe of God upon the Heads, and Authors of this Defection. In this Heat they took up a Reſolution, with Sword in Hand to paſs the River, and to do Juſtice upon the Principals of this Deſertion, without any Reſpect to the Dignity of Perſons, or the Nearneſs of Relations; for it was God's Cauſe, they ſaid, and in the Caſe of his Service, they were abſolv'd from all other Obligations. In the Flame of this Tranſport, the General, the High Prieſt, and the Elders, betwixt Authority and Advice, ſo far prevail'd upon the headſtrong Multitude, as to ſuſpend the Execution of ſo extravagant a Revenge, till they might be certainly inform'd, whether their Brethren were guilty of this Abomination or not: And if they found them guilty, they ſhould be then left at Liberty to fall upon them without Mercy. They agreed to the Motion, and ſo made Choice of *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, and ten other Perſons of eminent Note among the People, to go over to their Country-men, and learn what was the true End of building that *Altar*. They departed upon this Errand, and ſo ſoon as ever they got croſs the Water, there was ſummon'd an Aſſembly, wherein *Phineas* diſcharg'd himſelf of his Commiſſion in Words to this Effect.

A violent Jealouſie upon the raiſing of this Altar. The People betake themſelves to their Arms upon it.

Phineas, *and ten eminent Men ſent upon an Embaſſy to the diſcontented Tribes.*

An Aſſembly call'd.

Phineas *to the* Reubenites.

“ We underſtand very well, that the Crime charg'd upon you at Preſent is too
“ heinous to be puniſh'd only with Words; but yet we have not taken up Arms
“ now, Hand over Head, to execute a Vengeance according to the Degree of the Ini-

“ quity: For it is out of Reſpect to our Allies, and in Hope that ſecond and ſounder Thoughts may bring you to better Reaſon, that we are engaged upon this Embaſſy, and to ſpeak in this Aſſembly: We do but deſire to be ſincerely inform'd, upon what Motives, and with what Deſign, you have now raiſed this *Altar*. If you have done it out of any pious End, we have no Quarrel to you; but if you are gone over to a falſe Worſhip, it is for our God and our Religion, that we muſt draw our Swords againſt you. We ſpeak our Fears; for we cannot think it credible yet, that a People ſo well inſtructed in the Will, and in the Laws of God; our Friends and Allies, that we have but juſt now parted with; a People newly eſtabliſhed in the Lot of a plentiful Poſſeſſion, by God's ſpecial Grace and Providence: We cannot, I ſay, believe you to be ſo inſenſible and ungrateful, as to abandon the holy *Tabernacle*, the *Ark*, the *Altar*, and the Worſhip of your Forefathers, to joyn with the *Chanaanites* in the Adoration of their falſe Gods: Or if unhappily you ſhould have been ſo miſled, do but repent and diſclaim your Error, and return to that Reverence you owe to the Laws of God, and of your Country, and you ſhall be yet received. But if you ſhall obſtinately perſiſt, there is no Labour or Danger that we ſhall think too great for the Defence of our Laws and Worſhip. If that be the Caſe, we muſt immediately break in upon you by Force of Arms, and put no Difference at all, betwixt *Apoſtate Iſraelites*, and *profeſs'd Chanaanites*: But deſtroy the one indifferently with the other. Do not perſuade your ſelves, that becauſe you are out of our Bounds, and a River betwixt us, you are therefore out of the Reach of God's Power, and Providence; for you are upon his Ground wherever you are, and under his Juriſdiction. If you are not able to withſtand the Temptations of the Place you live in, take your Fortune in a new Diviſion of Lands, and quit the Country, let it be never ſo fruitful. Be wiſe, and temperate in Time, and do not ſuffer your ſelves to be carry'd away with a Hankering after new Things. This we beg of you, for the Sake of your Wives and Children, and whatever elſe may be dear to you: Do not force us upon the Neceſſity of ſuch a War, as we tremble at the very Thought of: But it is at your Choice ſtill, whether you will rather ſubmit to be overcome by reaſonable Words, or to put the main Cauſe to the Dint of a Battle.

When *Phineas* had made an End of ſpeaking, the Rulers of the Aſſembly, in the Name of themſelves, and of the whole Multitude, inſiſted much upon their common Juſtification, and returned Anſwer as follows.

The Reubenites' *reply.*

“We are not conſcious of having ever departed from your Alliance; neither are we, in any Sort, guilty of that Affectation of Novelty in the erecting of this *Altar*, which is now charged upon us. We know but *one God*; and that God is the God of all the *Hebrews*: And but *one Altar*, which is the *brazen Altar* before the *Tabernacle*. As for *this Altar* here, which, we are ſuſpected for, it was never intended for any religious Uſe, but only for a civil Memorial to future Times of our Fellowſhip and Allyance; and rather to keep us ſteady to our ancient Religion, then to be any Ways introductive to the Violation of it. We can ſafely appeal to God that we had no ſuch Thought in the ſetting up of this *Altar* as is imputed to us: Wherefore pray have a better Opinion of your Brethren for the Future, than to think us guilty of ſo mortal an Apoſtaſy from the Rites and Cuſtoms of our Progenitors; a Sin not to be expiated, in any of the Sons of *Abraham*, but with the Loſs of his Life.

All miſunderſtandings remov'd.

Phineas was overjoy'd at ſo firm and ſatisfactory a Declaration, and returning immediately to *Joſhua*, gave him a particular Account of every Thing, in the hearing of the People; who were all infinitely pleaſed with the Reſult of this Embaſſy; when they ſaw Things brought to ſo amicable a Concluſion, without any Danger of a civil War, or of Bloodſhed: Hereupon they ſacrificed, and gave God Thanks; after which, *Joſhua* diſmiſs'd the Multitude to their ſeveral Homes, while he himſelf took up his Abode in *Sichem*.

Joſhua *takes up at* Sichem.

Joſhua *extremely old.*

He appoints a general Aſſembly.

Joſ. 24.

Joſhua, *upon God's Mercies and Providence.*

In the twentieth Year after this, *Joſhua* being now extremely old, and quite out of Condition for publick Buſineſs, he call'd a general Aſſembly of the Heads of the Cities, the Elders, and Magiſtrates, and as many of the common People as could poſſibly be gotten together upon that Occaſion. At this meeting he made them a pious, and a pertinent Diſcourſe, upon the ſubject of God's infinite Mercies and Providences towards them: “Setting forth, how he had preſerv'd them all in their Calamities; relieved them in all their Wants and Diſtreſſes; and now advanced them at laſt, out of the moſt deſpicable Condition of Ignominy, Penury, and Oppreſſion, to the higheſt Degree of Reputation and Plenty. He laid it as an Injunction upon them for the Future, ſo to behave themſelves toward that God, that they might not loſe his Favour; minding them withall, that they had no

“ other Way of preſerving themſelves, than by leading their Lives in the Fear and “ Love of that *Almighty Power*, and in the Obſervance of his Commandments. He “ adjured them alſo, to take thoſe his laſt Words and Counſels in good Part; for he “ was now leaving the World, and could not end his Days better than in the Diſ- “ charge of that Duty.

The Death of Joſhua.

Joſhua’s *Character.*

The Death of Eleazar *the High-Prieſt.*

With theſe Words betwixt his Lips, he departed this Life, in the *hundred and tenth Year* of his Age, having ſpent *forty* of them under the Diſcipline of *Moſes*, and *twenty ſix* Years more in the Adminiſtration, as his Succeſſor, after his Death. He was a Man of political Prudence, and endu’d alſo with a ſingular Felicity of popular Eloquence in expreſſing his Thoughts; brave and indefatigable in War, and no leſs juſt and dextrous in Peace; and in Short, a Perſon qualify’d for all great Purpoſes He was bury’d in [a] *Thamna*, a City belonging to the Tribe of *Ephraim*. *Eleazar* the High-Prieſt dy’d alſo about the ſame Time: The Prieſthood deſcending by Succeſſion to his Son *Phineas*. His Sepulchre is at this Day to be ſeen in the City *Gabatha*.

The War proſecuted againſt the Chanaanites.

After the Death of *Joſhua* and *Eleazar*, the People conſulted *Phineas* about God’s farther Will and Pleaſure in the Proſecution of the War againſt the *Chanaanites*; whoſe Anſwer was, that they ſhould go on with it; but that the ſovereign Command and Direction of it ſhould be committed to the Tribe of *Judah*; who engaging that of *Simeon* to their Aſſiſtance, undertook the War: Upon Condition, that after a total Extirpation of the *Chanaanites* out of the former Tribe, the other ſhould ſee the ſame Thing done in theirs too, according to that Example.

CHAP. II.

Adonibezec *defeated, and taken Priſoner.* Jeruſalem *beſieg’d.* Hebron *taken. A diſmal Story of a* Levite *and his Wife. A dreadful civil War.*

The Chanaanites *march againſt the* Iſraelites *under King* Adonibezec.

Judges 1.

The Chanaanites *defeated; 10000 kill’d; and* Adonibezec *taken Priſoner,*

Siege laid to Jeruſalem, *and the Lower Town taken.*

The Siege rais’d: And Hebron *taken by Aſſault.*

Caleb *one of* Moſes’s *Spies.*

A Dividend of Land among Jethro’s *Children.*

THE *Chanaanites* were at this Time very ſtrong; and waiting with a great Army [b] near the City of *Bezec*, under the Command of *Adonibezec*, (that is to ſay, in *Hebrew*, *Lord of Bezec*) to give the *Iſraelites* Battle. The Thing they moſt depended upon for Encouragement and Hope of Succeſs, was the *Iſraelites* Diſappointment in the Loſs of their General; but the two foreſaid Tribes, encountering them, after a glorious Combat, kill’d 10000 upon the Spot, and had the Chace of the reſt. Their Leader *Adonibezec* they took Priſoner, and cut off his Fingers and Toes; wherein he acknowledged the juſt Judgment of God upon him, having formerly ſerved *ſeventy two Kings* himſelf after the ſame Manner. They carry’d him off alive, with theſe Maims upon him, toward *Jeruſalem*, where he dy’d, and there they bury’d him: The *Iſraelites* roving up and down, after this, and ravaging the Country; taking alſo, and deſtroying Town after Town, till in the End they laid Siege to *Jeruſalem* it ſelf. They made themſelves Maſters of the lower Town, putting all they found in it to the Sword; but for the City it ſelf, that ſtood above, what with artificial Fortifications, the Strength of the Walls, and the natural Site of the Place, it was ſo ſtrong, that they were forc’d to quit it, and remove to *Hebron*, which they enter’d by Aſſault, and cut off all before them, without giving any Quarter. There were found among the Slain, divers Bodies of the Race of the Giants, which for Bulk, Stature, and Countenance, were ſo much differing from the ordinary Appearance of other Men, that the very People that ſaw them, could hardly believe them to be of humane Extraction; for they had quite another Sort of Voice, and Aſpect; and there are of their Bones expoſed for a Kind of Prodigy, even to this Day. This Town, being a Place of Conſideration, was given to the *Levites*, with 2000 Cubits of Ground about it; the remaining Part of the Territory belonging to it being given to *Caleb* by the Fore-Appointment of *Moſes*. Now this *Caleb* was one of the Spies that had been formerly ſent by *Moſes* for Diſcovery into the Land of *Chanaan*. There was a Dividend given alſo to the Sons of *Jethro*, the *Madianite*, *Moſes*’s Father-in-Law, who abandon’d their native Country to join in the Expedition, and to bear their Part with the Adventurers in all the Difficulties and Hazards of the War, and of the Deſert.

Several Canaanite *Cities taken; as* Aſcalon, Azotus, *&c.*

Theſe two Tribes took ſeveral of the *Chanaanite* Cities upon the Mountains; and ſome others upon the Plain alſo, near the Sea, as *Aſcalon*, and *Azotus:* But for *Gaza* and *Acaron*, that lay in the flat Country, and were ſtrong in Chariots, which was a deſperate Way of fighting; theſe Cities made Good their Defence, and ſcap’d better than many of their Neighbours.

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[a] *Scr.* Timnath. Scrah. *Notes*, p. 373.

[b] *Gr.* Ζεβίκη, *and ſo* Steph. Byzant. *reads it. That it ſhould be* Βεζίκη Berkelius *has ſhewn in his*

The Tribes of Judah, *and* Simeon *betake themſelves to the Arts and Buſineſs of Peace.*
Judges 2.
The Benjamites *make the People of* Jeruſalem *Tributaries.*

The two enterprizing Tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, being now grown prodigiouſly rich by the Spoil of the War, withdrew by degrees to a private Retreat; laid down their Arms, and betook themſelves to the Arts and Buſineſs of good Husbandry and Peace. The *Benjamites*, to whoſe Lot *Jeruſalem* fell, came to an agreement with the Inhabitants, upon a Compoſition, and ſo under the Protection of Tributaries, both ſides thought themſelves ſecure; the one from Violence, and the other from Sedition; and in this proſpect of Tranquillity, they apply'd themſelves to the cultivating of the Land under their Care. The ſame Thing was alſo done by other Tribes after the Example of the *Benjamites*, contenting themſelves upon the ſame Conditions of Taxes and Tributes, to let the *Chanaanites* enjoy themſelves in Peace.

Other Tribes do the like.

Bethel betray'd to the Iſraelites *by a Wile.*

The Tribe of *Ephraim* had been now a long while before *Bethel*, without making any great advance toward the taking of it, conſidering how much Time and Trouble the Siege had coſt them; for they made a very obſtinate Defence on the one ſide, and the Work was as reſolutely carry'd on by the other: But it ſo fell out at laſt, that a Townſman of the Place fell into the Hands of the *Ephraimites*, as he was conveying Proviſion into the City. They treated with him, and came in the End to an Agreement upon Oath on both ſides; the Citizen to let them ſecretly into the Town, and the *Ephraimites* to ſave him, and his Friends, and Relations upon their entering the City, which was performed on both Parts; the *Ephraimites* being introduced, and the Citizen and his Friends preſerv'd, but all the reſt put to the Sword; the *Ephraimites* now remaining Maſters of the City.

The Iſraelites *relent toward the* Chanaanites.

The Iſraelites *diſpenſe with God's Order.*

The Hearts of the *Iſraelites* began now to ſoften toward the People of *Chanaan*, and inſtead of extirpating them by the Proſecution of a War, they bethought themſelves rather how to make advantage of their Labour, in planting and tillage, by the good Husbandry of an Induſtrious Peace: But their Hearts being ſet upon Wealth, and Pleaſure, they preſently gave up themſelves to their Luſts and Appetites, without any regard at all to God's Will and Worſhip, or to the Laws and Diſcipline of their Anceſtors. God, in his Wrath, for theſe Indignities gave them to underſtand that they had none of his Commiſſion for the ſparing of the *Chanaanites*, and that it would not be long before they ſhould pay dear for that unſeaſonable Mercy, by Cruelties they ſhould ſuffer from the *Chanaanites* themſelves. They were ſtartled at this Revelation, but not enough yet to advance a War upon it; Religion being the leaſt Thing in their Thought; and as to the Matter of any military Exploit, their Luxury had quite unman'd them; beſide the Temptation of the great Advantage they made of the *Chanaanites* Tribute and Labour.

A total Diſſolution of Government, and good Manners.

The Form of the Government was depraved; the Authority of the Elders ſlighted; the Choice of the Senators, and other Magiſtrates, nothing ſo regular as formerly; but every Man for his own private Ends, and no Care at all taken for the publick. In the Courſe of this Diſſolution of Government and good Manners, there happen'd an Occaſion of a terrible Sedition, which ſoon after brake forth into a Civil War, and the Caſe was this.

The Hiſtory of the Levite *and his Wife.*
Judges 19.

There was within the Lot of *Ephraim*, a certain *Levite*, of an ordinary Extraction that marry'd a Wife of the City of *Bethlem*, belonging to the tribe of *Judah*. She was wonderfully beautiful; and the Man had a paſſionate Tenderneſs for her; but to his great Affliction, ſhe made him little or no Return of his Kindneſs. This Diſagreement begat daily Diſputes and Wrangles, inſomuch, that the Woman, under an Impatience of theſe Expoſtulations, went away from her Husband in the fourth Month after they were marry'd, to her own Parents. The Husband, out of his infinite Affection, poſted after her, to her Father's Houſe, where he was received with all Hoſpitality and Affection, and Matters made up again betwixt him and his Wife. When he had been there preciſely four Days, he propoſed upon the fifth to be going Home again: But Friends were loth to part, and ſo they made it late before they ſet out; they went their Way however, He, and his Wife together, with only one Servant, and an Aſs for the Woman to ride upon. When they had travelled a matter of thirty Furlongs, and being then not far from *Jeruſalem*, the Servants adviſed them to take up a Lodging ſomewhere near Hand, before it was too late, to avoid the Danger of travelling in the Night; eſpecially in an Enemy's Country; beſide that late Hours are ſuſpicious, even among Friends: But the Husband had no mind to put himſelf among Strangers; and the City was at that Time in Poſſeſſion of the *Chanaanites*: So that he choſe rather to venture twenty Furlongs farther, where he might lodge among his Friends and Allies. Travelling forward to *Gabaa*, a City belonging to the Tribe of *Benjamin*; it was ſo late, that he was at a Loſs for a Lodging. It happen'd however that an ancient Man of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, coming juſt at that Time out of the Country to a Houſe he had at [a] *Gabaa*, ſaw this Man, and ask'd him what he was, and what made him abroad at ſo unſeaſonable an

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[a] *See* Berkelius's *Notes upon* Steph. Byzant. *v.* Γάβα.

Hour. He told him that he was a *Levite*, and carrying his Wife Home with him from her Father's, to his own Houſe, in the Lot of *Ephraim.* The old Man, for Tribe, and Relation-ſake, and likewiſe for the Sake of Hoſpitality it ſelf, took the *Levite* along with him. Some young Men of the Town taking Notice, it ſeems, of the *Levite*'s Wife in the Street, for a very beautiful Woman, trac'd her to the Houſe of this ancient Man; rapt at the Door, and demanded the Woman. The People of the Houſe were not able to make any conſiderable Oppoſition; but the old Man ſpar'd for no Importunities to perſuade them to Moderation, and quietly to go their Ways, without offering any Violence, or Indignity to his Gueſt. All the Anſwer they could get, was this; *Let him deliver up the Woman, and he ſhall have no farther Trouble.* The other pleaded the Relation of a Kinſwoman, the Wife of a *Levite*, and laid great Streſs upon the Hideouſneſs of ſo brutal an Outrage, under ſo many tender Circumſtances, againſt all the Laws of Religion, Honour, Humanity, and common Juſtice. But the Gravity of theſe Reaſonings and Counſels ſerv'd only for Matter of Deriſion, with bloody Oaths in the Concluſion, that they would either have the Woman, or cut his Throat. When the good Man found himſelf brought to the laſt Neceſſity, either of yielding, or compounding, he made them an Offer of his own Daughter in Exchange for that Stranger, as the leſs Evil of the two; for this Way, he did but ſacrifice the Reputation of a private Family; whereas in violating the Rights of Hoſpitality, he ſhould have been Guilty of an Affront upon the publick Faith of humane Society. But Supplications, and Arguments, were to no Manner of Purpoſe with Men ſo peremptorily reſolved upon *that* Woman, and that no other ſhould content them. In this Heat, they took her away by Force, to their own Quarters, where they ſpent that whole Night in all manner of beſtial Liberties, and then ſent her back again next Morning. She fell into ſuch a Confuſion of Thought upon her Return, for what had befall'n her that Night, that betwixt Shame and Indignation, it brake the very Heart of her. As to her Husbands Part, ſhe looked upon the Wound to be utterly incurable, and had not the Confidence, ſo much as to look him in the Face after it, but as ſhe came near him, ſhe fell down upon the Ground and dy'd. Her Husband took it at firſt, only for an Oppreſſion of Wearineſs for Want of Sleep; or at the worſt, but for ſome fainting Fit: And ſo he try'd to wake her, and bring her to her ſelf again, by telling her for her Comfort, that this Violence had not at all derogated from the Dignity of her unſpotted Innocence, and Virtue. But all this came too late; for the Woman was dead; and the Levite behaved himſelf with a wonderful Preſence and Conſtancy of Mind upon it, conſidering the Quality of ſo mortal a Surprize. He picked up the Body of his dead Wife; laid it upon his Aſs, and carry'd it directly Home with him. Being come to his own Houſe, he divided the Body into twelve Parts, to be diſtributed among the twelve Tribes, ſending every Tribe one of them. The ſeveral Bearers had their Inſtructions to acquaint the Tribes where they went, with the whole Hiſtory of this Villany; the Authors of it, and the barbarous Circumſtances of the Fact itſelf. They all agreed the Wickedneſs to be ſo far beyond Example, that the like was never ſeen or heard of before. The Horror, in Short, of this Action, tranſported them into ſuch a Rage, that they immediately gather'd together in *Siloe* before the *Tabernacle*, with a Reſolution, the firſt Thing they did, to aſſault *Gabaa*. The Elders, upon this, put a little Check to the firſt Heat, by telling them that "it would not do well, Hand over Head thus to make a War "upon their Allies, without a ſtrict Enquiry firſt into the Merits of the Cauſe: a "Thing, *they ſaid*, that the Laws and Practices of the *Iſraelites* would not allow, "even towards Strangers, without ſome previous Embaſſy, or Treaty to bring the "Matter itſelf, if poſſible, to ſome reaſonable Terms of Satisfaction, or Compoſition. Wherefore the beſt Way would be, in Purſuance of this legal Method, "to ſend to the *Gibeonites* to demand the Criminals that committed this Inſolence: "In Caſe they give them up, you may puniſh them; if they refuſe, you are then at "Liberty to do your ſelves Right by Force of Arms.

The execrable Lewdneſs of the Gibeonites *to the* Levite's Wife.

The Levite's Wife *falls dead with Shame and Confuſion.*

Ju

The Levite cuts the Body into twelve Pieces, and ſends it to the Twelve Tribes.

Upon this Motion, they ſent to the *Gibeonites* to deliver up the profligate Malefactors that had committed this brutal Violence upon the *Levite's* Wife, that Juſtice might be done upon them. They demanded thoſe individual Men, they ſaid; becauſe they would not involve the publick in a particular Cauſe. Upon the Reſult, the *Gibeonites* would not give up the Malefactors, nor did they think it honourable, for Fear of a War, to ſubmit to Rules of other Peoples preſcribing. *They wanted neither Courage, Skill, nor Numbers,* they ſaid; the whole Tribe declaring themſelves to be all of a Piece, and all of a Mind, *and reſolved to ſtand by one another to the laſt Man in the Cauſe of a common Defence.*

The Iſraelites *demand the Perſons of the Criminals.*

The Gibeonites *refuſe to deliver up the Raviſhers.*

The Iſraelites *make an Oath not to intermarry with the* Benjamites.
And march againſt them with 400000 *fighting* Men.
The Iſraelites *routed, and loſe* 22000 *upon the Place.*
The Iſraelites *loſe* 18000 *more upon a ſecond Battle.*

The *Iſraelites* were ſo diſguſted upon the Report of this Anſwer, that they preſently entered into an Oath not to intermarry with the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and to carry on as fierce a War againſt the *Benjamites*, as ever their Fore-Fathers did againſt the *Chanaanites*. Upon this Occaſion, they took the Field with an Army of 400000 fighting Men. The Strength of the *Benjamites* was 25600, in which Number there were 500 *Left-handed* Slingers, that were all excellent Marksmen. The two Armies fought near *Gabaa*; where the *Iſraelites* were routed by the *Benjamites* with the Loſs of two and twenty thouſand upon the Place, and the Slaughter had been much greater, if the the Night had not parted them. The *Iſraelites* returning to the Body of their Army in a Confuſion, upon the Senſe of this Diſaſter, while the *Benjamites* went back again to the City in Triumph: It came to a ſecond Battle the next Day again, when the *Iſraelites* loſt 18000 Men more; and theſe two Diſaſters ſtruck them with ſuch a Terror, that they quitted their Camp, and moved a little Way off to *Bethel*, where they ſpent the next Day in Faſting and Prayer; beſeeching Almighty God by the Mouth of *Phineas* the High-Prieſt, that he would be pleaſed, after the Judgment of two ſuch Overthrows, to put a ſtop to the Courſe of his high Diſpleaſure, and grant them Victory over their Enemies.

The Iſraelites *draw the* Benjamites *into an Ambuſh.*
Only ſix hundred of them eſcape to the Mountains.
25000 Benjamites *cut off.*
Judges, 21.
Jabes *taken and all put to the Sword but* 400 *Virgins.*

Their Prayers being heard, and a favourable Anſwer return'd to them by the ſame Prophet, they divided their Army into two Bodies; one Half they planted in certain Ambuſhes about the City, while the other ſtood drawn up in Readineſs to give the Enemy Battle. The *Iſraelites*, upon the firſt Charge, gave Way, not that they were not able to ſtand the Shock; but, in Truth, with a Deſign to draw the *Benjamites* farther off from the Town: So that the *Iſraelites* by little and little, loſt Ground, and ſtill as the one plyed, the other, in Proportion, preſſed ſo much the harder upon them: Inſomuch, that the People of the Town looked upon it as a Defeat, rather than a Diſpute, and came trooping out young and old, without any Doubt of a Victory, to put in for their Part of the Spoil. When the *Benjamites* were gotten far enough from Home, and within Reach of the Ambuſh, the *Iſraelites* faced about; rallied, and charged, giving the Signal at the ſame Time to their Companions, to fall upon the Rear. This Surprize put the *Benjamites* into ſo deſperate a Streight, that they were forced to retire into a Bottom, where they were ſurrounded and deſtroyed like ſo many Beaſts in a Toyle: Only a ſelect Body of ſix hundred reſolute Men cut their Way through the Middle of the Enemies Troops up to a Mountain there at Hand, where they poſted themſelves for the preſent, and ſo eſcaped. All the reſt periſhed, to the Number of about Five and twenty thouſand Men. The *Iſraelites*, after this, burnt *Gaba*, ſparing neither Men, Women, nor Male-Children, and they did the like too in ſeveral other of the *Benjamite* Cities. Nay, ſo mortal was the Animoſity they had contracted in this Quarrel, that they ſent twelve thouſand Men againſt [a] *Jabes*, a City of *Gilead*, who took the Town, and put all in it to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, ſave only four hundred Virgins; and all this, barely for refuſing to join with the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Benjamites*.

The Six hundred Benjamites *invited back again from the Mountains.*

This was the bloody Event of a Revenge, for the Abuſe of a Woman, upon a *Punctilio* of Honour in the *Benjamites*, to puſh the Cauſe on to a War. The *Iſraelites* were come now to bethink themſelves, and in ſome Degree to repent of the Calamities they had brought upon the *Benjamites*: That Tribe being in a Manner cut-off from the main Body. Upon the whole Matter, they propoſed a *Faſt* but not as conſcious of having done an unjuſt Thing in puniſhing the Breach of the Law. In this Tenderneſs of Thought, they ſent Commiſſioners to invite the ſix hundred Men back again, that were fled into the Mountains, where they found them upon a Rock called *Rhoa*, in the *Deſert*. Theſe Miniſters condoled with them, not for their own Miſery alone, but for that of their Relations and Friends, adviſing them to bear their Lot like Men returning to their Society, and as much as in them lay to prevent the utter Extermination of that Tribe, which would be the Conſequence of withdrawing themſelves from the Fellowſhip. Theſe Commiſſioners told them withall, that for their Lands and Cattle, every Thing ſhould be reſtored, and themſelves put in Poſſeſſion as before. Theſe Men could not but confeſs themſelves to have been in the wrong, and acknowledged the righteous Judgment of God in what they had ſuffered, and ſo returned to their Obedience, and to their Tribe, upon this Invitation.

The next Queſtion was how to provide them Wives; the *Iſraelites* having bound themſelves by an Oath before the War not to marry any of their Daughters into the Tribe of *Benjamin*. Some would have the Oath to be a Nullity, as being an Oath under a Kind of Force, and an Oath of Paſſion, without due Conſideration or Judgment. Others were of Opinion that the very Neceſſity diſcharged the Oath, and that it would not be pleaſing to God to hazzard a whole Tribe rather than diſpenſe with ſuch an Obligation: Making Perjury without Malice to be no ſin: But the Elders, would not endure any Thought of *Perjury*, under what Cover or Countenance ſoever. They had provided Wives already for four Hundred of the ſix out of the Virgins that were taken at *Jabes*; and for the remaining two hundred, one of the Senators offered this Expedient, for the doing of the Buſineſs without ſtraining an Oath.

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[a] *See* Holſtenius's *Notes upon* Steph. Byzant. *p.* 141.

The 400 Virgins given in Marriage to 400 Benjamites.

“ Here is (*ſays he*) a cuſtomary Solemnity of a publique Feſtival that is celebrated thrice a Year in *Siloe*, and our Wives and Daughters are commonly Part of the Company. Leave the *Benjamites* upon this Occaſion at Liberty to ſeize, and take to Wife as many of the Virgins as they can catch, without your medling in it either one Way or other, for or againſt it. If the Fathers ſhall complain, and appeal for Juſtice, the Anſwer will be ſhort that they ſhould have looked *better to their Daughters then*; and that it is not good to exaſperate the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Benjamites*, as we have found by woful *Experience already*. Upon this Motion it was agreed, that the *Benjamites* ſhould be connived at, in providing themſelves of Wives after this Manner, by Force. The Solemnity being now at Hand the two hundred Men that wanted Wives planted themſelves about the Town in Vineyards, and other hiding Places, by twos and threes, and ſuch Numbers as they thought fit, to watch for the coming of the Virgins. The *Benjamites* took their Opportunity as the Virgins came ſporting along and ſtarted out among them; Every Man ſeizing one for his Wife, and carrying her off to his Plantation, where they made it their Buſineſs, by Induſtry, and good Husbandry, to eſtabliſh themſelves happily in the World yet once again. By this Means, and by the Prudence of the *Iſraelites*, was the Tribe of *Benjamin* recovered out of a hopeleſs Condition, and came ſoon after into a flouriſhing Eſtate, both for Wealth, People, and Power.

Wives provided for the other 200 Benjamites *by a Surprize.*

This was the End of the *Benjamites* War, and the Affairs of *Dan* were not in a much better Poſture neither. The *Iſraelites* being now quite gone over from the Study and Practice of Arms, to the Country Entertainments of Husbandry and Tillage. The *Chanaanites* made Advantage of this degenerous change of Humour, and entered into a formed Conſpiracy againſt them; (though with the greateſt Contempt imaginable) not for Fear of any Hurt they could do them at Preſent, but in Hope of bringing them ſo low, that they ſhould never be able to give them any farther Trouble for the Time to come. They made mighty Levies of Men, and Proviſions of Chariots; trained up their People to martial Diſcipline; beſide, that they had already drawn over to them, *Aſcalon*, and *Accaron*, from the Tribe of *Judah*, and ſeveral Cities of the *Plains*: Inſomuch that the *Danites* were forced up to the Mountains for Sanctuary, and not one Foot of Ground in the Champain that they could call their own. Their Circumſtances, briefly, were ſuch, that they were neither ſtrong enough to do themſelves Right by War, nor had they Land enough for their People to ſubſiſt upon in a State of Peace: Wherefore they ſent five of their People into the inland Countries to find out ſome commodious Place of Reſidence, where they might plant and ſettle. When theſe Commiſſioners had travelled a Matter of a Days Journey from the great Plain of *Sidon*, (and not far from mount *Libanus*, and the Head of the leſſer *Jordan*) they found themſelves in a fruitful and Well-conditioned Country; and gave their Tribe an Account of their Opinion of the Place, who forthwith march'd with their Army directly thither; erecting a City there, by the Name of *Dan*, ſo called from one of the Sons of *Jacob* of that Name, from whence the whole Tribe alſo had it's Appellation.

The End of the Benjamites *War.*

The Danites *forced for Sanctuary to the Mountains.*

The Danites *plant at the Head of the* Jordan.

The *Iſraelites* were at this Time ſo abandoned to Sloth, and Luxury, and without any Regard to Religion or Buſineſs, that all their Affairs went to wrack upon it; The Government looſe, and out of Frame; Men lived without any Reſtraint either of Shame, or of Law; the Corruptions of the *Chanaanites* reigning every where without Controul.

The Iſraelites *degenerated both in Religion and Manners.*

CHAP. III.

Chuſarth *ſubdues the* Iſraelites, *and keeps them eight Years in Subjection.*

THIS general Defection was ſo provoking in the Sight of God, that the *Iſraelites*, being left to themſelves by a total Diſſolution of Piety, Diſcipline, and good Manners, put a ſhort End to all the Hopes and Pretences of Happineſs, that with much Toile, and Induſtry, they had been ſo long a raiſing. While they

Judges 3. *The just Judgment of God upon the* Iſraelites *for their Corruptions in Manners and Worſhip.*

were in this abandon'd State of Looſeneſs and Debauch, [a] *Chuſarth*, the King of the *Aſſyrians* made War upon them; kill'd them a great many Men in Battle; ſeiz'd their Towns; ſome by Force, others by Treaty, and laid heavy Taxes upon the People: Plaguing them, in Fine, with all Varieties of Indignities whatſoever. This was the wretched State they were in for *eight Years*; after which Time, they were deliver'd out of the Hands of their Oppreſſors in Manner as follows.

CHAP. IV.

Kenaz *delivers the* Iſraelites *out of their Bondage.*

[illegible] Joſ.

Kenaz, *a great Man of the Tribe of* Judah. Judges 3. Othniel *the Son of* Kenaz.

THere was one *Kenaz*, of the Tribe of *Judah*; a Man of Senſe, Buſineſs, and Courage. This Perſon being animated by a ſecret Impulſe from Heaven to make ſome bold and generous Attempt, for the Relief of the *Hebrews* in this Extremity of their Diſtreſs, communicated the Privacy to ſome few of his particular Friends, that he knew to be Men of Honour and Reſolution, and likewiſe diſſatiſfied with the preſent State of Things. Upon concerting the Matter they came to this Concluſion, that the firſt Thing to be done toward the eaſing of the *Hebrews*, muſt be the Surprizal of the King's Guards and cutting the Throats of the Garriſon. This was agreed upon, and accordingly executed: And the Succeſs of this Exploit gave ſuch a Reputation, and brought ſo many over to that Intereſt and Party, that in a ſhort Time they gave the *Aſſyrians* a fair Battle; routed, and beat them over the *Euphrates*, and conſequently ſet the People at Liberty; who in Acknowledgment of the Obligation they had to *Kenaz* for the Deliverance, by the Means of his Bravery and Conduct, made him a Preſent of the Government, which he accepted of, and when he had ruled them *forty Years* in the Quality of a Judge, he ended his Life in the ſame Station.

Kenaz *deſtroys the King's Guards, and cuts the Garriſon to Pieces.*

Kenaz *routs the* Aſſyrians *in a fair Battle.*

The People chuſe him for their Governour.

CHAP. V.

The Iſraelites *oppreſs'd by* Eglon, *and deliver'd by* Ehud.

Judges 3.

Eglon *worſts the* Iſraelites *in ſeveral Encounters, and makes them his Tributaries.*

BY the Death of *Kenaz*, the *Iſraelites* were left once again without a Head; and then as they fell more and more off from their Duty to God, and the Laws, they were ſtill more and more expoſed to freſh and greater Afflictions. Their Converſation was ſuch, that *Eglon* himſelf the King of the *Moabites*, had them in Contempt for their Want even of Policy and Order, and this very Conſideration encourag'd him to make War upon them. In one Word, he worſted them upon ſeveral Encounters, and humbled them to that Degree, that he made them his Tributaries: After which, he remov'd his Court to *Jericho*; and for eighteen Years ſucceſſively, omitted nothing of Rigour or Oppreſſion, that might make the People miſerable, even to the Degree almoſt of ſtarving them. But it pleaſed God at laſt in Compaſſion to their Sufferings, and in Mercy to their Prayers, to deliver them from the Tyranny of the *Moabites*, by this Means.

Ehud *a* Benjamite, *makes fair with* Eglon *the King of the* Moabites.

There was a certain young Man that dwelt at *Jericho*; the Son of *Gera*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and his Name [b] *Ehud*. He was a vigorous and a daring Man; of a robuſt Force of Body, and had both Hands at Command, if not the left the better of the two. He was of a Make, in Fine, for any bold and hazardous Undertaking. This *Ehud* order'd the Matter ſo as to make himſelf familiarly known to *Eglon*, by the Means of Preſents, and other Court-Offices; inſomuch that his particular Favour with the King had made him a great many Friends at Court. Being one Day to make the King a Preſent, the firſt Thing he did, was to gird a ſhort Ponyard to his right Side, and taking two Servants along with him, to keep it under his Clothes, out of Sight; and in this Manner of Addreſs he was admitted to the King. This was in the Heat of the Summer, and the Middle of the Day; none of the Guards ſtirring, and moſt People being retir'd to Dinner. When this young Man had made his Preſent; the King being withdrawn into a cool Place of Refreſhment, *Ehud* deſir'd a Word in private with him; whereupon the King ſent away his Servants out of the Preſence, being himſelf ſeated upon his Throne. *Ehud* was all this while in Pain, for Fear of miſſing his Aim when he came to do the Execution. So that to give the King Occaſion to riſe; that he might have the fairer Mark at him, he told him that he had ſomewhat to ſay to him from

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[a] *Scr.* Chuſhan Riſhathaim *King of* Meſopotamia. [b] [illegible] Joſ.

God Almighty, about a certain Dream of his. The King had a Kind of impatient Curioſity upon him, to hear what it was, and ſo ſtanding up to hearken to it, *Ehud* in that very Inſtant plung'd a Dagger into his Heart, and forthwith went his Way, ſhutting the Doors after him, and leaving the Dagger in the Wound. The Waiters were ſtill and ſilent, all this while, for Fear of waking the King, who they ſuppoſed might be aſleep.

Ehud *ſtabs* Eglon.

Ehud went away upon this directly to *Jeruſalem*, where he put it about in private, that he had kill'd the King, in Order to the ſetting of the People at Liberty. The News was ſo Welcome to them, that they ſent their Trumpets immediately upon it all over the whole Country; this being their Way of calling the People together. It was a long Time before the Court knew any Thing of the Matter; but toward Evening ſome of the King's Servants took upon them an Apprehenſion of ſome Accident more than ordinary; and upon entering the Bed-Chamber, there lay the King dead, which was ſo ſurprizing a Spectacle, that it ſtruck them all dumb and ſenſeleſs. The Guards were preſently ſent for; but the *Iſraelites*, in great Bodies brake in upon the Palace, before they could be drawn together. Some they kill'd in the firſt Heat; others, to the Number of ten thouſand, made away to the River, toward the Country of *Moab*, but the *Iſraelites* having prepoſſeſſed themſelves of all the Fords and Paſſes, intercepted them in their Flight; ſo that they were wholly cut off, without ſo much as one Man of them getting over. By this Means the *Hebrews* ſhook off the Yoak of the *Moabites*; and *Ehud*, for an Acknowledgement, had the Honour of the Government conferr'd upon him by the People; and at the End of *eighty Years Adminiſtration*, there he died. He was a Perſon, that over and above the Merit of this generous Exploit, deſerv'd upon ſeveral other Accounts to have his Name and Memory celebrated to Poſterity. [a] *Shamgar* the Son of *Anath* ſucceeded him, who died within the firſt Year of his Government.

And makes his Eſcape to Jeruſalem.

The Hebrews *ſhake off the Yoak of the* Moabites. *The Death of* Ehud, *after* eighty Years Adminiſtration.

Shamgar *ſucceeds him, and dies in the firſt Year of his Government.*

CHAP. VI.

The Iſraelites *paſs from one Slavery to another, and are deliver'd in the Concluſion by* Deborah *and* Barak.

THE *Iſraelites* that went Headlong forward from Iniquity to Iniquity, and conſequently from one Calamity to another, would not be yet brought to underſtand, that the Hand of God was all in this, for their Contumacy and Diſobedience to the Laws and Commandments, both of God and Man. Inſomuch, that before they were well quit of *one Slavery* they fell into another; as upon this Revolution, they only exchang'd the Tyranny of *Eglon*, the King of the *Moabites*, for that of *Jabin*, King of the *Chanaanites*, who was their next Maſter. This *Jabin* kept his Court at *Azor*, upon the Lake [b] *Samachonitis*, having an Army in Pay of [c] 300000 Foot, 10000 Horſe, and 3000 Chariots, under the Command of [d] *Siſera*, a great Favourite of the King's for the Services he had done in reducing the *Iſraelites*, whom he worſted upon ſeveral Encounters from Time to Time, and would never give over the Purſuit, till he brought them at laſt to be abſolute Slaves, and Tributaries to his Maſter. When they had languiſhed out a Matter of twenty Years in this ſcandalous Servitude, without daring ſo much as to open their Mouths againſt their Oppreſſors, and without being one Jot the wiſer for their Experience; (God in his Providence having thought fit alſo to continue theſe Judgments upon them for their Impiety and Ingratitude) they came at laſt, by a Kind of Neceſſity, to ſome Sort of Repentance, and to a Conviction, that theſe Miſeries had befallen them as a juſt Puniſhment for their Contempt of the Laws of their Forefathers. In this Fit of Contrition, they went to a famous Propheteſs, one *Deborah*, (in *Hebrew*, a *Bee)* deſiring her Interceſſion, on their Behalf, that God would be pleaſed in Mercy to forgive them, and reſcue them out of the Hands of their cruel Perſecutors. At her Mediation, God was prevailed upon to promiſe them a Deliverance, and made Choice of *Barak*, of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, for the Inſtrument, as General of the Army, that was to do the Work. So *Deborah* ſent for *Barak*, (which Word in *Hebrew* ſignifies Lightning) and order'd him to draw out a Body of 10000 choice Men, and march directly with them toward the Enemy; the Propheteſs never heeding the Number, ſo long as Providence had undertaken for the Succeſs. *Barak* expoſtulated the Matter with *Deborah*, flatly refuſing to

Judges 4. *The* Iſraelites *harden'd in their Iniquities.*

Only changing their Maſter, from Eglon *to* Jabin.

Jabin's *Army of* 300000 *Foot*, 10000 *Horſe, and* 3000 *Chariots, under the Command of* Siſera.

The Iſraelites *abſolute Slaves to the* Chanaanites.

Deborah *a Propheteſs, conſulted.*

Barak *made General.*

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[a] Gr. Σανάγαρος.

[b] *Al.* Semechonitis.

[c] *See* Bochart's Hierozoic. *Part* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 156. Ed. Lond.

[d] Σισάρης. Joſ.

meddle with the Command, unleſs ſhe her ſelf would go along with him. *Well!* (ſays *Deborah*, in a ſcoffing Way of Diſguſt) *and are not you a doughty Captain now, to turn over the Honour of a Command to a Woman, when God has given it to your ſelf! But however*, ſays ſhe, *I am content to make one.* So they drew out their Number, and pitch'd their Tents upon [a] Mount *Tabor*; *Siſera*, by the King's Order, marching out to meet them. The two Armies lay encamped one within Sight of another; but the *Iſraelites* were ſtruck with ſuch a Terror at the infinite Odds of the Enemy in Number, that both General and Soldiers were once upon the very Point of ſhifting for themſelves, without ſo much as ſtriking a Blow: But upon *Deborah*'s Aſſurance that it was the Cauſe of God; and that he himſelf would aſſiſt and bring them off, they were prevail'd upon to ſtand the Shock of a Battle. The Armies were no ſooner engag'd, but there aroſe a violent Wind, with a moſt impetuous Tempeſt of Rain and Hail along with it: This Storm driving juſt in the Face of the *Chanaanites*, made their Bows and their Slings uſeleſs to them, and ſo for other Weapons for a cloſe Fight; for they could not ſo much as open their Eyes againſt the Weather, and their Fingers were ſo numb'd with Cold too, that they could not handle their Arms. Now the *Iſraelites*, with this Tempeſt at their Backs, had all Advantages on the one Hand, without the Inconveniencies on the other; beſide the Encouragements given them by ſo ſignal a Manifeſtation of God's eſpouſing their Cauſe. It came to this in the Concluſion, that the *Chanaanites* Army was broken, diſpers'd, and cut to Pieces: So that betwixt thoſe that fell by the Sword; thoſe that were trampled to Death under the Horſes Feet; thoſe that were torn to Pieces by the Chariots, and thoſe that fled away, and fell into the Hands of the *Iſraelites* in their Flight; this prodigious Army was in Effect totally deſtroy'd. *Siſera*, finding the Day irrecoverably loſt, and his Men flying every where before the Enemy, he leapt from his Chariot, and betook himſelf to the Houſe of one *Jael* a *Kenite*, for Sanctuary; who receiv'd him with a Countenance of Readineſs to do him a good Office. *Siſera* was quite ſpent with the Toil and Fatigue of the Day, and calling for ſomewhat to drink, *Jael* brought him a Draught of ſowre Milk; which he took down very heartily, and ſo fell aſleep. When *Jael* found that ſhe had him faſt and ſure, ſhe took a Hammer with an Iron Nail, and drove it into his Temples, ſhewing him for a Spectacle to the *Iſraelites* that came to look after him, where ſhe had pinn'd him to the Ground. This made good *Deborah*'s Preſage, when ſhe told *Barak* that a Woman ſhould have the Honour of a Title to the Victory. *Barak* was now march'd with the Army toward *Azor*, where he encounter'd *Jabin* by the Way, and ſlew him. The King being kill'd, *Barak* laid the City level with the Ground, and afterward govern'd *Iſrael* for a Matter of forty Years.

The Armies engage, and the Wind turning in the Face of the Chanaanites *deſtroys them.*

The Chanaanites *cut to Pieces.*

Siſera *takes Sanctuary in the Houſe of* Jael.

He lays himſelf down to ſleep; and Jael *drives a Nail into his Temples.*

Barak *purſues* Jabin *to* Azor, *and kills him.*

Barak *deſtroys* Azor, *and reigns about forty Years.*

CHAP. VII.

The Midianites, *with the* Amalekites *and* Arabians, *over-run the* Iſraelites.

Judges 6. *The Death of* Deborah *and* Barak. *The* Midianites *joyn the* Amalekites *and* Arabians *againſt the* Iſraelites; *forcing them to the Mountains for Refuge.*

Deborah and *Barak* died much about a Time, and it was not long after, when the *Midianites* enter'd into an Aſſociation with the *Amalekites* and the *Arabians* againſt the *Iſraelites*: Marched with an Army againſt them, fought, and overcame them, deſtroying the Fruits of the Ground, and carrying away their Cattle with a great Booty. At this Rate they order'd them ſeven full Years together; forcing them from the Plains to the Mountains for Refuge, where they digg'd themſelves Vaults and Caves, partly for the Security of their Perſons, and partly for the Concealment of what Stores and Proviſions they were able to ſave from the Hands of the Enemy. Now the *Midianites* were well enough content to let the *Iſraelites* till the Ground in the Winter, when they themſelves were ſure to reap the Fruits of their Labours in the following Summer. By theſe Means the *Iſraelites* were brought to a Morſel of Bread, and no Hope of Relief left them in this their ſtarving Extremity, but Prayers and Supplications, which were ſtill their laſt Refuge.

The Iſraelites *brought to great Diſtreſs.*

Prayers and Supplications their laſt Refuge.

CHAP. VIII.

Gideon *reſcues the* Iſraelites *out of the Hands of the* Midianites.

Judges 6.

IT happened one Time, that as *Gideon* the [b] Son of *Joas*, and a leading Man in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, was thraſhing a little Corn by Stealth, at a Wine-Preſs, which he durſt not venture to do in a publick Place for Fear of Diſcovery;

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[a] Πρὸς Ἀταβαρίῳ τῷ ὄρει.

[b] Ἰάσου παῖς.

A Viſion appears to Gideon *as he was threſhing of Corn at a Wine-Preſs.*

A Voice bids him bethink himſelf how he may deliver his Country:

Aſſuring him of a divine Aſſiſtance.

Gideon *draws an Army together of* 10000 *Men.*

there appeared a Viſion to him in the Figure of a young Man that greeted him as a happy Perſon, and exceedingly in God's Favour. “ One would hardly think ſo, *ſays* “ *Gideon*, of a Man under my Circumſtances, that is fain to make *a Preſs to do the* “ *Office of a Floor*”. The Apparition bade him have a good Heart; and immediately ſet his Thoughts to work how he might deliver his Country. “ Alas, ſays *Gideon*, it “ is impoſſible for me to do any Thing toward it: We have not Men enough in our “ Tribe for ſuch an Attempt; neither am I a Perſon of Practice and Experience “ enough to manage ſuch a Deſign”. The Apparition made him Anſwer, That whatever he fell ſhort in, God would ſupply; and that if he would but frankly take upon him the Command of a Body of Men, the *Iſraelites* ſhould gain a Victory under his Conduct. *Gideon* communicated this Affair, with all the Circumſtances, to ſome young Men of his Acquaintance, who aſcribed ſo much to the Authority and Credit of this Revelation, that they had preſently an Army of ten thouſand choice Men in Readineſs to run any Hazard for the common Cauſe.

Judges 7.

Victory is from above.

Only 300 *of* 10000 *ſtand the Teſt.*

While this was in Agitation, the Voice of God ſpake to *Gideon* again in a Dream, in Words to this Effect, *It is but natural for Fleſh and Blood to overween, and for Men to value themſelves, upon the providential Operations of an Almighty Power as the Effects of their own Force and Wiſdom; eſpecially when the Work may ſeem to be brought about purely by the Mediation of common Cauſes. But to ſhew you now* (ſays the Voice) *that Victory is influenced from above, and that the Arm of Fleſh is not able to do any thing without a divine Aſſiſtance: Take your Army to the River* Jordan, *in the parching Heat of the Sun at Mid-day, and make your Obſervations upon the Manner of the Soldiers drinking. Thoſe that lye down upon the Bank, and compoſe themſelves to drink at Leiſure, you may depend upon to be for your Purpoſe, and Men of Courage; but for them that take their Drink in a Hurry, and with Diſtraction, they have the Fear of an Enemy in their Heads, and there's no truſting to them. Gideon* did as he was order'd, and found but bare three hundred of the former Sort in the whole Army, that drank out of the Hollow of their Hands, without ſtaring about them. With this Pittance of three hundred Men, God commanded *Gideon* to attack the Enemy in the Night; to which End he poſted himſelf upon the Side of the River, the Day before the Exploit was to be put in Execution, and not without great Apprehenſions what might be the Iſſue of that Enterprize. The Voice, upon this Diffidence, bad him take a Soldier with him, and ſteal over that Night to the Camp of the *Midianites*, where he ſhould learn ſomewhat that ſhould put him in Heart again. He went as he was bid, and taking his own Servant *Phuran* along with him, they crept up to one of the Enemy's Tents (where they were yet waking) and there over-heard a Soldier telling his Camerade of a ſtrange Dream he had. “ Methought, *ſays he*, I ſaw a Barley Loaf (the courſeſt of all Grains, and not fit for a Man to eat) come tumbling “ into the Camp, where it over-ran all the Tents that ſtood in the Way; the King's “ Tent in the firſt Place, and ſo the reſt indifferently one after another. Well! *ſays* “ *this Dreamer's Fellow-Soldier*, and what can this overturning of all the Tents “ ſignify but the total Deſtruction of our Army? Barley is, as you ſay, the courſeſt “ of Grains; and ſo are the *Iſraelites* the vileſt, and the moſt abject of all the Peo- “ ple in *Aſia*. *Gideon* is now in the Head of an Army againſt us, and I am afraid that “ the Barley Loaf overthrowing our Tents, will be expounded by *Gideon*'s over- “ running us with his *Iſraelite-Army*”. Upon the good *Omen* of this Dream, *Gideon* returned preſently to his People full of Hope and Comfort, at the Preſage, and his Men were no leſs animated upon the Hearing of it; for they put themſelves immediately in Readineſs for the Word of Command, toward any hazardous Adventure whatſoever.

Gideon *ſteals over the River to the Enemy's Camp.*

He over-hears two Soldiers talking of a ſtrange Dream.

Gideon *draws a good* Omen *from the Interpretation of it:*

And advances againſt them that Night in three Diviſions of 100 *in each, with Pitchers and Horns in their Hands.*

The Sword of the Lord and of *Gideon.*

In the Fright of the Surprize they fall foul upon their own People.

About the fourth Watch, *Gideon* advanced toward the Enemy with his little Army in three Diviſions, a hundred Men in each, and every Man carrying an empty Pitcher with a burning Lamp in it, to the End that they might fall upon them at unawares before they could be diſcover'd: And they carry'd likewiſe in their Right-Hands, Rams-Horns that ſerved them for Trumpets. The Enemy had ſuch a Multitude of Camels, and ſo many ſeveral Nations in their diſtinct Lodgments, that the Camp muſt needs take up a huge Content of Ground, but ſtill one common Line encloſing the Whole. Upon the *Hebrews* Approach toward the Enemy, it was given them in Command, that upon the Signal of ſounding Trumpets, and breaking Pitchers, they ſhould made a Sally with Shouts, and their Lamps in their Hands, as to an aſſured Victory, by the Bleſſing of God upon *Gideon*. They acted according to their Order, and by this Stratagem, they were ſtruck with ſo judicial a Conſternation, betwixt ſleeping and waking, (the Horror of the Night aſſiſting the Imagination too) that being in the Dark, in a Medley of ſeveral Languages, and under a Terror that knows no Difference betwixt Friend and Foe, they fell foul in the

Confuſion, upon one another; every Man taking him that was next him for an Enemy. There was, in Fine, a prodigious Slaughter; but the greateſt Execution incomparably was done by them one upon another.

Judges 7. *The* Iſraelites *put all to the Sword;* Oreb *and* Zeb *among the reſt.*

Slain of the Midianites, *and their* Confederates *near* 120000 *Men.*

Gideon *puts to Death two Kings;* Zebin *and* Hezarbon.

The Tribe of Ephraim *pick a Quarrel with* Gideon *an* Ephraimite *for fighting without their Privity and Conſent.*

Gideon *pleads that it was* God's *War, not* Gideon's.

So ſoon as the Fame of this notable Defeat came to the Ears of the Reſt of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently ſent out armed Troops to all the difficult Paſſes upon the Mountains, Rivers, and Torrents, to obſtruct and cut off their Retreat, putting all to the Sword they could lay Hand on, and two Kings, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, among the Reſt. But for the Remainder, to the Number of ſome 18000 Men, that had made a Shift to get off in a Body under the Command of their proper Officers; thoſe Troops poſted themſelves as far from the *Iſraelites* Camp as they could. *Gideon*'s Troops had been extremely haraſs'd in the late Action, but this did not yet hinder him from preſſing this Party of the Enemy upon the Rear, and engaging them ſoon after with his whole Army. In this Encounter, he put them to an abſolute Rout; deſtroying the whole Body of them to a Man, and taking their two Leaders, the Princes, [a] *Zebin* and *Hezarbon*, Priſoners. There were ſlain of the *Midianites* and their Aſſociates, in theſe Encounters, near 120000 Men; to ſay nothing of the Booty in Gold, Silver, rich Stuffs, Camels, Aſſes, *&c.* that fell to the *Hebrews*. When *Gideon* came afterward into his own native Country of *Ephraim*, he put to Death the two Kings of the *Midianites* above mentioned: But the Tribe of *Ephraim*, out of an Envy to the Glory of his Atchievements, had a great Mind to pick a Quarrel with him for engaging in a publick Act of Hoſtility, being a Member of that Tribe, without their Privity and Conſent: Inſomuch that they were juſt upon the Point of making War upon him. But *Gideon*, that was a Man of Modeſty and Prudence, as well as Bravery, diverted the Storm by telling them that this was *God*'s War, and not *Gideon*'s; for what he did he was commanded to do; and that the Honour of the Victory was theirs ſtill, though the labouring Part of the Action fell by Providence to his Lot. The Softneſs and Diſcretion of theſe Words was more worth to the *Hebrews* than the Defeat; for it prevented the great Miſchief of a civil War, which was then ready to break out. But this invidious ſpiteful Cavil coſt them dear in the Concluſion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper Place.

Gideon *offers to lay down his Commiſſion, but the People preſs him to continue it.*
He governed forty Years with great Honour, Conduct, and Juſtice.

When *Gideon* had ſet his Country at Liberty, he would fain have diſcharged himſelf of his Commiſſion; but the People were ſo unanimouſly reſolved not to part with him, that he was forced to continue it; which he did for the Space of forty Years; exerciſing all the Parts of a careful Ruler over them; in preſcribing Laws; adminiſtring Juſtice; deciding Controverſies, and doing Right betwixt Man and Man; acquitting himſelf upon the Whole, with the Character of this Reputation, that no Man ever complained of, or appealed from his Sentence. He lived to a great Age, and was buried in his own Country at *Ephraim*.

CHAP. IX.

The Tyranny and Death of Abimelech. Iſrael *enſlaved by the* Ammonites *and* Philiſtines. Jephtha *ſets them free; overthrows the* Ephraimites; *and after the Death of* Jothan, Apſan, Elon, *and* Abdon *govern* Iſrael.

Judges 9. Gideon *had ſeventy legitimate* Sons, *and* Abimelech *by his Concubine.*

GIDEON had ſeventy legitimate Sons by ſeveral Women; and by *Druma*, his Concubine, one natural Son, whoſe Name was *Abimelech*. This *Abimelech*, after the Death of his Father, went to *Sichem*, to the Relations of his Mother, who was born there. They ſupplied him with Money; and *Abimelech* finding them to be Men for his Turn, and lewd and deſperate enough to adventure upon any Thing let it be never ſo hazardous or wicked, he went ſtreight back again to his Father's Houſe, and took a Cabal of theſe ſwaggering Companions along with him. His firſt Exploit there was to murder all his Brothers, ſave only *Jothan*, who ſlipt out of the Way, ſo that they could not find him. When *Abimelech* had once by this Means poſſeſſed himſelf of the Government, he knew no other Law than that of his own Will and Pleaſure, profeſſing an open Enmity to Juſtice it ſelf, and all its Abettors; neither was he himſelf leſs hateful to all good Men than they were to him.

Abimelech *killed all his Brothers but* Jothan; *who makes his Eſcape. He ſeizes the Government.*
He makes his Will his Law.

Jothan *upon a Feſtival gets up to the Top of the Mountain* Garizim, *and thence ſpeaks to the People.*

It happened one Time, upon a great Day of Solemnity in *Sichem*, and a World of People gathered together there, that *Jothan*, who had made an Eſcape, as we ſaid, upon this Feſtival, was got up to the Top of the Mountain *Garizim* that overlooks *Sichem*: And thence called out aloud to the Multitude, deſiring only their Patience

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[a] *Scr.* Zebah *and* Zalmunnah.

for a few Words he had to ſay. They put themſelves preſently into a Poſture of Attention; and the Speech was this.

The Fable of the Trees chuſing a King.

“ There was a Time, *ſays he*, when the Trees had their Meetings and Conferences, and talked after the Manner of Men. In thoſe Days, and in a great Council, upon the Subject of who ſhould Command, the major Part of the Plants made their Addreſs to the Fig-Tree, to take Care of the Government; but the Fig-Tree modeſtly declined the Honour, as being amply ſatisfied with the Eſteem it had in the World for the Fruit it bare, ſaying alſo, that it had no Ambition to be greater, or other than it was. The Trees, after this Refuſal, made the ſame Requeſt to the Olive-Tree, and to the Vine, and they both agreed in returning the very ſame Anſwer. They went next to the Bramble, with the ſame Propoſals, being an excellent Sort of Fuel. Well! ſays the *Bramble*, if you are in Earneſt, I'll take the Government upon me; but then you muſt reſolve to reſt quietly under my Shadow: For if you offer to be unruly, there ſhall come a Fire out of me that ſhall deſtroy you”. This is no Tale told, ſays *Jothan*, to make you merry, but to move you to bethink your ſelves what you are now a doing; that after ſo many ſacred Obligations to *Gideon*, can yet ſuffer *Abimelech*, the Murderer of the Children of your Deliverer, to uſurp, and reign over you. This *Abimelech* is the very Fire in the Fable I have told you.

Abimelech *driven out of Sichem.*

Upon theſe Words he withdrew, and was forced, for three Years after, to lie ſculking up and down the Mountains, and keep out of the Way of *Abimelech*'s Rage and Revenge. The *Sichemites* came however in a ſhort Time to be ſenſible of the Wickedneſs of that horrid Barbarity upon the Sons of *Gideon*, and ſo forced *Abimelech* out of the City, and Tribe; who upon this Indignity ſet his Wits at work how to be even with them.

The Sichemites *petition* Gaal *for a Guard againſt* Abimelech.

Abimelech's *Men taken in Ambuſhes.*

The Seaſon of the Vintage was now at Hand, and the People durſt not venture out of Town to gather the Grapes, for Fear of ſome Surprize or Affront from *Abimelech*. There happened to come to *Sichem*, juſt at that Time, a certain Prince of the Country, whoſe Name was [a] *Gaal*, with a Band of Soldiers, and ſeveral of his Relations. The Towns-Men petitioned him for a Guard, only to ſecure them during the Time of the Vintage, and he allowed it them. They entered upon the Work and brought off their Grapes, at firſt freely enough, and without Interruption, laſhing out againſt *Abimelech*, in the Liberty of their Cups, the bittereſt Things that could be thought of; and cutting off ſeveral of his Men that fell into their Ambuſhes. While Matters were in this State, *Zebul*, one of the Chief of the *Sichemites*, and *Abimelech*'s Hoſt, gave him Intelligence by an Expreſs, how buſy *Gaal* was to irritate the People againſt him; but, ſays he, if you can but diſpoſe of an *Ambuſh* in ſome convenient Place near the City, I will undertake to put *Gaal* into your Power to requite him as he deſerves: Beſide, that when all this is done, I will become anſwerable to ſettle a fair Underſtanding betwixt you and the People. *Abimelech* followed *Zebul*'s Advice, and planted his Ambuſh; *Gaal* unwarily ſtaying longer in the Suburbs with *Zebul* than he ſhould have done; ſome of *Abimelech*'s Troops being by this Time within Sight of the Town, *Gaal* called out to *Zebul*, that the Enemy was there upon their March. No, no, ſays *Zebul*; that's only the Shadow of the Mountains. *Well! but I tell you again*, ſays *Gaal* upon their coming nearer, *that they are Bands of Men and not Shadows*. Nay, ſays *Zebul* again, and if it be as you ſay, how comes it that you, who will have *Abimelech* to be a Coward, do not now prove your ſelf to be the braver Man of the two, and go out and fight him? *Gaal* preſently advanced toward the Enemy (though in ſome little Diſorder) and receiv'd the firſt Shock: But finding himſelf too weak, and having loſt ſeveral of his Men, he fled into the Town. *Zebul* laid hold of this Occaſion to calumniate *Gaal* with Cowardice, and ſo got him expelled the City. *Abimelech*, in the mean Time, being informed from very good Hands, that the *Sichemites* would yet go on with the gathering of their Vintage, had ſeveral *Ambuſcades* in Readineſs to ſurprize them. And accordingly, upon their firſt coming out, he ſent a third Part of his Army to take Poſſeſſion of the City Gates, and by that Means, to cut off the Retreat of thoſe that were out of the Town; who were ſo hard preſſed, and ſcattered up and down, that there was a very great Slaughter made upon the Purſuit; the City it ſelf in this Interim, being taken upon the firſt Aſſault; levelled with the Earth, and finally ſowed with Salt, as the laſt Inſult of a triumphing Enemy. This was the End of this miſerable Place, and People. There were yet remaining conſiderable Numbers of Stragglers and Fugitives, that had hitherto ſcaped the Edge of the Sword, and theſe gathered themſelves into a Body flying to a Rock for Sanctuary. The Place was naturally ſtrong, beſide that they ordered the running up of a Wall about it, to make it impregnable. This they de-

Gaal *charged with Cowardice, and expelled the City.*

Gaal *defeated with a great Slaughter, and* Sichem *levelled to the Ground.*

The Fugitive Sichemites *fly to a Rock, where they are deſtroyed by Fire.*

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[a] Γάλης, Joſ.

ſigned for a Retreat of Refuge; but *Abimelech* was upon them with his Army before they could fortify it, and ſurrounding it with a mighty Pile of dry Wood, and Faggots, they ſet fire to it; ſo that Men, Women, and Children were all burnt to Aſhes, without ſo much as one Creature eſcaping. The calamitous Fate of this wretched People would have deſerved Compaſſion, if it had not been a juſt Judgment upon them for their brutal Ingratitude to a Perſon that had deſerved ſo highly well at their Hands.

This Cruelty of *Abimelech* to the *Sichemites* was ſo far inſtructive and exemplary to the *Iſraelites*, as to ſhew them what they were to truſt to, if ever it ſhould be their Lot to fall into the ſame Hands: The Uſurper being reſolved never to be quiet till he ſhould have brought all to a thorough Devaſtation.

Abimelech *takes* Thebes *by Aſſault; but the Caſtle ſtands out.* Abimelech *mortally wounded with a Piece of a Mill-ſtone from a Wall by a Woman.* *His* Armour-Bearer *kills him.*

It was not long after this, when he marched with his Army againſt *Thebes*, where he took the Out-Town by Aſſault, but the Garriſon made their Retreat into a ſtrong Caſtle belonging to it; *Abimelech* puſhing the Attack up to the very Gates, with a Reſolution, either to Force, or to put Fire to it. As he was gotten juſt under the Wall, a Woman from above dropt a heavy Piece of a Mill-ſtone upon the Head of him, that ſtruck him to the Ground. Upon coming a little to his Senſes, and finding that the Wound was mortal, he called for his Armour-Bearer, and bad him kill him immediately, that it might not be ſaid *Abimelech* fell by the Hand of a Woman. The Officer did according to his Order; ſo that *Abimelech* paid dear for his inhumane Outrages againſt his Brothers, and the *Sichemites*, as *Jothan* had foretold he ſhould. Upon *Abimelech*'s Death, the Army disbanded, and every Man went to his own Home.

Judges 10. *The Government comes to* Jair *a* Gileadite.

The Government of *Iſrael*, after this, fell to *Jair*, a *Gileadite*, of the Tribe of *Manaſſes*: A Man every Way happy, but moſt of all in the Bleſſing of a numerous, and a virtuous Iſſue. He was the Father of thirty Sons; good and brave Men every one of them, and of eminent Authority and Reputation in their Country. He lived two and twenty Years in this Poſt; died ancient, and his Body was interred at *Camon*, a City in *Gilead*.

The Iſraelites *corrupted in Religion, Government, and Manners.* *The* Ammonites *and* Philiſtines *break in upon the* Iſraelites.

The *Hebrews* were by this Time exceedingly degenerated in their Manners and Religion; for they had neither moral Honeſty, nor a Senſe of civil Obedience, Religion, Law, or common Juſtice left them. The *Ammonites* and the *Philiſtines* having them in Contempt upon this Account made ſuch Advantage of their Weakneſs, that they brake into their Country with a huge Army, and laid it waſte: And not contenting them to ſpoil, harraſs, and take Poſſeſſion of all beyond *Jordan*, they were preparing alſo to croſs the River, and make a thorough Conqueſt of it on both Sides.

Affliction brings the Iſraelites *to themſelves again.* Judges 11.

The Ammonites *and* Philiſtines *fall into* Gilead *with an Army.*

Theſe Afflictions brought the *Iſraelites* to their Prayers and Sacrifices again; which they ſtill made Uſe of as the laſt Reſort they had, upon all their Miſdoings. By theſe Supplications, and penitent Addreſſes, God was however prevailed upon for a Grant and Promiſe of Mercy and Relief. The *Ammonites* being now entered with an Army into the Country of *Gilead*, the Inhabitants put themſelves in Arms with a Reſolution to oppoſe them: But wanting a Head, there was one *Jephtha* propoſed; a Perſon in high Eſteem with the People for Conduct and Valour, both upon his Father's Account and his own; for he had at that Time a conſiderable Army of his own that he kept in Pay. Upon theſe Conſiderations, they applied themſelves to him by Conſent, with the preſent State of their Caſe, and an humble Deſire that he would be pleaſed to join Forces with them; and accept of a Commiſſion from them, as General for his Life, of the whole Army. *Jephtha* ſtood off at firſt, not without ſome Admiration, that they ſhould come to him for Help now when they themſelves were in Diſtreſs, that had formerly left him in the Lurch ſo meanly when he ſtood in Need of them; and was withal ſo manifeſtly wronged by his Brothers. "I was, *ſays he*, the Son of a ſtrange Woman, you told me, that came into the Family you knew not how, and you would have nothing to do with me. Upon this Pretence was I driven out from among you, and forced into the Land of *Gilead*, where I have continued ever ſince, liſting all People that offered themſelves to my Service, *and in ſuch Condition as you now find me*". The *Iſraelites* would not take this for an Anſwer; but went preſſing him on ſtill with further Importunities and Profeſſions, till at laſt he was wrought upon to eſpouſe their Cauſe, and to take Charge of the Army, upon their Oaths of Fidelity to him as their General.

Who apply themſelves to Jephtha *for Aid and Protection.*

Jephtha *takes charge of the Army.* *And marches to* Mizpeh. Jephtha *charges the King of the* Ammonites *with Injuſtice,*

Upon this Agreement, the two Bodies were immediately incorporated, and ſo ſoon as ever *Jephtha* had given the neceſſary Orders for what was firſt to be done, he marched away with the Army to [a] *Miſpeh*: And from thence ſent an expoſtulatory Embaſſy to the King of the *Ammonites*; taxing him with an unjuſt

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[a] Μασφάκη. Joſ.

Invaſion of a Country where he had nothing to do. The Anſwer was only a Retort of the ſame Charge upon the *Iſraelites*, who coming out of *Ægypt*, took Poſſeſſion by Arms of the Land and Territories of other People; and therefore warned them to depart out of the Country of the *Ammonites*, as belonging to them in the Right of their Fathers. *Jephtha* on the other Hand replied, that inſtead of charging the *Iſraelites* with taking away *Amorrhæa* from them, they ſhould rather have acknowledged the Obligation of giving them *Ammon*; and *Moſes* might have had that too: But the laſt Reſult was this; that as for the Lands which they had been now three hundred Years poſſeſſed of, they would not part with them, but by God's Aſſiſtance defend them with their Swords. This peremptory Declaration put a ſhort End to the Treaty, and the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed.

The King recriminates.

The Matter being brought to this Point, that the Controverſy was to be decided by Arms. *Jephtha* made a *Vow*, that if ever he returned alive and victorious from the Battle, he would offer up to God in Sacrifice, the firſt living Creature he ſhould meet with after he came Home again. The Preparations went on, and he fought the Enemy; gave them a total Overthrow, and had the Chace of them to the City of *Maniath*; forcing his Paſſage alſo into the Country of *Ammon*; where he laid ſeveral Cities waſte, and gave the Soldiers the Spoil. This Action, in Fine, ſet the People at Liberty, after a ſlaviſh Servitude of eighteen Years Continuance.

Jephtha's *raſh Vow.*

Jephtha *over-throws the* Ammonites.

Jephtha acquitted himſelf in this War with great Honour; but upon returning Home again, there happened to him ſo grievous a Calamity in his own Family, that it took off the Reliſh of all his publick Satisfactions. For the firſt living Creature he ſet his Eye upon, was an only Virgin Daughter he had, juſt coming out of the Door, big with Joy to receive, and bid him welcome. This Encounter ſtruck him to the very Heart, and exceedingly troubled he was at her Officiouſneſs to come out to meet him, telling her the Story of the *Vow*, by which he had oblig'd himſelf, upon ſuch Terms, to offer her to God for a Sacrifice. She was not at all dejected at the Tidings, but told her Father with a generous Conſtancy, *That ſhe ſhould never think much to part with her Life upon the Condition of ſecuring her Father's Honour and Succeſs, and the Liberty of her Country*; *only ſhe begg'd two Months Time firſt*, *for a parting Lamentation with her Companions*, *and after that he might be pleaſed to perform his Vow.* Her Requeſt was granted, and at the End of the two Months, this innocent Devotee was made a Sacrifice, without any Reverence either to Religion, Law, or common Fame; ſo far was *Jephtha* tranſported with a blind Zeal into a Contempt of all other Conſiderations.

Jephtha *his D* [illegible]

After *Jephtha*'s Victory over the *Ammonites*, and the ſettling of the People in a State, or at leaſt in a fair Proſpect of Peace and Freedom, the envious *Ephraimites* ſtarted a freſh Cauſe of Quarrel. *Why ſhould he engage in ſuch an Expedition without them*, they cry'd, *but only out of an ambitious, covetous Deſign of engroſſing the Honour and Profit of the Adventure wholly to himſelf, without allowing them any Share or Part in it?* *Jephtha* made Anſwer in his own Defence, that they knew very well their Allies were oppreſs'd; nay, and that they themſelves were ſolicited to come in to their Aſſiſtance, but never came; though Men of Honour, in ſuch a Caſe, would not have ſtaid for an Invitation. And then he charged them farther, with a moſt ſcandalous Piece of Injuſtice, for Men that durſt not look the common Enemy in the Face, now when the Work was done without them, to fall ſo inſolently foul upon their Friends: Concluding with a Menace, that if they went on in that Way of Clamour and Outrage, he would make them ſmart for't. But there was no Good to be done he ſaw, with wording and reaſoning the Matter: So that he preſently betook himſelf to the more convincing Argument of a powerful Army, with which he advanced toward the Enemy's main Body, which they had brought from *Gilead*; charg'd, and utterly defeated them; prepoſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Fords and Paſſes upon the River *Jordan*; and in Short, follow'd the Purſuit ſo hard, that betwixt the Battle and the Chace, they cut them off near two and twenty thouſand Men.

Jud[illegible]

Jephtha *cuts off near 22000 of the Enemy.*

Jephtha, after theſe Exploits, departed this Life in the ſeventh Year of his Government, and was buried at *Sebeth*, the Place of his Nativity, in the Land of *Gilead*. [a] *Abſan*, of the City of *Bethlem*, in the Tribe of *Judah*, ſucceeded him and ruled for the Space of ſeven Years, without doing any Thing worth the ſpeaking of. He had ninety Children, ſixty Males, and the reſt Daughters, which he left all living and marry'd. He died ancient, and was bury'd in his own Country. *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Zebulon*, had the Government for ten Years after him, and there paſs'd nothing memorable in his Reign neither. *Abdon*, the Son of *Heliel* ſucceeded *Elon*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and Native of the City of *Pharathon*: A Man of a numerous Iſſue, and little remarkable for any Thing elſe. But the

Jephtha *govern'd ſeven Years, and dy'd at* Sebeth.

Abſan.

Abdon *ſucceeds* Elon.

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[a] Ἀψάνης, Joſ.

Times being eaſy and peaceable, gave him little or no Occaſion, for the Exerciſe of his Bravery and Courage. He had forty Sons, and thirty Grand-Children, all excellent Horſe-men, and theſe ſeventy were his conſtant Guard. He left them all behind him; died far in Years, and was buried at *Pharathon* with great Magnificence and State.

CHAP. X.

The Prediction, and the Birth of Samſon. *His Amours, and Encounters.*

The Iſraelites *Tributaries to the* Philiſtines *for forty Years.*

AFTER the Deceaſe of *Abdon*, the *Philiſtines* had the better of the *Iſraelites*, and kept them Tributaries for ſome forty Years; but in the End, they were ſet at Liberty in this Manner.

Judges 13. Manoah, *an uxorious and a jealous Husband, troubled for Want of Children.*

The Woman foretold in a Viſion, that ſhe ſhall have a Male Child.

She tells her Husband the Story, and puts him into a Jealouſie.

The Husband ſees the Apparition, and is ſtill jealous.

The Angel diſappears.

There was one *Manoah*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, and the firſt Man of Quality and Credit in his Country, beyond all Diſpute. This *Manoah* had for his Wiſe a lovely Woman, and one that on all Hands paſs'd for the moſt faultleſs Beauty of that Age; but to *Manoah*'s unſpeakable Affliction he had no Children by her. In this Uneaſineſs, he would ever and anon be taking his Wife to a Country Houſe, he had in a large Plain near at Hand, in which Solitude, he ſpent almoſt his whole Time in Prayers to Almighty God for the Bleſſing of Children. He was paſſionate to the higheſt Degree, and in Proportion jealous of her. As the Woman was there alone once, there appear'd an Angel to her in the Reſemblance of a tall young Man, who told her for her Comfort, that God in his Providence would give her a Male-Child, who ſhould come in Time to be a Man of a very graceful Preſence, and a prodigious Strength; and one that ſhould take down the Pride and Stomach of the *Philiſtines*; charging her in the Name of God to let his Hair grow uncut, and to ſee that he drank nothing but Water; the Viſion vaniſhing ſo ſoon as it had deliver'd this Meſſage. Upon her Husband's coming in, ſhe told him of this Apparition of the Angel, wonderfully enlarging upon the comely Stature, and Lovelineſs of the Shape it appear'd in: Inſomuch that the Husband grew jealous of ſome unwarrantable Love under that Pretence. The poor Woman was at her Wit's End how to cure him of this anxious and unreaſonable Suſpicion, and in the Anguiſh of her Soul, made it her Supplication to Almighty God to ſend his Angel yet once again, and in ſuch a Manner, that her Husband might be convinc'd of the Authority of the Revelation as well as her ſelf. Upon this Prayer of hers, the Angel, a while after, preſented it ſelf a ſecond Time to the Woman alone, in the ſame Place as before: Who, immediately upon the Appearance, beſought the Angel's Patience till ſhe might fetch her Husband. Her Requeſt was granted, and ſo *Manoah* was called and came; and ſuch was the Force of his Jealouſy, that though he actually ſaw the Angel, he would hardly be brought to believe his own Eyes; preſſing to have the ſame Thing ſaid to them, over again, that had been ſpoken to his Wife. *Let it ſuffice*, ſays the Angel, *that it is known to your Wife*. *Manoah* then deſir'd him to declare who he was; to the End, that when God ſhould ſend him a Child, he might know who to thank for't, and where to pay his Acknowledgments for the Bleſſing. The Angel told him, *That he had no Need of Rewards, neither did he expect any for his News. Why then*, ſays *Manoah*, *be pleaſed to accept of a hoſpitable, homely Treat.* The Angel declin'd it at firſt; but by Prayer and Importunity he was over-perſwaded to ſtay till ſomewhat might be provided. *Manoah* immediately kill'd a Kid, and gave it his Wife to dreſs. And when every Thing was ready, the Angel commanded the Bread and the Fleſh to be laid looſe upon a Rock there, without Diſhes. This being done, he touch'd the Fleſh with a Rod he had, and preſently there ſtarted a Fire from it that devoured Fleſh, Bread and all; and as the Smoak mounted, the Angel was ſeen to be waſted up to Heaven in the Vehicle of that Cloud. *Manoah* lay under a ſuperſtitious Dread of ſome great Miſchief that might betide them, upon this Viſion; but his Wife kept up his Heart by a confident Aſſurance, that it would turn to their Comfort, and prove the greateſt Bleſſing imaginable to them both in the Concluſion. She found her ſelf ſoon after to be big, and from that Time forward kept punctually in her Mind, the Orders the Angel had given her.

Judges 13. Samſon *born.*

The Child ſhe went with prov'd to be a Son, and they gave him the Name of *Samſon*, that is to ſay, *Robuſt*. He improv'd every Day wonderfully as he grew up; in the Advantages both of his Body and Mind: Inſomuch that betwixt the Dignity of his looſe flowing Hair, and the Sobriety of his Way of Living, in the Government of his Appetite, he ſeem'd to have ſomewhat (I know not what) in him, that was more than humane.

It

Samſon *falls in Love with a Damſel at* Timnan.

He contracts himſelf to her.

Samſon *encounters a* Lion, *and ſtrangles him.*

A ſwarm of Bees in the breaſt of the Lion.

Samſon *propounds a Riddle.*

His Miſtreſs gets the meaning out of him, and ſo betrays him.

The Philiſtines *reſolve the Riddle.*

Samſon *puts away his Wife.*

Judges 15.

Samſon *burns the* Philiſtines *Corn.*

Samſon's *Wife burnt alive.*

It was his Hap once upon a ſolemn Feſtival-Day in *Timnah*, a City belonging to the *Philiſtines*, being there with his Parents upon that Occaſion, to fall in Love with a Damſel of the Country that he ſaw at that meeting; and upon the ſight of her, he was very earneſt with his Father to procure her for him in Marriage. His Parents told him, that it was againſt the Rules of their Religion to marry with Strangers, and that there was choice enough of Matches among the *Hebrew* Women that were fitter for him. But the Will and Humour of the Son prevailed over the Reaſon and Authority of the Father, and the Love proceeded to a Contract. It was *Samſon's* Fortune, as he was once upon the Way on a Viſit to his Miſtreſs, to encounter a *Lion* directly in his Paſſage. He never ſhrunk or boggled for the Matter, but advanced up to the very Throat of him; and unarm'd, as he was, with his naked Hands ſtrangled him; caſting the Body into a Thicket afterwards by the way-ſide. As he was upon the ſame Journey ſome few Days after, and on the ſame Errand, he ſtept into the Wood to look at the Carcaſs of the *Lion*; and there he found a Swarm of Bees working their Wax and Honey in the Breaſt of him. He took out three Honey-Combs; and with ſome Curioſities that he had gotten together, made a Preſent of them to his Bride Elect. The *Nuptials* being now to be ſolemniz'd, his Wife's Relations and the People of the Place that were invited, aſſigned him thirty of their ſtouteſt young Fellows to wait upon him, as an Inſtance, in Pretence, of the great Honour and Reſpect they had for him; but in Truth, as ſo many Spies and Guards upon him, in Caſe he ſhould be troubleſome in his Cups, being a Man of ſo unruly and incredible a Strength. As the Gueſts grew warm and chearful, and paſſing from one Merriment to another, *Samſon* told the Company that he had a Riddle to propound; and if any of them ſhould reſolve it in ſeven Days, he would be bound to give them every Man a Shirt, and a Coat, as a Reſpect, and a Reward; ſo that they ſhould have both Honour and Profit. Now betwixt thoſe that had a Mind to be thought wiſe, and others that had an Eye upon the Benefit, they accepted the Propoſal by Conſent, and bad him put the Queſtion. *Why then*, ſays he, *the Parable is this.* [*Out of the eater came forth Meat, and out of the ſtrong came forth Sweetneſs.*] In ſhort, the *Philiſtines* laid their Heads together about it, till after three Days puzzling, and never the nearer, they fell to Work at laſt by fair Means and by foul, upon the new Bride, to draw the Secret from her Huſband; threatening, without any more ado, to burn her, unleſs ſhe fiſh'd it out, and made a full Diſcovery of the Secret. *Samſon* ſtood off a while, but in the End, betwixt Tears, Importunities, and Reproaches, (for ſhe imputed his Refuſal to his want of Love) he was prevail'd upon to give her the whole Story, of his killing the *Lion*, and of the *Honey-Combs* he brought her; and ſo expounded the Riddle from End to End, without ſo much as dreaming of any *Myſtery* or *Intrigue*. But ſtill, whatever he told her, ſhe told it again to the *Philiſtines*. The ſeventh Day was now come, which was the preciſe Term appointed for the Solution of this Difficulty; ſo that the *Philiſtines* met before Sun-ſet, and told *Samſon*, by way of Anſwer to his Queſtion, *that nothing is ſtronger than a Lyon, or ſweeter than Honey.* No, ſays *Samſon nor* falſer *than the* Woman *that has given you the* Key *to this* Cypher. This did not hinder *Samſon* yet from making good what he had promiſed; for he ſtript thirty Men of *Aſkalon*, [which are reckon'd among the *Philiſtines*] and made Payment of the Shirts and Coats he had undertaken for. He caſt off his Wife upon't; and ſhe in ſpite marry'd his Friend that ſolicited the Match, which *Samſon* took for ſo unpardonable an Affront, that he determin'd a Revenge, not only upon the Woman, but upon the whole Nation for it; having at that Time alſo a fair Opportunity before him of putting it in ſome Meaſure in Execution. It was then towards Harveſt-Time, and the Corn being ripe upon the Ground, *Samſon* got three hundred Foxes, and tying them Tail to Tail, with Firebrands between them, turn'd them looſe into the Field of the *Philiſtines*. In the Hurry of this Fright, they carry'd the Fire from Place to Place all over the Grounds; and where-ever they came, they deſtroyed all the Fruits of the Earth in an Inſtant. So ſoon as the *Philiſtines* came to underſtand, that it was *Samſon's* doing, and what it was provoked him to it, they ſent the Princes of the Country to *Thamna*, who took up the Wife of *Samſon*, and all her Relations, and burnt them alive, as the Authors of this Calamity.

Samſon *withdraws to* Etam, *a ſtrong Rock in the tribe of* Judah.

Samſon made ſeveral bloody Inrodes into the Land of the *Philiſtines*; and took up his Habitation at *Etam*, a Rock of great Strength, and in the Tribe of *Judah*: againſt which Tribe entire, the *Philiſtines* were now upon the Point of declaring War. The People pleaded for themſelves, that they liv'd quietly, and paid their Taxes, and they hoped they ſhould not be puniſh'd for *Samſon's* Fault; but it was turn'd upon them, that nothing could diſcharge them of *Samſon's* Guilt, but the

The Philiſtines demand Samſon's Perſon.

Three thouſand arm'd Philiſtines *treat with* Samſon.

Samſon *renders himſelf upon Conditions.*

Judges 15. Samſon's *Exploit with the* Jaw Bone of an Aſs.

The Vanity of Samſon *in aſſuming all to himſelf.*

Samſon *ſeized with a parching Thirſt to humble him.*

His Repentance and Prayer.

A Fountain guſhes out of a Rock to quench Samſon's *Thirſt.*

They coop him up in Gaza, *and he carries away the Gates upon his Shouldiers to mount* Hebron.

the delivering up of *Samſon*'s Perſon. They were ſo much concern'd to clear themſelves of this Suſpicion, that they drew together three thouſand arm'd Men, and marched to the Place of his Retreat: Where they enter'd into Expoſtulations with his People, what a Miſchief *Samſon*'s Violence had drawn upon the *Hebrews*, in ſtirring up an Enemy againſt them, that might bring a Ruine perhaps upon the whole Race. Their coming, they ſaid, was only to take Poſſeſſion of his Perſon, and give him up to the *Philiſtines*, which they deſired him to ſubmit to, both for their ſakes and his, as his own voluntary Act. Upon this Overture *Samſon* came down from the Rock, and upon their ſolemn Oath that they would do him no farther Hurt, than barely to deliver him up into the Hands of the Enemy, he rendered up his Perſon to his Country-Men, who led him away, according to the Agreement, near to a Place that was formerly obſcure, but ſince made famous by a memorable Exploit of *Samſon*'s there. Not far from the Enemy's Camp, the People came out in Troops to meet them, with ſhouts of Joy and Exultation, for the good Fortune that had befallen them. *Samſon* in the mean while brake his Chords to Pieces, and with the *Jaw-Bone of an Aſs* that lay there upon the Ground, fell upon the *Philiſtines*, and defeated them; killed a Matter of a thouſand upon the Place, and routed all the reſt. *Samſon* was ſo tranſported upon the Thought of this Victory, that he had the Vanity to aſſume the Honour of the Action to himſelf, without aſcribing the Glory of it to God's Power and Providence, as he ought to have done. But while this arrogant and overweening Humour was yet upon him, he found himſelf ſeized with a violent parching [a] Thirſt; which gave him to underſtand, that after all his Succeſſes, he was but Fleſh and Blood ſtill, and liable to humane Infirmities. The Senſe of this Diſorder brought him to the Knowledge of himſelf, and to a penitent Confeſſion that the Victory was God's, and that he was able to do nothing of himſelf, without the divine Aſſiſtance. He begged Pardon for his paſt Vanity and Preſumption, and ſo caſts himſelf wholly for the Future, upon God's infinite Power and Goodneſs; as his only Dependence for Deliverance out of all his Diſtreſſes. His Prayers were not in vain, for there guſhed immediately out of a Rock near at Hand there, a Stream of delicious Water to relieve him in his raging Drought: Which Rock, from the Exploit of *Samſon*, bears the Name of the *Jaw*, unto this very Day. After this Combat, *Samſon* made nothing of the *Philiſtines*; but went publickly to *Gaza*, and took up his Lodging there in a common Inn. The Governour of the Town getting Notice of it, had Guards and Spies ſet at the Gates to watch him; that he ſhould not give them the Slip; but *Samſon* having ſome Hint of the Deſign, got up at Midnight, and taking the Gates off the Hinges, carried them away upon his Shoulders, Frames, Bolts, Locks, and every Thing that belonged to them, to Mount *Hebron*, and there he left them.

Samſon *hankers after Innovations. He falls in Love with* Dalilah, *a* Philiſtine, *and a* Proſtitute.

Dalilah *is employed to diſcover where his Strength lies.*

He puts her off with three Abuſes.

Samſon was now come by little and little to a great Abatement of the Reverence he formerly had for the Laws of his Country, and conſequently to a hankering after the Laws and Cuſtoms of other Nations, which proved in Time the Foundation of his Ruine. It was his Hap to fall paſſionately in Love with a common Proſtitute of the *Philiſtines*, whoſe Name was *Dalilah*; and the *Amour* was gone ſo far, that they lived and accompanied together. The Judges finding how great a Power this mercenary Woman had over him, made Uſe of her Intereſt, by Flattery and Corruption toward the betraying of him. It was their Buſineſs upon the main, ſome Way or other to deſtroy *Samſon*, and the Part ſhe had to play, was to find out his weak Side, and to diſcover where that invincible Strength of his lay. This was the State and Condition of Affairs betwixt the *Philiſtines* and the *Harlot*; and as there wanted not either Art, or Bribery, on the one ſide, ſo neither was there any failing in the Matter of Treachery, and good Will, on the other; for the bringing of it about ſhe took all Occaſions in his Cups, and Daliances, to be ſtill admiring his ſtrange Activity and Vigour; and nothing would ſerve her, but ſhe muſt needs know where that Excellency lay, that put ſuch an unaccountable Difference betwixt *Samſon*, and all other Men. Now *Samſon* had as yet ſo much Wit in his Freak, as to put off his Miſtreſs at preſent, with a Trick for her Trick: And ſo told her that if his Hands were but bound with *Seven green Withs*, or Creepers of a Vine, it would be with him as it is with other Men. *Dalilah* ſaid no more, but went away preſently to the Magiſtrates with the Story. Upon this Report there were Soldiers ordered privately into the Houſe, who upon the firſt Opportunity of finding *Samſon* drunk, and drowſie, laid hold of him, and bound him according to their Inſtructions: But *Dalilah* awakened him immediately with an Outcry, that the *Philiſtines* were upon him. *Samſon* upon the very inſtant, took the *Alarum*, and ſnapping the Withs like twine Threads, put himſelf in Poſture as for the Encounter of an Enemy.

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[a] *See* Bochart's Hierozoicon, *part* 1, *l.* 2, *c.* 15, *p.* 201, Ed. Lond.

There followed a heavy Squabble a little while after, betwixt *Dalilah* and *Samſon*. *If he had loved her*, ſhe ſaid, *he could never have denied her a Thing her Heart was ſet upon; but ſhe found he durſt not truſt her, and ſo fobbed her off with a Tale; as if ſhe could not keep a Secret as well as another Woman.* At this rate ſhe went on, putting the ſame Queſtion to him over again; and over again he fooled her too, with a Mock-ſtory, that if he were tied up with a Band of ſeven Chords it would do the Work; but upon Trial, that Experiment failed them likewiſe; and ſo did a third alſo, of filleting and twiſting up his Locks. *Dalilah* having been now thrice impoſed upon, was not at all diſcouraged yet, but betwixt Spite and Wilfulneſs, preſſed him ſo hard with freſh Charms and Importunities, that he was now brought to the laſt fatal Neceſſity of yielding up what he could hold no longer; and ſo he up and told her. "That God, *ſays he*, that gave me my Being, hath been pleaſed in his Goodneſs, to take me into his particular Care, and to give me in ſpecial Charge not to ſuffer my Hair to be cut, for that in the Preſervation of that Hair conſiſted my Security and Strength." Upon this Diſcovery, ſhe cut off his Locks in his Sleep, and when he was no longer able to defend himſelf, delivered him up to his Enemies, who put out his Eyes, and carried him up and down in Bonds, for a Spectacle. Some conſiderable Time after this when *Samſon*'s Hair was well grown again, there was a great Meeting of the Princes, and Nobility of the *Philiſtines*, The Feaſt was held in a Building that had only two large Pillars to ſupport the Roof of it. While they were together at this Feſtival, in their Jolity, blind *Samſon* was ſent for to make Sport for the Company. Nothing went ſo near the Heart of him, as the Indignation of finding himſelf out of Condition to be revenged of his inſolent Enemies; but he ſpake to the Boy however that led him, to let him lean againſt one of the Pillars, for he was weary, he ſaid, of ſtanding. The Boy did ſo; and *Samſon*, with all his Might gave the Pillar ſuch a Shake, that he brought down the Houſe upon the Heads of three thouſand Men beſides himſelf, and they were all cruſhed to Death under the Ruines.

After three abuſes, he tells her the Truth at laſt, that his Strength lay in his Hair. *She cuts of his Locks, and delivers him up to his Enemies. Who put out his Eyes and expoſe him for a Spectacle.*

Samſon *brings down the Houſe upon his own, and the Heads of* 3000 Philiſtines.

This was *Samſon*'s End, in the twentieth Year of his Government. He was a Man of wonderful Strength and Courage, and to his immortal Honour, he employed his uttermoſt Force to the Confuſion of his Enemies. It is true that it was his hap to be inveigled by a Woman; and where is he that has not been ſo more or leſs, that carries Fleſh and Blood, and humane Frailty about him? To ſay nothing of his other excellent Qualities, that deſerve eternal Memory. His dead Body was under the Care of his Kindred, who cauſed it to be tranſported to *Saraſa* and there laid by his Fathers.

Samſon *ruled twenty Years.*

CHAP. II.

Of Naomi, Ruth, *and* Booz. *The Birth of* Samuel. *The* Hebrews *defeated by the* Philiſtines.

ELI the high Prieſt ſucceeded *Samſon* in the Government of the *Iſraelites*; and in his Time, there happened a miſerable Famine. *Abimelech*, a Citizen of *Bethlehem*, in the Tribe of *Judah*, that was loth to ſtand it out, took *Naomi* his Wife, and two Sons that he had by her, *Mallon*, and *Chellion*, and ſo withdrew into the Land of *Moab*, where every Thing went proſperouſly with him, and they married their Sons to two Women of the Country; *Chellion* to *Orpha*, and *Mallon* to *Ruth*. Within the Compaſs of ten Years *Abimelech* and his two Sons died, in a ſhort Time one after another. Upon their Deceaſe, *Naomi*, that had now to her inconſolable Affliction, loſt thoſe dear Friends and Relations, for whoſe only ſake ſhe was prevailed upon to quit her Country, with this Change of Affairs changed Counſels too; and reſolved to go back again; eſpecially being informed that Matters at Home were now in a better State than ſhe left them. Her Sons Widows could not endure to think of parting with her, but preſſed her with Importunities, even whether ſhe would or no, to bear her Company. She wiſhed them all manner of good Fortunes, and that they might be happier in their next Husbands than they had been with her Sons, but alas! ſhe was not in Condition, ſhe ſaid, to be any Way helpful to them; and for them to venture a Certainty for an Uncertainty, in the Riſque of ſuch a Journey, only to condole with a miſerable Mother-in-Law, to no ſort of purpoſe; ſhe was utterly againſt it, ſhe ſaid. Upon this reaſoning of the Matter, *Orpha* was over-ruled; but for *Ruth*'s Part, *come Life, come Death, nothing ſhould ever make her forſake her Mother*, ſhe ſaid: So that *Naomi*, without any more Ceremony, went her Way, and took *Ruth* along with her.

Ruth. 1. Eli *ſucceeds* Samſon. *A Famine in his Days.* Abimelech *and* Naomi *his Wife withdraw to* Moab. Abimelech's *two Sons*, Mallon *and* Chellion, *marry* Orpha *and* Ruth. *The Father and his two Sons die not long after.*

Naomi *and* Ruth *go back again to* Bethlem; *but* Orpha *ſtays behind.*

When

Booz *receives them at* Bethlehem, *and treats them kindly.* Ruth. 2.

When they came to *Bethlehem*, they were there received by *Booz*, a Kinſman of *Abimelech*'s, and the People calling *Naomi* by her Name; nay, ſays *Naomi*, let it be rather *Mara:* The former in *Hebrew* ſignifying *Felicity*; the other, *Sorrow*. It was now Harveſt-Time, and *Ruth*, with her Mother's Leave, being gone out a gleaning for ſomewhat to eat, ſhe happened into a Field of *Booz*, who a while after came himſelf, and upon the Sight of this young Woman, enquired more particularly of his Head-Servant what he knew concerning her. So he told his Maſter over again what he had heard from her before. *Booz* was wonderfully pleaſed with the Tenderneſs of her Affection for her Mother-in-Law, and for the Memory of her dead Husband; and therefore ordered his Servant, not only to ſuffer her to glean what ſhe could, but to let her reap, and carry away whatever ſhe had a Mind to, and to ſupply her with Meat and Drink ſufficient, in common with his own People. *Ruth* ſaved Part of the Bread and Proviſions they gave her, for her Mother-in-Law, and at Night carried it to her, with her Gleanings, all together; *Naomi* doing the like for *Ruth*, in what ſhe had received that Day from her charitable Neighbours. As they were together in the Evening, *Ruth* gave her Mother the whole Hiſtory of what paſſed betwixt her and *Booz*; the Mother giving her to underſtand that *Booz* was her near Relation, and that being a conſiderable Perſon, and a Man of great Piety, ſhe did not know but he might take his poor Kindred into his Care. So that *Ruth* went on ſtill, Day after Day, into the Fields a Gleaning with the Maid-Servants of *Booz*, till the Harveſt was over; and then after ſome few Days when the Corn was thraſhed out, *Booz* took up his Lodging in his own Barn, which coming to *Naomi*'s Knowledge, put her upon a Contrivance, how ſhe might bring him and *Ruth* to lie together, to the Advantage of them both: Which was, that *Ruth* ſhould convey her ſelf into the Barn to the Feet of *Booz*, and there lie down to take her Reſt. *Ruth* making a Conſcience of obeying her Mother, did as ſhe was commanded. But *Booz*, being faſt aſleep, knew nothing at all of the Matter, till waking about Midnight, he found that he had gotten a Companion; and calling out to know who it was, *Ruth* told him her Name, and begged his Permiſſion, in the Quality of his Servant, that ſhe might ſtill lie at his Feet. There paſſed no more Words at preſent but early in the Morning before any of the Servants were gotten up to their Work, he called to *Ruth*, and bad her take as much Corn as ſhe could carry, and be gone immediately to her Mother with it, before any Notice could be taken where ſhe had been that Night; for, *ſays he*, in Caſes of this Nature People cannot be too Cautious, let them be never ſo innocent. *But in one Word*, ſays he, *before you go; there is a Perſon nearer to you in Blood than my ſelf. My Advice is, that you demand him for your Husband. If he agrees to it, you are bound to follow him: If he refuſes, I can lawfully take you to Wife my ſelf.* With this ſhort Word of Comfort, *Ruth* returned to her Mother, who upon hearing the Story, bleſſed the Providence of finding her Affairs in ſo good Hands.

Ruth 3.

Ruth, *by the Advice of* Naomi, *lays her ſelf in the Night at the Feet of* Booz.

About the Noon-Time of the Day, *Booz* was back again at the City, where he called a Court, and ſummoned *Ruth* and her Kinſman, to make their Appearance. *Well!* ſays *Booz* to the Kinſman, *If I am not miſtaken, you are at preſent poſſeſſed of the Eſtate of* Abimelech, *and his Sons.* I am ſo, ſays t'other, and the Law has put me in Poſſeſſion of it by Virtue of a Right I have to it by Nearneſs of Blood. Pray, ſays *Booz*, do not talk of the Law by Halves; but whether it be for you, or againſt you, take your Lot in the one Part as well as in the other. Here ſtands before you the Widow of *Mallon*, and you are bound by the Law to marry the Woman, or to quit the Inheritance. The Kinſman excuſed himſelf from marrying her, by ſaying that he had a Wife and Children of his own already; and ſo by a publick Declaration in Court, rendered both the one and the other to *Booz*, he being then the next akin to the deceaſed. *Booz* had this Declaration recorded, and then [a] commanded the Woman to looſen her Kinſman's Shooe, and [b] ſpit in his Face, according to a Formality of Law. This being done he took *Ruth* for his Wife, and within the Compaſs of a Year, ſhe brought him a Son which he committed to the Care of *Naomi*, and by Advice of the Women called him *Obed*, which in *Hebrew*, is as much as *Service*, or *Aſſiſtance*; applying the Name to the *Aſſiſtance* they expected from him to *Naomi* in her old Age. From *Obed* came *Jeſſe*, and *Jeſſe* was the Father of King *David*; in whoſe Family the Government continued for one and twenty Generations. I have been the more particular in this Hiſtory of *Ruth*, to ſet forth the Power, and Diſpenſations of God in his Providence, that brings the greateſt Things to paſs, even by the meaneſt of Inſtruments, advancing to the Throne, many Times, Men of the loweſt Condition, according to his good Pleaſure. This we find verified abundantly in the Genealogy of *David*.

Booz *takes* Ruth *to Wife.*

The Birth of Obed, *from whom came* Jeſſe, *and from* Jeſſe, David.

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[a] *Our Author does not perfectly agree with the Scriptures in this Place. See* Druſius *in his* Quæſt. Hebr. *and* Bonfrerius *upon* Ruth *c.* 4. [b] *I read* πτύσειν *not* τύπτειν *as* Druſius *has obſerved in his* Quæſt. Hebr. *l.* 1. *qu.* 62.

Matters

1 Samuel 2.
Eli's *two Sons*, Hophni *and* Phinehas, *notorious Libertines.*

Matters at this Time went very ill with the *Hebrews*, having engaged themſelves a-freſh in a War with the *Philiſtines*. *Eli* the High-Prieſt had two Sons, *Hophni*, and *Phinehas*; who were Libertines to the higheſt Degree, in the Contempt of Religion, and common Juſtice. They were Men that ſtuck at nothing that was ill. The ordinary Way of Gratuities and honorary Preſents would not ſerve their Turn, unleſs every Thing were extorted from them by Violence and Rapine. They made it their Buſineſs to debauch Women, even at their Devotions, and to corrupt them by Bribes and Flattery, at the very Altar: And all this, with an Inſolence equal to any Tyranny that ever was heard of. The profligate Wickedneſs of theſe licentious Men went to the very Soul of their Father, by Reaſon of the daily Dread and Apprehenſion he lived in, of ſome terrible Judgment that would befall them. To ſay nothing of the Groans of the People under a moſt intolerable Oppreſſion; but when it came ſoon after to be revealed by God to the Father, and to the Prophet *Samuel*, who was at that Time but a Child, what would be the wretched Fate of theſe Men, *Eli* gave them quite over, and mourned for them as already loſt, or dead. But for Order Sake, I ſhall firſt ſpeak a Word of the Prophet, and paſs afterward to the wretched End of theſe lewd young Men, and ſo to the true Cauſe of the Miſeries that befel the *Hebrews*.

1 Sam. 1.

There was one *Elkanah*, a *Levite*, and an Inhabitant of *Ramath*, in the Lot of *Ephraim*, that had two Wives, *Hannah* and *Phenannah*: By the latter he had Children, but by the former, for a good while, none at all: But this Diſappointment however did not one Jot leſſen his Affections to her. Coming one Day with his Family to *Shilo* to worſhip, the holy *Tabernacle* being there, as has been ſaid heretofore, *Elkanah* made a Diſtribution of Part of his own Portion and Proviſion, to his Wives and Children; *Phenannah*, and her little ones, feeding together. This Sight made ſuch an Impreſſion upon *Hannah*, that ſhe look'd upon it as a tacit Reproach of her Barrenneſs, and upon that Thought, betwixt Grief and Envy, burſt out a weeping. Her Husband and Friends did what they could to comfort her; but ſhe rejected all, and in that Paſſion went away directly to the *Tabernacle*: Where ſhe beſought God with earneſt Supplications to grant her the Comfort of a Son, vowing, with a moſt religious Solemnity, to dedicate him wholly, and in a moſt peculiar Manner, to his Worſhip and Service. The Length, and Earneſtneſs of her Prayers gave *Eli*, who was then ſitting before the Tabernacle, an Occaſion to ſuſpect ſhe was in Drink; inſomuch that he called out to that drunken Woman to be gone. She made Anſwer that ſhe drank nothing but Water, only her Heart was heavy for Want of Children; and that ſhe was now imploring God in his Mercy to make her a Mother. *Eli* bad her ſet her Mind at Reſt then, for God would ſend her Children. Upon this Encouragement ſhe went back chearfully to her Husband; fell to her Meat again, (which before went againſt her Stomach) and ſo returned with her Husband into the Country, where, after a while, ſhe conceived, and in due Time brought forth a Son, whom they called *Samuel*; that is to ſay, *Asked of God*. The Parents returning to *Shilo*, to offer up Sacrifice, and pay their *Tenths*, according to Cuſtom, and to give God Thanks for the Bleſſing of a Son, the Woman was not unmindful of her Vow but delivered the Child up to *Eli*, and dedicated him to God. They let his Hair grow; his Drink was altogether Water, and his Station about the *Temple* where he officiated, and was in Time to become a Prophet. *Hannah*, after this, brought *Elkanah* other Sons, and three Daughters.

Hannah *the Wife of* Elkanah *prays earneſtly for a Son, and vows it to God.*

Eli *comforts* Hannah *with the Promiſe of a Son.*

The Birth of Samuel.

Samuel *begins to propheſy at thirteen Years of Age.*
1 Sam. 3.

When *Samuel* was juſt entered into the thirteenth Year of his Age, he began to propheſy; and as he lay aſleep one Night, God called him by Name. He took it for *Eli*'s Voice, and ſo went to him to know his Pleaſure; but *Eli* had not called him, he ſaid; and ſo he told him over and over again, upon a ſecond, and a third Call after the ſame Manner: But *Eli* finding at laſt where the Miſtake lay, told him that it was God that called him; wherefore, my Son, ſays *Eli*, whenever thou heareſt the Voice again, let this be thy Anſwer; *Here I am Lord*; *ſpeak, for thy Servant heareth, and is ready to obey thee.* The Words that *Eli* put into his Mouth, *Samuel* made Uſe of at the next Call, and the Voice then went forward, ſaying, "Since thou art here at Hand, I will now give thee to know, that the *Iſraelites* " are at this Inſtant upon the Brink of ſo dreadful a Calamity, that is not to be ex" preſſed, or believed, and hardly to be conceived. The two Sons of *Eli* ſhall " be cut off both in a Day; the High-Prieſthood taken away for ever, from himſelf " and his Family, and transferred to *Eleazar*; for *Eli* (ſays the Voice) hath had " more Regard to his Sons, than to my Worſhip, though to the common Deſtruction " of them all." *Samuel* was not willing to be the Reporter of theſe diſmal Tidings to *Eli*, and his Family, but being adjured by the High-Prieſt to give him a faithful Account of the whole Revelation, he delivered it in Order from Point to Point,

God foretels the Death of Eli's *two Sons, and the transferring of the Prieſthood from his Family to* Eleazar.

and left the old Man no Place to doubt of the inevitable Deſtruction of his Sons. *Samuel*'s Reputation encreaſed daily for a Prophet that never failed.

1 Sam. 4.

The Hebrews *loſe* 4000 *Men in a Battle with the* Philiſtines.

The Ark *is brought into the Army.*

At the ſame Time the *Philiſtines* marched with an Army againſt the *Iſraelites*, and encamped in *Ampheck*; but meeting there with no Oppoſition, they advanced farther, and came ſoon after to Battle, wherein the *Hebrews* were routed; and having loſt 4000 upon the *Place*, the Remainder fled, and were purſued to their very Tents. This blow ſtruck the *Hebrews* with ſo mortal a Dread, that they gave all in a Manner, for as good as loſt, and ſent immediately to the High-Prieſt, and the Elders, to cauſe the Ark of God to be brought into the Army; that by its Preſence they might obtain a Victory; little dreaming that they were doomed to Deſtruction by a higher Power than that of the *Ark*; nay, by that divine Original, for whoſe Sake alone the *Ark* it ſelf was had in Veneration. The *Ark* however was brought into the Field, the Sons of the High-Prieſt attending it with a Charge that if it ſhould happen to be loſt, they ſhould never look their Father in the Face again. *Phinehas* aſſiſted only as the old Man's Deputy, who was far gone in Years, and out of Condition for that Service. The Preſence of the *Ark* inſpired the *Hebrews* with new Courage; as if the very Appearance of it brought Victory along with it, while the other Side looked upon it as a Foreboding of their Ruine; but upon the Event, they both found themſelves miſtaken; for the Hopes of the one were diſappointed, and ſo were the Fears of the other alſo; if an Error to their Advantage may be called a Diſappointment. But in ſhort, the *Hebrews* turned their Backs upon the firſt Encounter, loſt 30000 upon the Spot; the two Sons of *Eli* fell in the Number, and the *Ark* itſelf remained in the Poſſeſſion of the Enemy.

30000 Hebrews *loſt in another Battle; the Sons of* Eli *being in the Number; and the* Ark *taken.*

CHAP. XII.

The Death of Eli *for the Loſs of the* Ark; *and the Birth of* Ichabod.

1 Sam. 4.

THE ſad News of this Overthrow, and the taking of the *Ark*, being brought to *Shiloh* by a young *Benjamite* that made his Eſcape out of the Battle, filled the City with mournful Cries and Lamentations, which coming to the Ear of the High-Prieſt, as he ſat mounted upon a High-Chair at one of the Gates, gave him reaſonably to preſume the Truth of the Matter, and that ſome miſerable Diſaſter had befallen the Army. So he called for the young Man to ſpeak with him, from whom he underſtood the Particulars, and the Event of the Battle. As for the Loſs of Men, and for the Death of his Sons, he ſupported that Part of the Story with Conſtancy enough, being, in Truth, prepared for it by a Revelation, which gave him Foreknowledge of ſo much of the Calamity, and he bare it the better, in Regard that it was no Surprize to him. But when he came to the Circumſtance of *the Ark being taken*, the Stroke was ſo unexpected, that he ſunk under the Weight of it; dropt down from his Feet, and gave up the Ghoſt; in the Ninety-Eighth-Year of his Age, and the fortyeth of his Government. The Wife of *Phineas*, that was ſeven Months gone with Child, fell in Labour upon the News of her Husband's Death, and died the ſame Day; but the Child lived, and was called *Ichabod:* (That is to ſay, *Shame* and *Ignominy*) pointing at the Diſgrace of that defeat.

Eli *falls down dead upon the News of the* Ark's *being taken.*

The Succeſſion of the High-Prieſthood.

Eli was the firſt of the Family of *Ithamar*, (another of the Sons of *Aaron*) that exerciſed the Function of High-Prieſt; for till then, it paſſed from Father to Son in the Line of *Eleazar*, who left it to *Phineas*; and he to his Son *Abiezer:* from him it went to his Son *Bocejas*, and thence to his Son *Ozis*, whence afterward to *Eli*, of whom we are now ſpeaking; and in his Family it continued till the Reign of King *Solomon*, after which it returned again to the Houſe of *Eleazar*.

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* Ἰωχάβης Joſ.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

From the Year of the World 2850, to 2890.

CHAP. I.

The Taking of the Ark. Dagon *falls down before it. The Plagues that attended it, till it was brought back again.*

1 Sam. 5.

The Ark *carry'd in Triumph to the Temple of* Dagon.

Dagon *falls down before the* Ark.

AFTER this Rout of the *Hebrews*, and the taking of the *Ark* Priſoner, as is ſaid already, the *Philiſtines* carry'd it to [a] *Azotus*, in Triumph, and there lodged it among other Donatives, and Trophies, in the Temple of their God *Dagon*. Upon coming thither next Day to their Morning Devotions, there was *Dagon* tumbled down from his *Pedeſtal*, and lying flat upon the Ground before the *Ark*. This Accident put them into a ſuperſtitious Confuſion what to think of it; but they preſently helped him up again, and put him in his former Place. They continued going and coming, off and on, as they had Occaſion, and ſtill as they ſet him Right one Day, they were ſure to find him proſtrate upon the Floor, and in a Poſture of adoring the *Ark* next Time they came, which ran in the People's Heads as the worſt of *Omens*. In Concluſion, the City and Province of *Azotus* was viſited with a moſt judicial Plague of the Guts, which rotted them alive, and carry'd them off by a violent *Dyſentery*, with Vomitings and Torments not to be expreſs'd. They had another Plague in the Fields too; that is to ſay, ſuch Swarms of Mice that they laid all waſte wherever they came; Plants, Fruit, Corn, and in Short, nothing ſcap'd them. While the People of *Azotus* lay groaning under theſe Afflictions, without any Hope or Proſpect of Eaſe or Remedy, they came to underſtand that all this had befall'n them for their ſacrilegious Violence upon the *Ark*; and that at this Rate, all Things conſider'd, they had paid dear for the Victory: So that they ſent a Meſſenger with a Requeſt to the People of *Aſcalon*, that they would be pleaſed to take the *Ark* into their City; who were ſo far from any Difficulty of complying with them that they moſt thankfully admitted it. After a ſhort Time they found that the Judgments went along with the *Ark*; for the very Plagues of *Azotus* were now tranſported to *Aſcalon:* And it ſtaid not long there neither, but was ſtill ſent away from Place to Place, one after another, till it had travell'd through five of the *Philiſtines* Cities; and wherever it went, the ſame Calamities attended it, with ſuch a Mortality, as if divine Juſtice had impoſed a Tribute upon the Violators of God's holy Worſhip. The *Ark* wander'd, in Fine, ſo long, and ſo far, that People were grown ſhy of it, and would have nothing further to do with it: So that it was now the Queſtion, how to get quit of it for good and all.

The Judgments that follow'd upon the Detention of the Ark.

The Ark *removed to* Aſcalon.

The Plagues that went along with it, through the five Cities of Gath, Ekron, Aſcalon, Gaza, *and* Aſhdod.

1 Sam. 6.

A Council about the Ark, *what to do with it.*

To this End, there was a Council call'd of the principal Men of the five Cities before ſpoken of: That is to ſay, of [b] *Gath*, *Ekron*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Aſhdod*, to adviſe what Meaſures to take upon this Occaſion. Some were of Opinion at firſt, for ſending the *Ark* back to the Owners of it; for the God, they ſaw, that had it under his Care, would vindicate it, having already upon that Account deſtroy'd their People with peſtilential Diſeaſes, and laid ſeveral of their Cities deſolate. There were ſome again, that would not allow the *Ark* to be a Thing of Moment enough to make all this Buſtle about. *If God*, they cry'd, *had ſuch a Kindneſs for it, why did he ſuffer the Enemy to take it?* (And an Enemy of another Religion too.) So that this Party was abſolutely againſt the ſending of it Home again; adviſing them rather to bear the common Chances of humane Life with Courage, and Patience: And to conſider, like wiſe Men, that there was nothing in all this, but according to the Courſe of Nature, that has a Power over Men's Bodies, Plants, Seaſons, and the like, to do greater Wonders than any Thing here amounted to. There remained yet another Sort, and Men of Gravity and Experience too, that adviſed a middle Courſe betwixt either ſending it Home, or detaining it; and this Expedient carry'd it from the former, as being more congruous to the preſent Humour and Affair. The Propoſal was this, that there ſhould be made *five golden Images*, one for each of the five Cities, and dedicated to God, in Acknowledgment of his Goodneſs in delivering them from a Plague by his Almighty Power, which was out of the Reach of any natural Remedy to relieve. They propounded alſo ~~*five golden Mice*, alluding~~ to the Vermin that devour'd their Plants; all to be put in a Box, and laid upon the *Ark*; the *Ark* it ſelf to be put into a new Wagon, made expreſly for that Service, and ſo to be drawn by two Milch-Kine, their Calves ſhut up, and left behind to keep them from lingring upon the Way: This Wagon, with the *Ark*, to be conducted to the parting of three Ways; and the Cattle there left at Liberty to go whither they pleas'd. If they took the *Hebrew* Road, and went forward in it, the Calamities they ſuffer'd might be imputed to the *Ark*; but if they bent their Courſe any other Way, they might conclude there was nothing of the *Ark* in the Caſe. This Advice was the Senſe of every Man that was there preſent; and it was ſoon after put in Execution: Every Thing being proceeded according to the Order; the Wagon drawn out to the Croſs-Way; and the Company leaving it.

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[a] *Aſhdod.*

[b] In the Original, *Gitta*, *Accaron*, *Askalon*, *Gaza*, and *Azotus*.

A Reſolution taken how to diſpoſe of the Ark.

CHAP. II.

The Joy of the Iſraelites *at the Return of the* Ark. *A miraculous Victory obtain'd over the* Philiſtines.

1 Sam. 6. *The Beaſts carry the* Ark *into the* Hebrew *Way, and ſo ſtop at* Beth-ſhemeth.

THE Beaſts being left to themſelves, ſtruck directly into the *Hebrew* Way, and went forward in it as directly as if they had been led, or driven. Divers *Philiſtines* following at a Diſtance, out of a Curioſity to ſee whither they would go, and where they would take up. They went travelling on till they came to [a] *Bethſhemeth*, a Village in the Tribe of *Judah*; and there they ſtopt, notwithſtanding the Temptation of a large Plain in Sight to invite them further. It was now Summer-Harveſt, and the People all buſy about their Corn; but upon this Occaſion there came great Multitudes thronging in: Some from their Work; others from their Houſes in the Village, to ſee the *Ark*; and overjoy'd they were at the Occaſion. Upon coming to the Wagon, they took down the *Ark* and the Box, with the Images, and Mice in it, and ſet them down upon a great Stone that was there in the Field. After this, they ſacrificed and feaſted; preſenting both the Wagon it ſelf, and the Beaſts that drew it, to God, for a Burnt-Offering. So ſoon as this Ceremony was over, the *Philiſtines*, that had follow'd them thus far, returned into their own Country. Upon this Occaſion ſeveral of the *Bethſhemites*, to the Number of *Seventy*, fell under God's Diſpleaſure for the Temerity of laying prophane Hands upon the *Ark*, without the due Authority and Qualification of the Prieſthood. This Judgment caſt a terrible Damp upon the Spirits of the Multitude in the Middle of their Rejoycings, to ſee ſo many of their Friends and Companions taken away from them by ſo judicial a Stroke. By this Calamity, they became conſcious to themſelves of their own Unworthineſs to have the *Ark* of God lodged under their Care: So that they ſent Meſſengers up and down to all the *Hebrews*, with Advice, that the *Philiſtines* had brought it back again. Upon this Notice, it was forthwith tranſported to *Kiriath-Jearim*, not far from *Bethſhemeth* in the Houſe of *Aminadab*, a *Levite*; a Man of great Repute for Religion and Integrity, and

The People ſacrifice, and feaſt for Joy at the Ark's *coming back.*

The Ark *tranſported to* Kiriath-Jearim, *into the Houſe of* Aminadab, *a* Levite.

[a] Βαθσάμη, *Joſ.*

therefore the fitter for the Entertainment of ſo ſacred a Truſt. It was committed to the Charge of himſelf, and his Sons, and with them it reſted twenty Years; (ſaving only the four Months that it was detained by the *Philiſtines*,) to the great Honour of themſelves, and the Satisfaction of the People. For the twenty Years that the *Ark* continued at *Kiriath-Jearim*, the People ſpent their whole Time almoſt in Prayers and Sacrifices, Attendances upon Gods Worſhip, and the Exerciſe of holy Duties. *Samuel* took an Occaſion from this good Diſpoſition of the Multitude, to *harrangue* them upon the Subject of Liberty, and the Bleſſings that attend it; accommodating his Diſcourſe very pertinently, both to the Seaſon, and to his Buſineſs.

1 Sam. 7.
It continued there twenty Years.

Ye Men of Iſrael, ſays he, *ſince you find by Experience that the Malice of your Enemies is implacable, and that your earneſt Supplications to God for Relief, are graciouſly receiv'd; you ſhall do well to conſider, that your wiſhing for the Freedom you want, will never do your Buſineſs, without exerting your Power to the uttermoſt, upon the proper Means of procuring it; for to do otherwiſe, is but praying one Way and acting another. Wherefore, in the firſt Place, be careful not to bring a Scandal upon your Profeſſion by ill Manners, but inure your ſelves to the Love and Practice of Juſtice, without Partiality or Corruption. Purge your Minds of all groſs Affections; turn to God, call upon him, and adore him; and honour him in your Lives and Converſations, as well as with your Lips. Do good Things and Good will come of it: That is to ſay, Liberty, and Victory; for theſe are Bleſſings not to be obtain'd by Force of Men, Strength of Body, or Bands of Soldiers; but God, who is Truth it ſelf, hath promiſed them, as the Rewards of Probity and Righteouſneſs; and you may depend upon it, he will never diſappoint you.* This Diſcourſe was follow'd with the Acclamation of the whole Multitude, who with one Voice made a ſolemn Profeſſion of their Readyneſs to do or ſuffer any Thing that it ſhould pleaſe God to will, and command them.

Samuel *to the Multitude, upon the Subject of Religion, Liberty, and good Manners.*

Samuel, after this, ſummoned the People to a Congregation in a City call'd [a] *Mizpeh*, (That is to ſay, *conſpicuous*) where they drew Water, and ſacrificed; ſpending the whole Day in Faſting and Prayer. The *Philiſtines*, in the mean Time, were not without Intelligence of this Meeting of the *Hebrews*; and ſo they advanced toward them with a very great Army, deſigning to fall upon them, while they were utterly unprepared for Action, and not ſo much as dreaming of any Occaſion for it. This Surprize put them in the greateſt Terror imaginable; inſomuch, that they went trembling, and half Dead to *Samuel* for Advice what to do; telling him flat and plain, that *they had neither Hearts, nor Strength, to encounter an Enemy by whom they had been ſo often worſted. They ſhould be glad to be quiet*, they ſaid, *without provoking ſo powerful an Adverſary.* They told him that they came thither in Obedience only to his Order, to offer up Prayers and Sacrifices, and to enter into a military Oath of Fidelity; and *here are we*, they ſaid, *naked, and unarmed, at Mercy, without any Hope or Poſſibility of coming-off, unleſs you can prevail with God to reſcue us miraculouſly out of the Hands of the* Philiſtines. *Samuel* bad them fear nothing; for God had promis'd them his Protection and Aſſiſtance, and he would moſt certainly make good his Word. So *Samuel* ſacrificed a ſucking Lamb to God, in the Name of the People; imploring his Aid againſt the Power of the *Philiſtines*, in Favour of the *Hebrews*, who put their whole Truſt in him, and not to forſake them at preſent, in the Danger of a ſecond, and a final Ruine. God accepted of the Sacrifice, and anſwer'd *Samuel*'s Requeſt with the comfortable Aſſurance of giving the *Hebrews* an entire Victory. But while the Sacrifice was yet upon the Altar, and not wholly conſumed, the *Philiſtines* drew out in a Body, and preſented themſelves in Order of Battle, in ſuch Hopes and Aſſurances of a Victory, as if the *Jews* were already taken and ſurpriz'd; without either Arms or Order, or the leaſt Thought or Deſign of fighting. The Event however prov'd ſo contrary to what they expected, that if the Iſſue had been foretold by an Oracle it would not have been believ'd.

Samuel *calls an Aſſembly to* Mizpeh.
The Philiſtins *advance with a great Army.*

The Hebrews *in a Fright repair to* Samuel.

Samuel *offers up Prayers and Sacrifices on their Behalf.*

A comfortable Aſſurance of an entire Victory.

In the firſt Place, God ſhook the Foundations of the Earth under the Feet of the *Philiſtines*, ſo that they could not ſtand without ſtaggering. Elſewhere it open'd, and ſwallow'd them up alive before they knew where they were: And all this, accompanied with ſuch dreadful Claps of Thunder, and Flaſhes of Lightening, that their very Eyes, and Limbs were ſcorched, to the Degree that they could neither ſee their Way before them, nor ſtand to their Arms. In this Conſternation, they fled in as defenceleſs a Condition, as if they had been ſo many naked Men

A terrible Earthquake, with Thunder and Lightning.

The Philiſtins *in a Conſternation fly before the* Hebrews.

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[a] Μασφάθιν Joſ.

without their Arms; *Samuel* and his People following them upon the Heel with a terrible Slaughter, [a] till they came to a Place called *Chore*; and there he fixed a kind of monumental Stone, in the Nature of a *Trophee*, for a Mark of the Bounds, both of the Victory, and of the Chace, calling the Place, the [*Strong*,] in Remembrance of God's powerful Aſſiſtance of his People in the Action. The *Philiſtines* were ſo cow'd, and caſt down with this Diſaſter, that betwixt the Dread they had of the *Hebrews*, and the Memory of what they ſuffer'd, they never had the Hearts afterward to lift up their Hands againſt them; but contented themſelves to ſit down Loſers, and to keep within their Bounds. The ancient Courage of the *Philiſtines* was now gone over to the other Side: And *Samuel* would not give them over, till by Inroads, Freſh and Freſh upon them, and frequent Executions, he had brought down the Stomachs of the whole Nation to the loweſt Degree of Deſpondency and Abjection. In this Courſe of Succeſſes, he retook the Country that lies betwixt *Gath* and *Ekron*, which the *Philiſtines* had formerly taken from the *Jews*. But there was Peace at this Time betwixt the *Hebrews* and the *Chanaanites*.

Samuel *recovers all the Country they had loſt betwixt* Gath *and* Ekron.

CHAP. III.

Samuel *being now in Years, transfers the Government to his two Sons.*

SO ſoon as *Samuel* had put the People in ſome Sort of Order, and reinſtated them in the Poſſeſſion of their Lands and Cities, he appointed publick Meetings at certain Times and Places, for the hearing of Cauſes, and Adminiſtration of common Juſtice: Taking a Progreſs twice a Year into all thoſe Towns of Appeal, and Law-Buſineſs, to ſee Right done, himſelf; making it his principal Care ſtill, not to depart from the Laws of his Country. This was the Polity and Method of his Management for a long Time: But in the End, when old Age, and the Weakneſſes that attend it, had put his Body out of Condition for the perſonal Performance of theſe publick Offices, he devolved the Authority and Care of the whole upon his two Sons, *Joel*, and *Abiah*; the former, the elder, and the other, the younger: Directing them to make a Diſtribution of the People into two Diviſions, and the two Brothers to go ſeveral Circuits; the one to have his Court of Judicature at *Bethel*; the other at *Beerſheba*.

The excellent Polity and Method of Samuel's *Government.*

1 Sam. 8.

Samuel, *now in Years, devolves the Care of the Government upon his two Sons,* Joel *and* Abiah: *Appointing them their Walks and Circuits.*

We may learn from hence, that Sons do not always take after their Fathers, either for good, or for evil: But many an excellent Father has a wicked Wretch to his Son; and ſo on the Contrary, a ſober conſcientious Child, may be the Son of a graceleſs Father: As theſe young Men for Example, without any Regard to the Doctrine, and Practice of *Samuel*, ſteered a Courſe directly contrary to the Prudence and Equity of his Inſtitutions and Meaſures They proſtituted the ſacred Name of Juſtice for Mony, making Judgment to be mercenary; and in this State of Corruption, Controverſies were decided by the Value of the Bribe, not the Righteouſneſs of the Cauſe. They were ſtill guzzling at their Treats and Collations, when they ſhould have been upon the Bench, and ſo abandon'd to their Avarice and Pleaſure, as if they had deliberately entred into an equal Defyance of the Will and Commands of their God, and of their Father: For *Samuel* lay'd nothing more to Heart than the Care of keeping the People in the Train of a dutiful Obedience to their Superiours, and in the Knowledge and Obſervance of common Juſtice one with another.

The Sons of Samuel *degenerate.*

CHAP. IV.

The Iſraelites *preſs earneſtly for a King, and God in his Wrath gives them one.*

THE People were ſo outragiouſly tranſported againſt the Sons of *Samuel*, to ſee ſuch Havock made of ſo excellent a Frame of Government, both in Reſpect of Policy and of Manners, that they went preſently Open-Mouth to the Father, who was then at *Ramah*, with a grievous Complaint againſt his Sons for

The People are weary of Samuel's *Sons.*

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[a] Μέχρι Κορραίων τόπου τινός.

their Miſgovernment in General, and the Particulars at Length, of their Male-Adminiſtration; making it their earneſt Requeſt to him, in Regard of his own Crazineſs of Body, and the intolerable Extravagancy of his Sons, that he would ſet ſome King over them, under whoſe Conduct they might revenge themſelves upon the *Philiſtines*, for the Injuries they had done them.

And preſs to have a King over them.

Now theſe Words to *Samuel*, who was naturally a Lover of Juſtice, and a profeſs'd Enemy to *Tyranny*, went ſo near the Heart of him (being in his Judgment alſo for an *Ariſtocraſy*, as a Form moſt accommodate to the Well-Being of the People) that he could neither eat nor ſleep, for the Thought of it; but lay toſſing and turning himſelf all Night, reſtleſs, and unquiet. While he was thus labouring under an Anxiety of Mind, God appeared to him in a Viſion, and for his Comfort, bad him trouble himſelf no further with this Remonſtrance of the People: For, *ſays the Voice*, they have not caſt off *you*, but *me*, to the End that I alone ſhould not reign over them: And this is no more than the ſame Thing over again that they began with, when they were firſt brought out of *Ægypt*: Wherefore let them go their own Way; but they ſhall dearly rue it e're it be long, and abhor themſelves for their Ingratitude, both to me, and to my Prophet; but it will be then too late, and to no Purpoſe; for when the Thing is once done 'tis never to be undone. Wherefore, I will have you give them a King, and he ſhall be a King of my deſigning too; but before they go any further, tell them the Miſeries they are now drawing upon their own Heads. Do as I bid you; but let them ſee at the ſame Time how much it goes againſt your Heart to comply with them.

Samuel *could not ſleep all Night for the Thought of this.*

God tells Samuel *they have not caſt off thee but me.*

God orders Samuel *to give them a King.*

Samuel, according to his Commiſſion and Inſtructions, ſummoned an Aſſembly to meet the next Day, paſſing his Promiſe that he would aſſign them a King, but not without letting them know before-hand, what they were to endure under that Form of Government. *Your new King*, ſays he, *ſhall take your Sons to drive his Chariots, and to be his Horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his Chariots; others he will make Tribunes, and Centurions; ſome again he will ſet to till his Ground, reap his Harveſt, dig in his Vineyards, and make him Inſtruments both for War, and for other Purpoſes. There is nothing ſo mean, or extravagant, but you ſhall be forc'd to do it, like Slaves bought with his Money. He will make your Daughters Perfumers, Cooks, and Paſtry-Servants; compelling them to do all that upon Neceſſity, which the meaneſt of your Slaves are frighted into for Fear of Correction and Blows. He ſhall give away your Poſſeſſions to his Eunuchs, and Guards; divide your Flocks and Herds among his Favourites; but to ſay all in a Word, You and yours ſhall be as much his Vaſſals as his own Domeſticks. When you come to find all this to be true, remember what I foretold you. When that Day comes, you ſhall beg to be quit of your King, with as much Importunity as ever you did to have one. You ſhall then curſe your Obſtinacy, and reflecting upon your Sins cry to God for Mercy, in the Anguiſh of your Souls, and not obtain it. You ſhall deſpair under the Repulſe, and ſuffer the Puniſhments of your Wickedneſs in the Torment of a guilty Conſcience.*

Samuel *calls an Aſſembly, and promiſes them a King: Telling them firſt what Kind of King it will be.*

The People are foretold they ſhall repent, when 'tis too late.

Theſe Counſels and Premonitions wrought no more upon the Multitude than if they had been all deaf; for they ſhut their Ears againſt all that could be offer'd them, either of Sobriety, or ſound Reaſon; and inſtead of deſiſting, nothing would ſerve them but a *King* immediately at a Venture. *They could not defend themſelves*, they ſaid, *againſt their Enemies under any other Form of Government; and why ſhould not they have a King as well as their Neighbours?* When *Samuel* found them ſo untractably wilful, in Deſpite of all Counſels and Forebodings, he diſmiſs'd them all to their own Homes, with this Aſſurance, that he would call them together again ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould receive Direction from God what *King* to give them.

CHAP. V.

Saul *declared King.* Nahaſh *beſieges* Jabeſh. Saul *relieves it, and gives the Enemy a total Defeat.*

THERE was one *Kis*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, a Man well born and bred, that had a Son whoſe Name was *Saul*; a Man of a proper, goodly Stature, and a Mind anſwerable to the Graces of his Body. The Father took much Pleaſure in a Breed of *Aſſes* he had, above all his other Beaſts; and ſome of them being

1 Sam. 9.

Saul *the Son of* Kis, *of the Tribe of* Benjamin, *is ſent abroad to look after his Father's Aſſes.*

ing miſſing, he ſent his Son abroad, and one Servant with him, to look after them. When he had ſought, and enquired from one Tribe to another, without any Tydings of them, he put himſelf upon his Way Home again, for Fear his Father ſhould be troubled to think what was become of him. As they were upon the Way near *Ramah*, the Servant told *Saul* that there was a famous Prophet liv'd there, and adviſed him to go and enquire of him, after the Aſſes. Ay, but ſays *Saul*, I have not wherewithal about me to gratify him for his Pains, for the Stock is all ſpent that I brought out with me. The Servant told him that he himſelf had a *Quarter-Sicle* left yet; and he thought that might be ſufficient; not underſtanding that this was none of the Prophets that make a Trade of diſcovering Things loſt, for Money. So they went forward, and meeting ſeveral Damſels at the Gates of the Town going out to fetch Water, asked them whereabouts the Prophet liv'd. They ſhew'd them the Houſe, and told them, that if they had any Buſineſs with him, they ſhould do well to make Haſte, and get to him before he went to Supper; for he had invited a great Deal of Company that Night, and they ſtaid only for his Coming, to take his Place with the reſt of his Gueſts.

He goes to the Prophet Samuel, *to enquire after them.*

Saul's *coming to* Samuel *was foretold him.*

Samuel had been cloſe at his Prayers the whole Day before, for Directions from God what King to ſet up; and he was anſwered, that the next Day he ſhould receive his Order; for there ſhould come a young Man to him of the Tribe *Benjamin*, at the ſame Hour. *Samuel* ſat waiting in the Houſe all this while, in Expectation of this *Benjamite*, till the preciſe Hour was come, and then going down to Supper, there was *Saul* in his Way, whom he knew by an immediate Inſpiration to be the Perſon that was deſign'd for the Government. *Saul* went forwards toward *Samuel*, and with a fair Civility, told him he was a Stranger, and ſo deſir'd the Favour of him to know where he might find the Prophet. *Samuel*'s Anſwer was, that he had found him already; and ſo taking him to Supper, he diſcover'd unto him not only that the *Aſſes* he ſought for were all ſafe; but that he himſelf was upon the Point of being advanced from that Employment to the higheſt Pitch of ſovereign Power. Alaſs! *my Lord*, ſays *Saul*, I have no ſuch Thing in my Hope, or Thought, as you do me the Honour to imagine: Neither am I of a Tribe, or Family that ſets up for Kings. It looks as if you were not in Earneſt, to put a Fancy in my Head of a Dignity ſo much above my Condition. The Supper waited, and the Prophet took *Saul*, and placed him above the reſt of his Gueſts, (who were ſeventy in Number) and his Servant next him, giving Order to the Waiters to bring *Saul* a royal Meſs. There they ſat till towards Bed-Time, when the Company brake up, and every Man went to his own Home, ſaving only *Saul* and his *Servant*, who ſtaid with the Prophet that Night.

Samuel *takes* Saul *to Supper with him.*

1 Sam. 10.

Samuel *anoints* Saul, *and pronounces him King.*

Samuel *foretells* Saul *what ſhould befall him in his Journey.*

By Break of Day next Morning, *Samuel* call'd up his Gueſt, and ſet him onward of his Way. When they were gotten out of the City, he deſir'd *Saul* to bid his Servant go a little before; for he had ſomewhat to ſay to him in Private. He did ſo; and when the Prophet had him alone, he took out a Glaſs of Oil, and pouring it on his Head, he pronounced and ſaluted him *King*, upon that Anointing; telling him that this Honour was done him in Expectation that he ſhould protect the *Hebrews*, and do them Right upon the *Philiſtines*, for the Injuries that had been put upon them. *Now*, ſays *Samuel*, *for the better Authority of what I tell you, ſatisfy your ſelf with this Token, you ſhall fall into Company upon your Journey, with three Men going to* Bethel *to worſhip: One of them carrying three Loaves, the ſecond a Kid, and the third a Bottle of Wine. They ſhall treat you with Reſpect, and give you two of their Loaves, which you are to receive. You will then advance to the Sepulchre of* Rachel, *where you ſhall meet the News of your Aſſes being found. After that, you will go to* Gabatha, *and join your ſelf to a Congregation of Prophets that you ſhall find there, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God, you your ſelf ſhall propheſy in Company with them, to the Aſtoniſhment of all that ſhall ſee and hear you: Inſomuch that People ſhall ſay among themſelves in Admiration, how comes the Son of* Kis *to be found among the Prophets? When this comes to paſs, you may conclude for a Certainty that the Hand of God is in it. You may go then to your Father, and your Kindred; and when I ſend to you, come to me to* Gilgal, *where we may offer up our Prayers to God, with Sacrifices and Thankſgiving.* Upon theſe Words they parted, and *Saul* found every Circumſtance in his Journey to fall out, as *Samuel* had foretold him.

Upon coming back to his Father's Houſe, his Kinſman *Abner* (for whom he had a very great Kindneſs and Eſteem) was mightily inquiſitive into the Story of his late Adventure, and *Saul* very frankly told him the whole Buſineſs of his going to the Prophet, and how he came to hear of his *Aſſes* again, but not one Word of his Elevation to the Throne, for Fear, either of drawing an Envy upon him, if it ſhould be believ'd, or of incurring the Cenſure of a vain whimſical Man, if it ſhould be miſtruſted: So that though *Abner* was his ſingular Friend, and near Relation, yet conſidering that Men's Affections are changeable, and Fleſh and Blood frail, he thought it ſafer, and more diſcreet, to reſerve himſelf upon that Point; for Men do naturally caſt an evil Eye upon other People's Proſperity, in Preference to themſelves, even where the diſtinguiſhing Favour of God ſhews it ſelf moſt remarkably in the Bleſſing. The next Thing *Samuel* had to do, was to call the People together; which he did, and they met at [a] *Mizpah*; where, in a full Congregation he deliver'd himſelf to this Effect.

Samuel *calls the People together.*

Samuel's *Diſcourſe upon the Subject of God's Goodneſs, and the People's Ingratitude, in renouncing* God *for their* King.

I am now, by the Command, and in the Name of God, to tell you, that it was he that deliver'd you out of your Ægyptian Bondage, *and again and again reſcu'd you out of the Hands of your Enemies, when they had you under their Feet at Mercy. I am likewiſe to mind you of your Contumacy and Ingratitude toward that God, in Return for all thoſe Mercies and Benefits: How you have, as much as in you lay, depoſed him from his Authority over you, and rather choſen a Man of your own Make and Frailty, than the Almighty* King of Kings *for your Governour; as if any Ruler would do better for you than he that made you: A* King, *that ſhall treat his Subjects like Beaſts, at Will and Pleaſure, and uſe them only as Inſtruments and Miniſters of his Paſſions and Luſts. But well! my Brethren, ſince you are unalterably determin'd to have it ſo, and for the Sake of an inconſiderate Tranſport of Levity to caſt off all Manner of Reverence for the Duties of Honour, Honeſty, and Conſcience: Since this, I ſay, is your final Reſolution; a* King *you ſhall have, and therefore divide your ſelves into Tribes and Families, and put it then to the Lot who ſhall be the Man.* They did ſo, and the Lot of the *Tribe* fell upon *Benjamin.* That of the *Families,* upon *Matri*; and in Concluſion, when they came to try it Man by Man, the *perſonal* Lot fell upon *Saul* the Son of *Kis:* Who being made Privy to all this before-hand, ſlipt out of the Way ſo ſoon as the Choice was over, that he might not be thought ambitious of the Honour. It was an Inſtance of great Modeſty and good Government in him, that being advanced from a private State to a ſovereign Authority over a mighty Nation, he was not only, not vain, proud, and forward to ſhew himſelf upon the Promotion, but to avoid the Pomp and Oſtentation of his new Dignity, he ſo induſtriouſly withdrew himſelf from the Eyes and Acclamations of his own Subjects, that no Body knew where to find him; whereas the hundredth Part of this Surprize would have turn'd the Brain of a Man leſs temperate, with Joy and Oſtentation.

Samuel *puts the Choice to the* Lot, *and the* Lot *falls upon* Saul.

Upon *Saul*'s not appearing, or rather upon his not being to be found, they were all at their Wit's End, what to do without him, and how to come at him: Till upon the Application of the Prophet for further Light and Direction, God was pleas'd to make known to him the Place where *Saul* lay conceal'd; whereupon, *Samuel* caus'd him immediately to be ſent for, and brought into the Field, where he was obſerved to be taller by the Head and Shoulders than the Reſt of the People, and to have ſomewhat of a natural Majeſty in his very Perſon.

Saul being thus produced, the Prophet preſented him in Manner as follows. *Behold,* ſays he, *the King that God hath given you, and you may read in the Excellency of his Perſon how well he is qualify'd for this Honour: The People ſeconding this Recommendation with Shouts and Acclamations of* [*God ſave the King.*] *Samuel* had committed to Writing the Prediction of what would befal this People under a kingly Government, and read it over to them in the Hearing of *Saul* himſelf; depoſiting the Book at laſt in the *Tabernacle* of God, to remain as a Memorial to Poſterity of the Truth of all he foretold.

Samuel *preſents* Saul *to the People as the* King *that God had deſign'd them: And they all ſhout.*

Samuel's *Preſages concerning* Saul *are read to the People, and recorded in the Sanctuary.*

This Solemnity being now over, *Samuel* diſcharged the Congregation, and went Home himſelf to [b] *Ramah*; and *Saul,* to [c] *Gibeah,* the Place where he was born. He was attended with a great Train of very good Men, that made their Court out of pure Loyalty and Reſpect, to gratulate his Acceſſion to the Throne; but not without Mutineers and Male-contents in Abundance, that out of Spite and Envy, made Sport of the whole Matter, behaving themſelves contemptuouſly, even toward the *King himſelf,* as well as his dutiful Followers, and without any Preſents or Gratulations to bid him Welcome to his Dignity.

1 Sam. 12.
A War with Nahaſh *King of the* Ammonites.

By the Time that *Saul* had been a Month in the Exercise of his Authority, there fell out a War with *Nahaſh* the King of the *Ammonites,* which redounded very much to his Honour. This *Nahaſh* had committed ſeveral Outrages upon the *Jews* beyond *Jordan*, breaking in upon them, and deſtroying their Country and their Cities with a numerous and a powerful Army; and it was not enough neither, to make Slaves of them at preſent by Force, unleſs they might be put out of all Poſſibility alſo, by Stratagem and Cunning, of ever recovering their Freedom. Now the Invention was this; they pluck'd out the Right Eyes of all they got into their Power, whether by Force, or by Treaty; ſo that they muſt either loſe the Uſe of the Buckler that cover'd the Left Eye, or the Benefit of having any Eyes at all

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[a] Μασφαθά. [b] Ἀρμαθά. [c] Γαβαθά. *Joſ.* See *Berkelius* upon *Steph. Byzant.* v. Γαβαθα.

The Ammonites *pluck out the Right Eyes of all the Priſoners they take.*

When *Nahaſh* had gone this Way to work with the People beyond *Jordan*, he marched with his Army on the ſame Deſign to the Country of the *Gileadites*, and ſo to *Jabeſh*, the capital City of the Province, and there encamp'd. From hence he ſent a Summons to the Inhabitants, either to deliver up the Town, and ſubmit to the Loſs of their Right Eyes, or otherwiſe to ſtand the uttermoſt Peril of Fire and Sword; leaving it at their Choice, either to compound for a Part, or to run the Hazzard of the Whole, Life and all. The Men of *Jabeſh* were now at a Stand, whether to give a tame or a reſolute Anſwer: But upon Conſideration, they divided the Buſineſs, and the Return was this. They deſired only *ſeven Days Liberty* to ſend to their Friends and Allies for Relief: And if none came within that Compaſs of Time, they promiſed to render themſelves up to the Enemy upon their own Terms, otherwiſe to fight it out. *Nahaſh* had ſo mean an Opinion of theſe People, that he made no Difficulty at all of complying with their Conditions.

A terrible Summons to Jabeſh.

And ſeven Days allow'd them to conſider of it.

Upon this *Criſis*, they poſted away Expreſſes to all their Friends up and down for immediate Succour, with an Account of the Streights they were in, under the Menaces of a powerful Enemy. The miſerable Diſtreſs of their Condition drew Tears and Pity wherever they came, but not a Creature durſt ſo much as wag to help them. And it was the ſame Thing with the People of the *Metropolis* alſo, where *Saul* kept his Reſidence, as it was in other Places: But he having been Abroad, and upon coming to Town again, finding the People under ſo diſmal a Conſternation, he fell inſtantly upon ſifting and enquiring, and from the Couriers that brought the News, he got the whole Story.

They ſend away to Saul, *and elſewhere, for Relief.*

While Things were in this deſperate Extremity, the Spirit of God came upon *Saul*; who in the Heat of this Impulſe, ſent ſome of the Meſſengers back again to the Men of *Jabeſh*, with an Aſſurance, that in three Days they ſhould be reliev'd; the Enemy beaten by Break of Day; and that the Riſing Sun ſhould ſee them totally routed and deſtroy'd; and the wretched Citizens ſafe againſt any further Danger. Some he diſpatch'd away with this Meſſage; others he kept for Guides, to conduct him the right Way upon his March to his Journey's End.

Saul *anſwers them prophetically, that in three Days they ſhall be reliev'd, and the Enemy routed and deſtroy'd.*

CHAP. VI.

Saul *gets an Army together*; *routs* Nahaſh; *and is a ſecond Time anointed and declar'd King.*

SAUL being now ſtreighten'd in Time, and the People backward enough to the War, bethought himſelf of an Invention how he might both quicken and encourage them; making Account that in ſome Caſes, Men will do more for Fear of Loſs, then for the Love of Virtue: So that he firſt cut off the Legs of his own Oxen, and then publiſh'd a Declaration, that whoever ſhould fail of appearing the next Day in Arms at the River *Jordan*, and thence to follow him and *Samuel*, wherefoever they ſhould lead them, he ſhould have his Oxen ſerv'd after the ſame Manner. This ſucceeded ſo well, that for Fear of incurring the Penalty, there were gotten together at the preciſe Time, a Body of ſeven hundred thouſand fighting Men, as appear'd upon a Review near the City of *Balam*, where they had their *Rendezvous*; not reckoning ſeventy thouſand Men more, of the Tribe of *Judah*. With this Army they paſs'd the *Jordan*, and after a March of about ten *Schœni* that Night; they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Ground that *Saul* had pitch'd upon, before Sun-riſe next Morning. From this Place they brake in upon the Enemy, Front, Flank, and Rear, in three Diviſions, by a moſt unexpected Surprize, cutting them down on all Hands with a dreadful *Slaughter*. The *Ammonites*, in

Saul*'s Project of hamſtringing his own Oxen.*

He gets two prodigious Armies together.

And falls upon the Enemy, Flank, Front, and Rear.

Fine, were totally routed; their King *Nahaſh* among others ſlain in the Battle, and the *Hebrews* remaining Maſters of the Field, with an entire Victory. This glorious Action gave *Saul* a mighty Reputation, both for his Valour and Conduct; inſomuch that it brought his very Enemies over to him; and thoſe that betwixt Envy, Hatred, and Contempt, could not before afford him a good Word, were now the Men that paid him the greateſt Honour, and cry'd him up to the Skies for the braveſt and the beſt of Governours: For he did not ſtop, they ſaid, at the Relief and Deliverance of *Jabeſh*, but carry'd on a War againſt the *Ammonites*; laid waſte their Country; enrich'd his Army with the Spoil, and brought off the People ſafe and victorious to their own Homes again.

An entire Victory, and Nahaſh *ſlain in the Battle.*

Saul *gets a mighty Reputation by this Action.*

Neither did the Multitude forget to celebrate themſelves all this while, for the notable Expedient of ſanſying a *King*; for they look'd upon *Saul* to be the *People's King*, and conſequently their *Inſtrument*; ſo that whatever he did, they took it virtually to be their own Act. *Where are thoſe buſy Fellows,* they cry'd, *that were ſo fierce againſt our having a King? Why are not thoſe Traytors to their Country ſton'd, or made Examples of?* At this rambling Rate of Outrage and Extravagance, they went roaring up and down, (after the Humour of the Rabble that judge of every Thing by the Event) till *Saul* interpoſed with an Oath, that he would not ſuffer any Thing ſo derogatory to the Occaſion, as the confounding of God's Mercies, with humane Paſſions; by polluting a Day of Victory over their Enemies with the Blood of their Friends. He put a Complement however upon the good Intention of a laudable Zeal, but ſtill adjuring them to lay aſide all Animoſities and Grudges, and to join all as one Man in the Dedication of that bleſſed Day wholly to Joy and Thankſgiving.

The People make their Boaſts that it was done by their King.

When Matters had proceeded thus far, *Samuel* adviſed the calling of another Aſſembly to ratify and eſtabliſh *Saul* in the Right and Poſſeſſion of the Throne. So the Convention was appointed, and met at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was again anointed, and proclaimed *King* a ſecond Time, in the Sight and Hearing of all the People. Thus was the *Republican* State of the *Hebrews* tranſlated to a *Monarchy*: The Form of the Government, military and civil, under *Moſes* and his Succeſſor *Joſhua*, was an *Optimacy* or *Ariſtocraſy*: And for a Matter of eighteen Years after that, it was no better than a direct *Anarchy* without any Order at all; but returning to their old Way again, of chuſing ſome eminent Perſon, whom they found moſt competent for the Function; the Sovereignty was lodged in *Magiſtrates* under the Name of *Judges*, and there it continued ſo long as the Adminiſtration laſted.

Samuel *calls another Aſſembly at* Gilgal.

Saul *a ſecond Time anointed, and proclaimed.*

The Hebrews Ariſtocraſy *turn'd into a* Monarchy.

The Aſſembly being by this Time ready to break up, *Samuel* apply'd himſelf in a Diſcourſe to them, by Way of Appeal, to this Effect. *I do adjure you,* ſays *Samuel, in the Name of the great God of your Forefathers, that gave them thoſe incomparable Brothers,* Moſes *and* Aaron, *for their Rulers and Guides, and delivered them out of the Bondage of Ægypt, to give me a true Anſwer now, in the Preſence of the* King, *without any Reſtraint or Fear, Tenderneſs or Reſpect, to ſome few Queſtions that I ſhall aſk you. Can you, or any of you, charge me with ſo much as one ſingle Act of Corruption, Partiality, or Injuſtice, in my whole Adminiſtration? Whoſe Ox, whoſe Sheep, or whoſe Aſs have I taken? Not but that Preſents of Good-Will in the Matter of Neceſſaries for Life, may be received, without either Crime or Scandal. Yet give me leave to ſay again, if you can lay any Thing of this Kind to my Charge, let it be done, and do not ſpare me.* Upon this, the whole Multitude acquitted him with one Voice, to all Manner of Purpoſes, declaring unanimouſly, that his Government had been faultleſs, and according to the ſtricteſt Rules of Piety and Juſtice.

1 Sam. 12.
Samuel *juſtifies his Adminiſtration, in an Appeal to the People.*

Well! ſays *Samuel, I am glad of your Acknowledgment here before the* King, *that you have no Cauſe of Complaint againſt me. I wiſh I could ſay as much for you too; for to deal freely, you have been mightily to blame. What ſhould you chuſe another* King *for, after the Experience of ſo many ſignal Mercies, and miraculous Deliverances, while you were under* God's Protection, *and own'd him for your Governour. You have forgotten the Story of your Forefather* Jacob's *coming into* Ægypt, *only with* ſeventy Men *in his Train, and purely for Want of Bread; how God provided for them, and by his Bleſſing how they encreaſed and multiplied. You have forgotten the Slavery and Oppreſſion they groaned under, till upon their Cries and Supplications for Relief, God reſcu'd them himſelf without the Help of* Kings, *by the Hands of* Moſes *and* Aaron, *who brought you out of* Ægypt *into the Land you are now poſſeſs'd of. How can you be ſo ungrateful now, after ſo many Bleſſings and Benefits received, as to depart from the Reverence and Allegiance you owe to ſo powerful and ſo merciful a Protector! How often have you been deliver'd up into the Hands of your Enemies for your Apoſtaſy, and Diſo-*

Samuel *taxes the People for their Ingratitude, in caſting off* God *to chuſe a* King.

bedience, and as often afterward reſtor'd to God's Favour, and your Liberty, upon your Humiliation and Repentance! Who was it but God that gave you Victory, firſt over the Aſſyrians, *and then over the* Ammonites, *and the* Moabites, *and laſt of all, over the* Philiſtines? *Not by the Influence and Direction of* Kings, *but under the Conduct of* Jephtha, *and* Gideon. *What Madneſs has poſſeſs'd you then, to abandon a heavenly Governour for an earthly! But however, to gratify your asking; a* King *you would have, and a* King *you have, whom I have only miniſterially declar'd, according to the over-ruling Order, and Appointment of God.*

Samuel *prays for a Tempeſt from Heaven, in Token of God's Diſpleaſure.*

A dreadful Storm of Thunder, Lightening, and Hail.

Samuel's *Charge to the People.*

But to ſhew you now, by an infallible Token from Heaven, that God is highly offended at this Importunity of yours, for an Alteration of your Government, I do now beg from Heaven, as a Sign that I ſpeak Truth, and that God is infinitely diſpleaſed with you, that ſuch a Tempeſt may fall now, as in the Middle of Summer; never was heard of before in this Quarter. The Word was no ſooner out, but there follow'd ſo outragious a Storm of Thunder, Lightening, and Hail, that it look'd as if the Day of Judgment had been come, and frighted the Congregation immediately to their Prayers, that God would forgive them the Sins, both of their Iniquity, and of their Ignorance; deſiring the Prophet alſo, out of his fatherly Tenderneſs, to join with them in his Mediation to God for their Pardon, for this laſt, as well as for former Tranſgreſſions. *Samuel* promiſed them his Interceſſion, and not without Hope of obtaining Mercy for them: But at the ſame Time gave them *a ſtrict Charge, to lead ſober, virtuous Lives, and never to forget the Miſeries and Calamities that had befall'n them for departing from their Duties, and to bear likewiſe in perpetual Memory, the Miracles that God hath wrought in their Favour; and the Laws delivered by him to his Servant* Moſes; *and this to do, as they had any Conſideration, either for the Well-being of their* King, *or of themſelves: Upon the Penalty, as he foretold them, of a certain Ruin both to the one and to the other, if they acted contrary to what he had preſcribed.* And ſo with this ſecond Confirmation of *Saul* in his Government, the Aſſembly was diſmiſs'd.

CHAP. VII.

Saul *incurs God's Diſpleaſure.* Jonathan *obtains a glorious Victory over the* Philiſtines. Saul *makes a raſh Vow. His Children, and his mighty Power.*

1 Sam. 13.

Jonathan *the Son of* Saul *takes a Caſtle of the* Philiſtines.

The Philiſtines *forbid the* Hebrews *meddling in* Iron-work.

The Philiſtines *draw out a mighty Army, in Horſe, Foot and Chariots.* Saul *ſummons the People to join, and make Head againſt them.*

SAUL being now ſettled, and confirm'd in the Poſſeſſion of his royal Dignity, made a Call of three thouſand choice Men out of the whole Body of his People. *Two thirds* of them he took with him to *Bethel*, where he kept his Reſidence, for the Guard of his Perſon; and the *other thouſand*, he order'd to attend his Son *Jonathan*, whom he ſent to *Gibeah*: With which Party, *Jonathan* reduced a Caſtle, not far from thence, and belonging to the *Philiſtines*. Now the *Philiſtines* thereabouts, wherever they got the better of the *Jews*, did not only diſarm them, but forbad them the Exerciſe of any Trade that wrought in Iron: So that for the very *Iron-work* of their Ploughs, Spades, Mattocks, and other domeſtick Neceſſaries, they were fain to have Recourſe ſtill to *Philiſtine* Workmen to ſupply them. They took Care alſo to ſecure all Paſſes; fortify all tenable Towns, and to furniſh them with Men and Munition. The News of this Baffle was receiv'd by the *Philiſtines* with all the Indignation and Contempt imaginable; and preſently they drew an Army into the Field of three hundred thouſand Foot, thirty thouſand Chariots, and ſix thouſand Horſe, and pitched their Tents at *Michmaſh*. So ſoon as the Tidings of this Preparation came to *Saul*'s Ear, he went to *Gilgal*, and ſent his Meſſengers and Proclamations, every where up and down to ſummon all his People, that had any Regard for the Liberties of their Country, to take up Arms againſt the *Philiſtines*; making them much leſs conſiderable than in Truth they were, both for Numbers, and military Proweſs. But when *Saul*'s People came to underſtand, upon the Certainty of better Intelligence, the full State and Strength of the Enemy, there paſs'd a *panick Terror* quite through the whole Body of them, to ſuch a Degree, that they fled every Way up and down, ſculking and ſcowring, as in a Rout; ſome into Vaults and Caves, and other naſty Hiding-Places; but the greater Part of them made over the *Jordan* for Shelter and Concealment, among the Tribes of *Gad* and *Reuben*.

The People run away at the Sight of the Enemy, and hide themſelves.

While Things were in this Hurry and Confuſion, *Saul* ſent for the Prophet to adviſe with, upon the preſent Juncture: Who made him this Return, that he ſhould continue where he was; get Sacrifices in Readineſs; and that at the End of ſeven Days, he himſelf would be with him, when they would offer them up, and ſo advance to give the Enemy Battle. *Saul* waited out his Time, but moſt unhappily failed in another Article of his Commiſſion; for the Prophet, he thought, was long a-coming, and his Men perpetually deſerting him, he offer'd up the Sacrifice without attending any farther for *Samuel*. The Ceremony was no ſooner over, but Word was brought that the Prophet was come; and *Saul* immediately, as upon a Point of Honour and Reſpect, went out to meet him. When *Samuel* came to underſtand what had paſs'd, he told *Saul* that he had done very unadviſedly in not keeping to his Inſtructions, and in taking ſo raſhly upon himſelf the Office of delivering up the Prayers and Sacrifices that God had appointed on the Behalf of the People, in his Abſence. *Saul* excuſed it, that he had attended ſo many Days according to his Order; but that the Enemy's leaving *Michmaſh*, and marching directly toward *Gilgal*, had ſo frighted his Men, that he was under an abſolute Neceſſity in all Haſte to offer-up the Sacrifice before his People had quite forſaken him. *Well!* ſays the Prophet, *it would have been better for you to have follow'd my Direction, which was effectually a Meſſage to you from God himſelf, than ſo heedleſly to incur the Cenſure of ſo dangerous a Contempt: For, in Short, your Obedience would have ſecured the Government to your ſelf, and your Poſterity.* Upon this Reproof, the Prophet left him, and went his Way Home again, highly unſatisfy'd with what had been done. *Saul*, after this, with ſix hundred Men only, and his Son *Jonathan*, marched to *Gibeah*, the greater Part of his People unarmed too; for there was little Iron in that Country; and none of the *Hebrews* permitted to exerciſe the Trade of Armorers as we have ſaid already.

Saul *conſults the* Prophet.

Samuel *bids him have Sacrifices ready, and wait for him ſeven Days.*

Saul *unhappily ſacrifices before the* Prophet *comes.*

The Prophet *reprehends him for it.*

Samuel *goes back again much unſatisfy'd.*

Saul *marches with 600 Men, and his Son* Jonathan *to* Gibeah.

The *Philiſtines* divided their Army into three Bodies, and ſo marched three ſeveral Ways into the Country of the *Hebrews*, where they ravag'd, and deſtroyed all the Way they went. *Saul* and his Son, with *Abiah* the High-Prieſt (of the Houſe of *Eli*) helpleſly looking on from an Eminence near Hand, but in no Condition, (to their infinite Affliction) of giving them any Relief.

The Philiſtines *in three Bodies break into the Country of the* Hebrews.

Jonathan was ſo tranſported with the Spectacle of this Outrage, that he took his Armour-bearer aſide upon it, and put a ſhort Queſtion to him how far he would ſtand by him in a bold and generous Enterprize, for the ſaving of his Country? His Anſwer was (and he bound it with an Oath too) that let the Hazard be what it would, he would die at his Feet. Now the Plot was this, that *Jonathan* and his *Armour-bearer* ſhould convey themſelves ſecretly into the Enemy's Camp, and try what they could do to put them into a Tumult and Confuſion. So they went away down the Hill toward the Enemy's Quarter, being poſted in a craggy Place that ran-out at Length into three Angles, encompaſſed every where with Rocks, that were as good as Ramparts, to keep off an Enemy. The Place was ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that there hardly needed any Guard to defend it; the Paſſage to it being not only difficult, but dangerous, and within a little of inacceſſible. As they two were upon the Way, *Jonathan* told his *Armour-bearer*, for his Comfort and Encouragement: *If*, ſays he, *they diſcover us, and call out to us to come-up, you may depend upon it that we ſhall certainly ſucceed; but if they ſay nothing at all, we muſt content our ſelves to go back again as we came.*

1 Sam. 4.

A generous Reſolution of Jonathan *and his* Armour-bearer *to ſteal privately into the Enemy's Camp.*

Jonathan's *Diſcourſe to his Armour-bearer.*

When they were come within a very little of the Enemy's Camp, the *Philiſtines* got Sight of them, and made Sport of it from one to another, how the *Hebrews* were come creeping out of their Holes and Burrows; calling out to *Jonathan* and his Campanion, to come-up to them, and take the Reward of their Impudence: Theſe Words were looked upon by *Jonathan* as a moſt auſpicious Preſage of Victory; and ſo they went on from one Side of the Rock to the other, where the very Situation was look'd upon to be Defence ſufficient without a Guard. They made a hard Shift however with creeping and clambering, to mount the Rock, though with infinite Toyl and Difficulty; and from thence, ſlipt-in upon the Enemy at unawares; cutting-off a Matter of twenty of them in their Sleep. The Alarum the Enemy took upon this aſtoniſhing Surpriſe, put the whole Army into ſuch a Terror, and Conſternation, that ſome threw down their Arms, and made the beſt Shift they could to ſave themſelves by Flight; others (being of ſeveral Nations) fell foul one upon another among themſelves, not knowing Friends and Foes aſunder. Some were forced into Rivers, and down Precipices, and into the Certainty of Death, to avoid the very Fear of it: Others, as it happens commonly in Tumults, were trod to Death in the Croud, tumbling one over another.

The Philiſtines *ſurprized in their Sleep:*

And in that Fright and Confuſion, they ran ſeveral Ways, and deſtroy one another.

By

Saul *hears of the Uproar, and that* Jonathan *and his Armour-bearer are miſſing.*

Saul *conſults the* High-Prieſt *who gives him an Aſſurance of Victory.*

Saul *upon this, preſſes in upon the* Philiſtines, *and cuts them to pieces.*

Saul *commits a great Overſight.*

A raſh and a heavy Curſe,

Which falls upon Jonathan.

By this Time the King had Intelligence brought him by his Scouts, that the Army of the *Philiſtines* were all in an Uproar. and the firſt Thing he did was to enquire if any of his own People were miſſing, and Word ſoon after brought him, that *Jonathan* and his *Armour-bearer* were not to be found. Upon this Information, he appointed the High-Prieſt to put-on his *ſacerdotal Veſtments* with his *Ephod*, and to conſult God about the Event of this Action. He did ſo, and brought him for Anſwer, that God would make him victorious, to the utter Confuſion of his Enemies: Whereupon *Saul* drew out immediately, and preſs'd-in upon the *Philiſtines*, while they were in Diſorder, and falling *Pell-Mell* one upon another. The Rumour of this fatal Diſtraction was made publick every where, and came at laſt to the Ears of the fugitive *Hebrews* in their very Dens and Caverns. Upon this Intelligence they ſally'd out from their ſeveral Retreats, to the Number of ſome ten thouſand Men in the whole, and preſs'd ſo hard upon the *Philiſtines*, that they had the Chace, and the Execution of them at Pleaſure. But the *King*, after all this, was ſo unhappy yet as to commit a great Overſight in the very Courſe of his Succeſſes, whether out of an Impotency of Mind under ſo ſurprizing a Joy, (as that's a common Caſe) or out of Inadvertency, is not the Queſtion. But ſo it was, that *Saul*, in the vindictive Reſolution of making but one Work of a total Extirpation of the *Philiſtines*, pronounced a heavy Curſe upon that *Hebrew* whoever he were, that ſhould preſume, barely to intermit the Slaughter and Purſuit of the Enemy, though but by eating or drinking any Thing, before the Night parted them. Soon after the denouncing of this Malediction, *Jonathan* had the Hap, paſſing through a Wood of the *Ephranites* where there were Bees, to find the Droppings of ſome Hony. He took a Comb, and ſuckt it, knowing nothing as yet of his Father's Vow, and the Solemnity of the People's Conſent to it; but when they came afterward to admoniſh, and inform him of the Malediction, with all the Circumſtances, *Jonathan* gave over eating, and not without ſome Reflection upon the Temerity of the Vow: *For*, ſays he, *when Men are ſpent and weary, a little Refreſhment would have enabled them to go through with their Work, with more Alacrity and Vigour.*

The Iſraelites *get the Spoil of the* Philiſtines *Camp.*

They eat the Fleſh with the Blood in it, contrary to the Law.

Saul *erects an Altar and ſacrifices.*

After the Slaughter of a great many thouſands of the *Philiſtines*, upon the Place, the *Hebrews* came back at Night to the rifling of the Camp; where, beſide other Booty, they took a World of Cattle, which they kill'd as they had Occaſion; dreſſing, and eating them with the Blood in them. This being an Offence againſt their Law, the Scribes immediately complained of it to the *King*, who preſently commanded a huge Stone to be ſet-up in the Middle of the Field; ordering the Beaſts to be killed upon that Stone, and the Fleſh not to be eaten till it ſhould be firſt purged of the Blood; for that it was an Abomination in the Sight of God. This Decree was readily obey'd, and ſo *Saul* erected an *Altar* (the Firſt Altar of his ſetting up) and offer'd Sacrifices upon it.

The High-Prieſt conſults God upon the proſecuting of the War, and the Oracle is ſilent.

Saul *ſuſpects ſome ſecret Iniquity, and puts it to the Lot to diſcover where it lies, with an Oath, that the guilty Perſon ſhall dye.*

The Lot falls upon Jonathan.

Saul *ſwears again that it ſhall coſt him his Life.*

Now *Saul*'s Heart being mightily ſet upon a full and final Extermination of the *Philiſtines*, he thought it highly adviſable, without giving the Enemy any Time for the Recovery of their broken Strength and Courage, to follow his Blow againſt the miſerable Remainder of thoſe that ſcap'd, that very Night; and he was ſure of the Hearts and Hands of the Soldiers along with him to all Purpoſes. But however, before he would attempt any Thing farther upon the Ruines of their ſcatter'd Troops, he appointed the High-Prieſt *Architob* to conſult the Will of God upon the Iſſue of this Enterprize; who returned Anſwer to the *King* upon this Application, that the *Oracle* was *ſilent*. *Well!* (ſays *Saul*) *It is not for nothing that God keeps himſelf thus upon the Reſerve on this Occaſion, who has been formerly ſo gracious as to prevent our very Requeſts by granting them before-Hand, and therefore there muſt be ſome ſecret Myſtery of Iniquity in this Matter, to draw his Diſpleaſure upon us: So that I am reſolved to ſift it out; and by that holy God, I ſwear, if I ſhould find even my Son* Jonathan *himſelf to be the guilty Perſon, his Life ſhould anſwer for't, with no more Concern to me, then if he were a Stranger.* The Multitude were one and all for putting of it to the Teſt, and immediately thereupon, *Saul* order'd the People to keep together as they were, himſelf and his Son ſtanding Apart, and ſo to try the Iſſue by Lots. The Lot falling upon *Jonathan*, his Father bad him bethink himſelf, what ill Thing he had done that he could charge upon his Conſcience. Truly, ſays he, I know nothing more than this: That Yeſterday, upon the Purſuit of the Enemy, I taſted a little Hony, knowing nothing at all of any Decree of yours to the Contrary. Why then, ſays *Saul*, with another Oath, *You ſhall dye for't; for the Reverence I have for my Vow, is more to me than all the Kindred and*

Tenderneſs in Nature. The young Man was not at all daunted with the Apprehenſion of Death; but with a brave and generous Reſolution, he told his Father, that he did not deſire to be forgiven; for *that Death,* ſays he, *ſhall be welcome to me, that acquits my Father of the Obligation of a religious Vow, and only befals me in Conſequence of ſo glorious a Victory, to him than gave me my Being. I have liv'd long enough, ſince I have liv'd to ſee the Pride and Inſolence of the* Philiſtines *brought down by the* Hebrews; *which will ſerve me for a Conſolation, in all my other Sufferings.* The whole Multitude was ſo charm'd with the Piety and Bravery of the young Man, that in an Extaſy of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, they took him away out of the Hands of his incenſed Father, with an Oath, that *they would not ſuffer a Hair of that Perſon's Head to be touch'd, who had been ſo Inſtrumental in that Victory, to the Preſervation of them all. Only they beſought God to forgive him for what he had done Amiſs.*

Jonathan's *modeſt and generous Reſignation.*

The Multitude reſcues Jonathan *out of the Hands of his Father.*

After the Slaughter of a Matter of Sixty thouſand of the Enemy, *Saul* returned to his own Home, and reigned very happily, acquitting himſelf with great Reputation in all his military Adventures, againſt the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Philiſtines*, the *Edomites*, and the King of [a] *Zoba.* He had three Sons, *Jonathan*, *Joſhua*, and *Melchi-ſhui*, and two Daughters, *Merab* the elder, and the Name of the other was *Michal.* *Abner*, the Son of *Saul*'s Uncle *Ner*, was the General of his Army. *Ner* and *Kiſh*, the Father of *Saul*, where Brethren, and the Sons of *Abiel.* He had a mighty Strength in Chariots and Horſemen, and ſtill came off victorious, what Enemy ſoever he had to do withal. He advanced the *Hebrews*, in Fine, to the higheſt Degree of Glory, for their martial Exploits, and made them formidable to all their Neighbours, taking particular Care in the Choice of his Guards, not to have any about him but the goodlieſt Perſons, for Make, Stature, and Vigour of Body, that he could pick up out of his Dominions.

After the Slaughter of 60000 Philiſtines, Saul *returns to his own Home.*

Saul's *exploits, Children, and Conduct.*

C H A P. VIII.

God commands Saul *to extirpate the* Amalekites: *But taking King* Agag *Priſoner, and keeping him alive, he is caſt-off for his Diſobedience.*

1 Sam. 15.

Samuel *brings* Saul *a Meſſage from God, minding him of his Duty to his maker.*

ABOUT this Time, *Samuel* came to *Saul*, by the ſpecial Direction and Appointment of God, with a certain Meſſage to him; which was, *to put him in Mind, who it was that advanced him above his Fellows to be a* King, *and of his Duty to the* King of Kings *that made him ſo; for though he was a Ruler over the People, it was yet but in Subordination to the ſovereign Ruler of the Univerſe:* And he had in Charge he ſaid, to tell him farther; that *whereas the* Amalekites *had been great Perſecutors of the* Hebrews, *in the Wilderneſs, upon coming out of* Ægypt *into the Land which they then poſſeſs'd; it was therefore the Will of God that he ſhould declare a War againſt them, and that upon ſubduing them by Arms, he ſhould not ſpare ſo much as one living Soul, Man, Woman, or Child: Nay, that he ſhould deſtroy the very Sheep and Oxen, and every Thing elſe that belonged to them, as well as the People, without making Profit of the Spoil, or ſeizing any Part of the Booty to himſelf; for all their Goods and Poſſeſſions were to be dedicated to God in one common Sacrifice: The very Name of* Amalek, *according to what* Moſes *had order'd, to be raſed out of the Hiſtory of Mankind; and all this, as a juſt Vengeance for former Injuries and Oppreſſions, as above.*

Samuel's Inſtructions, were peremptory and ſtrict, and *Saul*, on the other Hand, was as frank of his Promiſes to obſerve them all to a Tittle, and to ſhew his Readineſs, not only to do as he was bid, but to put his Orders alſo in Execution without Delay. The next Thing *Saul* had to do, after this, was the Drawing of his Men together; which upon a Review at *Gilgal*, he found to be ſome Forty thouſand, beſide the tribe of *Judah*; which muſter'd thirty thouſand Men of War itſelf. With this Army, *Saul* brake-in upon the *Amalekites*, diſpoſing of his *Ambuſhes* upon the Paſſes of the Woods, and the Rivers, in ſuch Manner, that the Enemy could hardly wag without Danger of a Surprize. But from the inſidiary Way of Skirmiſhing, it came, in a ſhort Time, to a capital Battle; wherein the *Amalekites* were routed, and betwixt thoſe that fell in the Combat, and thoſe that were cut-off upon the Purſuit, the whole Body was ſo totally deſtroy'd, that there were ſcarce enow left to carry the News of the Defeat.

Saul *muſters* 40000 *Men, beſide* 30000 *of the Tribe of* Judah.

Saul *gives the* Amalekites *a total overthrow.*

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[a] Ὠβα *Joſ.*

Saul *beats them after this, out of their walled Towns, and ſtrong Holds.*

After this Overthrow of their Army, according to what God had foretold, *Saul*'s next Work was to attack them in their walled Towns, and ſtrong Holds. Some they took by Siege, and Approach; others, by Engines, Stratagem, Mines, Starving, *&c.* Till in the End, carrying all before them, this Outrage concluded in an univerſal Slaughter of Men, Women, and Children. For they look'd upon nothing to be cruel, or inhumane, that was done either in a juſt War, or in Obedience to a divine Command, which would have been dangerous to diſpute.

Agag *taken Priſoner: and kept alive.*

In this diſmal Calamity, *Agag*, the King himſelf was taken Priſoner, who was ſo goodly a Figure of a Man, that *Saul*, even for the Sake of his Perſon, reſolved to ſave him: In which unwarrantable Diſpenſation, he did but indulge a natural Infirmity at his own Peril, and in Oppoſition to the expreſs Command of God. For the *Amalekites* had made themſelves ſo abominable in the Sight of Heaven, that God's Wrath deſcended to their very Children, in which Caſe, Nature it ſelf would have excus'd a Tenderneſs, if there had been any Room left for Mercy. But ſo it was, that *Saul* kept *Agag* alive to gratify his Fancy, in Contradiction to his Duty; and in ſo doing, he laid the Foundation of all the Miſeries that afterwards enſued to the *Hebrews*. The *People* fell into the ſame Iniquity alſo with their *King*, in driving away the *Amalekites* Flocks, and Herds, and converting to their own Uſe, the Pillage of Mony and Goods, and the beſt of every Thing; which was all contrary to God's poſitive Order; and in Fine, only deſtroying what was not worth the ſaving. In this Expedition, *Saul* over-run the whole Country, from *Peluſium*, on the Borders of *Ægypt*, to the Red-Sea, and laid it all waſt, leaving only the *Sichemites* in the Land of *Midian* untouch'd: *Saul* having precautioned them before the War, not to join Intereſts with the *Amalekites*, but rather to get ſome where out of the Way, without involving themſelves in the Fatality of a judicial Ruine that attended them. Now the *Hebrews* had a particular Kindneſs for theſe People, upon the Account of ancient Affinity; for out of them came *Raguel*, the Father-in-Law of *Moſes*.

The Souldiers, make Advantage of the Spoil, contrary to God's Order.

Upon the Credit of this glorious Exploit, away went *Saul* to his own Home again mightily ſatisfy'd in Appearance to all Manner of Purpoſes; both in his Honour, and in his Conſcience, as if he had not only done the great Work of ſubduing the Enemy, but kept himſelf to his Commiſſion too, in a punctual Obedience to his Inſtructions. But the *King*'s ſparing of *Agag*, and the Peoples making Profit of the Spoil, being two Articles ſo expreſly forbidden in *Saul's* Commiſſion, gave great Offence: And it would have been look'd upon as an unpardonable Contempt, even toward a temporal Prince, not to allow him that gives the Victory, a Right, and Title to order and diſpoſe the Iſſue of it as he pleaſes. Upon this Way of proceeding in *Saul*, according to his own Humour, without any Regard to the Tye of a known Duty obliging him to the Contrary, God was pleaſed to declare himſelf to the Prophet, that it now repented him of ſetting-up *Saul* to be *King*; for his Buſineſs was, he ſaw, to do what he had a Mind to do, not what he was commanded to do. This Revelation put *Samuel* in the greateſt Confuſion, and Anxiety of Thought imaginable; inſomuch that he ſpent the whole Night following in fervent Prayers and Interceſſions to God for *Saul*'s Pardon: To all which Importunities he receiv'd this ſhort, and final Anſwer, *That it was no longer Lenity, but Facility, and a miſtaken Mercy, upon any Mediation whatſoever, to paſs over Faults of ſuch a Quality as to make the pardoning of one Offence a manifeſt Encouragement to the committing of another.*

God repents that he made Saul King.

Samuel *intercedes to God for* Saul, *but cannot prevail.*

When *Samuel* found that God was not to be prevail'd withall, on *Saul*'s Behalf, he went his Way next Morning to him at *Gilgal:* Where the *King* had him no ſooner in his Eye, but he ran preſently to him, with open Arms, embracing, and ſaluting him, with a gratulatory Thankſgiving in his Mouth, for the late Victory, which God had given them, telling him withall, that for the Order of the Affair, every Thing was done according to his Direction. *If it be ſo*, ſays *Samuel*, *what meaneth this Bleating of the Sheep in my Ears, and the Lowing of the Oxen, which I hear in the Camp? The King told him, thoſe were only ſome Beaſts the People had reſerv'd for Sacrifices: And then for the* Amalekites, *he had deſtroy'd them all but one Man, whom he kept a Priſoner till he might have Advice what ſhould be done with him.* Samuel's Anſwer was, *that God took no Delight in Sacrifices, but in the Righteouſneſs of good and juſt Men: That is to ſay, of ſuch as obſerve his holy Will, and keep his Commandments; accounting nothing to be well done, but what is done in Conformity to his ſacred Pleaſure. God doth not conſider the Sacrifice, but the Obedience; and without that true and only Sacrifice, the fat of Beaſts, and the Oblations of*

Gold and Silver, are but ſuch Oſtentations of a falſe Piety, as he neither requires, nor will accept of: But as to them on the other Side that take Delight in his Commandments, and keep his Precepts in Mind, and will rather die than depart from them, God exacts no Sacrifices at their Hands: But whatever they offer, let it be never ſo mean and poor, the Integrity of the Heart gives it a Recommendation beyond all the Pomp and Vanity under the Heavens.

I am to tell you now, ſays Samuel, *that you are fall'n under God's heavy Diſpleaſure for the Neglect and Contempt of his Commandments. What will you be able to ſay for your ſelf, when he ſhall call you to an Account for reſerving that for a Sacrifice, which God had expreſly commanded ſhould be wholly deſtroy'd? Unleſs you look upon deſtroying and ſacrificing to be one and the ſame Thing. For this Diſobedience you are now condemn'd to the Loſs of your Kingdom, and of that Power which you have moſt dangerouſly abuſed, to the Diſhonour of the ſovereign Author of your Promotion. Saul* could not in his Conſcience but confeſs himſelf Guilty, and own that he had done grievouſly amiſs, in tranſgreſſing the Prophet's Orders, and going beyond his Commiſſion. All he had to ſay for himſelf was, that he lay under a Force, and that the common Soldiers were ſo intent upon the Booty, that he durſt not venture either to oppoſe or reſtrain them; *but, ſays* Saul, *obtain my Pardon only this one Time, and it ſhall be a Warning to me to my Life's End, never to do the ſame Thing over again.* After this Profeſſion of his Repentance, he would fain have had *Samuel* ſtay a little longer, and ſacrifice to God on his Behalf: But the Prophet, foreſeeing that it would be to no Manner of Purpoſe, went his Way.

Samuel *pronounces* Saul *condemn'd to the Loſs of his Kingdom.*

Saul *confeſſes his Fault, and turns it upon the Soldiers.*

Samuel *leaves him.*

CHAP. IX.

The Tranſlation of the Kingdom from Saul *to another Family; and* David *proclaim'd* King.

AS *Samuel* was preſſing to get away, *Saul* caught hold of his Garment to ſtop him a while, and upon that Accident the Mantle was rent, betwixt them; which the Prophet apply'd by an Alluſion to *Saul*, telling him that his Kingdom would be torn from him, and given to a Man of Piety and Juſtice. *The Sentence is paſs'd,* ſays he, *and it is not with God as it is with Men; for his Decrees are unchangeable. Saul* confeſs'd his own Iniquity, and the Juſtice of God's Diſpleaſure: But ſays he, what is done, cannot be undone. Honour me only before the People, and turn again, that I may worſhip the Lord. So *Samuel* turned back, and they went and worſhipped together. After this, they brought forth *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites*, who being over-heard to ſay ſomething about *the Bitterneſs of Death*, had this Reflexion turn'd upon him by the Prophet: *As thy Sword,* ſays he, *hath made many an* Hebrew Mother *miſerable and comfortleſs in the Deſtruction of their Children, ſo it is but reaſonable, that thy Mother ſhould be left childleſs too.* So the Prophet order'd him immediately to be put to Death in *Gilgal*, and he went back himſelf to *Ramah*.

The renting of Samuel's Mantle, *an Alluſion to the transferring of* Saul's Kingdom.

Agag *is put to Death in* Gilgal.

Saul was come now to be ſenſible of the Calamities he had brought upon himſelf by his Diſobedience, and ſo went away to his Palace at *Gibeah* (or the *Little Hill*) which was the laſt Time that ever *Saul* ſaw *Samuel*. The Prophet was extremely afflicted at the diſmal Circumſtances of this Separation; but God commanded him, without troubling himſelf any farther about that Matter, to take a Cruſe of *holy Oil*, and go to *Bethlehem* with it to *Jeſſe*, the Son of *Obed*: There to anoint ſuch a Son of *Jeſſe*'s, King, in *Saul*'s ſtead, as he ſhould be directed to, and one that ſhould be found worthy of the royal Dignity. The Prophet objecting, that if ever it ſhould come to *Saul*'s Ear, he would certainly be the Death of him, one Way or other; but *Samuel* had nothing to fear, and ſo he ſet forward for *Bethlehem*, and got ſafe to his Journey's End; where there was great Numbers of People met to receive them: Every Body enquiring what brought him thither, and one Anſwer ſerv'd for all, that he came to *ſacrifice*.

1 Sam. 16.

Samuel *ſent to* Bethlem *to anoint ſuch a Son of* Jeſſe *King, as he ſhall be directed to,*

So ſoon as the holy Office was over, *Samuel* invited *Jeſſe* and his Sons to take a Dinner with him. The eldeſt Son was ſo tall, ſo well made, and ſo graceful a Perſon, that *Samuel* ſaid within himſelf, *This is to be our King*. But Providence it ſeems look'd another Way; for upon the Prophet's breaking out into Admiration at the Graces of his Perſon, and how worthy he was to be plac'd upon a Throne,

Samuel *invites* Jeſſe *and his Sons after Prayers, to Dinner with him.*

U

and

The Compoſitions of an excellent Prince.

Six Sons of Jeſſe *produc'd.*

The ſeventh Son, David, *is ſent for from his Sheep.*

David *being come, they all ſit down, and* Samuel *anoints* David *King.*

and putting it to the Queſtion alſo, whether this was the Man or not that was to be anointed. Anſwer was made him, that God does not ſee with the Eyes of Men, as if the Excellency of an external Frame of Body, were enough to entitle a Man to the Prerogatives of Government: But the Qualifications that he requires are Piety, Juſtice, Fortitude, nay and Obedience too; all which together make up, in Harmony, the Beauty of the Mind. The Prophet, upon this Anſwer, appointed *Jeſſe* to ſend for the Reſt of his Sons, and there were five more produced, as goodly, and as well favour'd Men as their eldeſt Brother, (ſix in all.) Their Names according to their Seniority were *Eliab*, *Abinadab*, *Samma*, *Nathanael*, *Rael*, and *Aſa*. *Samuel* conſulted God now upon this Appearance, which of theſe Brethren was to be choſen, and the Anſwer was, [*none*:] which put *Samuel* upon a farther Enquiry to the Father, what other Sons he had? *Only one more*, he told him, *that look'd to his Sheep, and his Name was* David: Whereupon the Prophet order'd *Jeſſe* to ſend immediately away for him, for there was no eating without him. The Father ſent for him the ſame Inſtant, and the Son came upon the firſt Call: He was a Youth of a freſh ruddy Complexion; a briſk Soldier-like Air of a Face, and with all this, a great Deal of Modeſty and good Nature in his Countenance. Upon the firſt Sight of him, *Samuel* whiſper'd the Father, that this was the Perſon God had deſign'd for their *King*: So the Prophet ſeated himſelf, with the young Man next him; and after them, the Father, with the Reſt of his Sons. When they were thus diſpos'd of in their Places, *Samuel*, *in the Sight of* David, *took out the* holy Oil, *and anointed him*; *telling him in his Ear, that it was God's Will, he ſhould take the* Kingdom *upon him*; *ſtrictly admoniſhing him to do Juſtice to his People, and to keep God's Commandments*; *for in ſo doing, ſays the Prophet, you ſhall ſtand firm in your Government: The Name and Honour of your Family ſhall be glorious to After-Ages: You ſhall triumph over the* Philiſtines, *and be victorious in all Encounters: You ſhall live great, and be yet greater in the Fame of your Memory.*

The Spirit paſſes from Saul *to* David, *and he begins to propheſy.* Saul *falls into Fits: and his Phyſicians preſcribe Muſick for his Remedy.*

David *is ſent for to Court.*

When *Samuel* had made an End of his Charge, he departed, and the Spirit of God paſſed from *Saul* to *David*; by the Power and Virtue of which Spirit, *David* at that Time began to propheſy: When all on a ſudden, *Saul* was taken with Fits and Fancies of Suffocation, and Difficulty of Breathing like a *Dæmoniac*. The Phyſicians could not give any natural or philoſophical Account of the Diſtemper, but only adviſ'd the having ſome Body about him that could ſing, and play upon the Harp well, that might be ready at Hand to give him the Diverſion of an Hymn, or an Air, ſtill as the Fit ſhould be upon him. *Saul* was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Preſcription, that he preſently order'd ſuch a Man, with all Care and Diligence, to be preſently found out and brought him. One of his Domeſticks, upon this Hint, told him, that there was one *Jeſſe* of *Bethlehem* had a very lovely handſome Youth to his Son, that ſung, and touch'd the Harp to Admiration. He ſaid he was as brave too, as he was beautiful, and every Way anſwerably accompliſh'd. Upon this Recommendation, *Saul* ſent a Complement to *Jeſſe*, giving him to underſtand that he had heard ſo many good Things of ſuch a Son of his, for his Courage, Lovelineſs, his Skill in Muſick, War, and the like, that he had a great Mind to ſee him. *Jeſſe* call'd him out from his Flocks, and ſent him to *Saul* with Preſents ſuitable to the Occaſion, and the Perſon. *David*, upon his coming to Court, was received with great Joy; taken into the Guards, and treated by *Saul*, with remarkable Inſtances of Eſteem. He was highly acceptable to the King at all Times, and upon all Accounts; but never more than when he was in his Fits; for *David* was the only Phyſician, and his Voice and Harp the only Remedy, that in theſe Fits ever had the Power to bring him to himſelf again. *Saul*, in Fine, was ſo delighted with him to all Purpoſes, that with his Father's Leave and Conſent, he took him into his own Palace to live with him.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Philiſtines *advance with an Army againſt the* Hebrews. Goliah *defies the* Iſraelites *to a ſingle Combat; and* David *accepts the Challenge.*

I Sam. 17. *The two Armies are drawn up.*

IT was not long after this, that the *Philiſtines* marched againſt the *Iſraelites* with a prodigious Army, and encamped betwixt *Shecoth*, and *Azekah*; while *Saul* on the other Hand, was at the Head of another Army to encounter them. He drew out his Men upon a Mountain, and forced the *Philiſtines* to remove, and poſt themſelves upon a ſtronger Mountain juſt over againſt the *Iſraelites*, with a Valley betwixt the two Armies. While they were in this Order, there came down from the *Philiſtines*, one *Goliah*, a Citizen of *Gath*; a Man of a prodigious Stature, and a Strength anſwerable to his Height: Which was ſix Cubits and a Span; and his Armour proportion'd to the Size, and Force of his vaſt Limbs. His Coat of Mail weigh'd, 5000 *Sicles*; his Helmet, and Cuiſſes, of Braſs, anſwerable: The Head of his Spear was Iron, and weigh'd 600 *Sicles*: It was not a Spear to be carry'd like a Lance, but born upon his Shoulder. With theſe Accoutrements did this mighty Man march down the Hill, and a Troop of armed Men at his Heels, into the Middle of the Valley betwixt the two Bodies and there he ſtop'd; calling out to the *Iſraelites* with a horrid Outcry, after this Manner. *I am come hither*, ſays he, *you Men of* Iſrael, *to do an Office of Humanity, and to ſave Blood. Why ſhould we hazzard ſo many thouſand Lives upon the uncertain Iſſue of a Battle, when the Cauſe may be more reaſonably decided by two ſingle Perſons. My Buſineſs here is only to do the Part of a Champion for the* Philiſtines. *Do but you ſend out another Man with the ſame Commiſſion from the* Hebrews, *and leave it to us two to put an End to the Matter in Diſpute, for the Prevention of a bloody War. If he kill me, then will we be your Servants: But if I kill him, then ſhall you be our Servants, and ſubject to us. It is better, in Fine, to expoſe one than all.* With theſe Words he went back again to his Party. He made the ſame Challenge again the very next Day, and ſo Day after Day for forty Days together, to the great Trouble and Amazement, both of *Saul* and of his People, to have the Armies ſtand facing one another ſo long without engaging.

Goliah *the* Philiſtine *comes down the Mountains with a Challenge to the* Hebrews.

Goliah *makes the ſame Challenge for forty Days ſucceſſively.*

Saul had three of *Jeſſe*'s Sons along with him in this Expedition: But *David* was ſent back again to his Father, and to his Flocks. In ſome ſhort Time after this, *Jeſſe* ſent him to the Army with Neceſſaries for his Brothers, and to learn what News. Upon his coming to the Camp, *Goliah* was ſtill bragging, and reproaching the *Hebrews*, that not a Man of them had the Heart to look him in the Face. It was his Hap, one Time, as he was talking with his Brothers about ſomewhat of his Father's Buſineſs, to hear *Goliah*, in the Height of his execrable Outrages againſt the *Hebrews*. This tranſported *David* to ſuch a Pitch of Indignation, that he took up a Reſolution himſelf of accepting his Challenge, and he told his Brothers as much: But *Eliab* took him up ſharply for his Raſhneſs; a Boy, *ſays he*, that has neither Strength, Skill, nor Experience, to talk of undertaking ſuch a Commiſſion! No, no: E'en go to your Father, and to your Sheep again; that's the fitter Employment for you of the two. *David* had a Reverence for his Brother, but yet could not forbear ſaying the ſame Things over again in the Hearing of the Soldiers, who preſently carry'd the Report of it to the *King*, and *David* was forthwith ſent for to Court upon it; where *Saul* ask'd him what he had to offer upon that Point? *Great Prince*, ſays he, *hope the beſt, and fear nothing, for I my ſelf will take down the Pride of this boaſting Man; and as tall as he is, tread him under my Feet. Your Army ſhall appear glorious, and your terrible Enemy become the more ridiculous, when they ſhall ſee him fall by the Hand of a raw and* unexperienced Boy. The *King* ſtood in Admiration at the Firmneſs, and Magnanimity of the Youth; but he could not yet think it ſafe or prudential, to put the main Cauſe to an Iſſue upon ſo unequal a Match. *David* perceiving that *Saul* took his Meaſures from the common Reaſon of other Encounters, gave the *King* to underſtand that *this was not ſo much a Challenge to the Army, as a Defiance to Heaven itſelf; neither was the Combat to be taken, in Truth, for a Tryal of Skill betwixt* Goliah *and* David, *but betwixt* Goliah *and* the Lord of Hoſts: For *it is not my Arm*, ſays *David*, *that fights the Battle; but the Power of a gracious, and an invincible* God, *that many Times brings to paſs, even by the weakeſt of Inſtruments, the nobleſt of his divine Purpoſes, for his greater Glory.*

Three *of* Jeſſe's *Sons being with* Saul, *the Father ſends* David *to the Camp to know what News.*

David *would needs encounter* Goliah; *but* Eliab *oppoſes it.*

Saul *ſends for* David, *and diſcourſes the Matter with him.*

David's *Generoſity and Piety.*

He tells of an Encounter with a Lion *and a* Bear.

In that God is my Truſt; and I doubt not but he will ſtill continue to protect, and deliver me in all Difficulties, as he hath done formerly. As I was tending my Father's Sheep once, there came a Lion, *and took away a Lamb out of the Flock. I purſu'd him, till turning upon me, I took him by the Tail, and threw him againſt the Ground, and kill'd him. It was my Hap to have another encounter with a* Bear, *upon the ſame Occaſion, and with the like Succeſs. Now this blaſpheming foul mouth'd* Beaſt, *from their Army, is no more to me than a* Lion *and a* Bear *out of the* Foreſt. *But divine Juſtice will call this audacious Wretch to an Account, and make me the Inſtrument of his Vengeance. I do not ſpeak this upon the Impulſe of a raſh, and ungrounded Confidence, but in a full Aſſurance of Perſuaſion, that God will avenge himſelf upon this audacious Wretch; and that even I my ſelf ſhall have the Honour of a Hand in the Execution of that Juſtice.*

David's *Bravery had more of a divine Impulſe in it than of any Thing of hot Blood.* David *prepares for the Encounter.*

These Words were deliver'd with another Sort of Spirit, than the daring Heat of Youth and hot Blood: So that *Saul* looked upon them rather as an Inſpiration, than a Propoſal of his own proper Motion; and being ſo convinc'd, *David* eaſily obtained his Leave, and his Benediction both in one; and then accordingly prepared himſelf for the Action. To which End, *Saul* dreſs'd him up in his own Armour, Coat of Mail, Sword, and Helmet, and ſo bad God ſpeed him. But *David* found theſe Arms for Want of Uſe, rather a Burden than a Defence; excuſing himſelf to *Saul* with Modeſty and Reſpect, that they were much fitter for a Prince than for a Shepherd. Wherefore he put them off again, deſiring only that he might be allow'd to fight after his own Way. Upon this, he took his Shepherd's Staff, a Sling in his right Hand, five ſmooth Stones out of the Brook in his Scrip; and ſo advanced toward the Enemy: The other launching forward to meet him as faſt as his Legs, under ſo vaſt a Load of Armour, were able to carry him. When they were come within Ken one of another; and that *Goliah* ſaw what a Dwarf of an Adverſary he had to encounter, with the uncouth Appearance of his Equipage, he called out to him in Deriſion: *Heark ye, little Man,* ſays he, *with the Cudgel there: Are you come into the Field now to beat a Dog, or to fight a Soldier?* To beat worſe than a Dog, ſays *David*; and preſſing ſtill nearer him. This Reproach tranſported the Barbarian into ſo blaſphemous a Rage, that he curs'd *David* by his Gods; threatning to give his Fleſh for Food to the Fowls of the Air, and to the Beaſts of the Field. *You come to me,* ſays *David, with a Sword, a Spear, and a Coat of Mail; but I come to you with a Commiſſion from the living God, who by my Hands will this Day deſtroy both your ſelf, and your Army; divide your Head from your Body, and carry it away with me, and caſt your Carcaſs upon the Dunghill for Dog's Meat: Dog as you are your ſelf. By this Providence it will be made evident to the whole World, that the God of the* Hebrews *takes care of his People, and that his Protection is both their Strength, and their Armour. As likewiſe on the contrary, that there can be no Security either in Arms, or in Numbers, to thoſe that fall under his Diſpleaſure.* The *Philiſtine*, in the mean Time, advanced toward *David*, as faſt as he was able to march, under the Weight of his Armour; and with all the Contempt imaginable, to think of having to do with ſo raw, and undiſciplin'd an Adverſary.

A Shepherd's Staff, with a Sling, and five ſmall Stones are David's *Arms.*

CHAP. XI.

David *kills* Goliah. *The* Philiſtines *routed. And* Saul *takes up a mortal Jealouſy againſt* David.

David *ſtrikes* Goliah *dead with a Stone out of a Sling.*

DAVID on the other Hand, preſſing forward to the Combate, under the Conduct and Protection of his Almighty and inviſible Second: He took out of his Scrip, one of the Stones of the Brook, that he had provided for this Occaſion; couched it in his Sling, and caſt it with ſuch a Force at the Head of his Enemy, that it brake the Skull of him, and pierced his very Brain; laying the Monſter groveling, with his Face upon the Ground, in his laſt Sleep. *David* immediately runs up to him, and beſtrides him, takes his Sword from his Side (having none himſelf) and cuts off the *Philiſtine*'s Head with his own Weapon. This Exploit had ſuch an Effect upon their Army, that they fled, and ſcatter'd upon the very hearing of it. The Loſs of their Champion put them into ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, and Deſperation, that all they had to do in the World was by a ſhameful Flight,

He cuts off his Head with his own Sword. The Loſs of their Champion puts the Philiſtines *in a Conſternation.*

every Man of them, to make the beſt Shift he could for the ſaving of his own Skin. *Saul* and the whole Army of the *Hebrews*, made their Advantage of this Diſorder, and falling on in the Hurry of this Terror, with military Shouts and Clamours, had the Chace of them to the Skirts of *Gath*, and the very Gates of *Aſcalon*. They reckon'd thirty thouſand kill'd out-right upon the Purſuit, and twice as many wounded. The Army alſo, at their Return, taking the Pillage of the Camp, and ſetting Fire to it. As for the Head of *Goliah*, *David* carry'd that to his own Tent, and dedicated the Sword to the Lord.

Saul *frights and purſues them to* Gath *and* Askalon.

David *carries the Giant's Head to his own Tent, and dedicates the* Sword *to the Lord.*

This brave and generous Atchievment of *David's* raiſed ſoon after a mortal Jealouſy and Hatred in *Saul*; which happened particularly on this Occaſion.

1 Sam. 18.

This Action drew a dangerous Envy upon David.

Upon *Saul's* returning from the Victory, the Women and Virgins went in Throngs out of all the Cities, ſinging and dancing, with their *Cymbals* and *Taborets*, to meet him upon the Way, and joy him of his Succeſſes: The Women leading the Song with [Saul *hath ſlain his thouſands*;] the Virgins following it, [*and* David *his ten thouſands.*] This Preference of *David* to *Saul*, in a ten-fold Proportion, put ſuch a Freak into his Head, that he could not think himſelf ſafe after it, ſo long as *David* had any Command near his Perſon: Wherefore he advanced him to the Charge of a Colonel: And in Truth, his promoting the young Man, and putting him upon ſo many hazardous and glorious Enterprizes, was not ſo much to do *David* Honour, as to provide for his own Security; in Hope he might fall by the Chance of War in a Battle. For after ſuch an Inſtance of the People's Affections to *David*, as to aſcribe to him the Credit of the Victory, their next Buſineſs would be to transfer the Authority of the Government, and for him to take it too. But *David* had the Providence of God along with him, wherever he went, and in whatſoever he did; and he had not only won the Hearts of the People by the Charms of his Courage and Behaviour, but ſo far gain'd upon the Affections of a Virgin Daughter of *Saul's*, that her Father himſelf took Notice of the Paſſion ſhe had for him; and in his ordinary Diſcourſes upon that Subject, he ſeemed well enough content that it ſhould be a Match: Not out of any true Tenderneſs and Eſteem that he had for *David*, but as the moſt plauſible Cover for a Snare, that in a ſhort Time might probably coſt him his Life: Which was the very Bottom of his Deſign.

A Virgin Daughter of Saul's *hath a great Eſteem for* David.

While this Treaty was in Speculation, *Saul* caſt out a Word by the By. *Let him*, ſays he, *bring me the Heads of* 600 Philiſtines, *as an Acknowledgement*; *and take my Daughter*. He computed within himſelf that *David* was not of a Temper to decline any generous Enterprize, that carry'd Honour and Danger along with it; and that his Acceptance of this Offer would certainly engage him in ſome deſperate Action upon the *Philiſtines*, that might probably coſt him his Life in the Attempt. This, ſays *Saul* to himſelf, will be the more decent Way of gratifying my Jealouſy and Revenge; for it will look better to have him taken off by the Hands of the *Philiſtines*, as my Inſtruments, than expreſly by my own Order.

Saul *offers* David *his Daughter in Marriage, for the Heads of* 600 Philiſtines.

Saul, upon this Deliberation, ſet ſome of his Domeſticks at Work to learn how *David* ſtood affected to the Marriage of his Daughter; who gave him to underſtand by Inſinuations, that he was in ſo great Favour both with King and People, that there was a Speech as if *Saul* intended to make him his *Son-in-Law*. You may perhaps reckon it no great Matter, ſays *David*, to be *Son-in-Law* to a mighty Prince; but under the Circumſtances of my Quality and Extraction, I am not vain enough ſo much as to think on't.

Upon the Return of the Commiſſioners with an Account of their Negotiation, *Saul* ſent them once more back again with further Inſtructions. *Tell the young Man*, ſays he, *that my Buſineſs is not either Fortune or Preſents*; *and that whenever I part with my Daughter, ſhe ſhall be beſtow'd not ſold. The* Son-in-Law *that I propoſe to my ſelf muſt be a Man juſt ſo qualified with Courage, and other laudable Graces, as I find him to be. Tell him that I expect neither Silver nor Gold from his Father*; *for I do not want either Money or Honour. Let him only bring me ſix hundred* Philiſtines Heads; *which will be wellcomer to me than any Thing, and the moſt honourable of Preſents to my Daughter, in Juſtification of her to the whole World, that ſhe has taken a brave Man to her Husband. David* took every Thing that *Saul* ſaid, for Good Faith, in his Propoſal of this Affinity, without any dilatory Conſideration, whether the Thing were feaſible or not: And immediately fell to work with his Companions upon the Execution of the Conditions, and found God's Providence as propitious to him in this, as it had been in former Encounters; for his Adventure ſucceeded

David *brings the* 600 *Heads, and minds* Saul *of his Promiſe.*

ed to his Wiſh: That is to ſay, he fought the Enemy, and, after a great Slaughter, made a Preſent to the *King* of ſix hundred of their Heads, and minded *Saul* of his Promiſe.

CHAP. XII.

Saul *deſigns upon* David's *Life, and* Jonathan *from Time to Time gives him Notice of his Danger.*

1 Sam. 19.

Saul *out of pure Shame, takes* David *for his Son-in-Law;*

But at the ſame Time deſigns upon his Life, and tries to bring Jonathan *into the Plot.*

Jonathan *preſſes* David *to go out of the Way.*

Jonathan *aſſures* David *of all good Offices in his Abſence.*

SAUL found himſelf ſo hamper'd that there was no ſtarting, without giving himſelf the Lie, or diſcovering the Treachery of his Heart, in ſo baſe a Deſign upon the Life of a generous young Man, under the Pretext of an honourable Affinity: So that betwixt Shame and Scandal, he lay under a Kind of Force to be as good as his Word, in giving his Daughter in Marriage to *David*. But this Nearneſs of Relation wrought no Change at all upon the *King*: For *Saul* obſerving that *David* grew every Day more and more in Favour both with God and Man, he fanſy'd to himſelf, that ſo long as he liv'd, neither his Crown nor his Life were in Safety: So that he took up a Reſolution for the Security of both, to have *David* diſpatch'd; deſigning his Son *Jonathan*, with ſome of the truſtieſt of his Servants, for his Executioners. This lewd Inconſtancy of *Saul*, not only in withdrawing his Affection from ſo deſerving a Youth, but entring alſo into an impious and perfidious Deſign upon his Life, ſtruck the Son with ſuch an Amazement and Horror, that what with the natural Inclination he had for the Perſon of *David*, and likewiſe a profound Veneration for his Virtue, he went and gave *David* private Notice of *Saul*'s Intention; adviſing him as he lov'd his Life to be gone without any Delay: And in the mean Time, ſays he, I will go to my Father, and take my Time to mention your Name to him; for I have a Mind to try if I can learn what it is he takes ſo heinouſly, and bring him to better Reaſon; for, ſays *Jonathan*, I cannot imagine ſo much as any colourable Pretence for ſuch an Indignation and Diſpleaſure, againſt a Perſon that has deſerved ſo eminently well, both from his Prince and from his Country. Or ſuppoſing Things at the worſt, and that in Truth he might have made a falſe Step or two, why are not his Services ſet in Balance againſt it? For the Publick owes him a Pardon. *Jonathan* then told *David*, that he ſhould be ſure to have Intelligence from Time to Time how Matters went with his Father. So *David* follow'd *Jonathan*'s Counſel, and immediately withdrew out of the Way.

CHAP. XIII.

Jonathan *reconciles* Saul *to* David: *And* Saul *reſtores him to his former Poſt.*

Jonathan *ſolicites* Saul *on* David's *Behalf.*

JONATHAN accordingly went the next Day to his Father, and finding him in a pleaſant eaſy Humour, lays hold of the critical Minute to ſay ſomewhat to him about *David*. *Father*, ſays he, *you have here taken up a terrible Diſpleaſure againſt this young Man, and given Orders for his Death; but upon what Provocation, or for what Fault, great or little, I cannot comprehend. He is a Perſon to whom we ſtand indebted for our own Safety, and the Deſtruction of the* Philiſtines; *for vindicating the Honour of our Nation from the Scandal of a* forty Days Affront, *in the Challenge of the Giant; and not a Creature but this innocent Youth that had the Heart to encounter him: A Perſon that purchas'd my Siſter for his Wife at your own Price; to wit,* the Heads of ſix hundred Philiſtines, *which were punctually counted according to his Agreement. A Perſon, in Fine, entitled to your Eſteem and Tenderneſs, both as a brave Man, and as a Member of your Family, which will make up two ſenſible Aggravations of the Loſs. Be pleas'd to conſider too, the Injury you do your own Daughter in making her feel the Mortification of a Widow, before ſhe enjoys the Bleſſing of being a Mother. Pray be pleas'd to lay theſe Things together, and betake your ſelf to moderate Counſels. Remember who it was that cur'd you of your dark ſplenetick Fits, and drove the Evil Spirit from you; and conſider the Obligation he has laid upon the whole Family by that Relief; and who it was next under God, that deliver'd us from our implacable Enemies.*

Theſe are Benefits never to be forgotten, without the Infamy of the blackeſt Ingratitude. The Strength and Equity of this Way of reaſoning wrought ſo effectually upon *Saul*'s Rage and Jealouſy, that he bound himſelf with an Oath, never to do any Manner of Harm or Wrong to *David*, for the Time to come. *Jonathan* carry'd the News of this Reconciliation, to *David*, with an Aſſurance that *Saul* was mollify'd, and ready to do him all Sorts of good Offices: In which Confidence he carry'd him back again to Court; reconciled him to his Father, and re-inſtated him in the ſame Poſt of Service and Attendance that he was in before.

Saul *relents and promiſes upon his Oath that he will never hurt* David.

David, *upon this returns.*

CHAP. XIV.

David *overthrows the* Philiſtines. Saul *ſeeks his Life, and* Michol *ſaves it. A League betwixt* David *and* Jonathan. David *flyes to* Gath. Abimeleck *relieves him, and* Saul *puts* Abimeleck *and the whole ſacerdotal Race to the Sword; only* Abiathar *ſcapes.* David'*s miraculous Deliverances. The Death of* Samuel. David *marries* Abigail. Achiſh *entertains him; gives him* Zicklag, *and engages him in his War againſt the* Iſraelites.

ABOUT this Time the *Philiſtines* made War afreſh upon the *Hebrews*, and *David* was ſent out by *Saul* in the Head of an Army to encounter them. They fought a Battle, and the *Philiſtines* were totally broken and cut to Pieces, with a terrible Execution. So ſoon as the Action was over, *David* went forthwith back to the King with an Account of the Victory. But his Reception was not anſwerable, either to this Expectation, or to the Merit of his Services; for *Saul* was rather ſad, and caſt down at the Story of the Succeſs, then elevated with it; for Fear of the Conſequences of *David*'s growing Reputation among the People; for *Saul* turned every Thing that contributed to *David*'s Honour and Advantage, to his own Loſs and Reproach.

David *gives the* Philiſtines *a total Overthrow, with a terrible Execution. Which the Ill-natur'd Envy of* Saul *could hardly thank him for.*

It happen'd one Day, that *Saul*, being fall'n into one of his old Fits again, ſent for *David* into his Bed-Chamber, to ſing, and play upon the Harp to him as he lay there upon the Couch with a Lance in his Hand. *David* was in the very Act of his Obedience, ſinging and playing, as the King had commanded him, when *Saul* ſtarting up all on a ſudden, darted his Lance at him; but *David* keeping a watchful and a jealous Eye upon him, ſlipt aſide out of Harms-Way, and ſo from thence, as faſt as he could run, to his own Houſe; where he continu'd for the Remainder of that Day. At Night there was a Guard ſet upon the Houſe by the King's Order, to prevent *David*'s Eſcape, and to bring him in Cuſtody next Morning as a Criminal, to ſuffer Death by a publick Sentence; but [a] *Michol*, *David*'s *Wife*, and the *King's Daughter*, having very good Intelligence of her Father's Deſign, ran preſently to her Husband, and told him the whole Story at Length, and the Danger he was in, charging him to be gone before the next Morning, or he was a dead Man; for *if you ſhould be taken*, ſays ſhe, *my Father will certainly put you to Death. Wherefore ſhift for your ſelf now in the Dark of the Night and may God lengthen it beyond the ordinary Courſe, rather then you want Time for your Eſcape.* So [after a decent Interchange of all thoſe Tenderneſſes that naturally occur in ſuch Caſes the royal Couple were now upon the very Point of parting, with mutual Proteſtations, that neither of them either would, or could live without the other. This was the Farewell; and ſo] *Michol* let her Husband down from the Window by a Rope, committing him to Providence.

As David *was ſinging and playing to* Saul *in one of his Fits,* Saul *caſts his Lance at him.*

David *ſlips away, and gets Home.*

The King orders David *to be ſeiz'd.*

Michol *gets an Inkling of it and acquaints her Husband: And begs him to be gone.*

Michol *lets* David *down at the Window.*

By Break of Day came *Saul*'s Meſſengers to the Houſe to fetch away *David*; but *Michol* told them he was ſick in Bed, and after a very bad Night on't, was now fall'n to reſt; ſo ſhe ſhew'd them the Bed, which ſhe had dreſs'd-up on Purpoſe for the Fallacy, and ſomewhat panting under the Coverlet, which they took for the ſick Man. All paſs'd for Currant with the Meſſengers, and ſo away went they to the King, with an Account of every Thing; but *Saul* ſent them back again the next Night, with a peremptory Command to bring *David* away as they found him: For dye he muſt. Upon the ſecond Search, they turn'd up the Bed-Cloaths, and perceiv'd that *Michol* had put a Trick upon them; for there was no *David* to be found. Now the panting under the Blankets was only a Device of

Saul *ſends early next Morning to ſeize him.*

Michol *pretends he is ſick in Bed.*

The Officers come again next Morning for him, dead or alive: But Michol *had put a Trick upon them.*

[a] Μελχά *Joſ.*

Saul *rails at* Michol *for joyning with an Enemy againſt her Father.*
Michol *excuſes her ſelf to* Saul.
David *with* Samuel *at* Ramah.

Michol's, that had convey'd into the Bed the warm Liver of a Kid newly kill'd to repreſent the Palpitation. The Officers told the King the whole Buſineſs, and how his Daughter had impoſ'd upon them. *Saul* rattled her ſeverely for being ſo baſe as to take Part with an Enemy againſt her Father; but ſhe had this to ſay plauſibly enough for her ſelf; that her Husband ſwore he would kill her if ſhe would not undertake to conceal him, and help him away: And therefore ſhe hoped he would paſs over what ſhe had done under ſuch a Force; for ſhe muſt have ſacrificed the Life of his Daughter, if ſhe had not ſaved the Life of his ſuppoſed Enemy.

The more God favours David, *the more* Saul *envies him.*

Michol had now obtained her Pardon, and *David* was gotten-off ſafe to *Samuel* at *Ramah*; where he gave the Prophet the Hiſtory at large of the Snares that had been laid for him; the Adventure of the Lance, &c. without any Pretence all this while of the leaſt Failing in Matter of Duty and Reſpect, or of any Miſcarriage in his Commiſſions, for God had ſtill proſper'd him in whatſoever he undertook: And it muſt be added now for a farther Aggravation, that God's peculiar Favour toward him was the very Ground of all the Hatred, and Envy that was ſtir'd up againſt him.

Samuel *takes* David *with him from* Ramah *to* Galbaah.
Saul *ſends a Guard to take up* David.
The Soldiers find Samuel *among the Prophets, and they themſelves alſo begin to propheſy.*
Saul *ſends a ſecond and a third Time, and the Meſſengers propheſy after the ſame Manner.*
After this, Saul *goes himſelf, and the Spirit of Prophecy ſeizes him too.*

When *Samuel* came to underſtand the Extravagance and Iniquity of *Saul's* Way of proceeding, he took *David* along with him from *Ramah* to *Galbaah*, and there they continu'd a while together; but ſo ſoon as *Saul* had gotten Intelligence of *David's* being with the Prophet, he ſent a Party of Soldiers to take him up, and bring him away a Priſoner: But the Meſſengers, upon their Arrival, found *Samuel* in the Congregation of the Prophets; and after a while by the ſame Spirit, they began to propheſy themſelves too. *Saul* having Notice of this, ſent others, and then others, again and again ſtill, upon the ſame Errand, and it fared with them as with the former. Upon the third Diſappointment, all in a Rage, *Saul* went himſelf, and when he was come almoſt in Sight of *Samuel*, the Spirit of Prophecy ſeized him alſo, and going a little farther, the Impulſe was ſo ſtrong upon him, that he ſtript himſelf ſtark naked, and propheſy'd a whole Day and Night ſo, in the Preſence of *David* and *Samuel*.

Jonathan *and* David *reaſon the Matter together.*
1 Sam. 20.

David all this while thought himſelf very ill-uſ'd by the King, conſidering how dutiful and uſeful he had been to him; but upon making his Moan to *Jonathan*, of the hard Meaſure he had receiv'd, t'other adviſ'd him not to judge, or to ſuſpect raſhly, nor to be led away with private Tales and Suggeſtions, but rather to depend upon himſelf, that there was no Miſchief in the World intended him by his Father, who ſeldom did any Thing of Conſequence without making him privy to it; or if any ſuch Thing had been, he himſelf would certainly have told him of it. *David* on the other Hand, affirmed with an Oath, the Truth of the whole Matter as he had ſet it forth, and beſought *Jonathan* to venture rather to be a little credulous, where the Life of his Friend was at Stake, than to ſuſpend his Belief, upon the Hazzard of coming to be convinced of his Errour by the Loſs of a Brother. Neither is it to be imagined, *ſays he*, that the King, who knows you and me to be ſo particular Friends, ſhould ever communicate to either of us, a Deſign he has upon the Life of the Other. *Davids* Diſcourſe had more Weight in it, than *Jonathan* could have wiſh'd: So that being half convinc'd, and in ſome Trouble at it; he only deſir'd *David* to make Uſe of his Service, if there were any Thing in the World wherein he might be uſeful to him. *I am ſenſible*, ſays *David*, *of your good Will, and Readyneſs to oblige me, and in that Confidence I am to mind you, that we are to have a new-Moon to Morrow, and a Feſtival in Courſe. The King will be there; and while I was in waiting, I had the Honour to be one of the Number my ſelf. Now if you pleaſe, I can go out of the City, and privately wait your Leiſure ſomewhere about the Fields where you may find me out. If the King ſhould ask for me, you may tell him that I am gone to* Bethlem, *to celebrate the Day with my own Tribe, and that I had your leave to go. If he ſhall ſpeak any Thing kindly upon it;* as a good Journy *to him, or a* God ſpeed him, *take that for a certain Token that he has no Malice in his Heart againſt me. But if otherwiſe, you are to take it for granted that he bears me a Grudge. Pray let me hear how you find him, as you will be juſt to that ſacred, and mutual League of Friendſhip that it ſtruck betwixt us, and as you deſire to make me eaſy under my preſent Calamity. If you can think me unworthy of your Affection, or any Way guilty toward you Father, e'en ſheath your Sword in the Heart of me without waiting for further Orders.* *Jonathan* took theſe laſt Words a little unkindly; but yet promiſ'd to do every Thing as he was deſir'd; and that if ever he ſhould find his Father in any Plot, or Practice againſt *David*, he would be ſure to give

Jonathan *promiſes* David *to do all he can to ſerve him.*

him timely Notice of it: Sealing this promiſſary Declaration of his, with the Solemnity of an Oath, That he would leave nothing unattempted that might conduce to his Preſervation. *That God*, ſays he, *that fills and governs the Univerſe, and that knows the Thoughts of my Heart in the very Conception of them; let that God*, ſays he, *be a Witneſs to the Faith that is vow'd and promis'd betwixt us; and that I will never give over ſearching into and ſifting the private Deliberations and Purpoſes of my Father, till I ſhall have diſcovered the Bottom of his Heart, and whether there be any ſecret Rancour in his Thoughts or not, that may work to your Prejudice: And if I ſhall be able to make any Thing out at laſt, whether it be* for *you or* againſt *you, it ſhall be the firſt Thing I do to give you the Knowledge of it. The Searcher of Hearts will bear me Witneſs that this is true, and that I have ever made it my earneſt Prayer to Almighty God to bleſs and proſper you in your Perſon and Deſigns; and you may aſſure your ſelf, that he will be as gracious to you for the future, as he hath been hitherto, and lay all your Enemies at your Feet; which he will moſt certainly do, even though my Father and my ſelf ſhould be found in the Party againſt you. In the mean while, pray be ſure to keep theſe Things in Memory, and when I am gone, to take Care of my poor Children.*

A ſolemn League betwixt Jonathan *and* David.

Jonathan *and* David *agree upon a private Way of Intelligence.*

Jonathan having now paſs'd his Oath, appointed *David* to withdraw into a certain Part or Corner of the Field, which they two had agreed upon: *For*, ſays *Jonathan, I will firſt go to my Father, and when I have gotten as much from him as I can, I will come back again to your Hiding-Place, as if I were a ſhooting, and bring a Boy along with me. I ſhall then ſhoot three Arrows, and if I bid the Lad take them up and bring them to me, ſet your Heart at reſt, that all is well with my Father; but if I ſay any Thing elſe, take it for granted that you are in Danger: But aſſure your ſelf however, happen what will, it ſhall be my particular Care that you come to no Harm. Only once again I ſay, let not this be forgot in the Days of your Proſperity, and be kind to my poor Children. David* took the Hint, and ſo went his Way to the Poſt that was aſſign'd him.

The Day following was the Feaſt of the *New Moon*; where the *King*, according to Cuſtom, having duly prepar'd himſelf, ſat down to Supper; with *Jonathan* on his Right Hand, and his General *Abner* on the Left; *David*'s Place being empty all this while: But *Saul* took no publick Notice of it the firſt Day; ſuppoſing that his Abſence might poſſibly be Matter of Scruple, for want of a regular and cuſtomary Purification, after the Company of his Wife. But *Saul* miſſing him again the next Day, put it quick upon *Jonathan* to know how it came to paſs, that the Son of *Jeſſe* ſhould now abſent himſelf from the Feſtival two Days together. *Jonathan* told his Father that he had given him Leave to go into the Country, and Feaſt with his own Tribe, upon the ſame Occaſion. He would fain have had me along with him, ſays *Jonathan*, and truly I have ſo great a Friendſhip for him, that if you pleaſe, I ſhould be well enough content yet to go to him. This Expreſſion of *Jonathan*'s touch'd *Saul* ſo to the Quick, that he was no longer able to conceal the mortal Hatred he had for *David*; but brake out into an extravagant Paſſion againſt his Son upon it, calling him a Traytor, and an Enemy to his Father; an Abettor of, and a Confederate with *David*, and a ſhameleſs Conſpirator with the common Adverſary of the Family: For he muſt be wilfully blind, ſays he, that could not ſee the abſolute Impoſſibility of *Saul*'s ever being ſafe, ſo long as *David* was living: Commanding him alſo at the ſame Time to ſend for him, and deliver him up to Juſtice. *Jonathan*, upon this, deſir'd of his Father very reſpectfully, to know what capital Crime was objected againſt *David*. This Queſtion transported *Saul* into ſuch a Rage, that he ſnatch'd up a Javelin there within Reach, and had certainly kill'd his Son with it, if ſome of his Friends then preſent had not interpoſed and prevented it. There needed no other Evidence of *Saul*'s deadly Malice to *David*, when the Father had like to have murder'd his own Son for his Son-in-Law's Sake.

Saul *enquires for* David *at a Feſtival.*

Jonathan *excuſes him.*

Saul *calls* Jonathan *a Traytor to his Father.*

And ſtrikes at him with his Javelin.

This furious Outrage made *Jonathan* quit both the Company and the Feaſt; and what with the Trouble he had upon him for his Friend's Danger, and what for his own, he paſs'd that Night without any Reſt either of Body or Mind. So that early the next Morning, he took his Bow and Arrows, and a Boy along with him, into the Fields, under the Pretext of going a ſhooting; but in Truth, to give *David* the neceſſary Information of what had paſs'd, the firſt Thing he did was to convey his Intelligence by his Arrows, as he ſaid he would. After which, he ſent the Boy away to Town upon a formal Errand, for the better Opportunity of a Word or two in private with his Friend. They were no ſooner within Sight one

Jonathan *informs* David *of the whole Matter.*

of another, but *David* caſt himſelf down at the Feet of his Preſerver, and in that Poſture ſaluted him: The other immediately taking him up; and both joyning in one another's Arms, to curſe the Malignity of the Age, and their own hard Fortune, that was now forcing them upon a Separation worſe than the worſt of Deaths. When they had condoled their Time out, and indulg'd all Softneſſes of dear and parting Friends, they took their final Leave, with freſh Vows and Aſſurances, never to depart from the Conditions of their League, and ſo ſubmitted at laſt to the Neceſſity of going their ſeveral Ways.

David *goes to* Abimelech *in the City of* Nob. 1 Sam. 21.

Abimelech *gives* David *a* Viaticum.

Doeg *overhears them.*

Abimelech *gives him alſo the Sword of* Goliah *the* Philiſtine.

David *goes thence to* Gath *among the* Philiſtines. *They take him up, and offer to ſwear againſt him to* Achiſh.

David *acts the Part of an Idiot, and ſo they let him go.*

David being now in great Diſtreſs by the Perſecution of a watchful and an implacable Enemy, and under the Conſideration of a certain Death if he ſhould be taken, went in his Wandrings to *Abimelech* the High-Prieſt, in the City of *Nob*. He had no Company with him, either Friends or Servants, which *Abimelech* took Notice of; and, not without ſome Admiration, ask'd him the Reaſon of it. He came by ſpecial Order, *he ſaid*, upon a Piece of ſecret Service, from the King; and that for Privacy Sake, he had for the preſent diſcharg'd his Train, and appointed them a ſet Time and Place, when and where they ſhould attend him. He told *Abimelech* likewiſe, that it would be a very friendly Office, and a great Furtherance to his Buſineſs, if he would but ſupply him with Neceſſaries for his Journey. This being granted, he told him once again, that if he could but furniſh him with a Sword, or a Spear, or ſome Piece of Arms, it would lay yet another Obligation upon him. It ſo happened that a Servant of *Saul*'s was all this while within Hearing; a *Syrian*, by Nation: His Office was that of a Groom, and his Name *Doeg*. The High-Prieſt ſaid he had no Arms, but the Sword that kill'd the *Philiſtine*, which was hung up and dedicated to God; and that Sword he might have if he pleas'd. *David* accepted of it; and with this Sword, making what haſte he could out of the Juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*, he fled to the City of *Gath* in the Land of the *Philiſtines*. This was in the Reign of King [a] *Achiſh*. *David* had no ſooner ſhew'd his Head among them, but ſeveral of the King's Servants call'd him to mind, and taking him up in a Hurry, carry'd him open-mouth to the King, with an Exclamation, that this was the Man, that upon ſuch a particular Occaſion kill'd ſo many Thouſands of the *Philiſtines*, and this they offer'd to make good againſt him. But *David* finding himſelf in as much Danger of *Achiſh* now, as he had been of *Saul* before, fell immediately to foaming at the Mouth, and driveling like a Mad-Man; inſomuch that *Achiſh* call'd out to his People in Wrath, to take away that Fool: What did they trouble him for with a Changling? he ſaid. And upon this Rebuke, *David* was a ſecond Time deliver'd out of a Streight more dangerous than the other.

1 Sam. 22. *He goes from* Gath *to the Cave of* Adullam, *in the Tribe of* Juda.

People come flocking to him, to the Number of 400.

By this Artifice he got clear of *Gath*, and from thence ſhifted away into the Tribe of *Juda*, where he took up his Reſting-Place for ſome Time in a Cave in the Field of *Adullam*. His Friends and Relations, (and in Truth other People promiſcuouſly) being advertis'd of the Place of his preſent Abode, came flocking in to him: Some for the Love and Reſpect they bare to himſelf; others out of the Fear or Hatred of *Saul*: Some, in Fine, that were uneaſy in their Fortunes, others in their Minds, being unſatisfy'd with the preſent State of Things; beſide Libertines of all Sorts, and the like. So that upon the whole, there were a Matter of four hundred of them gotten together, and every Man devoted to the Service of *David* with Life and Fortune.

David *marches with his little Party to the King of* Moab.

The King gives him Entertainment and Protection.

In the Strength and Confidence of this little Body, *David* remov'd and march'd directly away to the King of *Moab*, with an Addreſs to him for Leave to himſelf, with his Friends and Relations there, being under a Proſecution, to take Sanctuary in ſome Part of his Dominions, only till the Storm might blow over, and their Affairs be put into ſome Sort of Settlement at Home. The *Moabite* King received *David* and his Company very generouſly, and treated them with great Honour and Hoſpitality for the Time they were there: That is to ſay, till by the Order and Direction of the Prophet *Samuel*, *David* marched away with his People out of the Deſart, into the Land of *Judah*, and ſo to [b] *Hareth*.

Saul *hears of* David's *March*.

When *Saul* came to underſtand (and it was not long firſt) that *David* had been ſeen upon his March in the Head of a Body of armed Men, he was not a little terrify'd and troubled at the Intelligence; for he had ſeen ſo many experimental Proofs of the Greatneſs of *David*'s Soul and Courage, that he could not but reaſonably expect ſome mighty Matter from him; which he apprehended would tend at leaſt to the perplexing and diſordering of his Counſels, if not to the endan-

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[a] Αγχοῦς. *Joſ.*

[b] Εἰς Σάρειν πόλιν. *Joſ.*

gering

He calls a great Council.

gering of the very Government it ſelf. Upon this Occaſion, he call'd all his Friends and his Captains together, the People of his own Tribe, and all his Officers civil and military, at his royal City of *Gibeah*; and there enthroning himſelf in the Field, at a Place they called *the Field*, with his Men of War, Honour and Buſineſs, about him, he ſpake to them from his Poſt of State, after this Manner.

A bitter Speech of Saul's.

Taking for granted, my Friends and Fellow-Tribeſmen, that the good Offices I have done you, the Poſſeſſions I have beſtow'd upon you, the honourable and profitable Commiſſions that I have given you, are not as yet ſo abſolutely ſunk and bury'd, as to be quite out of your Memory; I ſhall now put this ſhort Queſtion to you; whether or no do you expect greater Benefits and Advantages from the Son of Jeſſe, *than you have received from me? For I find it manifeſtly, that all your Inclinations biaſs that Way; and that my Son* Jonathan *miniſters both an Example and an Authority for your ſo doing: For I am no Stranger to the Solemnity of a ſtrict League and Confederacy betwixt him and* David; *nor of his abetting the Cauſe of my Adverſaries with his Power, Intereſt, and Councils. Now this is a Matter that you never trouble your Heads about; but ſit quietly and indifferently looking on, in a careleſs Indifference for the Event.*

Doeg's *Information of what paſs'd at* Nob.

Theſe Words of the King were follow'd with a general Silence, till *Doeg* the Groom, a *Syrian*, deliver'd what he had to ſay upon the Point then in Queſtion. The Account he gave was this. *When I came,* ſays he, *to the City of* Nob, *to the High-Prieſt* Abimelech, *I ſaw* David *there to conſult the Oracle.* Abimelech *gave him Conveniencies for his Journey, and the Sword of* Goliah, *and ſo helped him forward to go whither he pleaſed.* After this Declaration of *Doeg*, *Saul* order'd the High-Prieſt to be ſent for with all his Relations; to whom the King ſaid as follows.

Saul *ſends for* Abimelech *and all his Relations.*

Saul *charges them for being in a Conſpiracy againſt him, with* David.

What have I done to make you give this Encouragement to a Traytor to his Prince? For the Son of *Jeſſe* is no better. And yet who but you to entertain him; furniſh him with Proviſions and Arms, and to give him comfortable Returns from the Oracle, of the hopeful Succeſs of his Deſigns! You cannot be ignorant that he is now run away, in the Conſcience of the Malice he has for my Family, and in the Fear of being taken up and puniſh'd for't.

Abimelech's *Defence.*

The High-Prieſt made no Oppoſition to the Truth of the Charge; but frankly confeſs'd that theſe Reſpects had a Regard, not ſo much to *David* as to the *King himſelf*; for, ſays he, *I did not receive him as your Enemy, but as the faithfulleſt of your Friends and Officers; and, which is more, in the Quality of your Son too, and a Relation in ſo tender a Degree of Affinity and Alliance. For how ſhould any Body imagine that Man to be your Enemy, upon whom you have conferr'd ſo many Honours? Or why ſhould not I rather preſume ſuch a Perſon, without any further Enquiry, to be your ſingular Friend? If he conſulted me about the Will of God, it is not the firſt Time that he has done it, nor the firſt Time that I have given him an Anſwer: Neither has it been always alike. He told me that he was ſent in Haſte by your ſelf, about earneſt Buſineſs, and if I had not ſupply'd him with what he wanted, it would have reflected an Indignity upon your ſelf, rather than upon him. Wherefore I hope the Blame ſhall not be laid at my Door, even if you ſhould find* David *to be as guilty at laſt, as you ſuſpect him to be; unleſs an Act purely of Compaſſion and Humanity, abſtracted from the leaſt Thought, Knowledge, or Imagination of any evil Intention, ſhall be underſtood to make me a Party to a Conſpiracy. For the Service I render'd him was Matter of Reſpect to the King's Son-in-Law, and the King's military Officer, not to the Perſon or Intereſt of* David. This was all plauſible and fair; but the Fear of the *Danger* wrought more upon *Saul* than the *Apology*, tho' never ſo juſt. So that without giving any Credit to the Excuſe, he commanded the Guards about him to ſeize *Abimelech* and his Family, and put them all to the Sword. The *Hebrews* flatly refus'd to execute ſo ſacrilegious a Commiſſion; for it was no leſs, in the Conſtruction of their Religion, to put any Man to Death that ſerv'd at the Altar. Upon this Scruple and Denial, the Charge was committed to *Doeg* the *Syrian*; who with an impious Band of Ruffians and Aſſaſſins like himſelf, began with the High-Prieſt, and went through his whole Family, to the Number of three hundred and eighty five Perſons. This barbarous Maſſacre was no ſooner over, but the ſame helliſh Crew was diſpatch'd away to *Nob*, the Seat and Reſidence of the Prieſthood, on the ſame Errand; where they kill'd all the Inhabitants they could find, to a ſingle Soul, ſparing neither Age nor Sex: And, in Concluſion, they laid the whole Town in Aſhes. *Abiathar* the Son of *Abimelech* was the only Perſon that eſcap'd in this Butchery, to verify an ancient Revelation from God to the High-Prieſt *Celi*, foretelling him, that the Iniquity of his two Sons would in Time to come be puniſh'd with the rooting out of the Family. This execrable Cruelty of *Saul*'s in the Extirpation of the ſacerdotal Race; the putting of old Men, Women and Children,

Abimelech *and his Family put to the Sword, to the Number of* 385 *Perſons.*

Nob *laid in Aſhes, and only* Abiathar *the Son of* Abimelech *ſcapes the Butchery.*

Saul *extirpates the ſacerdotal Race.*

And the very Nurſery of Prieſts and Prophets.

to the Sword, without either Pity for the one, or Reverence for the other; the deſtroying of a City that God himſelf had honour'd with a peculiar Privilege, by ſetting it apart as a Nurſery for Prieſts and Prophets: This barbarous Courſe, I ſay, of inhumane Violences, ſhews us the licentious Corruptions of Fleſh and Blood, when unbridled Nature is left to it ſelf, without ſome external Check upon it. While Men are low, poor, and impotent; in Fear of Laws and Penalties; and in Truth, under ſome Sort of Neceſſity, to appear honeſt, for Want of Power to be wicked; how temperate, juſt, and gentle; nay, how religious do they pretend to be! They live as if they own'd a Providence, and believed the Omnipreſence of an Almighty and an All-ſeeing God. But ſo ſoon as ever they come to be deliver'd from the Clogs and Impediments of theſe Inabilities, and advanced to the Authority of Prerogative and Government, they are no longer the ſame Men; but ſhift like Stage-Players, and lay by their old Manners with their old Cloths, changing both the Scene and the Perſon. They grow bold, proud, and inſolent; quitting all Reverence either for God or Man; and inſtead of exerciſing that Piety and Juſtice, which can only ſecure Men in that eminent Station, from the Stroke of Detraction and Envy, (for their very Thoughts as well as Actions in that Height of Elevation are expos'd to common Cenſure) they live, and act, as if either God knew not what they did, or as if their Greatneſs had tranſported them out of the Reach of divine Juſtice. When this arrogant Vanity is once upon the Wing, what Havock does it make of Men, and of Things! What Hurly-Burlies and Confuſions in the World! They govern by their Paſſion, not their Reaſon: Vain Fears and groundleſs Averſions toward ſome, and partial Prepoſſeſſions of Favour toward others, are the only Counſellors they adviſe with. Now the Reſult of theſe Dictates is that which they impoſe upon the World for no leſs than a Decree ratify'd in Heaven: And all this while, not one Word or Thought of the future. As for thoſe, in Fine, that have done them ſignal Services, they commonly make them early Acknowledgments, by Honours and Rewards: But then it is in every Informer's Power, by Subornation, or Calumny, to ſtrip them for a Word ſpeaking, not only of their Dignities, but of their Lives too; and all this without Proof, Probability, Tryal; nay, or ſo much as Examination. And this Tyranny exerciſes it ſelf not ſo much upon the Guilty that deſerve to be puniſh'd, as upon the Innocent that may be oppreſs'd without Danger.

Three hundred Prieſts and Prophets put to Death.

We find all this to be punctually made Good in the preſent Inſtance of *Saul*, the Son of *Kis*, who was the firſt King of the *Hebrews* after the Diſſolution of the *Ariſtocraſy*, and the taking of the Adminiſtration out of the Hands of the *Judges*. He put to Death three hundred Prieſts and Prophets, upon the Caprice of a bare Jealouſy of *Abimelech*. He laid their City in Rubbiſh, kill'd all that were in it, and buried the Dead under the Ruines of it; doing all that in him lay, toward the utter Extinction of the ſacerdotal Order and Race, without leaving ſo much as one Prieſt alive to ſerve at the Altar, or any Habitation to receive them. *Abiathar* the Son of *Abimelech*, was the only Man that eſcaped; and he carry'd the diſmal Tydings of the Deſtruction of his Father, and his Family, to *David:* Which was no more, he ſaid, than he expected, when he ſaw *Doeg* there; who he was ſure would make the worſt of it to the King: And, in Fine, he told *Abiathar*, that it went to the Heart of him to find himſelf any Way the Occaſion of ſo dreadful a Calamity. But, ſays he, ſince ſo it is, keep you where you are, and ſtay with me, for you can be no where ſafer.

1 Sam. 23. *The* Philiſtines *enter the Country of* Keilah. David *conſults the Prophet, draws out, fights, and overcomes them.*

About this Time there was Word brought to *David*, that the *Philiſtines* were enter'd with an Army into the Province of *Keilah*, burning and deſtroying all before them wherever they came. *David* had a Mind to attack them; but not without conſulting the Prophet firſt, for Encouragement and Direction. The Prophet bad him go on and proſper; whereupon he preſently drew out; fought the Enemy, and routed them with a very great Slaughter, and carry'd off a conſiderable Booty. After this, he ſtaid a while in *Keilah*, for a Guard to ſecure the Inning of their Harveſt. *Saul* in this Point of Time, received a particular Account of *David* being in the Town, and likewiſe of the Action; as it was too conſiderable to lie long conceal'd. It was alſo obſervable, that the Relation was deliver'd much to *David*'s Honour. Upon the Intelligence of *David*'s ſhutting himſelf up in a walled Town, *Saul* look'd upon his Buſineſs to be as good as done; and as the Favour of a ſingular Providence that had put his Enemy into his Hands: So that he gave out Orders immediately for the beſieging of *Keilah*; and not to quit the Place till *David* ſhould be brought to Juſtice. But *David* being premoniſhed by a Revelation, that if he did not ſeaſonably provide for himſelf, the People of *Keilah* would

David *in* Keilah, *and* Saul *orders him to be beſieg'd there.* David *is precaution'd by a Revelation.*

deliver him up to the King to ſave themſelves; he quitted the City, and betook himſelf with his four hundred Men into the *Deſert*, where he encamped upon a Hill that was well fortify'd, by the Name of *En-geddi*: But *Saul* underſtanding that *David* had left the Town, countermanded his Orders for the Siege too; while *David*, with his People, removed out of the Wilderneſs to *Cæna*, a Place belonging to *Ziphe*; where *Jonathan* the King's Son came to him, and ſaluted him with an Intent to have ſome Diſcourſe with him about Things to come. He bad him deſpond of nothing; for all thoſe preſent Difficulties would vaniſh: For the Time (he ſaid) was at Hand when the whole Nation of the *Hebrews* ſhould be his Subjects; adviſing him to conſider, that Bleſſings of that Quality are not to be compaſs'd without Toil and Hazzard. So they renew'd their League of Friendſhip over again, with a Sanction of moſt dreadful Curſes, upon him that ſhould firſt act contrary to Covenants: The Obligation to be for Life, and God to be a Witneſs to it. This Solemnity being performed, *Jonathan* left *David* upon the Place, much eaſier and better ſatisfy'd than he found him, and ſo returned to his own Home.

And removes his Camp to En-geddi.

Jonathan *comes to* David *at* Cæna.

They renew their League.

While this was a doing, the Men of *Ziphe*, to curry Favour with the King, gave him to underſtand that *David* lay lurking up and down about their Grounds, and undertook, if *Saul* would be pleaſed to come to their Aſſiſtance, to deliver him up; for it was but the ſecuring of ſome narrow Paſſes, and it would be impoſſible for him to ſcape. *Saul* highly extoll'd the Zeal and Good-Will of the Men, with very gracious Acknowledgments of the Obligation they had laid upon him, in telling him where he might find his Enemy, and promis'd them large Requitals alſo for the Service they had done him. So he preſently ſent away his Agents, if poſſible, to find out *David*, and to ſearch all the Hiding-Places in the Deſert for him; promiſing to follow them himſelf in a very ſhort Time with his Army. The People of *Ziphe* were wonderfully forward and officious, not only to ſerve as Guides toward the Diſcovery of *David* in his Haunts; but for the very Seizure of his Perſon, and the giving of him up into the King's Power. But after all the Villany of this pragmatical Zeal, their malicious Purpoſe was at at laſt diſappointed. Now they might have held their Tongues in the Caſe, with all the Security imaginable: So that the Baſeneſs of their thruſting themſelves into the Treachery of betraying a pious and an innocent Perſon to Ruine and Deſtruction, contrary to Law and Juſtice, was only a ſcandalous wicked Office, undertaken for the very Wickedneſs Sake; but Mercenaries and Pick-Thanks will ſtick at nothing.

The Ziphites *give* Saul *Intelligence where to find* David.

The Ziphites *Officiouſneſs to find out* David.

David being ſeaſonably advertis'd of this brutal Conſpiracy of the *Ziphites*; and of the King's being upon his March in Proſecution, and in Favour of it, he quitted the Faſtneſſes where he was before, and made away as faſt as he could to a great Rock in the [a] Wilderneſs of *Maon*. *Saul* having gotten Intelligence upon the Way, of *David*'s Removal, and what Courſe he took, follow'd him upon the Heel; and was come ſo near him, that *Saul* was on one Side of the Rock, and *David* on the other, and juſt ready to be hemm'd in beyond all Poſſibility of eſcaping: But by great Providence, juſt in this preciſe Inſtant, came the ſad News to *Saul* that the *Philiſtines* had broken in upon the *Hebrews*, and were ravaging their Country. This Intelligence diverted *Saul* from his Purſuit of *David*; chuſing rather to turn his Arms upon the ſworn Enemies of the Nation, and to redeem his Country, than run the Riſque of loſing all to gratify a particular Pique againſt one ſingle Perſon. By this bleſſed Providence was *David* deliver'd beyond all Expectation: And his next Retreat was to the Streights of *En-geddi*.

David *withdraws to a Rock in the Wilderneſs of* Maon.

Saul *follows them.*

The Philiſtines *breaking in upon the* Hebrews *diverts him.*

His next Retreat is to En-geddi.

1 Sam. 24.

When *Saul* had encounter'd and beaten back the *Philiſtines*, Word was brought to him once again in his Return, where he might find *David*; for that he had been ſeen ſomewhere about *En-geddi*. Upon this Advice, *Saul* drew out three thouſand choice Men to march immediately after him. As they were upon the Way, and within a little of the Place, there was a deep dark ſpacious Cave, and *Saul* ſtept aſide into it alone, as a Place of Privacy, upon a neceſſary Occaſion to eaſe himſelf. Now this Cave happen'd to be the very Place where *David* and his four hundred Followers had hid themſelves. One of *David*'s People that knew *Saul* very well, had the Fortune to diſcover him, and preſently went up to *David* with the good News, that now was his Time to put an End to all his Troubles, by taking the Opportunity of a glorious Revenge, in cutting off the Head of his mortal Enemy; for God had now deliver'd *Saul* up into his Hands. But it neither ſuited with *David*'s Greatneſs of Mind, nor with the Senſe and Conſcience of his Duty and Allegiance, to lay violent Hands upon his anointed Lord and Maſter, whom God himſelf had ſet over him; and to return Evil for Evil. So that *David* cut off a Piece of

Saul *marches after him, and happen'd into the ſame Cave where* David *and his People were.*

David *cuts off the Skirt of* Saul's *Garment.*

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[a] Ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σίμωνος. *Joſ.* But 'tis *Maon* in *Rufinus*'s Verſion.

the Skirt of *Saul*'s Garment, and ſo let him go: But repented in the very Inſtant even of that too.

Upon *Saul*'s going out of the Cave, *David* follow'd into the open Air, calling out after him: The King, upon the hearing of a Voice he was ſo well acquainted with, turned preſently about; and *David*, with all Decency of Reverence and Reſpect both to the Perſon and the Occaſion, addreſs'd himſelf to him in Words to this Effect.

David *reaſons the Caſe to* Saul, *in a moſt excellent Speech.*

It is a very unhappy Thing, Sir, *with your Majeſty's gracious Leave for this Freedom, when a great Prince has his Ears ſo open to Calumniators and Detractors, as to ſuſpect the Integrity of his try'd and moſt faithful Friends, upon the Credit of the vaineſt and falſeſt of Men; that is to ſay, of Pick-thank Flatterers and Under-hand Informers. Were it not under Favour, a much more laudable Way to put every Man to the Tryal of his Honeſty by his Works? For Words may be falſe as well as true; but Demonſtration by Fact, is infallible. You may be pleaſed now, upon the Force of this ſingle Inſtance at preſent before you, to conſult your Reaſon, upon ſecond Thoughts; whether I have had hard Meaſure or not, in being taken for a Criminal, upon the Suggeſtion of an evil Intention, that never ſo much as enter'd into my Thought; and yet it has (moſt unhappily to me) ſo far gain'd Belief with your Majeſty, that I go in Danger of my Life every Hour of the Day, and of the Night, upon a bare and an ungrounded Jealouſy of my Guilt. Can any Thing, with Pardon, be clearer than the Evidence of your Majeſty's Miſtake, when you ſuſpect me for malicious Practices upon your Life as well as on your Family? How will your Majeſty look God in the Face with this Guilt upon your Conſcience, that you are ſtill practiſing upon the Life of a Perſon that had you wholly at Mercy, and the Opportunity of gratifying his Revenge; and yet ſpar'd you out of Good-Nature, Juſtice, and Reſpect. Look you Sir,* ſays he, *I could as eaſily have taken your Head from your Shoulders, as this Piece of Stuff from your Mantle,* (ſhewing the Skirt that he had cut off, to confirm the Truth of what he ſaid.) *I had not the Heart to indulge any Thing of a vindictive Execution, though never ſo juſt; while you at the ſame Time, without any Difficulty or Scruple, purſue me with a moſt injurious Perſecution. But let God judge betwixt us, who will determine, in the Concluſion, which of the two was in the Right.*

Saul was ſo confounded at the Modeſty and Softneſs of the young Man, and in ſuch Admiration at the Good Nature and Humanity of *David* in ſparing his Life, after ſo many bitter Provocations, that he could not forbear groaning, upon the Thought of it; and upon *David*'s anſwering his Sigh with another. *No, no,* ſays *Saul, Theſe Lamentations will better become me; for as you, on the one Hand, have been the Cauſe and the Author to me of a great Deal of Good; ſo have I, on the other Side, made you a Return only of Cruelty and Miſery, for all your Obligations and Benefits. You have in this,* ſays he, *given to underſtand that you are not degenerated from the Generoſity and Goodneſs of your Anceſtors; who, when they had their Enemies at Mercy, choſe rather to diſmiſs them ſafe and free, than to make an ill Uſe of the Advantage they had over them. Now do I manifeſtly perceive by the Paſſages of this Day, that God has ſet you apart for this Kingdom; and that the whole Nation of the* Hebrews *is to be ſubjected to your Government. Wherefore I have this Requeſt to make you, that you give me your Promiſe, upon Oath, to forgive all the Injuries I have done you; and that when you come to be poſſeſs'd of your Government, you will be merciful to my Family.* *David* paſs'd his Promiſe upon Oath to do as he was deſir'd, and ſo diſmiſs'd the King, and [a] departed himſelf with his Train to the Streights of *Mizpeh*.

Saul *acknowledges* David's *Generoſity, and his own Injuſtice.*

And asks David *Forgiveneſs.*

The Death of the Prophet Samuel. 1 Sam. 25.

At or about this Time dy'd the Prophet *Samuel*, a Perſon in great Reputation among the *Hebrews*, for his Probity and Virtue: And the People gave an eminent Proof of the Eſteem they had for him, in the Magnificence and Expence of his Funeral. They bury'd him at *Ramah* in his own Country, and mourned for him afterward a long Time, not with the Ceremony of a formal publick Sorrow; but every Individual had a diſtinct and a particular Share in the Loſs; for he was a Man of a natural Benignity and Juſtice, and moſt remarkably in God's Favour for his Virtues. After the Death of *Eli*, he govern'd twelve Years alone; and then in the Reign of *Saul*, eighteen Years more, ending his Days according to the Relation that is here ſet forth.

Samuel's *Character.*

The Hiſtory of Nabal.

There lived at that Time near the Place where *David* frequented, a Man of *Zipe*, of the City of [b] *Emma*, whoſe Name was *Nabal*. He was very wealthy in Herds and Poſſeſſions; for he had in his Grounds three thouſand Sheep, and a thouſand Goats. *David* was ſo much his Friend, that he ſet his own People to aſſiſt *Nabal*'s in looking after his Flocks; forbidding them upon their uttermoſt Peril, either for Avarice or for Hunger, or upon any other Pretence whatever, to touch ſo much as one Hair of them: No, not if they ſhould be ſure not to be diſcover'd; preaching to them ſtill upon the Text of doing Juſtice to all Men, living in Conformity to the Will of God, who was never pleaſed with any Man that coveted, or laid violent Hands on the Goods of his Neighbour. This was the Doctrine he inculcated to thoſe about him, and they liv'd accordingly: *David* little imagining that his Kindneſs had been caſt away all this while upon a Creature ſo unworthy, as he appear'd afterwards, of ſo generous and ſo friendly an Office.

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[a] Εἰς τὴν Μασθηρῶν ἀνέβη στενήν.

[b] *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* has *Maon* for *Emma*.

The Character of Nabal.

This *Nabal* was a brutal, ill-naur'd Wretch; but the Husband of a well-faſhion'd, prudent and agreeable Woman. One Day as he was upon his Sheep-ſhearing, *David* ſent ten of his People to *Nabal* with the Complement of a thouſand good Wiſhes to him, and deſiring only ſome moderate Supply of Proviſions out of his Abundance; for his Shepherds could inform him, that all the while they had been together in the Deſert, they had been ſo far from doing *Nabal* an Injury, that they had rather kept and preſerved his Sheep for him: Cloſing the Diſcourſe with an Aſſurance, that what Friendſhip ſoever he ſhould do for *David* upon this Occaſion, ſhould be abundantly acknowledg'd. The anſwer that *Nabal* returned them was coarſe and churliſh, like himſelf. [*David?* ſays *Nabal. Why who's that ſame* David, *I wonder?* They told him he was one of the Sons of *Jeſſe. Yes yes,* ſays *Nabal*, *your runaway-Servants look upon themſelves to be brave Fellows, I warrant ye.*] This contemptuous Affront put *David* in the Head of four hundred Men toward *Nabal*, leaving two hundred more behind them with the Baggage; (his number being now encreaſed to ſix hundred) with a Vow, and Determination that very Night to ruine *Nabal*, to all manner of Purpoſes, with his Houſe and Family. Now *David*'s Indignation againſt him, was not ſo much for his Barbarity and Ingratitude, where he had been ſo frankly obliged; but for the Virulence of ſo inſolent an Outrage againſt a Man that never did him an Injury.

Nabal'*s Churliſhneſs, and Ribaldry againſt* David.

David *vows a Revenge upon* Nabal.

While Matters where in this Hurry, ſome of *Nabal's* Shepherds and Servants carry'd the Story of this Encounter to the Miſtreſs: Telling her how *David* had ſent to her Husband to deſire a ſmall Pittance of ſomething to eat; which *Nabal* did not only refuſe, but anſwered him with unſufferable, and opprobrious Revilings; though *David* had ever dealt honourably and reſpectfully by him upon ſeveral Occaſions; telling her further, what Apprehenſions they had of the Miſchief, that the Senſe of this Indignity might bring upon her ſelf and her Husband. So ſoon as *Abigal*, the Wife of *Nabal*, had heard what they had to ſay, ſhe preſently call'd for the *Aſſes* out; cauſed them to be laden with Preſents, and without one Word ſpeaking to her Husband, (who was at that Time fuddled, and ſenſleſs) ſhe put her ſelf upon the Way to find out *David*; whom ſhe met coming down the Straits of the Mountain and four hundred Men following him, going to take Vengeance upon *Nabal. Abigail* had no ſooner ſight of him, but leaping from her Aſs, ſhe threw her ſelf proſtrate upon the Ground, and *humbly beſought* David *to paſs over the Words of her Husband, as one whoſe Name was ſuited to his Nature*; Nabal, *in* Hebrew *ſignifying a* Fool, *and a* Madman. *She pleaded for herſelf, that ſhe ſaw none of the Meſſengers to her Husband; begged Pardon, and deſir'd* David *to give God Thanks for ſending her as the Inſtrument to keep his Hands from Blood: And, Sir,* ſays ſhe, *may you ſtill preſerve your ſelf clear of that Pollution, that God may turn the Vengeance that threatens* Nabal, *upon the Heads of your Enemies. Be pleaſed, I beſeech you, to accept of the good Will of your poor Servant, with theſe ſmall Preſents; and upon my humble Requeſt, to paſs over the Offence of my Husband, who had ſo juſtly incurr'd your Diſpleaſure; for there is nothing ſo well becoming the Character of the Perſon, that Providence deſigns for a Crown, as Clemency and Compaſſion.* David was prevail'd upon to receive the Preſents, and *Woman,* ſays he, *bleſs God that put it into your Heart to come hither this Day, you ſhould never have liv'd to have ſeen another elſe; for I had ſworn to my ſelf to lay your Houſe in Ruins this very Night, and not to leave one Soul alive in the Family of that ungrateful Man, that had caſt ſo many Indignities upon me, and thoſe that belong to me. You are now come in a bleſſed Hour to allay my Rage, and put a ſtop to my Reſolution; but yet after all, though I am content for your ſake, to forgive* Nabal's *Fault againſt me, there is a Judgment ſtill behind that attends him; and his Ill-Manners will be his Ruine ſome other Way.* With theſe Words, *David* diſcharged *Abigail*, who went directly Home, and found her Husband among his beaſtly Companions, ſo ſottiſhly drunk, that there was no ſpeaking to him that Night; but the next Morning, while he was dry and ſober, ſhe told him the whole Story from End to End; which ſtruck him into ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, that he fell into a dead Numbneſs all over his Body upon't, and died in ten Days. *David*, upon the

Nabal'*s Wife,* Abigail, *meets* David *and pacifies him.*

David *pardons* Nabal *for* Abigail's *ſake: But foretels a Judgment to attend him.*

Nabal *dies, as* David *had foretold,*

News of his Death, was heard to ſay, that the Judgment was righteous, and that God had avenged his Cauſe, while he that receiv'd the Injury came-off with clean Hands. The World may gather from this Example, that there's no avoiding the Stroke of divine Juſtice; and that it is Providence that governs the World, not Paſſion, or Chance; but that both good and wicked Men are either rewarded, or puniſhed in their own kind.

David *marries* Abigail, Nabal's *Widow.*

David *had a former Wife* Ahinoam; Saul *having given away* Michol *to* Phalti. 1 Sam. 26.

Saul *being poſted near* Zicklag, David *goes with* Abiſhai, *and* Ahimelech, *into his Camp.* Saul, *with his General, and Guards, faſt aſleep in his Tent.*

After the Deceaſe of the Huſband, *David* ſent a Meſſage, and an Invitation to the Widow; deſiring her to come over to him; for he would take her to his Bed as his lawful Wife. Her Anſwer was, that ſhe was not worthy ſo much as to waſh the Feet of *David*; but ſhe went to him however, with all her Equipage, and became his Wife; an Honour that ſhe was indebted to for the Graces both of her Mind and Perſon; for it was her Prudence, Modeſty, and Beauty, that recommended her to this Preferment. *David* had alſo a former Wife, [*Ahinoam*] of *Abeſar*; but as for his late Wife *Michol*, the Daughter of *Saul*, her Father gave her away to *Phalti* the Son of *Laiſh* of *Gallim*. It was not long after this, when the Men of *Ziphe* brought a freſh Account to *Saul*, that *David* was come into their Quarters again, and that with a little Help he might be eaſily taken. Upon this Intelligence, *Saul* immediately marched toward them with three thouſand Men; and the Night coming on, he pitched his Tents at a Place called [a] *Zicklag*. When *David* came to underſtand that *Saul* was moving that Way, he ſent out his Scouts for a particular Information where the Enemy lay; and Word being brought that they had poſted themſelves near a Place call'd *Zicklag*, *David* got up in the Night, and with only *Abiſhai*, the Son of his Siſter *Zeruiah*, and *Ahimilech* the *Hittite*, went directly, without the Privity of any other Creature, into the Camp of the Enemy; where they found the King in his Tent, with his General *Abner*, and his Guards about him, all faſt aſleep.

David *carries away* Saul's *Launce and Pitcher from his Bed-ſide.*

He croſſes the River, and chides Abner *and the Guards, for looking no better to their Maſter.*

Abiſhai, ſeeing the King in his Bed, and his Launce by him, would needs have nailed him immediately to the Ground; but *David* held his Hands, and told him: Abiſhai, ſays he, Saul *is God's King, and his Perſon ſacred, let the Man be never ſo wicked; and he is only accountable for the ill Management of his Power to him that gave him the Power itſelf. But for a Proof however, that I had him at Mercy, though I would not make a bad uſe of the Advantage, I will now take away his Launce, and Pitcher of Water from his Bed-ſide.* *David* leaving the Camp as ſilently, and unperceiv'd, as he came into it, and betwixt the Darkneſs of the Night, and the Strength of his own Reſolution, he went his Way, without any Apprehenſion of Danger upon the Adventure. He paſs'd the River, and then getting up to the Top of a Mountain near at Hand, within hearing of the Camp, he called out from thence to *Abner*, and the Guards, as loud as he could, to wake them: *Abner* ſtarted upon this Clamour; and hearing himſelf call'd upon by Name, cry'd out aloud to know, who it was that would ſpeak with *Abner?* Anſwer was made, it was *David*, the Son of *Jeſſe*, one of your Fugitives. *Are not you a fit Man*, ſays *David to be a great Prince's Favourite; a General of his Army, and to take upon you the Guard of his royal Perſon, and under all theſe honourable Obligations, to lie dozing and ſtretching your ſelf at eaſe, when your Maſter's Life is in Danger? Can you tell me what is become of the King's* Launce, *and the* Pitcher *of Water that were this Night taken by the Enemy out of his Tent, and from his very Bed ſide? And you, in the mean Time, and your Guards, all ſnorting about him, without knowing any Thing of the Matter? Whether this were Neglect, or Treachery, 'tis as broad as 'tis long; for whether it was the one, or the other, you do certainly deſerve to loſe your Head for't.*

Saul *finding it to be* David's *Voice,*

Gives him publick thanks for his Life, and bids him return in Peace.

When *Saul*, came to find this to be *David's* Voice, and himſelf now a ſecond Time betray'd, betwixt the Frailty of his own Drowzyneſs and the Neglect of the Guards, into the Hands of the very Perſon, whoſe Life he himſelf was now about to take away; miſtaking the beſt Friend he had for the moſt mortal of his Enemies: *Saul*, I ſay, was ſo ſenſible of *David's* Goodneſs and Reſpect, under the greateſt of Provocations, and not without ſome Sort of Right to be ſevere upon him, that *he gave him publick Thanks for his Life: Bidding him ſet his Heart at Reſt for the Future, and fear nothing, but return in Peace to his own Habitation; for he found by Experience*, he ſaid, *that his Life was not dearer to himſelf than it was to* David; *whom he look'd upon as his Preſerver, and a Perſon of ſo try'd, and unchangeable Affection to him, that notwithſtanding all Baniſhments, Hazzards, and Ill Uſages; Loſs of Friends, and many violent Attempts upon his Life, he returned him nothing but Benefits for Injuries, and good for evil.* *David*, at laſt, called for ſome Body to fetch back the *Lance*, and the *Pitcher*; appealing upon the whole Matter to the righteous God of Heaven and Earth, to judge betwixt them, and to bear him Witneſs, that when he took away *Saul*'s *Launce* and *Pitcher*, he could with as much Eaſe have taken his *Life*.

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[a] Σύκελλα *Joſ.* but it ſhould be read Σίκελλα.

David *appeals, that he could have taken his* Life, *as well as his* Launce *and* Pitcher.

After this ſecond Deliverance, *Saul* returned ſafe, and at Liberty to his Palace. But *David* having no Mind to venture himſelf any longer in a Place where he was ſtill in Danger to be taken up, remov'd with his ſix hundred Men into the Land of the *Philiſtines*, to live there, with the Conſent and Liking of all his People. Being now come to *Achiſh*, the King of *Gath* (a City belonging to the *Philiſtines*) the King entertains *David*, and his two Wives, *Ahinoam* and *Abigail*. *Saul* all this while had Notice ſtill of *David*'s Removes; but after two Diſappointments already, and falling into the very Trap himſelf that he had ſet for *David*, he left his Adverſary to take his Fortune, and gave over the Chace.

1 Sam. 27.

Achiſh *the King of* Gath *entertains* David *and his two* Wives.

Saul *gives over the Purſuit of* David.

David found himſelf uneaſy in the City of *Gath*, and ſo took the Freedom to deſire of the King this Addition to his former Bounties; that he would be pleaſed to aſſign him ſome Place or Portion of Ground in his Dominions, for himſelf and thoſe that belonged to him to live upon; for it put him out of Countenance to continue ſtill in a Place, where he muſt appear burdenſome to the People. So the King gave him *Zicklag* to himſelf and his Heirs for ever; and *David* retained a great Kindneſs for the Place, even after he came to be King: But of this more at large in another Place.

King Achiſh *gives* David *the City of* Zicklag, *to him and his Heirs.*

David's Stay in *Zicklag* was four Months and twenty Days; whence he made ſeveral Inroads upon their Neighbours, the *Sarites* and the *Amalekites*, carrying away vaſt Booties of Mules and Camels; but taking no Priſoners, for Fear they ſhould tell Tales, and diſcover the whole Myſtery to *Achiſh*. He made the King Preſents however out of the Spoil, who would be asking him now and then, where he met with all that Pillage. His Anſwer was, that he had made Incurſions into the ſoutherly Parts of *Juda*, and there he found it. There was no great Difficulty to make *Achiſh* believe a Story that his Heart was ſo ſet upon to have it true; for it was reaſonably to be preſumed, that after all this Havock and Outrage committed by *David* upon his own Countrymen, he would never dare to look homeward again; and by that Means have nothing left to truſt to, but the Service of King *Achiſh*. The *Philiſtines* were about this Time preparing for a War againſt the *Hebrews*, and a general *Rendezvous* appointed upon ſuch a Day, in *Rengam*, where *Achiſh* was to draw them into a Body, and thence to lead them out againſt the Enemy. The King ſpake to *David* alſo to join him, with his ſix hundred Men over and above his own Troops; who not only promiſed it with great Readineſs, but told *Achiſh* further, that the Time was now at Hand, that would put it into his Power to make him an honourable Return for all his Bounties. The King on the other Hand, paſſing his royal Word to *David*, the more to oblige him, that if he ſucceeded in this Battle, he would do him all the Honour that in him lay, and in Particular, give him the Command of his Guards.

David *makes Incurſions upon the* Sarites *and* Amalekites, *and takes great Booty.*

The Philiſtines *prepare for a War with the* Hebrews

1 Sam 28.

Achiſh *to draw them up, and* David *with his* 600 *Men to join them.*

CHAP. XV.

Saul *conſults the Ghoſt of* Samuel. *The Spirit foretells him the Loſs of the Battle, with the Death of himſelf, and his Sons: And it proves ſo accordingly. The* Amalekites *pillage and burn* Zicklag: David *purſues, and cuts them to Pieces.*

IT is to be noted, that *Saul* had already baniſh'd all Diviners, Sooth-ſayers, Fortune-Tellers, and all other People whatſoever of thoſe vain Pretenſions, out of his Dominions: But the Prophets he ſtill retained. News being now brought him that the *Philiſtines* were advanced as far as *Sunem*, and encamped upon the Plain there, he went out to meet them, and drew up near the Mountain of *Gilboah*, directly over againſt the Camp of the Enemy. The Armies being now in Sight one of another, *Saul* found the *Philiſtines* ſo much ſuperiour to the *Hebrews*, both for Order and Number, that his Heart miſgave him, and ſunk upon it; and this Terror put him upon conſulting the Prophets about the Event of the expected Battle. The Queſtion being put, and no Anſwer returned, the Silence of the Oracle was worſe to *Saul* than all the Reſt; for he look'd upon it to be ſo foreboding a Preſage of an evil Fate at Hand, that he fell into a downright Deſperation upon it; and yet ſuch was the Hardneſs of his Heart, that though *God* had withdrawn his

All Diviners, Sooth-ſayers, and Fortune-tellers baniſh'd the Kingdom.

The Philiſtines *advance, and* Saul *goes out to meet them.*

The Armies face one another, and the Philiſtines *much the ſtronger.*

Saul *conſults the Prophets, and the Oracle is ſilent: Which he looks upon as a foreboding.*

Favour from him in ſuch a ſignal Manner, and he himſelf conſcious of it, he had ſtill a Recourſe, after all this, to *Conjurors* and *Wizzards*, to learn the Event of Things, and ſet People at work to find him out ſome cunning Woman that could foretel Things to come: For there are a Sort of People that take upon them to call up the Ghoſts of the Dead, and by the Help of the Black-Art, to reſolve ſuch Queſtions as *Saul* had to aſk. While he was upon this Enquiry, one of his Family told him, that he had heard of ſuch a Sort of Woman at *Endor*. Upon this Information, *Saul* without any more ado, diſguiſes himſelf; and taking two Confidents along with him, away he goes to the famous Woman at *Endor*, without a Word ſpeaking of it to any Body elſe. The firſt Thing he ſaid upon coming up to her, was to deſire ſome Tryal of her Skill, in calling up the Ghoſt of ſuch a certain Perſon as he ſhould name. The Woman excuſed her ſelf, out of a Reverence to the King's Edict, which had forbidden this Way of Divination, upon Pain of Baniſhment: Wherefore ſhe beſought him not to betray her into a Snare; for if ſhe ſhould pretend to give a Reſolution, and be detected, the Practice would moſt infallibly be her Ruine. But this Refuſal would not ſatisfy *Saul:* So that preſſing her ſtill more and more, with bitter Imprecations upon himſelf, that no Mortal ſhould ever know of one Syllable that paſs'd betwixt them, either Queſtion or Anſwer, ſhe was prevail'd upon at laſt, betwixt Oaths and Importunities, to venture her ſelf upon the Credit of ſuch Aſſurances that ſhe was in ſafe Hands.

Saul *diſguiſes himſelf, and goes to the Witch of* Endor.

Saul *bids her call up the Ghoſt of* Samuel. *The* Phantome *appears.*

Immediately upon her yielding, *Saul* bad her call up the Ghoſt of *Samuel.* She knew nothing at all who this *Samuel* was; but however, upon her calling him up, the *Phantome* appear'd. The Woman was under an Aſtoniſhment at the Sight of ſo divine a Figure, and *turning toward* Saul, *asked him, if he were not* Saul *the King (for* Samuel *had told her as much:)* Saul *making Anſwer that he was the Man: And obſerving her to be trembling, and in Diſorder, deſir'd to know what might be the Cauſe of that Confuſion. She ſaw the Reſemblance, ſhe ſaid, of an ancient Man with a radiant Glory about him, aſcending from the Earth.* *Saul* demanded of her what Kind of Figure, of what Years, and in what Habit it ſeem'd to be. *A Man in Years,* ſhe ſaid; *of a venerable Aſpect, and in a ſacerdotal Veſt.* By this Deſcription, *Saul* concluded it to be the Figure of *Samuel*, and fell down upon his Face and worſhipped. *The Spectre demanded what he gave him this Trouble for, to take him from his Place of Reſt?* Saul *reply'd, that it was abſolute Neceſſity: For he was threaten'd,* he ſaid, *with a mighty Army, and wanted Advice what to do: God had forſaken him, and he had neither Prophets, Dreams, nor Viſions to fly to for Direction. For theſe Reaſons, he had now Recourſe* (he ſaid) *to* Samuel, *as his laſt Refuge, and a Perſon that he had ever found favourable to himſelf and his Affairs.* *Samuel* foreſeeing that *Saul* had but one Day more to live, *told him, how vain a Thing it was for him that knew himſelf forſaken of God, to launch out into unſeaſonable Curioſities, what ſhould hereafter become of him: But,* ſays the Ghoſt, *ſince nothing elſe will ſerve your Turn, I am to tell you, that the Reſolution is taken, and the Sentence paſs'd: That is to ſay, that* David *ſhall be put into Poſſeſſion of the Government, and bring the preſent War to a happy Concluſion, while you your ſelf are to loſe your Crown and your Life together, for your Diſobedience to God in the Buſineſs of the* Amalekites; *and for the Contempt of his Commands, which from my Lips you received by his Order while I was living. Know further, that you are to be with me to Morrow; your Army ſhall be overthrown, and your ſelf, and your Sons fall in the Battle.*

The Diſcourſe betwixt Saul *and the* Spectre.

The Spirit foretels David's *coming to the Government; and* Saul's *loſing his Crown, and Life, and his Sons in the Battle.*

Saul *falls into a Swoon.*

Theſe Words ſtruck *Saul* ſpeechleſs, and in a Manner dead; for he fainted, and fell to the Ground upon them; whether out of the Tranſport of ſo ſurpriſing a Sentence, or out of Weakneſs of Body with over-faſting, may be a Queſtion, for he had eat nothing for four and twenty Hours before; but coming at laſt a little to himſelf again, the Woman was very earneſt with him to take ſomewhat of Suſtenance to ſupport Nature; deſiring no other Conſideration for the dangerous Office ſhe had render'd him, than to have the putting of him into a Condition of Strength and Ability to return to his Army. She was ſenſible enough of the Hazzard ſhe had run in the Exerciſe of a forbidden Profeſſion; and eſpecially in the Violation of a Decree at the Deſire (unwittingly) of him that made it. After twenty Importunities and Refuſals, in the Depth of his Deſperation, *Saul* was prevail'd upon, in the End, to admit of ſome Refreſhment. So the Woman though ſo poor that ſhe got her Living by her daily Labour, kill'd her only Calf; dreſs'd it, and ſet it before *Saul*, and his Servants, with her whole Fortune in that Treat; who, in Fine, took his Repaſt, and returned that Night to his Army.

I muſt

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The wonderful Good Nature and Generoſity of this Woman of En-dor.

I muſt not paſs over here the Candour, the Good-Nature, and the Greatneſs of this Woman's Mind, without ſome Note of Admiration. The King had forbidden her the Practice of an Art that was the only Maintenance of her ſelf and Family. Here comes a Gueſt, and a Stranger to her, that ſhe had never ſeen before; but a Perſon in Miſery, and one that had Need of her Advice in the Way that he himſelf had forbidden; for it prov'd to be the King. She receiv'd him, treated him, and reliev'd him, and all this ſhe did willingly and chearfully, nay and ſo frankly too, that ſhe gave him all ſhe had, and without any Proſpect or Contemplation of a Reward by gaining the King's Favour; for he ſhe knew was doom'd to die. Beſide that over and above the Piety of theſe Offices, ſhe did all this for the very Man, whoſe Prohibition had been the Ruine of her. This Proceeding was quite contrary to the Cuſtom of the World, that makes Charity an Intereſt, and gives or relieves only to get by the Truck; putting out Virtue, as they do Money, to Intereſt. We may reckon that we have recommended to us in the great Example of this generous Woman, the Honour and Humanity of doing good Offices to all People in Neceſſity; beſide that a ſincere and unaffected Charity, is a Virtue of all others the moſt acceptable in God's Sight.

After this Right done to the Woman of *Endor*, there is ſomewhat further to be ſaid upon this Occaſion by Way of Admonition, that all Sorts of People may be the better for it, thoſe eſpecially that are born great, and prompted by honourable Inclinations to the Love and Practice of Virtue. For this is it, that makes Men immortal even upon Earth, and inſpires Princes and Governours with generous Thoughts and Reſolutions, in Defiance not only of Danger, but of Death it ſelf, when the Safety and Well-Being of their Country requires it.

The Character of a glorious Hero, in the Inſtance of Saul.

This Caſe of *Saul* is an eminent Inſtance to my Purpoſe. He knew moſt certainly that he was to die in this Combat; for the Prophet had told him as much; but he perſiſted yet in a Reſolution to ſtand his Fate, without betraying his Army to the Enemy, or expoſing his royal Dignity to Scorn, for the ſaving of his Carcaſs. He made it his Glory to die fighting for the Defence of his Government; and rather to have his Sons and his whole Family die Partners with him in the Honour of the Action, than to leave them behind him, under anxious Uncertainties how their Survivors may prove, comforting himſelf with this, that a good Name would ſupply the Failure of any other Poſterity. This is the Man that in my Opinion, deſerves the Character of truly juſt, brave, and wiſe; and I would have the ſame Veneration paid to all publick ſpirited Examples of his Pitch, and Elevation, either paſt, or to come. For let Hiſtory ſay what it will of ſome Men that may yet do great Things perhaps upon the Hope or Aſſurance before-hand of coming off ſafe and victorious; theſe Men are not to be look'd upon as *Heroes* of the firſt Rate; (though much however to be eſteemed) but thoſe rather, that like *Saul*, ſtand firm and unſhaken in a fearleſs Defiance of the worſt of Fatalities, and under the Certainty, even of Death it ſelf. What mighty Matter is it for a Man to venture his Life upon a common Chance of War, and betwixt Hope and Fear, to make the beſt of all favourable Accidents! The other is the great Soul, that when he knows he is to periſh, boldly advances upon his Deſtruction; meets it, and encounters his Fate, though without any Hope or Thought of ſurmounting it. Be this ſpoken to the immortal Honour of *Saul*, who hath made himſelf exemplary to all Lovers of Glory: And whoever would celebrate himſelf to After-Ages, muſt tread in his Steps: Princes eſpecially; to whom it is ſo neceſſary to have exalted Minds, anſwerable to the Sublimity of their Fortunes, that a Mediocrity either of Courage or of Virtue, is a Kind of a Scandal upon them. More might be ſaid upon the Subject of *Saul*'s Dignity of Reſolution: But not to make this Digreſſion too tedious, I ſhall now go on where I left.

1 Sam. 29.

Achiſh *brings up* David *and his Men to the Army; but the great Officers will not admit any* Hebrews.

The *Philiſtines* having drawn their Troops together from all Quarters, according to their Diſtribution into Tribes, Kingdoms, and Governments; *Achiſh* the King of *Gath*, with his Men after the Reſt, and *David* with his Band of ſix hundred after *Achiſh*; ſeveral of the *Philiſtine* Commanders taking Notice of a Mixture of *Hebrews* among them, enquir'd from whence they came? Who ſent for them? And what they did there? *Achiſh* made Anſwer, that the young Man there (pointing to *David*) was a Servant of *Saul*'s, that was fall'n under his Diſpleaſure, and forced to fly for his Life. He came to me (ſays *Achiſh*) with the People he has about him, for Sanctuary: So I receiv'd him, and provided for him: And now upon this Occaſion he has promiſed me his uttermoſt Aſſiſtance againſt *Saul*, in Requital for his Protection; and to gratify his Revenge. The *Philiſtines* were one and all againſt truſting a profeſs'd Enemy, and rather to have him ſent back again; for they did not know, *they ſaid*, what Miſchief the Treachery of ſuch a Party might do upon ſuch an Occaſion. And for the Controverſy betwixt him and his Maſter, the Service he might do him upon this Opportunity, would compound for forty ſuch Breaches: Wherefore *Achiſh* ſhould do well, *they ſaid*, to look before him; and without more Words, to remand him back to the Habitation he had aſſign'd him; for this was the *David*, *they ſaid*, that the Virgins cry'd up ſo in their Songs, for killing ſo many thouſands of the *Philiſtines*. *Achiſh* could not oppoſe the Force and Reaſon of the Objection; and therefore he thought fit to take *David* aſide, and diſcourſe him upon that Subject. *Young Man*, (ſays he) *upon the certain Proof and Experience that I have received of your Fidelity and Courage, I have now entertain'd you as my Ally and Aſſociate in this Expedition; wherefore withdraw your ſelf immediately to the Place I have allotted you, and have a particular Care there of the Peace of my People, and the Country near you; for Fear my Enemies ſhould take Advantage of my Abſence, and preſs me with Troubles at Home. You will do me the Office of a kind Ally, every Jot as effectually in that Government, as if you were my Second in the Army. And in the mean Time, I am as much your Friend as ever. Upon this Declaration of* Achiſh, *they parted, and* David *according to his Order went his Way to* Zicklag.

Achiſh *remands* David *to* Zicklag.

Zicklag *taken by the* Amalekites, *and burnt.* 1 Sam. 30.

But in the mean Time, while *David* was following the Camp of the *Philiſtines*, the *Amalekites* fell upon *Zicklag*; took it, and laid it in Aſhes; making the like Havock in the Country thereabout. They pillag'd all, in Fine, wherever they came, and at laſt went Home again with what Booty they could carry along with them. *David*, at his Return, finding the Place of his Habitation deſtroy'd and deſolate; his own Wives, and the Wives and Children of his Fellow-Soldiers, hurry'd away Priſoners, with all that belonged to them, he brake out into ſo paſſionate an Extravagance of Lamentation and Outrage, that he rent his Clothes, and wept himſelf a-dry, even for Want of Matter to ſupply more Tears. His Followers were ready to ſtone him too, for the Loſs of their Wives and Children. For *he was the Cauſe of all*, they ſaid; and the whole Miſcarriage was laid at his Door.

David's *Followers charge the Loſs of their Wives and Children upon his Account.*

David *puts the Queſtion to* Abiathar; *whether to purſue the* Amalekites, *or not.*

When *David* had mourned himſelf a-weary, he came at laſt to think of applying to Heaven for Comfort; and ſo deſired *Abiathar* the High-Prieſt to put on his pontifical Robes, and conſult God in Form; and then report the Oracle. The Queſtion was, whether or not, in Caſe of overtaking the *Amalekites* upon the Purſuit, the *Hebrews* might be allowed to receive their Wives and Children again, that had been taken from them before, and revenge themſelves upon the Enemy: The High-Prieſt bad *David* follow them, and proſper. Upon which Encouragement, he took his ſix hundred Men, and purſu'd them upon the very Heel to the Brook [a] *Beſor*, where they found an *Ægyptian* that had loſt his Way, and was ready to periſh with Hunger, having been three Days in the Deſert without eating. They took Pity upon him, and after giving him a little Refreſhment, they ask'd him what he was? And to whom he belong'd? He told them he was an *Ægyptian* born, and a Servant to a Perſon that was at the ſacking and burning of *Zicklag*, and the Country thereabouts; who left him upon the Way, in his Paſſage Home again, becauſe he was ſo faint, that he could not keep up with the Troops. *David* made Uſe of this *Ægyptian* for his Guide, upon the Trace of the *Amalekites*, whom he overtook at laſt, and found them tumbling upon the Ground; ſome guttling, others fuddling; and ſome again with much Pride and Vanity, in the Contemplation of their late Booty: But in Short, while they lay dozing, and drown'd in Sleep and Drink, and their Thoughts wholly ſet upon their Eaſe and Pleaſure; heedleſs, defenceleſs, and unarmed, *David* fell upon them in this Diſorder and Confuſion, mingling their Blood with their Wine, and with great Eaſe doing dreadful Execution upon them: So that upon the Main, what with thoſe that had no Arms at all, and thoſe that had Arms, but were too drunk to uſe them; there ſcap'd of the whole Number, not above four hundred Perſons, who were carry'd off by the Speed of their Camels. The Purſuit laſted from Noon till Night; and in the Cloſe of the Action, they recover'd their Wives, Children, and Booty.

The High-Prieſt bids him follow them and proſper. David *purſues, and overtakes them at the Brook* Beſor.

David *falls upon them in Sleep and Drink, and makes a terrible Slaughter.*

The Hebrews *recover their Wives and Children, and Booty.*

David had but four hundred Men with him in this Adventure: The other two hundred (part of the ſix) were left behind for a Guard to the Baggage. Upon his Return from the Chace, and the Spoil, the four hundred that were upon the Action would not allow the other two hundred that were upon eaſier Service, to have any Part in the Booty, more than that of their Wives and Children.

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[a] Βάσελος, *Joſ.*

David look'd upon it as an unreaſonable Propoſition: *For* (ſays he) *the Victory was God's, and being a Bleſſing upon the common Cauſe, it is but Reaſon that the whole Body ſhould partake of the Benefit; eſpecially where the one Part of it was upon Duty, as well as the other! and at the ſame Time preſerv'd the Baggage.* This Deciſion paſs'd into a Law, which is ſtill in Force to this very Day. That is to ſay; the Spoil to be equally divided betwixt them that guard the *Baggage*, and thoſe that fight the Battle. *David*, after his Return to *Zicklag*, ſent up and down to his Friends and Acquaintance in the Tribe of *Juda*, Preſents out of the Spoil. We ſhall paſs now from the Deſtruction of *Zicklag*, and the total Overthrow of the *Amalekites*, to a bloody Victory obtained by the *Philiſtines* over the *Hebrews*.

A bloody Battle.
1 Sam. 31.

The Armies joyn'd, and the Encounter was very ſharp. *Saul*, and his *Sons* did all that was poſſible for brave Men to do; but finding themſelves oppreſs'd with Numbers; (for the whole Streſs fell upon them) they had no more to do, they ſaw, than to dye honourably, and to ſell their Lives at ſuch a Rate, that the Enemy ſhould have little Reaſon to boaſt of the Purchaſe. They were ſurrounded, in Fine, with freſh and freſh Multitudes; and ſtill, as they cut-off one Party, another came-on: So that in the End they themſelves were forced to ſubmit to the Neceſſity of an inſuperable Fate. Upon the Fall of *Saul's Sons*, to wit, *Jonathan*, *Aminadab*, and *Melchi*, that were ſlain in the Heat of the Battle, the whole Army fell into a Confuſion, and fled in a direct Rout; the *Philiſtines* preſſing upon the Rear with a prodigious Slaughter; *Saul* ſhifted for himſelf a while with a ſmall Body of his own, 'till in the End they were broken all to Pieces by the *Philiſtine's* Darts and Arrows, and he found himſelf, ſo weakened with Wounds and Loſs of Blood, that after all his heroical Exploits, he was not able either to ſtand upon his Legs, or to do Execution upon himſelf. In this Extremity, he called to his Armour-Bearer to do him the good Office, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. But the Servant excuſed himſelf, out of the Veneration he had for *Majeſty*, and upon that Refuſal, *Saul* caſt himſelf upon the Point of his own Sword: But not being able to finiſh what he had begun, he took Notice of a young Man an *Amalekite* there at Hand, and deſired him, to take the Sword, and ſome Way or other, give him a Diſpatch. He did it at firſt asking, and in the ſame Inſtant made Prize of *Saul's* golden Bracelets, and of his royal Crown, running away with them immediately as faſt as he could. When the *Armour-bearer* ſaw that *Saul* was dead, he laid violent Hands upon himſelf too, and there was not one Man of the King's Guard that out-liv'd his Maſter. This Battle was fought near the Mountain of *Gilboah*.

Saul's *Sons,* Jonathan, Aminadab, *and* Melchi, *are all ſlain.*

Saul *caſts himſelf upon the Point of his Sword.*

An Amalekite *diſpatches him, and takes away his Crown and Bracelets.*

No ſooner had the *Hebrews* of the Valley beyond *Jordan*, and the Cities on the Plains, gotten Intelligence of the Death of *Saul* and his *Sons*, and of the entire Deſtruction, and Diſſolution of his Army; but they withdrew themſelves out of their open Towns into Faſtneſſes, and ſtrong Holds: While the *Philiſtines* took Poſſeſſion, and without any Difficulty made themſelves Maſters of the Places the other had quitted. On the next Day after the Battle, the *Philiſtines* coming into the Field to view the dead, found the Bodies of *Saul*, and his *Sons*, among the Reſt. They ſtript them; cut-off their Heads, and ſent Expreſſes every Way up and down with the News of this Defeat. Their Arms they depoſited in the Temple of *Aſhtaroth*, and their Bodies they expoſed upon Gibbets, under the Walls of the City of *Bethſhan*, known at this Day by the Name of *Scythopolis*. This Barbarous Outrage upon the Bodies of *Saul* and his *Sons*, coming to the Ears of the Men of *Jabeſh-Gilead*, they took up ſuch an Indignation at the Inhumanity, of refuſing them the laſt Rites of Burial, that they made a Party of daring, enterpriſing Spirits, among themſelves, (as that Place is full of them) and travelling all Night, took down the Bodies of *Saul* and his *Sons*, from the Walls of *Bethſhan*, and carry'd them away to *Jabeſh*; not a Creature daring to open his Mouth againſt them. Their Deaths were lamented by the whole People of the Place; who gave their Bodies a publick, and an honourable Interment in the chief Part of their Province. They ſpent ſeven Days in ſo ſtrict a Solemnity of Faſting and Mourning, that Men Women and Children were all bound indiſpenſably to obſerve it.

The Philiſtines *cut-off the Heads of* Saul *and his* Sons, *and expoſe their Bodys upon Gibbets.*

The Men of Jabeſh *very bravely take down their Quarters, and give them a publick and an honourable Interment.*

This was the End of *Saul*, according to the Prediction of *Samuel*, for his not proſecuting the War againſt the *Amalekites*, according to his Order, and for the Maſſacre of *Abimelech*, and his Family, with the Devaſtation even of the ſacerdotal City itſelf. He ruled in the Days of *Samuel*, [a] eighteen Years, and twenty two more after his Deceaſe; coming to this unhappy End, in Manner as it is here ſet forth.

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[a] *Gataker* rejects this Opinion, in his *Diſſert. de Stylo* N. T. c. xvi.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

From the Year of the World 2890, to 2931.

CHAP. I.

David's *Lamentations for the Death of* Saul *and* Jonathan. *The tribe of* Judah *ſets-up* David *for their* King. Abner *ſets-up* Iſhboſheth. Abner *marches againſt* David, *and is defeated by* Joab. Hazael *purſued* Abner, *and* Abner *kills him.* Abner *taking a Diſguſt at* Iſhboſheth, *goes-over to* David; *and is afterwards baſely murder'd by* Joab. David *paſſionately laments him.*

2 Sam. 1.

The Amalekite *that diſpatch'd* Saul *caſts himſelf at* David's *Feet.*

David's *moſt ſenſible Affliction is the Death of* Jonathan.

He orders the Regicide-Amalekite *to be put to Death. He writes Elegies and Epitaphs to the Honour of* Saul *and* Jonathan.

2 Sam. 2.

THE Battle laſt above-mention'd was fought upon the very Day of *David's* coming back to *Zicklag*, from the Overthrow of the *Amalekites*; and on the third Day after that, came the Perſon that had killed *Saul* and made his Eſcape out of the Battle. He advanced toward *David* with Aſhes upon his Head, and his Clothes all rent, and ſo threw himſelf down Proſtrate at his Feet. *David* asked him what he was, and from whence he came in ſuch a Dreſs? He told him that he was an *Amalekite*, and came from the unfortunate Battle of the *Hebrews*, where the King himſelf, and his Sons, were miſſing after the Battle, beſide many thouſands of the Army. *I ſhall ſpeak no more*, ſays he, *than what I ſaw with my own Eyes. It was my Fortune to be near the King, when he was in his Extremity. He caſt himſelf upon the Point of his own Sword; but ſo faint with his Wounds, that he could not execute what he had begun: ſo that upon his earneſt Deſire, I was forc'd to do the Office for him, to keep him from falling alive into the Hands of his Enemies.* He ſhew'd *David* at the ſame Time, the *Bracelet*, and the *Crown* that he took from the dead Body, to confirm the Truth of his Story, which he reſerved for a Preſent to *David*. There was no Place left for Doubting, after this Evidence; ſo that *David* rent his Clothes upon it, and ſpent the whole Day with his Friends, in Tears, and Lamentations. But the moſt ſenſible Part of his Affliction was the Loſs of *Jonathan*, his ever dear, and faithful Friend, and more than once the very Preſerver of his Life. Now ſo tranſcendent was the Virtue of *David*, and the Generoſity of his good Nature toward *Saul*, that notwithſtanding ſo many repeated Practices upon his Life, he did not only deplore his Misfortune, but order'd the Criminal, to be deliver'd up to Juſtice; not only upon his own *Confeſſion*, but upon the more certain Evidence of his Guilt, in the *Crown* and the *Bracelet*, that he took from *Saul* after he was Dead, to carry them to *David:* And proving himſelf over and above, to be the true Brood of an *Amalekite*, by owning the very Principle of a *Regicide.* To ſay nothing of ſeveral Elegies and Epitaphs of *David*'s Compoſition to the Honour of *Saul*, and *Jonathan*, that are ſtill extant to this very Day.

Hebron, *by God's Appointment, falls to* David's *Lot for his Habitation. The People with one Voice, proclaim* David, King.

When *David* had paid his laſt Duties to the Honour and Memory of *Saul* and his *Sons*, and that the Term of the Mourning was expir'd, he conſulted God by the Prophet, which of the Cities of *Juda* ſhould be allotted him for his Habitation; and it was anſwered *Hebron:* Wherefore he left *Zicklag* immediately, and repaired thither, with his two Wives, and the Guards of his Perſon that he had about him; whither the whole Body of the Tribe came flocking, ſoon after, and in a full Convention with one Voice proclaimed him *King*. *David* had heard by this Time of the generous, and reſpectful Behaviour of the Men of *Jabeſh* toward *Saul*;

Saul and his *Sons*, and how bravely they reſcu'd their Bodies from the Gibbet, in the Face of the Enemy, and gave them a pompous, and an honourable Buryal: So that he ſent them particular Acknowledgments, in his own Name, for what they had done in Favour of thoſe Princes, as an Obligation that ſhould for ever be remember'd to their Advantage: The ſame Meſſenger giving them alſo to underſtand, that the Tribe of *Juda* had created and declared *David* their *King*.

In this Juncture, *Abner* the Son of *Ner*, and *Saul's General*, a Man of a large Heart and Soul, and naturally cut-out and qualify'd for glorious Undertakings: This great Man, I ſay, had no ſooner heard of the Death of *Saul*, *Jonathan*, and two other of his *Sons*, in the late Battle, but away he poſted to the Camp to look after *Iſhboſheth*; at that Time, the only Survivor of *Saul's Male-Iſſue*. So he found him at laſt, and to put him out of Harms-Way, croſs'd the River *Jordan* with him, and got him to be accepted and declared *King* of all *Iſrael*, the Tribe of *Juda* excepted; appointing [a] *Meanahaim* for his Reſidence, which ſignifies as much as the *Camp*. *Abner* was ſo incenſed againſt the Tribe of *Juda* for the Choice of their King, that he reſolved to make War upon them for it, and ſo detach'd a Body of the beſt Men he could pick-out, for the Encounter. *Joab*, the Son of *Suri*, and *Zerviah*, *David's* Siſter, had the command of *David's* Army; taking his two Brothers, *Abiſhai*, and *Hazael* along with him. When they were advanced to a certain Fountain of *Gibeon*, the two Armies being now in Sight of one another drew up, but as they ſtood in Order there, and ready to engage, *Abner* propounded a Tryal before Hand between ſo many, and ſo many of a Side, to ſee which were the braver Men of the two. So by Conſent they ſent out twelve and twelve to diſpute the Point, betwixt, and in Sight of the two Armies. They began the Combat with their Darts, and then fell-in with their Swords; every Man taking his Adverſary by the Hair, and digging and ſtabbing one another till they fell all dead upon the Place. Upon this, the Armies joyn'd, and for a while it was hard fought on both Sides: But in the End, *Abner* was totally routed, and put to Flight; *Joab*, and his two Brothers at the Heel of him upon the Purſuit, encouraging their Men, both to the Chace, and to the Execution. But no Man ſtuck ſo cloſe to him as *Hazael*, who was ſo ſlight of Foot, that he had the better of moſt Horſes; and having ſingled him-out, preſs'd cloſe after him, without turning either to the Right-Hand or to the left. When *Abner* found him ſo hard upon him, he offer'd him a Suit of Arms to let him go; and ſeeing that would not take him-off, he fairly adviſ'd him not to put him to the Neceſſity of doing him a Miſchief, for the ſaving of his own Life: After which he could never think of looking his Brother in the Face again. *Abner* perceiving by this Time, that *Hazael* was not to be wrought upon, he turned his Launce in his Flight, and ſtruck his Purſuer dead upon the Place. This Accident put ſome Kind of Stop to the Purſuit; for the People gave over the Chace to ſtand gazing at the Spectacle. But *Joab* and his Brother *Abiſhai* were now paſt the *dead Body*, and ſo exaſperated againſt *Abner* for the Death of their Brother, that with an incredible Speed and Vigour, they preſſed the Purſuit till towards *Sun-ſet*, to *Mathon*; that is to ſay, the Aqueduct. In this Place, *Abner*, with the Tribe of *Benjamin*, took the Advantage of a riſing Ground to obſerve the Enemy, and from thence to reaſon the Caſe with *Joab* after this Manner.

After the Death of Saul. Abner *finds out* Iſhboſheth, *the only Male of the Family:*

And gets him declar'd King of all Iſrael, Juda *excepted.* Abner *makes War upon the Tribe of* Juda *for declaring* David *their* King.

Joab *commands* David's *Army, taking* Abiſhai *and* Hazael *his two Brothers along with him.*

The two Armies draw-up and Face one another.

Abner *propounds a Combat, of 12 to 12, and they all dye upon the Place.*

The Armies joyn; Abner *routed;* Joab *and his two Brothers upon the Purſuit.*

Abner *ſtrikes* Hazael *dead upon the Chace.*

Abner *calls-out to* Joab *and reaſons the Caſe with him.*

That this outragious Animoſity was already gone too far among People of the ſame Blood and Profeſſion. As for your Brother *Hazael*, ſays he, I begg'd of him to be Quiet, and let me alone without purſuing any farther; but he brought it to this in the Concluſion, that I muſt either take away his Life, or loſe my own: So that he may even thank himſelf for this Miſcarriage. *Joab* could not oppoſe the Fairneſs of *Abner's* Plea, and ſo cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded; encamping upon the ſame Place that Night: But *Abner* continued his march over the River *Jordan*, and ſo to the Palace of *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*. *Joab*, the Day following, took a View of the dead; (which he cauſed to be bury'd) computing that *Abner* loſt three hundred and ſixty Men, and *David* nineteen; without reckoning *Hazael*, whoſe Body was carried by *Joab*, and *Abiſhai*, to *Bethlehem*, and there laid in the Sepulchre of their Fathers; from whence they returned to *David* at *Hebron*.

Joab *gives over the Purſuit; but* Abner *marches away to* Iſhboſheth.

Abner *loſes* 360 *Men, and* David 19.

2 Sam. 3.

This Controverſy betwixt the Houſe of *David*, and the Houſe of *Saul*, was the Riſe of a long civil War among the *Hebrews*; but ſtill as *David* and his Party got the *better* of it in all Encounters, ſo the Sons of *Saul*, on the other Side, were ſtill *worſted* in whatever they undertook. *David*, in the mean Time, had [b] ſix Sons by as many Wives. There was *Ammon* the Son of *Ahinoam*; *Daniel*, the Son of *Abigail*; *Abſalom*, the Son of *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Tolmai* King of *Geſhur*; *Adonijah*, the Son of *Haggith*; *Sphacia*, the Son of *Abithal*, and *Jethrakam* the Son of *Egla*.

This Diſpute betwixt the Houſes of Saul *and* David, *prov'd the Occaſion of a tedious civil War.*

David *had ſix Sons in* Hebron *by ſix Wives.*

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[a] Μανάλις, *Joſ.* [b] See 2 Sam. 3. 4. and compare the *Original* and *the old Latin Tranſlation*.

In

Iſhboſheth *reproves* Abner *for his Familiarity with* Rizpah, *one of his Father's Concubines.*
This Reproach provokes Abner *to meditate a Revenge.*

In the Proſecution of this civil War, it was the Prudence, the Intereſt, and the Popularity of *Abner*, more than any Thing elſe, that ſupported the Pretenſions of *Saul's* Family, and kept the People in their Obedience to *Iſhboſheth*. But this Prince being enformed that *Abner* liv'd in a kind of a ſcandalous Familiarity with *Rizpah*, the Daughter of *Sibeth*, one of his late Father's *Concubines*, he laid it Point-blank to his Charge, and ſchool'd him ſo ſeverely about it, that it put him into a ſevere Fit of Melancholy, and Indignation, to find all his faithful Services to *Saul*, and his Family, ſo Ill-requited. Upon this Provocation, he meditated a Revenge, no leſs than the taking of the Crown off from *Iſhboſheth's* Head, and ſetting it upon *David's*; and giving the World to underſtand, that *Iſhboſheth* was not advanced to the Government for any Virtue, or Ability of his own; but by the Advice, Arms, Intereſt, Recommendation, and the try'd Fidelity of *Abner*.

Abner *compounds with* David *for the bringing of the Tribes over to him.*

David *embraces the Motion: Inſiſting only to have his Wife* Michol *reſtor'd.*
Abner *procures the reſtoring of* Michol, *with* Iſhboſheth's *good Liking.*
Abner *calls together the Principals of the People.*

While this Humour was at Work, he ſent a Commiſſioner to *Hebron*, with full Power to ſtrike up a League with *David* in his Name, upon this ſingle Condition; That from, and after the Time of *Abner's* drawing-off all the Tribes from *Iſhboſheth* to *David*, and advancing *David* to the Throne by the univerſal Conſent of the People, *Abner* ſhould be received from that Day forward, as *Davids firſt Miniſter* and Favourite. Nothing could have been more Welcome to *David* than this Propoſal of *Abner's*, and it was entertained accordingly. The firſt Thing he deſired, as the Earneſt of a future Alliance, was the reſtoring of *Michol*, whom he had purchaſed with very great Labour and Hazzard, beſide the Heads of ſix hundred *Philiſtines* paid down upon a Bargain for her with *Saul*. So *Abner* took *Michol* out of the Arms of *Phalti*, upon whom ſhe was beſtow'd, with the Privity and Aſſiſtance of *Iſhboſheth*, who had been already poſſeſs'd with the Merits of the Cauſe, and the Reaſonableneſs of the Demand. While Things were at this Paſs, *Abner* call'd the Elders and the Commanders; or in ſhort, the Principals of the People both military and civil, together: to whom he deliver'd himſelf upon the preſent Occaſion to this Purpoſe.

There was a Time, ſays he, *when you would have gone over from* Iſhboſheth *to* David, *and I was againſt it; but you are now at Liberty to do what you pleaſe: For the Prophet* Samuel *hath moſt infallibly aſſur'd us from the Voice of God himſelf, that* David *is the Man, whom divine Providence hath deſigned for the* King *and Governour of the whole Nation of the* Hebrews*: And that it is he, and only he, that is to avenge us upon the* Philiſtines *and to bring them under our Yoke.* Theſe Words were ſo clear a Diſcovery how *Abner* ſtood inclin'd, that the Heads of the People, and of the Army, fell-in unanimouſly with his Opinion; and from that Time forward, declar'd and acted barefac'd, in Favour of *David*. When they had proceeded thus far, *Abner*, in the firſt Place, call'd for the *Benjamites*, which were all of the Life-Guard to *Iſhboſheth*, ſpeaking to them in the ſame Manner with the former, and with the ſame Effect too; for they all declar'd themſelves as one Man for *David*.

The People declare themſelves for the Intereſt of David.
Abner *brings over the* Guards *alſo into* David's *Party.*
Abner *goes to* David, *and takes twenty Men along with him.*

When *Abner* had made this Advance toward the Performance of his Conditions, he took a Matter of twenty Men of his own Choice away with him to *David*; in Order, partly, to the ratifying of the Treaty; and in Part, for common Satisfaction, becauſe Men are better pleas'd to do their own Buſineſs themſelves, than by Proxies. And he had in it alſo this farther End, that the Proceedings on both Sides might be the more impartially tranſmitted from the one to the other; and an exact Report made of what had paſs'd between himſelf, and the Heads of the Tribes, and how he had now brought over the *Benjamites* to *David's* Party. *Abner* and his Company were treated by *David* with all imaginable Freedom, and Magnificence, for the Time they ſtay'd; but after ſome few Days, he deſir'd for the preſent to be diſmiſs'd, that he might fetch-up the Army, and the People to him; and, upon delivering-up the Government into his Hands, by the Conſent of the whole Nation, make good what he had undertaken.

Abner *and his People are fairly entertain'd, and diſmiſs'd.*

Abner's *Privacy with* David, *gives* Joab *a mortal Jealouſy of him.*

Abner was preſently diſpatch'd according to his Deſire, and hardly out of the Gates of *Hebron*, at one End of the Town; but *Joab*, *David's General* that had been ſomewhere abroad (it ſeems) came-in at the other: Where being given to underſtand that *Abner* had been in private with *David*, upon certain Propoſals to ſettle him in the Government; the Conditions offered and accepted, and a League ſolemnly ratify'd betwixt them, and himſelf juſt then ſent back upon that Errand; an outragious Jealouſy took *Joab* in the Head upon't; that this *Intrigue* of *Abner's* would be his Ruine; and ſupplant him, not only in his Maſter's Favour, but in the moſt honourable of his Commiſſions: Eſpecially conſidering that *Abner* was a Man of Skill, and Addreſs, and dext'rous enough to make the beſt of a fair Game.

Joab *calumniates* Abner *to* David.

The Venom of this Envy began now to work in the Heart of *Joab*, and his firſt Recourſe was to Back-biting and Detraction. So that away he went with a ſmooth

Tale

S

Tale to the *King*, and an Advice at the End of it, that he ſhould do well to have a Care how he truſted *Abner*; for his Buſineſs was above all Things in the World to eſtabliſh the Family of *Saul* in the Government. His Pretences were only Snares: And upon the gaining of his Point, and pumping out what he had a Mind to know, he was now gone Home again to reap the Fruits of his falſe dealing. When *Joab* found that there was no Good to be done upon *David*, by Calumny and Slander, to the Prejudice of *Abner*, he bethought himſelf of a ſurer and ſhorter Way of doing his Buſineſs, by taking away his Life; and ſo ſent Meſſengers poſting after him in *David*'s Name, to call him back again, under a Pretext of ſomewhat forgotten in his Inſtructions that was very conſiderable. They overtook him upon the Way at a Place call'd *Sirah*, ſome twenty Furlongs from *Hebron*; and upon delivering their Meſſage, *Abner* very innocently went back with them to the City, little dreaming of what afterwards befel him. Upon his coming up to the Walls of the Town, there ſtood *Joab* in the Gate with a wonderful Appearance of Kindneſs and Humanity, ready to receive him, (as the Devil himſelf is never ſo wicked as in the Shape of an Angel of Light;) ſo taking him aſide, as upon ſome private Buſineſs, he took the Opportunity of a ſecret Corner out of Sight, only his Brother *Abiſhai* in Company with him; and ſurprizing him at unawares, ran his Sword into his Guts. Thus was this brave Man taken off by the perfidious Malice and Hypocriſy of *Joab*, in Revenge (as he pretended) for the Death of his Brother *Hazael*, that was ſlain in the Battle of *Hebron*, upon the violent Purſuit of *Abner*: But in Truth, to gratiſy his Jealouſy and Revenge, for Fear of being ſupplanted in his Court-Preferments. This is to ſhew us, that Men abandon'd to the Luſts of Avarice and Ambition, will ſtick at nothing; for they are never at Eaſe ſo long as they ſee any Thing above them. So long as they are in the Purſuit of what they eagerly deſire, they preſs their Ends without ever examining or conſidering the Means. There is no ſuch Thing as Scruple of Honour or Conſcience in the Caſe; but right or wrong, how the Work may be done; and they are ſtill bolder yet in the Defence and Maintenance of a Thing ill gotten, than they were in the acquiring of it: For they can better bear a Miſcarriage in miſſing what they would have been at, than the Shame of having any Thing forc'd away from them that they have gotten. They will, in Short, ſtruggle harder to keep what they have; eſpecially when they have taſted the Sweet of it, than to get what they had not: But here's enough in a Word upon this Point.

When back-biting would not do, Joab *has Recourſe to Violence.*

Joab *counterfeits a Meſſage from* David *to* Abner.

Joab *perfidiouſly murders* Abner.

The News of *Abner*'s Death went to the Heart and Soul of *David*, inſomuch that upon the very Inſtant of hearing it, he ſtretched forth his Right-Hand toward Heaven, in an Appeal, and Proteſtation, upon the whole Matter, that *he was neither privy, nor conſenting to the Fact*; curſing moſt bitterly the *Aſſaſſin* whoever he was; his Family, and all his Accomplices: And all this, not only in a Deteſtation of ſo baſe and unmanly a Practice; but likewiſe to purge himſelf, upon the ſtricteſt Niceties of Faith and Honour, that he had been true to *Abner*. He appointed by Proclamation a publick Mourning for him, with all the Solemnities of tearing Garments, and putting on Sackcloth. He himſelf with his great Miniſters and Officers aſſiſting at the Funeral, and giving ſufficient Demonſtrations, by wringing of Hands, beating their Breaſts, and other Expreſſions of Sorrow, both of the Veneration they had for *Abner*'s Memory, and the Senſe they had of ſo ineſtimable a Loſs, all People being now fully ſatisfy'd in the Concluſion, that *David* was far from approving or conſenting to ſo execrable an Act. He cauſed the Body to be interr'd at *Hebron*, with great State and Magnificence, compoſing an *Epitaph* himſelf, to the Honour of the deceas'd. He was the chief Mourner, and a Preſident to all the Reſt, who acted in Conformity to his Example. The Death of *Abner*, in few Words, pierc'd the Heart of him to ſuch a Degree, that his Friends could not prevail upon him to touch either Meat or Drink that whole Day. The Severity of this religious Strictneſs gained exceedingly upon the Affections of the People, and particularly upon the Friends of *Abner*; to whom nothing could be more acceptable than this laſt Teſtimony of *David*'s Inclination and Eſteem for his Perſon and Memory, now he was gone; for he did not treat him, they ſaw, with a ſlight and ignominious Way of Burial, as an Enemy, but with all the Tenderneſſes of Generoſity, Juſtice, and Friendſhip. Beſide that it highly elevated the Character of *David*'s Piety and Good Nature, in giving Men to underſtand what they might expect from him themſelves, if ever *Abner*'s Caſe ſhould come to be theirs. So that *David*, in this Way of Proceeding, conſulted his Intereſt as well as his Reputation and Virtue; for after this Proof, he was never ſuſpected for Want of Good-Will to *Abner*.

The Death of Abner *goes to the Heart of* David.

David *does all poſſible Honour to the Memory of* Abner.

When the Company were upon the Point of breaking up, *David* entertain'd them with a ſhort Diſcourſe to the Advantage of *Abner*, and firſt upon the Account of his own particular Unhappineſs, in being depriv'd of a Friend he had ſo great a Value

David's *high Eſteem for* Abner.

David's *prophetical Preſage of a Judgment to attend* Joab *and* Abiſhai.

for: And then with a Reſpect to the Publick, how much the whole Nation ſuffer'd in the Loſs of ſo brave and ſo wiſe a Man; and, in Short, a Perſon ſo neceſſary both for War and Counſel. But God, *ſays he*, that governs all Things, will not let this Murder paſs unrevenged: He is my Witneſs, that I am not in Condition to call *Joab* and *Abiſhai* to an Account; for they have a greater Intereſt in the Army perhaps than I my ſelf: But this I dare pronounce, that ſooner or later, divine Juſtice will find them out. Thus it was that *Abner* ended his Days.

CHAP. II.

Baanah *and* Rechab *preſent* David *with the Head of* Iſhboſheth; *who orders them to be put to Death by exquiſite Torments. All the Tribes own* David *for their* King. *He raiſes an Army, and takes* Jeruſalem. Joab *the firſt that ſcales the Wall.*

Iſhboſheth *hath a very great Loſs of* Abner.
2 Sam. 4.
Iſhboſheth *baſely murder'd by* Baanah *and* Rechab.

The Manner and Contrivance of the Execution.

They carry Iſhboſheth's *Head to* David *for a Preſent.*

THE Fall of *Abner* was a moſt terrible Mortification to *Iſhboſheth* the Son of *Saul*; for in him, he loſt a dear Friend and a near Kinſman, that advanc'd him to his Father's Throne: But he himſelf did not long ſurvive him neither, for he was treacherouſly murder'd ſoon afterward by *Baanah* and *Rechab*, the Sons of *Rimmon*. Theſe two Brothers were *Benjamites*, and of the firſt Rank among them. They were thinking with themſelves, that if *Iſhboſheth* were but taken out of the Way, *David* would have a clear Stage to himſelf: Upon which Conſideration, they concerted the Matter betwixt them, how they might do him that Piece of Service; making no Doubt in the World, of Honour, Rewards, and Commands in Abundance, upon the Performance of that good Office. So that at a Time when he was alone in his Bed-Chamber, and taking his Afternoon's Nap; no Guards at Hand; and the very Servant that commonly kept the Door, weary'd and faſt aſleep, they took their Opportunity to ſteal into the Chamber; kill'd him where they found him; cut off his Head, and poſted away with it all Night toward *Hebron*, the ſooner to get clear of the People they had injur'd, and to bring the Preſent ſo much the freſher to him that they pretended to oblige. When they came to their Journey's End, they preſented it to *David*, not a little valuing themſelves upon the Merit of having deſtroy'd his Competitor for the Empire: But their Entertainment was not anſwerable to their Expectation, as will appear by what *David* ſaid to them upon this Occaſion.

David's *generous Indignation for ſo baſe and barbarous an Action.*

The two Regicides *tormented to Death, and all Honour done to* Iſhboſheth's *Body*

Wicked Wretches that you are! ſays he, *prepare your ſelves immediately to receive the juſt Reward of your horrid Villany. Do not you know that I requited the Murderer of* Saul; *that when he had taken away that ſacred Life, had the Confidence to bring me his golden Crown for an Oſtentation of the Service he had done me in it? Nay, and it was at the Inſtance too of* Saul *himſelf, that he did it, to prevent the Indignity of being taken alive by his Enemies. Am not I am the ſame Man, do you think, at this Day, that I was then? Or am I turn'd ſo abandon'd a Wretch ſince, as to countenance the moſt profligate of Men and of Actions, and to reckon my ſelf under an Obligation to you for dipping your Hands (upon my Account, as you would have it thought) in the Blood of your Lord? The cutting of his Throat in his Bed too; and the Throat, over and above, of a Perſon ſo juſt, that he never did any Man wrong; and ſo generous a Patron and Benefactor to your ungrateful ſelves, that all the Advantages you can pretend to in this World, are but what you ſtand indebted for to his Bounty and Goodneſs. Wherefore you ſhall now pay for your Breach of Faith to your Maſter, and for the Scandal you have caſt upon me, both at once; for what greater Wound could any Man give me, in my Reputation, than to expoſe me for a Perſon that could take Pleaſure in the Tydings, or give Countenance to the committing of ſo barbarous an Aſſaſſinate?* Upon theſe laſt Words, he gave Order to have the two *Regicides* put to exquiſite Torments, and the Head of *Iſhboſheth* to be laid in the Monument of *Abner*, with all the Formalities of funeral Rites and Honour.

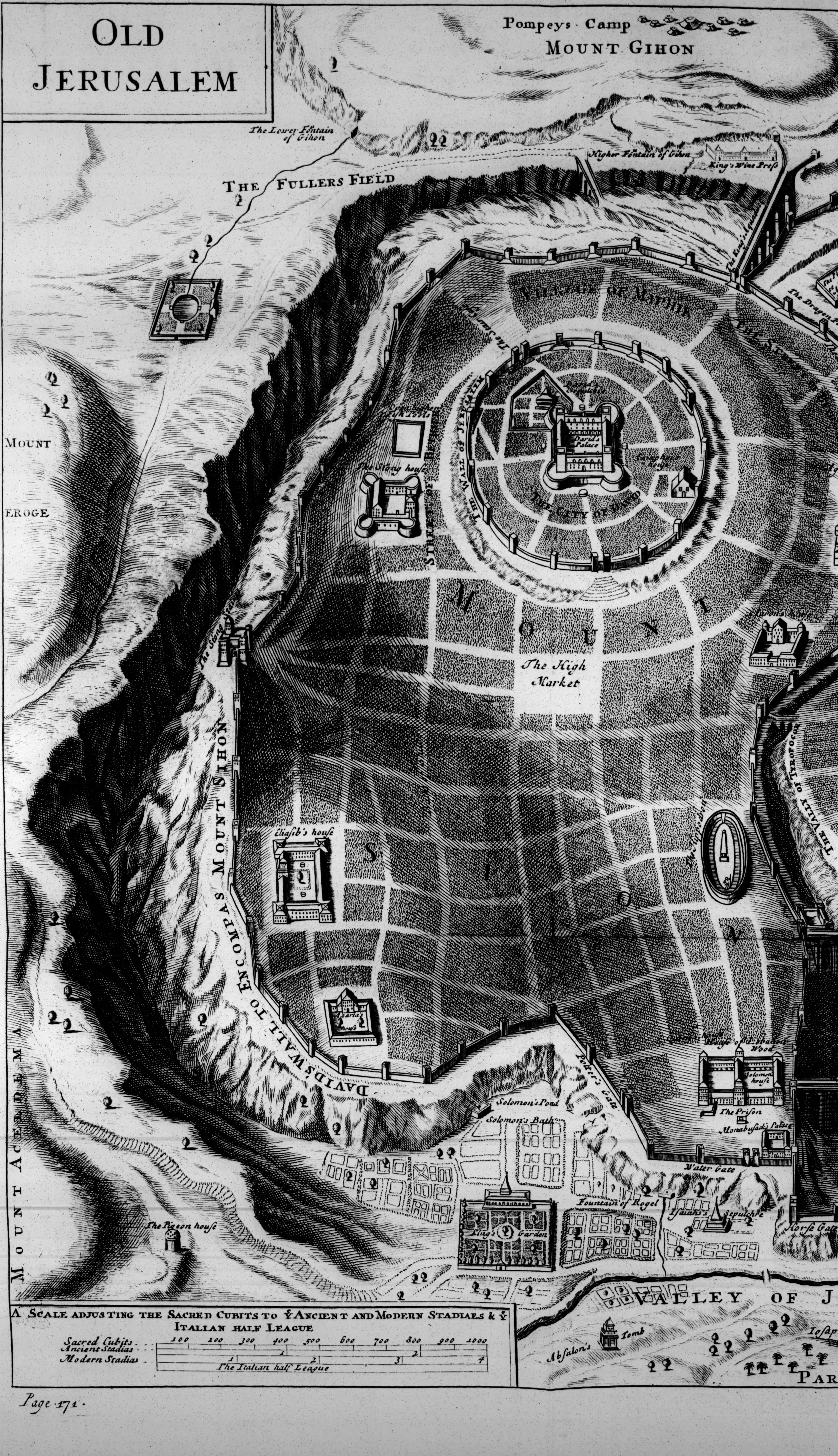
2 Sam 5.
All the Elders and great Officers make their court to David.

He gives them a magnificent Treat, and ſummons the whole Body to attend him at his Palace.

So ſoon as this Execution and Ceremony was over, all the Elders and great Officers of War and Peace, came thronging to *David* with a Complement of Recognition, and with a Tender of their Lives and Fortunes, at his Service: Not forgetting to mind him of the Zeal and Devotion they ever had for him, even in the Life of *Saul*, and when they had the Honour to ſerve under his Command: Enlarging upon it, how the Prophet *Samuel*, according to God's Order and Appointment, had declared him *King*, and the Government to deſcend to his Sons after him; foretelling that the great Work of ſubduing the *Philiſtines*, was reſerved for him alone, and conſequently the ſettling of *Iſrael* in the Poſſeſſion of a laſting Peace and Safety. *David* highly commended them for their Good Will and Diſpoſition; encouraging them to go on as they had begun, with an Aſſurance, that he, for his Part, would never give them Cauſe to repent it. *David* accompany'd this Declaration with a ſplendid

Treat,
6

OLD JERUSALEM


Pompeys Camp
MOUNT GIHON
The Lower Fountain of Gihon
THE FULLERS FIELD
Higher Fontain of Gihon
King's Wine Press
MOUNT
EROGE
The Wall of Jerusalem
David's Palace
The City of David
The Stony house
MOUNT SION
The High Market
Eliasib's house
DAVIDS WALL TO ENCOMPAS MOUNT SIHON
Solomon's Pond
Solomon's Bath
Potter's Gate
The Prison
Water Gate
Fountain of Rogel
Isaiah's Sepulchre
King's Garden
Horse Gate
VALLEY OF J
Absalon's Tomb
The Pigeon house
MOUNT ACELDEMA
A SCALE ADJUSTING THE SACRED CUBITS TO Ye ANCIENT AND MODERN STADIAES & Ye ITALIAN HALF LEAGUE
Sacred Cubits
Ancient Stadias
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100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
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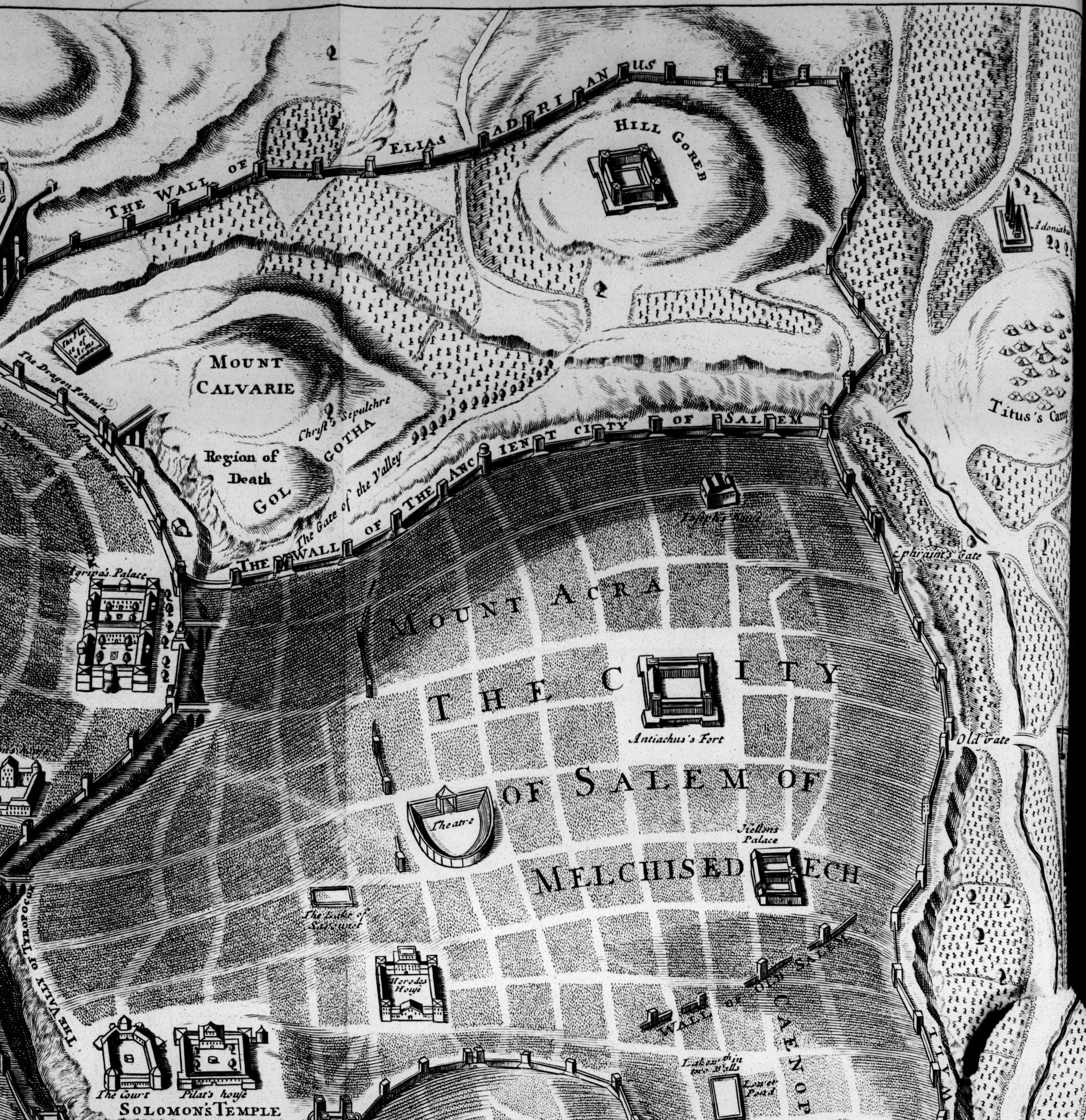
The Italian half League

Page 171.


THE WALL OF ELIAS ADRIANUS
HILL GOREB
Adoniabu
Titus's Camp
The Place of Arms
The Dragon Fontain
Mount Calvarie
Christ's Sepulchre
Region of Death
GOLGOTHA
The Gate of the Valley
THE WALL OF THE ANCIENT CITTY OF SALEM
Joseph's House
Ephraim's Gate
Agripa's Palace
Mount Acra
THE CITTY OF SALEM OF MELCHISEDECH
Antiachus's Fort
Old Gate
Theatre
Hellens Palace
The Lake of Salomon
Herodes House
WALL OF OLD SALEM
CAENOPOLIS
Lake with in two Walls
Lower Pond
Pool of Amadas
The Court
Pilat's house
SOLOMON'S TEMPLE
COURT OF CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
Fore Court of ye Gentiles
Fort Antonia
The Wood Market
BEZETA
Sheep Pool
Beast Market
Palace Guard
Fish Market
WALL
Fish Gate
Herod's Tomb
Mechias
Eliasib
Sacerdotes
Hezechias's WALL
Musalium
Hanania
Shemaja
The Heard Gate
Towers of Emath
Benjmines
Lower Gate
Horse Gate
BROOK CEDRON
OF JEHOSAPHAT
Iosaphat's Tomb
Gethsemaine
The B. Virgin's Sepulchre
The Assyrians Camp
W
S
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PART OF MOUNT OLIVAT

London Printed for R: Sare.

treat, and when he had entertained them with all Greatneſs, Humanity, and Freedom, he ſent them away with a Summons to the whole Body of the People to meet at his Palace.

1 Chron. 12. *A Muſter of all the armed Troops of the ſeveral Tribes that met upon this Call.*

There gather'd together upon this Call, of the Tribe of *Judah* ſix thouſand, and eight hundred Men, armed with Shield and Launces. Theſe had been hitherto of the Party of *Saul*, over and above thoſe of the ſame Tribe that had made *David King*, by themſelves: Of the Tribe of *Simeon*, ſeven thouſand, a hundred and upward: Of the tribe of *Levi*, four thouſand and ſeven hundred, with their Leader *Jeboiada*; and with theſe was the High-Prieſt *Zadock*, with two and twenty eminent Men of his Relations: Of the tribe of *Benjamin*, four thouſand armed Men; for this Tribe was altogether of Opinion that ſome of *Sauls* Family would ſucceed to the Government: Of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, twenty thouſand and eight hundred; able-Body'd Men, and of great Courage: Of the Half-Tribe of *Manaſſes*, eighteen Thouſand: Of the Tribe of *Iſſachar*, two hundred *cunning Men*, or a Kind of *Fortune tellers*; beſide twenty thouſand in Arms: Of the Tribe of *Zebulun*, fifty thouſand Choice-Men, and well armed; this Tribe coming-in to *David*, entire: All theſe us'd the ſame arming with the Tribe of *Gad*. Of the Tribe of *Naphthali*, a thouſand eminent Commanders, armed with Shield and Spear, with almoſt an innumerable Multitude of their Followers: Of the Tribe of *Dan*, twenty ſeven thouſand Choice Men: Of the Tribe of *Aſher*, forty thouſand: And of the two Tribes beyond *Jordan*, and the other Half of the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, that were armed with Shield, Spear, Sword, and Helmet, two and twenty thouſand. The Remainder of the Tribes wore Swords alſo.

David *unanimouſly declared* King.

David *advances to* Jeruſalem.

This is the Muſter-Roll of thoſe that came-up to *David* at *Hebron*. They brought Corn, Wine, and other neceſſary Proviſions with them in Abundance, and with one Voice proclaim *David* to be their *King*. When they had ſpent ſome three Days there, in Feaſting and Jollity, *David* marched out in the Head of this Army to *Jeruſalem*. The *Jebuſites*, a People of the Race of the *Chanaanites*, were at that Time in Poſſeſſion of the City; and upon *David*'s Advance toward them, they ſhut their Gates upon him, and in a pleaſant Way of defying *David*, and his Troops, brought out their Lame, and their Blind to the Walls for the Guard of the Town. They ſhould need no other Guard, *they ſaid*, for the Encounter of ſuch an Enemy: So great was their Confidence in the Strength of the Place. *David* was ſo nettled at this contemptuous Mockery, that he took up a Reſolution immediately upon it, to attaque the City: Reaſonably computing, that the making of this Place, and theſe People exemplary, would ſtrike a Terror into all others for the future. So *David* fell-on with the Flower of his Army; and, upon a general Aſſault, enter'd the *Lower-Town*: But the *Caſtle* ſtill held-out. *David* finding it to be a ſtrong Place; the Attempt likely to be hazardous, and his Honour at Stake upon the carrying of it, he bethought himſelf how he might enflame the Courage of his Men by ſome extraordinary Propoſal of Honour and Reward; and by that Incentive to kindle an Emulation among his People, who ſhould do beſt: *David* paſs'd his royal Word, that he that firſt mounted the Wall, and made good his Station, ſhould have the Command of the Army. Hereupon the *Hebrews* joyned in a fierce Attaque, and a generous Contention who ſhould go furtheſt. It fell to *Joab*'s Lot to win the Prize; ſo that from the Top of the Battlement, he called-out to *David*, to make good his Promiſe.

The Lower Town *firſt taken, and then the* Caſtle.

Joab *firſt enters the Breach.*

CHAP. III.

Jeruſalem *call'd the City of* David; *who takes the Town, fortifies, adorns it, and keeps his Court there. The King of* Tyre *ſeeks his Friendſhip, and Allyance.* David's *Wives and Children.*

Jeruſalem *called* the City of David.

WHEN they had clear'd the Caſtle, of the *Jebuſites*, and repair'd the Town, the King gave to *Jeruſalem* the Name of *the City of* David; and made it his Place of Reſidence, during his Reign. This was after he had ruled ſeven Years and Six Months over the Tribe of *Judah* in *Hebron*. Upon the Eſtabliſhment of his Court at *Jeruſalem*, Matters went every Day better and better with him: For God in his Providence deſigning it for a Seat of Glory, had a peculiar Kindneſs for the Place.

Hiram *propounds an Allyance with him.* David *fortifies the Place, and gives the command of it to* Joab.

About this Time, *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* ſent an Embaſſy to *David*, upon a Treaty of Friendſhip and Allyance; and Preſents likewiſe along with it, of *Cedar-Wood*; Builders and Maſter-Workmen, toward the erecting of a Palace for him at *Jeruſalem*. *David* fortify'd the upper-Town, and laid that and the Cittadel both in one, with

Jeruſalem *of old called* Solyma.

with a Wall about them; and gave the command of it to *Joab*. *David* was the firſt that chang'd the Name of it, and it was after the caſting-out of the *Jebuſites*: for in the Days of our Father *Abraham*, it was called *Solyma*; and ſome will have it that *Homer* pointed at this City, when he ſpeaks of this People of *Solyma*; for the Word [a] *Hieron*, or *Temple*, ſignifies in the *Hebrew*, *Security*, or a *Fortreſs*. Now the whole Time of the War with the *Philiſtines*, from the *Hebrews* dividing their Lands, under the Command of *Joſhua*, to the Day here ſpoken of, was reckon'd to be five hundred and fifteen Years: But the *Barbarians* kept the Poſſeſſion of *Jeruſalem* all along, till they were beaten out by *David*.

Orphan *a* Jebuſite, *and a particular Friend and Favourite of* David's.

Now there was among the *Jebuſites* a very rich Man; one *Orphan*, that had done many good Offices for the *Hebrews*, and deſerved ſingularly well from *David* himſelf; as will be ſeen hereafter in its proper Place. This Man, upon the Sacking of the Town, was preſerved by the King, in all the Heat, and Fury of the Soldiers, and his Name muſt not be paſs'd over in Silence.

David's *Children in* Jeruſalem.

David took ſeveral *Wives* (beſide *Concubines*) more than he had before: By whom he had eleven Children: as *Amnon*, *Ellus*, *Ebas*, *Nathan*, *Solomon*, *Jebar*, *Eliel*, *Phalna*, *Ennaphen*, *Jenas*, *Eliphal*; and a Daughter, *Thamar*, that was the Siſter of *Abſalom*. Nine of the Sons were lawfully begotten; but the two laſt by Concubines.

CHAP. IV.

David's *ſignal Victories over the* Philiſtines, *and their Allies. The* Ark *brought to* Jeruſalem. Uzzah *ſtruck dead for touching it.* David *ſings, and dances before it; and his Wife* Michol *ridicules him for it.*

The Philiſtines *draw out againſt* David, *near* Jeruſalem.
David *conſults the High-Prieſt whether to fight or not, and receives Encouragement.*
He fights the Enemy, and gives them a total Rout.
The Philiſtines, *a Confederacy of ſeveral Nations.*
After this Defeat they bring another Army into the Field of thrice the Number.
David *conſults the Oracle again, and receives his Orders.*
David *charges the Enemy; puts them to the Rout; purſues them, and pillages the Camp.*

WHEN the *Philiſtines* underſtood that *David*, was made King of all *Iſrael*, they drew-out their Army, and encamped in a Place call'd *the Valley of the Giants*, not far from *Jeruſalem*. Upon this Occaſion, *David*, that would do nothing without Counceel, and Direction from above, appointed the High-Prieſt to inform himſelf in the Way that God had preſcribed, what might be the Event of this Battle. He received a comfortable, and an encouraging Anſwer, and ſo drew-out, and march'd immediately to fight the Enemy. *David* ſo ordered the Matter that upon the very Inſtant he fell by Surpriſe upon the *Philiſtines*, Front and Rear, and put them to a total Rout; killing Multitudes upon the Place, and giving Chace to the Reſt.

This was a ſignal Victory, eaſily obtain'd, and without much Oppoſition; but it muſt not be therefore inferr'd, that the Army of the *Philiſtines* was inconſiderable, for either Numbers, or Soldiers; for *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and ſeveral other warlike Nations were all engaged in the Confederacy: It had been otherwiſe impoſſible, after ſo many Defeats, and the Loſs of ſo many thouſands they ſhould ever have brought an Army into the Field again. As for Example, upon this very Overthrow, they follow'd it with an Invaſion of thrice the Number they had before, and had the Confidence to poſt themſelves in the very ſame Place again.

David, upon this Juncture, conſulted the Oracle as formerly, and received Order to lie ſtill with his Army in a certain Wood, call'd *the Grove of Mourning*, non far from the Enemy; and from thence not to move, or to make any Attempt upon what Occaſion ſoever, till he found the Branches of the Trees in an Agitation, as of their own Accord, and without one Breath of Air ſtirring to Cauſe that Motion. *David* kept punctually to his Order; and ſo ſoon as ever the providential Sign was given him, he marched-out that very Moment, as to a certain, and a predetermin'd Victory. The *Philiſtines* ſhrunk upon the firſt Puſh; but when they came to Handyſtrokes, they ran outright, with the *Hebrews* at the Heels of them: and their Swords in their Reins; following the Chace, and doing terrible Execution till they came to *Gazer*, a Town upon the Borders. Their next Work was to pillage the Camp, where they made themſelves Maſters of a prodigious Booty, with little Trouble, or Hazard; ſeizing their Idols among other Things, and breaking them to Pieces.

2 Sam. 6.

The Danger of this War being ſpeedily and happily over, the King was pleas'd, by the Advice and Aſſent of his great Counſel of Elders and Officers, to draw together the whole Force he was able to make, out of all the Tribes under his Juriſdiction: Together with the *Prieſts* and *Levites*; and ſo to march with this great Body directly to *Kiriath-Jearim*, and bring the *Ark* of God from thence to *Jeruſalem*, being the Place deſigned for his holy Worſhip, and for the Celebration of all *Sacrifices*, Ceremonies, and religious Rites for the Time to come. If this Care had been ta-

David *marches to* Kiriath-Jearim *to fetch the* Ark *to* Jeruſalem.

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[a] The Abſurdity of this is fully laid open by *Maſius* upon *Joſhua*, cap. 10. yet *Iſ. Voſſius* defends *Joſephus*. See his Epiſtle to *Colvius*, p. 395, 396.

taken in the Reign of *Saul*, it would have been much better both for King and People.

The Manner of tranſporting the Ark.

Uzzah *ſtruck dead for putting out his Hand to ſave the* Ark *from falling.*

The Ark *lies depoſited for three Months in the Houſe of* Obed-Edom.

The Ark *brings a Bleſſing into the Family.*

The Tribes being met according to Appointment, and all Things in Readineſs for the Removal of the *Ark*; *David* himſelf alſo aſſiſting at the Solemnity, the Prieſts took it out of the Houſe of *Aminadab*; and laying it upon a new Wagon with Oxen to draw it, left the *Ark* in Charge with their Children and Relations, to take Care of it. The King himſelf went foremoſt; and after him, follow'd a Multitude of People, glorifying God with ſacred Hymns and Pſalms, and other delightful Airs, after the Faſhion of the Country; and dancing all along as they went, to the Sound of Harps, Cymbals, and other muſical Inſtruments: Conducting, after this Manner, the *Ark* toward *Jeruſalem*. As they were upon the Way at a certain Place call'd *the Thraſhing-Floor of Chidon*, or *Nachon*; the Oxen ſtaggering with the *Ark*, *Uzzah* put forth his Hand to keep it from over-turning, and was immediately ſtruck Dead by a divine Vengeance, not being in holy Orders, for preſuming to touch it. This exemplary Death of *Uzzah* was a great Affliction to *David* himſelf, and to all his People; and they called the Place *Perez-Uzzah*, or *the Breach of Uzzah*; which Name it beareth unto this Day. *David* was ſo ſtruck with the Dread of this Judgment, that for Fear *Uzzah*'s Caſe might come to be his own, if he ſhould receive the *Ark* into the City (his Fault being only the Temerity of touching it) he ſuſpended the carrying of it to *Jeruſalem*, and turned off with it upon the Way, into the Houſe of a certain good Man and a *Levite*, whoſe Name was *Obed Edom*. There it lay depoſited for three whole Months; in which Time it was obſerv'd, that every Thing proſper'd in the Family, and that the Maſter of it grew rich to Admiration. It was in every Bodies Mouth, in Fine, how ſtrangely *Obed-Edom* was improv'd in his Fortune ſince he had the *Ark* under his Roof; and that of a very poor Man before, he was now all on a Sudden look'd upon as a Man well to paſs; and in ſo good a Condition, that he was the Wonder as well as the Envy of his Neighbours. The Rumour of this Change coming to the King's Ear, ſet *David*'s Heart at Reſt, as to any Danger from the *Ark*; ſo that he reſumed his former Purpoſe of tranſporting it to *Jeruſalem*; which was done after this Manner.

The Removal of the Ark to Jeruſalem.

Michol *takes Offence at the Levity of* David's *dancing and ſinging before it.*

The Ark placed in a Tabernacle that David *had made for it.*

The Prieſts had the Charge of carrying it, and ſeven Choirs of Singing-Men, according to the King's Appointment, marching before it; *David* himſelf bearing his Part in the Conſort, with dancing and ſinging to his Harp; which his Wife *Michol* (the Daughter of the late King *Saul*) utterly diſliked, as an Action of too much Levity, and below the Dignity of *David*'s Character. The *Ark* being brought to the City, it was diſpoſed of into the *Tabernacle*, which *David* had made on Purpoſe for it. Upon the Occaſion of this Feſtival-Meeting, there were *Sacrifices* and Peace-Offerings in Abundance, and ſufficient for the whole Multitude; for there was not a Man, Woman, or Child there, that had not a Cake and a Dole of Fleſh given them: And when they had eaten their full, *David* returned to his Palace.

His Wife *Michol* met him upon the Way, with a thouſand good Wiſhes and Bleſſings, but ſtill reproving him for dancing and jumping about, ſo unlike a *King*, and for uncovering himſelf in the Eyes of his Hand-Maids and his Servants. *David* told her that he was not aſham'd of doing any Thing that he knew was acceptable to that God who advanced him to the Throne of *Iſrael*, in Preference to her Father, and all other Pretenders; and that he would ſing and dance again and again, without mattering it at all, how either ſhe or her Hand-Maids took it. This *Michol* had no Children by *David*; but by her other Husband, to whom *Saul* had given her in Marriage, upon taking her away from *David*, ſhe had five Sons, of whom hereafter.

2 Sam. 7.

David *propounds the Building of a glorious* Temple.

The Prophet Nathan *encourages the Project.*

David was ſo ſenſible of God's Goodneſs towards him upon the daily Succeſſes of whatever he took in Hand, that he began to make it Matter of Conſcience to live in a *Palace* of *Cedar* himſelf, that was as ſtately and as beautiful as Art and Ornament could make it; and at the ſame Time to lodge the *Ark* in a *Tabernacle*; ſo that he reſolved to erect and dedicate a Temple to God's Honour and Worſhip; and according to the Prediction of *Moſes*, he communicated the Deſign to the Prophet *Nathan*; who upon Counſel and Advice, encourag'd him to proceed upon the Work; for he might be ſure of God's ſpecial Favour and Providence along with him. Theſe Words ſerved more and more to animate and confirm *David* in his Purpoſe and Deſign.

But Nathan *tells him afterward that the Work was reſerv'd for his Son* Solomon,

In the Night following, the Word of the Lord came unto *Nathan*, ſaying, *Go and tell* David *that I accept of his Good-Will in being the firſt Propoſer of erecting a Temple unto my Service. Yet in Regard that the Neceſſity of his Wars hath made him a Man of Blood, I cannot permit the doing of this Work in his Days; but let him know, that after a long and a happy Life of his own, he ſhall commit the Care of the Undertaking to his Son and Succeſſor* Solomon; *whom I ſhall be as tender of, as a Father can be of his own Child,*

Child, and continue the Government in the Line of his Family: Or in Caſe of his committing Iniquity, I will only puniſh the Tranſgreſſion with bodily Sickneſs or Famine; not with a total Rejection, as I did Saul. The Prophet, without any Delay, acquitted himſelf of his Commiſſion; and it was ſo welcome a Meſſage to *David*, to ſee the Succeſſion ſecur'd to his Poſterity; and the Honour of his Family ſo graciouſly provided for, that he betook himſelf immediately to the *Ark* of God; fell down upon his Face and worſhipped. *Lord*, (ſays he) *thy holy Name be prais'd for all thy Benefits and Mercies! Thou that haſt taken thy Servant from the Sheep-fold, and advanced him to this Height of Dignity and Power! Lord*, ſays he, *I bleſs thee for all this; for thy continu'd Providences to my ſelf, and thy Promiſes to my Poſterity: And for thy multiply'd Deliverances and Protections to thine own People.* With this Benediction, and a *Hymn*, he finiſhed his Prayer, and departed.

David's *Prayer and Thankſgiving upon God's gracious Meſſage to him by* Nathan.

CHAP. V.

Several mighty Victories obtain'd by David *againſt the* Philiſtines, *the* Moabites, *and the King of the* Sophenians.

2 Sam. 8. David *reſolves upon a War with the* Philiſtines, *and marches with an Army into the Enemy's Country;* invades the Moabites; *overcomes them, and makes them Tributaries: And totally deſtroys* Adrazar *the King of the* Sophenians.

D*AVID*, that did not love to lie idle, meditated a War not long after this, againſt the *Philiſtines*; being much animated to this Enterprize by a Prediction, that he ſhould overcome all his Enemies, and leave his Kingdom in Peace to his Succeſſor. In Order to this War, he appointed a Day and Place for a *Rendezvous*; ſummon'd his Troops together; and when he was in Condition to march, made an Incurſion into the Enemy's Country; took Poſſeſſion of a good Part of their Lands, and annexed them to the Juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*. He made War then upon the *Moabites*, deſtroy'd two Thirds of their Army; took the Reſt, and made them Tributaries. After which, he overthrew *Adrazar* the Son of *Arach*, King of the *Sophenians*; whom he encounter'd not far from *Euphrates*, and kill'd him twenty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe; taking alſo a Matter of a thouſand Chariots, of which he reſerved only a hundred, and burnt the Reſt.

CHAP. VI.

David *overthrows* Adad; *ſubdues the* Idumæans; *provides for* Mephiboſheth *the Son of* Jonathan, *and makes War upon the King of the* Ammonites.

Adad *joins his Friend* Adrazar *againſt* David; *comes to a Battle near* Euphrates, *and receives a total Overthrow.* Nicolaus *the Hiſtorian makes mention of this* Adad.

A*DAD*, in the mean Time, the King of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, hearing that *David* had made War upon *Adrazar*, his ſingular good Friend and Ally; diſpatch'd away a conſiderable Army to his Succour, in Hope to remove the Seat of the War; and after ſeveral Skirmiſhes, he came to a Battle with *David* near *Euphrates*; where he loſt the greater Part of his Army; twenty thouſand cut off, and the Reſt fled. *Nicolaus* makes mention of this ſame *Adad*, in the fourth Book of his Hiſtory, as follows. *A long Time after*, ſays he, *one* Adad, *a valiant Man, and a Native of the Place, had the Command of* Damaſcus *and* Syria; Phœnicia *only excepted. There happen'd to be a War betwixt this ſame* Adad *and* David, *the King of the* Jews, *and ſeveral Encounters between them; but in the End,* Adad *was overcome at* Euphrates, *behaving himſelf with the Reſolution of a brave Prince and a great Captain.* And the ſame Author, treating further of his Poſterity, ſays, that *the Government was handed down from Father to Son, to the tenth Generation; the Succeſſor ſtill receiving the Father's Name with the Empire, as the* Ptolemies *among the* Ægyptians. *The third, in Order from this* Adad, *and the greateſt Man of the Family, out of a generous Zeal, to repair the Honour that his Grandfather loſt by this Defeat, pour'd in an Army upon the* Jews, *and laid waſte* Samaria. And our Hiſtorian was not miſtaken in this Part of his Relation; for this is the *Adad* that invaded *Samaria* in the Reign of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomewhat further in due Time and Place.

Another Adad *of the Family breaks in upon* Samaria.

David *over-runs* Damaſcus *and* Syria.

With this victorious Army *David* over-ran *Damaſcus* and the Reſt of *Syria*; left Garriſons behind him where he ſaw convenient; laid the Country under Contribution, and ſo went his Way Home again; carrying with him to *Jeruſalem* the *Golden Quivers*, and other rich Equipage that was taken from *Adad*'s *Guards*; and dedicating the Spoil and Trophies to God, in Acknowledgment of the Victory he had obtain'd through his Favour and Protection. All this precious Stuff, and a great Deal more, was afterwards taken away by *Syſack* the King of *Ægypt*, upon the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*, in his War with *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*. But we ſhall have Occaſion to be more Particular upon this Subject elſewhere.

While *David* was in the Courſe of his Succeſſes, and God's ſpecial Direction and Aſſiſtance manifeſtly along with him, he made an attack upon two of the moſt conſiderable Cities that *Adrazar* had in his Dominions; *Bettea*, that is, and *Machon*; which he took by aſſault, with Gold and Silver in them to an ineſtimable Value; beſide a great Quantity of a ſort of Braſs, which was more eſteem'd of, even than Gold itſelf. This was the Metal that *Solomon* afterward made uſe of for his fair, and beautiful *Baſins*, and a huge Veſſel call'd the *Sea*, upon the finiſhing and adorning the Temple.

He takes Bettea, *and* Machon, *with a mighty Pillage.*

When [*Toi*] the King of *Hamath* came to underſtand that *Adrazar* had left his whole Army, and was utterly undone, he could not do better, he thought, (for fear his own turn might be next) than to court *David* by a voluntary Propoſal, into a Treaty of Friendſhip and Alliance. So he ſent his Son *Joram* to him, with a Complement of Congratulation for the Victory he had gain'd over their common Enemy; (for ſo was *Adrazer* reputed) and with Inſtructions alſo to pay a League of Amity, and fair Underſtanding betwixt them: Not forgetting ſeveral magnificent Preſents neither, in Veſſels of Gold, Silver, and Braſs, antique, and curious, to the higheſt Degree of Excellency and Perfection. *David* accepted both of the Propoſals, and the Preſents, receiving and diſmiſſing the Ambaſſador, to the Honour and Satisfaction of both Parties; but ſtill dedicating to God, all the Spoils of Gold and Silver, and Things precious, that were taken from the Enemy, as to the Author of the Victory. Neither was *David* ſucceſsful only in his own perſonal Adventures, and Undertakings; but God proſper'd him in all his Commiſſions alſo, though executed by Deputies and Lieutenants: As in the Caſe of *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s Brother, who was ſent out with an Army againſt the *Idumæans*; and by God's Aſſiſtance not only ſubdu'd them, but after eighteen thouſand of them kill'd upon the Spot, he kept them in Awe with Garriſons, as a Check upon them; charged the Land with a Contribution, and taxed the People by the Head.

The King of Hamath *propounds a League with* David, *and ſends his Son* Joram *on the Embaſſy.*

His Propoſals and preſents are all accepted.

Abiſhai, Joab's *Brother kills* 18000 Idumæans, *and lays them under Contribution.*

David was naturally a lover of Juſtice, and had no other regard in all his Judgments, than to the Equity and Righteouſneſs of the Cauſe before him. He made *Joab*, the Son of *Zerviah*, his General, and *Jehoſaphat*, the Son of *Ahilud*, the Keeper of his Records. He choſe out of the Houſe of *Phinehas*, *Abiathar*, and *Zadock*, who were his Friends, to be his Prieſts; and *Seraiah* for Secretary. *Benaia* the Son of *Jehoiada* commanded the Guards of his Perſon, and the King's elder Sons were ſtill incorporated into that Body.

David *ſettles his Officers.*

So ſoon as ever the King had put his Family-Affairs in ſome Sort of Order, he caſt his Thoughts upon his old and dear Friend and Aſſociate, *Jonathan*, and upon the ſolemn League of mutual Amity that had paſs'd betwixt them; for he had this Virtue in Perfection, with many others, that he never forgot an Obligation to a Friend, but look'd upon an *Arrier* for paſs'd Benefits as the moſt ſacred of all Debts. Upon this Conſideration, he now laid-out to inform himſelf, what Sons, Friends, or Relations, *Jonathan* had left behind him, that he might find Matter for his Gratitude to work upon. In purſuance of this Enquiry, there was brought to him one [*Ziba*] formerly a Servant, and a Freeman of *Saul*'s, as the moſt likely Perſon to reſolve that Queſtion. So the King ask'd him if he knew of any of *Jonathan*'s Family yet living, and where to find them; for he was anſwerable for an old Debt there, which he would gladly repay. *Ziba* made anſwer, that he had a Son yet alive, whoſe Name was *Mephiboſheth*; who by a Miſchance happen'd to be lame of a Leg. For upon the News of that bloody Battle, wherein his Grandfather, and his Father were ſlain, the Nurſe took him-up in a Fright to run away with him; and ſtumbling for Haſte, let him fall out of her Arms, and hurt him. Upon farther Examination the King had Notice that he was brought-up with one *Machir*, in the City of [a] *Lodeba*, and that there he was at preſent: Whereupon he was immediately brought-up, and preſented to *David*; proſtrating himſelf at the King's Feet, and doing him Reverence. The King bad him be of good Cheer, and hope for better Days; aſſuring him of all the Comfort he could wiſh for from the Favour of his Prince. So he appointed him preſently to be put in Poſſeſſion of his Father's and his Grandfather's Houſe and Eſtate, and of all that belonged to them; took him Home to him as his particular Gueſt, and order'd that he ſhould eat every Day at his own Table. The young Man was highly ſenſible of this exceſſive Grace and Bounty; and when he had made a dutiful Acknowledgment of it, in ſuch manner as became him, *David* then called for *Ziba*; and telling him how he had beſtow'd upon *Mephiboſheth*, his Father's and Grandfather's Eſtate, gave him in Charge to look after, and take Care of the Grounds, and from Time to Time to receive the Profits, and bring them to *Jeruſalem*. *Mephiboſheth*, after this, lived in the King's Houſe, ſate conſtantly at the ſame Table with him, and *David* gave him *Ziba*, and fifteen Sons that he had, with

2 Sam. 9.

David *enquires after* Jonathan's *Friends and Relations.*

Ziba *directs* David *where he may find his Son* Mephiboſheth.

Mephiboſheth *is brought to* David.

David *takes Care of him,*

And makes Ziba *his Steward.*

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[a] Λαβαθά *Joſ.*

twenty others belonging to him, for his Servants. *Ziba*, having received his Commiſſion, did his Duty, and went his Way; promiſing to govern himſelf in all Things according to his Order, and Inſtructions. But the Son of *Jonathan* continu'd ſtill at *Jeruſalem* with *David*, and was treated in all Reſpects as a Child of the Family; ſo great a Tenderneſs had *David* for any Thing that had a Relation to *Jonathan*. Thus it was with *Mephiboſheth*, to whom was born a Son whoſe Name was *Micha*.

Mephiboſheth's *Son* Micha.

Nahaſh *the* King *of the* Ammonites, *dies.* *And* David *ſends a condoling Complement to his Son* Hanun. 2 Sam. 10. *The* Ammonites *poſſeſs their new King, that* David *has a Plot upon them. The Embaſſadors are ſent back with Ignominy and Scorn.*

David *declares War againſt the* Ammonites;

Who call in all the Allies they can make, to their Aſſiſtance.

About this Time dy'd *Nahaſh*, the King of the *Ammonites*, a Friend and Ally of *David*'s; and *Hanun*, his Son, ſucceeded him. *David* upon this Revolution, ſent him a condoling Civility to comfort him in his Affliction, and to aſſure him of the ſame Friendſhip and Reſpect to himſelf, that had been formerly paid to his Father. The Heads of the *Ammonites* made a malicious Conſtruction of this Embaſſy, which the good Faith and Candour of *David* did not deſerve at their Hands. They did all they could, in fine, to irritate their King; with Calumnies againſt *David*; and to put Jealouſies in his Head, that the Meſſengers of *David*'s were not in Truth *Embaſſadors*, but Spies; that under the Pretext of a Complement of State, were ſent to explore the Strength, and Condition of the Country; and that therefore, without giving any heed to fair Words, he ſhould do well to look about him betimes, before Things were gone beyond Recovery. *Hanun* was over-rul'd by his Counſel; how contrary ſoever to the true Reaſon of the Caſe; and ſo ſent the *Embaſſadors* back again with all the Indignities of Scorn and coarſe Uſage imaginable. They cut-off one half of their Beards, and one half of their Veſts, and ſo diſmis'd them in that Dreſs, with a Contumely of Action, inſtead of Words at length, for an Anſwer. *David* took it ſo heinouſly to be thus treated, and to ſee his Embaſſadours ſo barbarouſly affronted, contrary to the Laws of Nations, Honour, Hoſpitality, and good Manners, that immediately he declar'd his Reſolution publickly to right himſelf upon the *Ammonites* by an open War, and to call their King to an Account for what he had done. The Principals and Allies of the *Ammonites* were ſo conſcious to themſelves, that their Perfidy, and Breach of Faith, together with the ſcandalous manner of it, was wholly unpardonable; that upon the firſt News of *David*'s Determination to vindicate himſelf by Arms, they found themſelves neceſſitated in their own Defence, to encounter Force with Force, and ſo prepar'd for a War. They ſent their Embaſſadors to *Syrus*, the King of *Meſopotamia*, with a thouſand Talents to bring him into the Allyance; which he accepted of, and engaged alſo the King of *Zoba*. Theſe two Kings had betwixt them ſome twenty thouſand Foot. They likewiſe purchaſed the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Maacah*, and of *Iſhtob*, who had two and twenty thouſand Men in Arms.

CHAP. VII.

Joab *overthrows* Hanun, *and his Confederates.* David *gives a terrible Defeat to the King of* Syria. *The Story of* David *and* Bathſheba. Amnon *raviſhes* Thamar, *and her Brother* Abſalom *lays a Plot to take away his Life.*

Joab David's *General.* *The* Ammonites *divide into two Bodies.*

Joab *does the like.* Joab *undertakes* Syrus *and the Confederates, and his Brother* Abiſhai *the other Diviſion.*

Joab *routs* Syrus, *and the very Fright routs the reſt.*

THIS Preparation of the *Ammonites*, in Conjunction with ſo many confederate Princes, made no Impreſſion at all upon the Courage of *David:* He knew he had a gracious God to truſt to; his Cauſe was good; and the Injury he had receiv'd intolerable. Wherefore he was reſolved to caſt himſelf upon God's Providence, and the Juſtice of his Arms, for Satisfaction: So that he committed the Menage of the War to *Joab*, and ſent him away with the choiceſt of his Troops againſt the Enemy. He marched directly towards their capital City, [called *Rabbath*] and encamped before it. The Enemy marched forth out of the Town, and divided into two Bodies; the one conſiſting of Auxiliaries, which they drew-up in the open Field; the other being compoſed only of *Ammonites*, ranged themſelves before the Port that looked toward the *Hebrews*. *Joab* conſidering this Diſpoſition of the Enemy's Army, diſpoſed of his Troops likewiſe in the ſame Order; and in the Head of the beſt Men he had, he himſelf preparing to charge *Syrus*, and the confederate Kings, with one Diviſion, gave his Brother *Abiſhai* the command of the other, with orders to attaque the *Ammonites*; having agreed upon it beforehand betwixt themſelves, that in caſe *Syrus* ſhould get the better of *Joab*, *Abiſhai* ſhould come-in to his Relief; and *Joab* to ſecond *Abiſhai*, if he ſhould be preſs'd by the *Ammonites*. *Joab* hereupon diſmiſs'd his Brother, encouraging him to behave himſelf like a Man of Honour, and to make good the Reputation both of the Cauſe, and of the Action. *Joab* made the On-ſet upon *Syrus*, who ſtood very bravely at firſt; but ſo many of his Men falling, the reſt fled; and the *Ammonites* upon the very Sight of their Diſorder, betook themſelves likewiſe to their Heels, after the Example of their Fellows, without ſtaying for the coming up of *Abiſhai*, and ran away into the Town. So that *Joab*, after a dreadful Execution done upon the Enemy, returned to *Jeruſalem* with his victorious Army.

This Rout and Confuſion of the ***Ammonites***, how unequal a Match ſoever they were found to be to the ***Hebrews***, was not enough yet to keep them quiet for the future; but they ſent to [a] *Chalama*, a King of the *Syrians* beyond *Euphrates*, and agreed with him for an auxiliary Army at ſuch a Price. *Shoback* was his Lieutenant General, over an Army of eighty thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe. ***David*** being given to underſtand the mighty Strength of the ***Ammonites***, did not find it convenient to make War any longer by his Deputies: So that he himſelf paſs'd the River *Jordan* with the whole Army, and joyning Battle with the Enemy, kill'd them forty thouſand Foot and ſeven thouſand Horſe, and came off a Conqueror; *Shobach* himſelf, the General of *Chalama*, receiving a Wound in this Battle, of which he died. The People of *Meſopotamia*, upon the miſerable Event of this Overthrow, ſent forthwith their Embaſſadors, with Preſents and Addreſſes, to ***David***, and deliver'd up themſelves: And the Action being over, ***David*** returned again ſafe to *Jeruſalem*.

The Ammonites *reinforce themſelves;*

And are routed again with the Loſs of 40000 Foot, and 7000 Horſe.

The Meſopotamians *deliver themſelves up, and* David *goes back to* Jeruſalem.

The Winter drawing on, *Joab* was again diſpatched away to proſecute the War againſt the ***Ammonites***, where he laid their Country waſte; drove the People into *Rabbah*, their *Metropolis*, and laid Siege to the Place. ***David*** was undoubtedly a juſt and a pious Man, and one that had a ſcrupulous Reverence for the Laws of his Country; but yet at this Time, and upon this Occaſion, he fell into a grievous Sin (to ſhew us the Frailty of Fleſh and Blood, when we are left to our ſelves.)

Joab *order'd to proſecute the War againſt the* Ammonites; *and he lays Siege to* Rabbah.

As he was refreſhing himſelf one Day toward the Cool of the Evening upon his *Terrace*, he had the Hap to diſcover a Woman bathing her ſelf in her own Houſe, within Ken of the Place; a Perſon of a moſt exquiſite Shape and Beauty, and her Name was *Bathſheba*. He fell in love with her at Sight; and under the Impotence of a paſſionate Appetite, had her brought to his Bed. Soon after this, ſhe found her ſelf with Child: And deſired the King to conſider of ſome Way for the Concealment of it; for otherwiſe ſhe muſt ſuffer Death by the Laws of the Country. *Uriah* the Husband of this Woman, and *Joab*'s *Armour-Bearer*, was hereupon call'd away from the Camp, and ***David*** ask'd him ſeveral Queſtions about the State of the Army; how the Siege went forward, and the like. He told the King, that Things went as well as he could wiſh. So ***David*** gave him Part of his own Supper, and bad him go Home for the preſent to his Wife; but finding afterwards that he had paſs'd away that Night in the Palace, and among his Guards, *ask'd him how it came to paſs, that having been ſo long away from his Wife, he ſhould not rather go Home, than trifle away his Time elſewhere, ſo contrary to the Practice of all other Men under his Circumſtances.* Sir (*ſays he*) I did not think it fair and honourable to indulge my ſelf in the Arms of my Wife, at the ſame Time when my General and my Fellow-Soldiers lye in an Enemy's Country upon the Ground. So the King told him: *He ſhould now ſtay there one Night more, and the next Day he would ſend him back again to the Army.* When the King went to Supper, *Uriah* was call'd in, and he ply'd him with ſo many Healths one after another, that though he hardly knew what de did, he never thought of his Wife all this while yet; but ſpent that Night again, in the Court, as he had done the former. This put ***David*** in Wrath: Inſomuch that he wrote to *Joab*, that he was much diſſatisfy'd with *Uriah*, and he would have him puniſh'd according to his Deſert: And ſo put him in a Way how to bring it about, without giving any Suſpicion that it was done by his Order; and the Contrivance was this. ***David*** appointed *Joab* to command him upon the firſt dangerous Attack, where his Companions might leave him in the Lurch to be certainly cut off. This Letter he gave to *Uriah* under his own Hand and Seal, to be deliver'd to *Joab*; who, upon the Receipt, follow'd the King's Direction, and put *Uriah* upon a deſperate Forlorn, with ſeveral brave Men to back him, for the Countenance of the Deſign; *Joab* promiſing to ſecond him with the whole Army, upon the leaſt Breach or Poſſibility of Entrance into the Town: *Joab* recommending it earneſtly to him, to maintain the Reputation he had already acquir'd with the King, and with the Army, by acquitting himſelf frankly and bravely upon this Occaſion. *Uriah*, with great Chearfulneſs and Aſſurance, undertook the Poſt, while *Joab* gave his Companions private Orders to withdraw and leave him, ſo ſoon as they found themſelves in any Danger. The *Hebrews* preſſing hard upon the Wall, put the ***Ammonites*** in a dreadful Apprehenſion that they would force the Town: Whereupon they threw open their Gates, and made a deſperate Sally; which was as good as a Signal to thoſe with *Uriah*, according to their Orders from *Joab*, to abandon their Leader: Which they did as with one Conſent, upon that critical Point of Time, and left *Uriah* to be cut to Pieces. He did all the Execution that was poſſible to be done

2 Sam. 11,

David *corrupts* Bathſheba *and ſhe proves with Child.*

David *ſend for her Husband* Uriah *from the Army.*

Asks him ſeveral Queſtions by the By.

And bids him go Home to his Wife.

Uriah *not going,* David *tries him a ſecond Time:*

And he fails again.

David *writes to* Joab, *to put* Uriah *upon ſome deſperate Poſt, where he may be deſtroy'd.*

Joab *follows his Order.*

Uriah *is cut to Pieces,*

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[a] *Rufinus* Adrazar. in *Sam.* 11. Hadarezer.

by a ſingle Man againſt Numbers; and after ſeveral Wounds receiv'd, fell like a Man of Honour, with his Face to the Enemy: Some few of his Friends, that were not made privy to the Plot, innocently falling with him.

Joab *writes* Da-vid *the News of a Repulſe upon an Aſſault at* Rabbah.

Joab *gives the Meſſenger ſecret Inſtructions.*

David *cenſures the Temerity of the Action.*

The Action being now over, *Joab* diſpatch'd away an Expreſs forthwith to *David*, giving an Account, that to make ſhort Work of a Siege that was otherwiſe likely to be tedious, he had given an Aſſault to the Town; loſt Men in the Attempt; and was at laſt beaten off and forced back again to the Camp. Now ſays *Joab* to the Meſſenger; if you find *David* troubled at the News you carry him; tell him withal, that *poor* Uriah *fell in the Attack*. *David*, upon the hearing of this Story was mightily unſatisfy'd. *What!* ſays he, *for Men with their naked Bodies to think of ſtorming Stone-Walls? Why did they not rather make Uſe of Mines or Engines? One would think they might have taken the domeſtick Example of* Abimelech *the Son of* Gideon *for a Warning; that was ſlain at* Thebes *by a Piece of a Mill-ſtone, thrown down upon his Head by an old Woman from the Battlements: The Man was otherwiſe very brave; but his Temerity brought him to a ſcandalous End: For in all theſe Caſes, Caution is as neceſſary as Courage; and the ſafeſt Counſels are the beſt. All People, in the Buſineſs of War, ſhould do well to conſult Hiſtory and Experience; what has generally ſucceeded well, and what otherwiſe, and to conſider upon what Point the Streſs lies, either of the one or of the other, and to act accordingly.* When the King had fretted a while, and was come afterwards to pauſe upon it, the Meſſenger took an Occaſion to tell him of the Death of *Uriah*, as a Thing by the By. *Well!* ſays *David*, *theſe are common Accidents; the Chance of War is various, and Soldiers muſt content themſelves to take the beſt and the worſt by Turns. Do you tell* Joab *what I ſay; but tell him moreover, that for the future, I would rather have him do the Buſineſs by caſting up Works, or by Machines, than by open Force. But let him know upon the Main that I would have the City raſ'd and levell'd with the Ground, and the Inhabitants put all to the Sword, without ſparing a Man of them. With theſe Inſtructions the Meſſenger went preſently away to* Joab.

The Meſſenger lets fall a Word by the By, of Uriah's *being kill'd in the Attempt.*

David *paſſes it over as the Chance of War; but bids* Joab *husband his Men; raſe the City to the Ground, and give no Quarter.*

Bathſheba *mourns out her Time for her Huſband, and* David *takes her to Wife. God is highly offended with* David *for the Match.* 2 Sam. 12.

Nathan, *by the Alluſion of a Fable, brings* David *to a Sight of his Sin.*

Upon the News of *Uriah*'s Death, *Bathſheba*, for ſeveral Days, made her ſelf a Kind of a Recluſe, in the Condition of a cloſe Mourner; but ſo ſoon as the Ceremony of the Sorrow was over, *David* took her to Wife, and had by her a Male Child not long after. This Match was ſo far from being agreeable to God, that he was highly offended at it, and gave the Prophet *Nathan* to underſtand as much in a Dream; blaming *David* exceedingly for what he had done. Now *Nathan*, that was a Man of a diverting Humour and Addreſs; well conſidering how little Regard Princes commonly have in the Carrier of their Paſſions, to the Right or Wrong of Things, rather applied himſelf to *David*'s Conſcience by a Side-Wind, than in a Point-Blank Narration of what God had ſaid to him in the Viſion; bringing in what he had to deliver, after this Manner.

There were two Men, ſays he, *that lived in the ſame City; the one had an Abundance of Flocks and Herds of all Sorts of Cattle, Oxen, Sheep, and the like; and was, in Fine, a very rich Man: The other a poor Wretch, that had but one only Lamb. He brought it up, and fed it with his Children, and lov'd it as his Daughter. The rich Man had a Stranger come to his Houſe, whom he was bound in Hoſpitality and in Honour to entertain; but rather than treat him out of his own Store, he ſent and forced away the poor Man's only Lamb for the Stranger's Supper.* A Villain, ſays the King, in a Paſſion, to do ſo baſe and ſo unjuſt a Thing. I would have him make four-fold Satisfaction, and die for it beſides. Why then, ſays *Nathan* immediately, *Thou thy ſelf art the Man, and out of thy own Mouth haſt pronounc'd Judgment upon thy ſelf. The Prophet, after this, gave him an Account of his Viſion, and of God's high Diſpleaſure againſt him; minding him of his Ingratitude to that Providence that had made him King of* Iſrael, *and given him the Command of all the neighbouring Nations thereabouts: Deliver'd him ſeveral Times out of* Saul's *Hands,* &c. *and for him, now that had ſo many lawful Wives allow'd him, to take away another Man's Wife, in Defiance of God and Man, and to betray her Huſband to the Enemy, and to Death; what could he expect after all this but to be overtaken with a divine Vengeance! The Prophet then predicting to him, that he ſhould live to ſee his Women raviſh'd by one of his own Sons, and that Son to enter into a Practice upon the Life of his Father: And in a Word, that for this ſecret Sin of his, he ſhould be brought to open Shame and Puniſhment; concluding with this Preſage, that the Son of his unlawful Love ſhould be very ſhort-liv'd.* This denouncing of the Prophet put *David* into a quaking Terror and Confuſion, and drew from him a penitential Confeſſion with Tears, that he had ſinned againſt God. Now *David* being a righteous Man, and beyond all Exception, ſaving only in the Buſineſs of *Uriah*, God was pleaſed to accept of his true Repentance, and took him into his Favour again, and promis'd to ſecure him in the Enjoyment both of his Kingdom and of his Life.

Nathan *foretells the ſeveral Calamities to befal* David.

David *confeſſes, and repents.*

When *Nathan* had given *David* this Proſpect of things to come, he returned to his Habitation; and was no ſooner gone, but the Lord ſtruck the Child that *Uriah*'s Wife bare unto *David*, with a grievous Sickneſs, which went ſo near the Heart of the Father, that he took his Chamber upon it, and for ſeven Days together lay groveling upon the Ground in Sackcloth, and Mourning, without receiving any Suſtenance; beſeeching Almighty God to ſpare the Life of the Child, having the greateſt Tenderneſs for the Mother imaginable. Upon the ſeventh Day the Child dy'd; but the People of the Family durſt not ſpeak a Word of it to the King; for he, they thought, that was ſo given up to Sorrow, as to deny himſelf the moſt neceſſary Comforts and Refreſhments of Life, when the Child was only ſick, would be tranſported out of the Government of himſelf, if he ſhould know it to be dead. *David* obſerved ſuch a Diſorder in the Countenances of his Family, that he took it for certain there was ſomething extraordinary in the Caſe, that they durſt not tell him; which he concluded could be nothing elſe but the Death of the Child; and upon ſifting one of his Servants about it, he found it ſo to be. *David*, upon this, preſently got up; waſh'd himſelf; changed his Cloths, and ſo went his way directly to the *Tabernacle* to worſhip; commanding his Servants, after this, to ſet his Supper upon the Table. His Kindred and Domeſtiques were all in Admiration, and Aſtoniſhment at a Change of Humour ſo unexpected: For while the Child was but dangerouſly ill, there was nothing but Paſſion and Extravagance; and now it was taken to be irrecoverably dead, the Father came to himſelf again. This was their Deſcant; but they had yet a Curioſity to know what might be the true Reaſon of it: Wherein *David* was very free with them upon a decent Intimation of the Deſire they had to be better inform'd. *While the Child was yet living*, ſays he, *and not quite out of Hope of Recovery, I omitted no Opportunity of Application to God for the Life of the poor Creature; but when I ſaw it was Dead, it would have been a fooliſh Thing to torment my ſelf any farther to no manner of purpoſe.* The Prudence of this Reſolution was highly commended by all that heard him. *Bathſheba*, after this, in her due Time, according to the Courſe of Nature, brought *David* a Son; who, by the Direction of the Prophet *Nathan*, gave him the Name of *Solomon*.

David's *Child by* Bathſheba *is ſtruck with a deſperate Sickneſs.*

David *mourns in Faſting and Sackcloth for ſeven Days.*

The Child dies upon the ſeventh Day.

Bathſheba *brings* David *a Son, which by* Nathan's *Directions is call'd* Solomon.

Joab, by this Time had preſs'd ſo hard upon the *Ammonites*, by cutting off their Water, and all other Proviſions from them, that they were now well nigh reduced to the laſt extremity of Hunger and Thirſt; for they had only one little Spring left them, which they were fain to husband by ſhort Allowances, for fear of drawing it dry, or loſing that too. *Joab* ſent *David* a particular Account of the State of the Siege; deſiring the Honour of his Preſence there in Perſon, to put the laſt Hand himſelf to the Deſtruction of the City, as an Action worthy to be found upon the Roll in the Hiſtory of his other Heroical Exploits. *David* was ſo fully ſatisfy'd with the Wiſdom, Faith, and Zeal of his General, that he put himſelf preſently in the Head of his Army, and marched to the Aſſault of *Rabbah*; took it by Storm, and gave the Pillage of it to the Soldiers; taking only for himſelf a golden Crown of the Kings, of a Talent-weight, and a rich *Sardonyx* upon it; which *David* wore conſtantly upon his Head afterward for an Ornament. To ſay nothing of an infinite Variety of other rich Booty that was found in that City. The Men were put to death by exquiſite Torments, and all the Reſt of the *Ammonite* Cities that ſtood out, as this did, were ſerved after the ſame manner.

Joab *cuts off the* Ammonites *Water, and ſtreightens them for Proviſions.*

Joab *writes* David *the State of the Siege of* Rabbah, *and adviſes him to appear in Perſon at the Aſſault.*

David *marches to the Place, takes it by Storm, and gives the Soldiers the Pillage.*

All put to death by Torment; and ſo the Reſt of the Ammonite *Cities that ſtand out.*

The Glory of this Victory was follow'd ſoon after with a Mortification that took off much of the Reliſh of it. *David* had a Daughter that was as yet a Virgin, and incomparably the moſt agreeable, lovely Beauty of the Age ſhe liv'd in. Her Name was *Thamer*; and ſhe and *Abſalom* had one Mother. *Amnon* the eldeſt Son of *David*, fell deſperately in love with her; and finding that, betwixt her own Modeſty, and the Watch ſhe had upon her, there was no Hope of Succeeding, he pin'd away into a Kind of languiſhing Conſumption. One *Jonathan*, his Friend and Kinſman, and a Perſon withal, of very good Senſe and Judgment, taking notice of this Change in *Amnon*, and that he grew every Day worſe and worſe, went to him, and ask'd him what he ail'd; and in ſhort, if he was not in Love: For he had a Suſpicion of it. *Amnon*, without any Difficulty, own'd himſelf to have a violent Paſſion for his own Siſter; the other putting a Fancy in his Head how he might compaſs his End. Do but you, ſays *Jonathan*, counterfeit your ſelf ſick; and the firſt Viſit your Father gives you, make it your Requeſt that he would ſend your Siſter to you; upon an Opinion, you may ſay, that her Care and Aſſiſtance would much contribute toward your Recovery. *Amnon* follow'd his Counſel; deſiring his Father, accordingly, upon his firſt Viſit, to ſend his Siſter to him; which he did immediately; and nothing would ſerve *Amnon* then, but he muſt have ſome Cakes of his Siſter's making: For he could not eat any Thing elſe. So ſhe took the Flour, kneeded it; rais'd, and bak'd

2 Sam. 13.

Amnon David's *eldeſt Son falls deſperately in love with his Siſter* Thamar.

Jonathan *ſifts it out of him: And tells him how he may gain his Point.*

Amnon *follows his Counſel.*

it, all in her Brother's Sight; and in Concluſion, offer'd him ſome to eat; which he would not ſo much as taſte of; but called-out to his Servants immediately to withdraw, and let no Body come-in to trouble him, for he would lay himſelf to reſt. So ſoon as the Room was clear'd of the Waiters, he deſir'd his Siſter to carry the Curioſities ſhe had made him, into an inner Chamber there; which ſhe did, and her Brother taking Advantage of that Privacy laid hold of her; and by the uttermoſt Importunity of a violent Paſſion, preſs'd and courted her to the gratifying of his brutal Luſt: The innocent Virgin crying-out, and exclaiming all the while to him, *for Shame, for Shame*, not to offer at ſo impious, and ſo ſcandalous a Baſeneſs, as it would be to ſacrifice the Honour of himſelf, and his whole Family to the Outrage of a beaſtly Appetite. Let me go, ſays ſhe, for the Love of God, and keep your exorbitant Deſires within the Compaſs of Law, Honeſty, and Religion: Or, if you cannot maſter them, try if you can get your Father's Good-will, and never think of extorting a Kindneſs from me by Violence. But there was no reaſoning, ſhe found, with an impetuous raging Paſſion. She thought however to put him off at preſent; but it would not do; for in Deſpite of all ſhe could ſay or do, either to hinder, or to divert him, he gain'd his End upon her by Force.

Amnon *raviſhes his Siſter.*

After this brutal Act, he turns her violently out of Doors.

Thamar *expoſtulates the Matter with* Amnon.

Thamar *makes Proclamation in the Streets, how ſhe had been abuſed.*

Abſalom *meets her, and pacifies her.*

No ſooner had he committed the Villany, and laid the Fury of his burning Luſt, but in the ſame Inſtant, his extravagant Love was degenerated into the contrary Extreme, of an implacable Hatred: Inſomuch that he call'd-out fiercely to her to quit his Lodgings, and be gone. What? ſays ſhe, now you have whor'd me, am I to be expos'd too? And ſent away by Day-light with all this Confuſion and Horror upon me, to tell the World how barbarouſly you have uſed me? Nay, ſays ſhe, this Treatment in cold Blood is yet worſe, if worſe can be, even than the accuſed Act it ſelf, under the Impotency of an ungovernable Paſſion to alleviate the Crime. But reaſoning and ſtruggling was all in vain, for go ſhe muſt; and *Amnon*, without any more ado, commanded his Servants to turn her out of the Houſe. Away ſhe goes upon this into the Street, with Aſhes on her Head, and her Veſt (ſuch as was then in Faſhion for Perſons of her Quality) diſorder'd and torn; and ſo thorough the City; crying-out and complaining how ſhe had been abus'd and raviſh'd. Her Brother *Abſalom* had the Fortune to meet her in this Diſtraction and Dreſs; and asking her what was the Matter, ſhe told him the whole Story of her Brother, and the brutal Indignity that he had put upon her. *Abſalom* told her, to pacify her, that the Diſhonour however was not ſo great conſidering it was the Act of her own Brother; which for the preſent put ſome Reſpite to her Clamour. After this, ſhe lived a pretty while ſingle in the Houſe of her Brother *Abſalom*. Upon the carrying of this Story to *David*, he was infinitely troubled at it; but *Amnon* being his eldeſt, and his beloved Son, he was yet loth to put him to Extremities. *Abſalom*, all this while, bare him a mortal Grudge, and waited only a fair Opportunity for a Revenge. At the End of two Years after the Rape of *Thamar*, *Abſalom* having appointed a Sheep-ſheering at [a] *Baal-Hazor*, a City in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, invited his Father, and his Brothers to the Meeting. His Father excus'd himſelf, upon the Trouble and Expence it would be to him: So that *Abſalom* deſir'd leave only for his Brothers; which being obtained, he gave his Domeſtiques this Order; that upon his giving them the Sign, when *Amnon* ſhould be in his Cups, they ſhould fall upon him, and kill him.

Abſalom *lays a Plot to kill* Amnon *at a Sheep-ſhearing.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Death of Amnon *frights the Brothers.* Abſalom *flies to* Geſhur. Joab *gets leave for him to return. He goes to* Hebron *upon a pretended Vow, and enveigles the People to declare him* King. Achitophel *joyns with him.* David *quits* Jeruſalem. Abſalom *commits a horrible Wickedneſs at the Inſtance of* Achitophel.

Amnon *kill'd by* Abſalom's *Order.*

The Reſt of the Brothers poſt away to the King, upon this Alarum.

The News comes to David, *that* Abſalom *had put all his Brothers to death.*

David *abandons himſelf to Deſperation.*

A*BSALOM*'s People took their Time, and put their Maſter's Order in Execution. This Violence upon *Amnon* ſtruck ſuch a Dread and Confuſion into the reſt of the Brothers, that they immediately took Horſe upon it, and poſted away to their Father, taking for granted that there was a Plot upon the whole Company. In this Nick of Time comes a Forerunner to *David*, with News, that *Abſalom* had put all his Brothers to death. This was ſo terrible a Surprize to *David*, to hear of the Loſs of ſo many of his Sons, and by the Hand of their own Brother too, that he abandon'd himſelf (as well he might) to an inconſolable Deſperation: And without any farther Enquiry into the Matter, or waiting for a Confirmation of the Report, (though a Wickedneſs almoſt incredible) he gave himſelf up to an inſupportable Anguiſh of Thought; tearing his Garments, and caſting himſelf proſtrate upon the Ground,

[a] Βελζεφῶν. *Joſ.*

Ground, lamenting not only the murder'd, but the Murderer himſelf. But *Jonadab* the Son of *Shimei*, *David*'s Brother, deſir'd *David* only to ruminate upon the Matter a little with Temper and Moderation. I cannot believe, ſays he, that your Sons are all kill'd, becauſe I ſee no Colour of a Reaſon for it. But for *Amnon*'s Part, it is not unlikely, ſays *Jonadab*, that *Abſalom* may have taken his Revenge upon him for the Affront he put upon his Siſter. While they were in Diſcourſe, they heard the trampling of Horſes, and the Hurry of People running up and down: And what was all this, but the King's Sons that had made their Eſcape from the Meeting at the Houſe of their Brother?

Jonadab *adviſes* David *to Patience, till he can hear further.*

In this Interim, David's *Sons come over to their Father.*

The Greeting of the Father and his Sons was not without Tears on both Sides: The Father ſurpriz'd at the Sight of them living, whom he took to be dead; the Sons lamenting the Loſs of their Brother, and the Father deploring the barbarous Murder of a Son: So that there was Subject abundantly every Way for Grief and Lamentation in all Reſpects. *Abſalom*, in the mean Time, retir'd to *Geſhur*, where he was a Matter of three Years in the Houſe of his Mother's Father, a Perſon of eminent Authority in that Country.

A tender Greeting on both Sides.

Abſalom *retires to the Houſe of his Mother's Father in* Geſhur.
2 Sam. 14.

David had by this Time a good Mind to recall *Abſalom*, not to puniſh him, but to have him Home again; for the Severity of his Diſpleaſure was now well nigh over: And theſe charitable Inclinations were dextrouſly enough managed to *Abſalom*'s Advantage, by the Friendſhip of *Joab*, who was ſtill at *David*'s Elbow. In Order to this End, he dealt with an ancient Woman that was to put her ſelf in Mourning, as a Perſon in great Diſtreſs, and as an humble Supplicant, to preſent the King with her Caſe to this Effect: *i. e. That two of her Sons in the Country had had an unhappy Quarrel; which grew to that Animoſity, that they fought upon it, and one of them was kill'd. Some of his Friends that was ſlain, demand Juſtice upon him that kill'd him. So ſhe was to beg of his Majeſty the Life of her Son, as the only Hope and Stay of her old Age. She had no Proſpect of Relief, but in his Majeſty's Clemency; for her Son's Enemies were ſo malicious, that nothing leſs could ſatisfy them than the Interpoſition of the King's Authority.* She performed her Part, and the King granted her Requeſt; whereupon, with a dutiful Acknowledgment of the King's Grace and Favour to an ancient Woman, and the Mother of one only Child; *She pray'd one further Inſtance and Aſſurance that ſhe might enjoy the Fruit of his royal Goodneſs. Her Suit was that the King would, in the firſt Place, be pleaſed to pardon his own Son* Abſalom: *For in beginning with a Compaſſion to him, it would be effectually the ratifying of her Son's Caſe, in his own Family. It would be very hard,* ſhe ſaid, *for a Father to loſe one Son by Miſadventure, and to kill another himſelf.*

Joab *does all good Offices of Mediation for* Abſalom.

An Invention of Joab's *in* Abſalom's *Favour.*

The King had it preſently in the Wind, that this was a Fancy and Project of *Joab*'s; and upon diſcourſing the Woman, it was found ſo to be: Upon which Diſcovery, *David* call'd for *Joab*, and told him that he had gain'd his Point, and was now at Liberty to bring *Abſalom* back again when he thought fit; for his Anger was over, and he had freely forgiven him. *Joab* was very glad to hear it; did his Reverence to the King, and ſo haſtned away to *Geſhur*, and brought *Abſalom* back with him to *Jeruſalem*. The King being told of his coming, ſent him Word, that Matters were not as yet in ſo good a Diſpoſition, as that it would be proper for him to appear in his Preſence. So that *Abſalom* kept himſelf out of the King's Sight, within his own Walls, and with his private Family. He had gone thorough a great deal of Care and Trouble; and his Entertainment of late had been rather coarſe than delicate; and in Short, not ſuitable to the State and Curioſity of a Prince of the Blood. But he ſtill kept up the Beauty yet, and the Graceſulneſs of his Perſon to the higheſt Degree of humane Perfection. He cut his Hair every eight Months; in the Compaſs of which Time, it grew up to the Weight of two hundred Shekels; that is to ſay, to five Pound Weight.

David *forgives* Abſalom *upon* Joab's *Interceſſion.*

Joab *fetches* Abſalom *from* Geſhur *to* Jeruſalem:

But Abſalom *not as yet admitted into the King's Sight.*

He paſs'd away ſome two Years in *Jeruſalem*, in this private Way of living, and had Children; three Sons and one Daughter, which prov'd to be a Miracle of a Beauty. She was married afterward to *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*; and had a Son by him whoſe Name was *Abia*. *Abſalom* finding himſelf uneaſy under his preſent Circumſtances, ſent to *Joab* to ſpeak a good Word for him to his Father: That he might only be admitted to the Honour of ſeeing him; and in Short, to the Comfort of a thorough Reconciliation. He waited a while for an Anſwer; but receiving no Satisfaction upon this Meſſage, he ſent ſome of his People to a neighbouring Field of *Joab*'s, to burn his Corn as it ſtood there upon the Ground. *Joab* came to him about it; told him he took it ill at his Hands, and ask'd him the Meaning of it. Why, ſays *Abſalom*, I had no Way of getting you to me but that. I wrote to you about interceding for me to my Father, and you have done nothing in it I perceive. Pray will you try if you can pacify him; for at this Rate, if he goes on ſtill to be inexorable,

Abſalom *puts* Joab *upon getting Leave for him to come into the King's Preſence.*

Joab *obtains Leave for* Abſalom *to wait upon his Father.*
2 Sam. 15.

rable, I am in a worſe Condition at Home than I was in my Baniſhment. *Joab* took Pity of him upon this Diſcourſe, and ply'd the King ſo artificially and ſo luckily on his Behalf, that his Heart relented, and *Abſalom* was immediately ſent for to attend his Father. He caſt himſelf at the King's Feet upon his firſt Entrance into the Room, and begg'd Pardon for all his Miſdoings: Whereupon *David* with his Right-Hand took him up again, with the Aſſurance of a ſolemn Promiſe, that all ill Things gone and paſt ſhould be for ever bury'd and forgotten.

Abſalom *ſets up with a ſplendid Equipage: And makes court to the People.*
Abſalom's *Way of ingratiating himſelf with the Multitude.*

Abſalom came in a ſhort Time to be ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the good Opinion and Eſteem of his Father, that he ſtruck up all on a ſudden into a ſplendid Equipage, with his Chariots and his Horſes; a numerous Train and Retinue of Servants and Followers, and no leſs than fifty Men to attend him as the Guard of his Body. He was the firſt Man ſtill at the King's *Levee*; not forgetting, on the other Hand, to take all Occaſions alſo to cajole the Multitude, and to keep fair with the People. If any Man had a Cauſe to be heard, and came for Juſtice, he would be asking him in a familiar affable Way: *Friend* (ſays he) *What's thy Name*; *what Countryman*, *what Buſineſs? Can I do thee any good?* And the like. When he found People out of Humour, and malecontent, for a croſs Verdict, or a hard Judgment, (as they pretended:) *Why this 'tis*, ſays he again, *the King has very ill Men about him. Yes*, *yes*, *and God help him*, *miſtakes the Point himſelf ſometimes*, *as well as another. Well! and ſo God ſpeed ye my Friends: If I had been in ſome Body's Place*, *Things ſhould never have gone at this Rate.* This was his Method of Way-laying the Affections of the People, and moulding them for his Deſign; and the Humour ripen'd a-pace too.

Abſalom *gets Leave of his Father to go pay a Vow at* Hebron.
He gets himſelf proclaimed King.

When he found himſelf pretty well aſſur'd of the Strength and Intereſt of his Party, he went and addreſs'd himſelf to *David* in the fourth Year after his Reconciliation, for Leave to go to *Hebron* to perform a Vow which he had made in the Time of his Baniſhment: Which Leave he eaſily obtain'd, and took a prodigious Multitude; ſome that he invited, and others that came trooping in Throngs along with him. Among the Reſt was *Achitophel* the *Gilonite*, *David*'s *Prime Miniſter*, with two hundred Men of *Jeruſalem*, that came thither to ſacrifice, without the leaſt Imagination of a Conſpiracy. But to make ſhort of the Matter, the Plot took; and *Abſalom*, by the common Voice of the People was proclaimed *King*.

This perfidious ſhameleſs Ingratitude ſurprizes David.
David *leaves his Palace to his Concubines, and ſo quits* Jeruſalem.
The High-Prieſts *and* Levites *preſs to go with him; but he oppoſes it.*
David *ſettles a ſecret Correſpondence with them.*

David was ſo ſurpriz'd ar the News of a rebellious Uſurpation that he ſo little dreamt of, that he ſtood confounded, as if he had been Planet-ſtruck, upon the very Thought of the Impudence and Ingratitude of a perfidious Son: A Wretch that could ſo ſoon forget his own late Guilt and his Father's Mercy, as to revolt into a ſecond *Apoſtacy*, ſo much more flagitious than the former: For he was firſt to lay violent Hands upon his Father's Kingdom, though he himſelf knew it to be the ſpecial Gift of God: And after that, to practice upon his very Life too. Now *David* being in this Streight, bethought himſelf of paſſing the River *Jordan* into ſome Place of more Security; and ſo, with the Advice of ſome of his intimate Friends, what Courſe to take in this ſeditious Juncture, he reſolved to leave the Care of his Palace to ten of his Concubines; quit *Jeruſalem*, and commit the Iſſue to God. He accordingly departed with great Multitudes of People that chearfully ſtuck to him, and liſted themſelves in his Train; eſpecially his own ſix hundred Friends, that kept ſo cloſe to him when he was hunted up and down by *Saul*, from one Hiding-Place to another. The High-Prieſts *Abiathar* and *Zadock*, and all the *Levites* there, were for going with him too, and taking the *Ark* along with them; but upon very good Reaſons he prevail'd with them to ſtay; telling them that God's Providence was ſufficient for his Preſervation, without any Neceſſity of the holy *Ark* being upon the Place. The laſt Thing he ſaid to them was, that they ſhould make ſure of ſome private Way of Intelligence to let him underſtand from Time to Time of whatever paſs'd that might concern him to know; and they acquitted themſelves of that Commiſſion with great Faith and Induſtry: That is to ſay, *Abimaaz* the Son of *Zadock*, and *Jonathan* the Son of *Abiathar*. *Ittai* the *Gittite*, had ſo great a Zeal for his own perſonal Duty, and the Service of his Maſter, that he forced himſelf along with him, though he preſs'd him earneſtly againſt it.

News brought to David *that* Achitophel *was gone over to* Abſalom.
David *prays to God to infatuate* Achitophel.
David *caſts a heavy Look from the Mountain* Olivet, *as taking his laſt Leave of the City.*

As *David* was going barefoot up *Mount-Olivet*, and all the People in Tears round about him, there came to him a Meſſenger with the Tidings that *Achitophel* was gone over to the Faction of *Abſalom*, which was one of the moſt ſenſible Diſappointments had as yet befall'n him. Wherefore *David* pray'd to God to infatuate him, and to turn his Wiſdom into Fooliſhneſs. He was a crafty and a clear-ſighted Man in Buſineſs, and there was nothing *David* ſo much dreaded, as the Policy of his Advice. When he was up the Mountain, he look'd back upon the City, all in Tears, with Ejaculations, as one that was now taking his laſt Leave of his Government: And whom ſhould he meet there, but his try'd Friend and faithful Subject *Huſhai*, with his

Garments torn, and Aſhes upon his Head, lamenting the tranſitory State, and Fortune of all Things below the Sun. *David* bad him be of good Chear, and bear the Preſent with Reſignation and Patience; and urg'd him finally with great Earneſtneſs to go back again to *Jeruſalem*, where he might behave himſelf like one of *Abſalom*'s Party; pry into his Counſels, and Deſigns, and by thwarting *Achitophel*'s ſenſe of Things, do his Maſter infinitely better Service, than by ſtaying with him. *Huſhai* ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd; and ſo taking his Leave of *David*, returned to *Jeruſalem*; *Abſalom* himſelf coming thither not long after. *David* in the mean while paſſing forward, met with *Ziba*, the Servant of *Mephiboſheth*, to whom he had committed the Menage of the Eſtate he had beſtow'd upon the Son of his dear Friend *Jonathan*. He was driving two Aſſes before him, and offer'd *David*, and his Men to take what they pleas'd of what he had, if there was any Thing they lik'd. The Queſtion was put to *Ziba* upon this Occaſion, *What was become of his Maſter*. He left him at *Jeruſalem*, he ſaid, in Hope that upon the preſent Broiles, the People, in Honour to the Memory of *Saul* might be prevail'd upon to chuſe him *King*. *David* had ſuch an Indignation for this Ingratitude, that he took away the Lands back again from *Mephiboſheth*, and gave them to *Ziba*, as the more deſerving Perſon of the two. This was an Expreſſion, and a Bounty, that were both very acceptable to *Ziba*.

2 Sam. 16. *He meets his truſty Servant* Huſhai.

David *ſends him back again to watch* Abſalom *in* Jeruſalem.

David *meets* Ziba;

Who tells him that Mephiboſheth *ſtays at* Jeruſalem, *in Hopes to be choſen* King.

David, *upon this, takes away the Lands from* Mephiboſheth, *and gives them to* Ziba.

David was ſtill advancing, and as he paſs'd near *Bahurim*, there came out a Kinſman of *Saul*'s, whoſe Name was *Shimei*, the Son of *Gera*, and aſſaulted him with Curſes, and with Stones; and the more *David*'s Friends took his Part on the one Side, the more foul and ſcandalous was the Ribaldry on the other. *Shimei* call'd *David* a Blood-ſucker; the Cauſe of all their Miſeries, and bad him be gone out of the Country like an inſolent Wretch as he was: Giving God Thanks for that Retaliation upon him, by his Son, for the Indignities that he had formerly put upon his Lord and Father. Theſe rude and barbarous Outrages ſtirr'd the Blood of every Body that heard them; and *Abiſhai* had certainly kill'd him for it, if *David* had not interpoſed, and prevented it. *Pray hold your Hand*, ſays David, *and do not add Miſchief to Miſchief. Things are bad enough already, and do not you make them worſe. I look upon all the Clamours of this Clown, as I do upon the Bawling of a mad Dog, that God had let looſe upon me; and his holy Will be done. Why ſhould you wonder at the unmannerly Revilings of a Scoundrel? When at the ſame Time, I am worſe treated by my own ungracious Son. But there is a merciful God above, that in the End will deliver the Innocent out of the Hands of their Oppreſſors, and give us Victory over all our Enemies. Wherefore in the Name, and under the Protection of that God, let us go forward in our Journy:* And ſo as *David* advanced temperately on one Side of the Mountain, *Shimei* ran railing and curſing over againſt him on the other. They came at laſt, after a long, and a weariſom March, to the Bank of the River where *David* muſter'd and refreſh'd his Troops.

Shimei *reviles* David.

Abiſhai *would have kill'd* Shimei, *if* David *had not hinder'd him.*

Abſalom, and his great Counſellor *Achitophel*, were by this Time come to *Jeruſalem*, where they were received with Shouts and Acclamations by a vaſt Concourſe of People, and among the Reſt, by *David*'s Friend *Huſhai*, with a *God ſave the King*, and the Wiſhes to him of a long, and a happy Reign. *Abſalom*, upon this Encounter, ask'd *Huſhai* how it came to paſs that he that was look'd upon to be ſo eminent and faithful a Servant to his Father, ſhould now deſert his former Maſter, and come over to him? *Huſhai* anſwer'd him diſcreetly enough, that *there was no contending with the Will of God, and the Conſent of the People; and ſo long as you have them on your Side, you may be ſure of my Fidelity. It is from God that you have receiv'd your Kingdom; and if you can think me worthy of a Place in the Number of thoſe you will vouchſafe to own, you ſhall find me as true to your ſelf, as ever I was to your Father. No Man is to account the preſent State of Things uneaſy, ſo long as the Government continues in the ſame Line, and a Son of the ſame Family ſucceeds to the Throne.* Theſe Words of *Huſhai* to *Abſalom*, put an End to all Jealouſies.

Abſalom *comes to* Jeruſalem, *and* Huſhai *welcomes him with a* God ſave the King *as well as the Reſt.*

The Thing they had now before them was, to reſolve what ſhould be done next, and *Achitophel was preſently call'd in, to adviſe about it. The Counſel he gave them was, for* Abſalom *to go in and lye with all his Father's Concubines; for this*, ſays he, *will fix the People and make them ſo much the Bolder, and Firmer to the preſent State, when they ſhall ſee the Breach advanced beyond all Poſſibility of Reconciliation; for as Matters now ſtand, People will be apt to ſay, why the Father and the Son may come to an Agreement yet for ought we know; and if they ſhould chance to clap up a Peace in the Concluſion, where are we! So that it will be dangerous to declare, under ſuch an Uncertainty.* *Abſalom*, in ſhort, took *Achitophel*'s Counſel, and commanded his Servants to erect him a Tent in the Palace, where he lay with his Father's Concubines in the Sight of the People. This was no more in Fine, than what the Prophet *Nathan* foretold would befall *David*.

Abſalom *calls a Council what to do.*

Achitophel *adviſes him to lye with all his Father's Concubines.*

Abſalom *took his Advice, and committed that Indignity in the Sight of the People.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Achitophel's *Counſel for the Deſtroying of* David, Huſhai *oppoſes it, and carries it againſt him.* Achitophel *hangs himſelf upon the Diſappointment.* Abſalom *makes* Amaza *his General; fights a Battel with his Father, and loſes the Day. A Bough takes up* Abſalom *by the Hair of the Head in his Flight, and* Joab *runs him through with his* Javelin.

2 Sam. 17.

Achitophel *demands* 10000 *Men, upon Condition either to bring* David's *Head, or forfeit his own.*

Abſalom *is for hearing* Huſhai's *Opinion too*

Huſhai *oppoſes and over-rules* Achitophel's *Advice with great Art and Eloquence.*

AFter the Execution of this Counſel of *Achitophel's*, the next Queſtion was, what they were firſt to do in Proſecution of the War? His Anſwer was this. Give me the Command of ten thouſand choice Men; and let me anſwer for't with my own Head, if I do not bring you the Head of *David:* And the taking away of his Life will ſecure the publick Peace to the People, and the Government to *Abſalom*, both in one. *Abſalom* was much of *Achitophel's* Opinion; but willing however to have *Huſhai's* yet, over and above; and ſo put it to him, what he thought on't. *Huſhai* (that was *David's true Friend*, and ever ſo reputed) finding the Advice to be ſhrewd and dangerous, did what he could to divert *Abſalom* from it by giving his Judgment another Way, after this Faſhion. *Sir,* ſays he, *I need not tell you that your Father is a valiant Man, and that he hath a great many brave Men about him; with whom in all Encounters he hath ever come off victorious. You know him to be a Soldier too, and a Man of* Strategem, *as well as of Courage He will moſt infallibly have Advice of our Approach; and in ſome Valley, Wood, or behind ſome Rock perhaps, lye ready upon the Catch for us with an* Ambuſh: *Or ſuppoſe we ſhould attempt to engage them, they will order the Matter ſo as to manage their Retreat by little and little till they have drawn us into the Snare, and* David's *whole Body to fall in upon us before we know where we are. Now I ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgment, betwixt the Conſternation it will cauſe on the one Hand, and the Encouragement it will give on the other, what a Confuſion this Way of Proceeding will create among us: And now you have heard both Opinions, you may follow either* Achitophel's, *or mine, which is moſt to your Liking.* But having given you my Thoughts thus far now, what we are not to do; I muſt crave leave to tell you what I think adviſable under our Circumſtances to be done. *Let the whole Nation of the* Hebrews *be ſummon'd to appear with all their Troops at ſome certain Time and Place, to make War againſt* David: *And when they are met, do you your ſelf* (ſays he to Abſalom) *take the Command of the whole into your own Hand, without truſting to Deputies. When this is done,* David *muſt either expoſe himſelf in the plain Field, or otherwiſe fly to Faſtneſſes, ſtrong Holds, wall'd Towns, and the like. If he keep the Plains, you will have enow to eat him up; and I do not ſpeak of your Numbers only, but of a World of publick ſpirited Patriots too, that value themſelves upon their Zeal and Ambition to ſerve their Prince, and their Country: So that this Way you have him ſure. Or if he ſhall go the other Way to work, of hiding and ſkulking up and down, to keep upon the defenſive, there are twenty Ways, by mining, battering, ſtarving and the like, that will certainly reduce him.* They were all ſo unanimouſly for his Advice, that *Abſalom* himſelf gave his Voice for him, even in Preference to the Counſel of *Achitophel.* But it is to be noted, that the Hand of God was in all this.

Huſhai *propoſes to encounter* David *with the whole Strength of the Nation, and* Abſalom *himſelf to head them.*

Huſhai *carries it againſt* Achitophel.

Huſhai *communicates this immediately to the High-Prieſts* Zadock *and* Abiathar.

Huſhai, upon this Reſult, made all poſſible Haſte to the High-Prieſts, *Zadock*, and *Abiathar*, with the Story of what had paſs'd at the Counſel betwixt *Achitophel* and himſelf, and how Things were carried; deſiring them to diſpatch an Expreſs immediately away with it to *David*, with a Caution, by all Means to paſs the River *Jordan* that very Night; for if they ſhould either get Intelligence where he was, or change their Minds, they might fall in upon him before he could get over.

Meſſengers ſent to David *with Directions to paſs the* Jordan *that very Night.*

The Meſſengers are diſcover'd, and order'd to be taken up.

They take a By Way to Bahurim.

A Woman conveys them into a Well.

A Hue and Cry *after 'em. The Woman owns that two ſuch Men drank at the Gate.*

The High-Prieſts had provided Lodgings for their Sons out of the Town, and a faithful Maid-Servant at Hand to carry them the Intelligence, which they were to tranſmit forthwith to *David*. Upon the Receipt of this Information, they ſpeeded away with it as became dutiful and faithful Servants: But in the Execution of their Maſter's Command. But by the Time they were advanced ſome two Furlongs upon their Way, they were diſcover'd by certain Horſe-men? And *Abſalom* having Notice of it, gave Order preſently for the taking of them up. The Meſſengers were quickly aware of their Danger, and ſo turned out of the Way towards *Bahurim*, a ſmall Village near *Jeruſalem*; where they met with a Woman who was ſo charitable as to conceal them, by letting them down into a Well, and throwing ſome Skins of Beaſts over the Mouth of it. This Matter was no ſooner ordered, but into the Yard comes a *Hue and Cry* after them, that examined the Woman, very ſtrictly if ſhe had ſeen any ſuch Men or not. She could not deny, ſhe ſaid that two ſuch Men drank at the Gate juſt now, and ſo went their Way; but ſays ſhe, if you make Haſte after them, they may eaſily be overtaken. When they had hunted up and down a long Time after them to no Manner of Purpoſe, they returned to their Quarters with their Labour for their Pains. So ſoon as the Woman ſaw that all was ſafe, and the Coaſt clear, ſhe drew the young Men out of the Well; and they proſecuted their Journey Time enough to give *David* a ſeaſonable Account what *Abſalom* was a doing. It was late before they got thither, but *David* however got his People over the Water the ſame Night.

The Officers hunt up and down to no Purpoſe, and ſo come back again.
The Meſſengers purſue their Journey, and get Time enough to David.

It ſtuck in *Achitophel*'s Stomach, that *Abſalom* ſhould reject his Counſel, and at the ſame Time entertain *Huſhai*'s: So that *he mounted his Aſs, and went Home to* Galmon, *where he called his Family together, and told them the Advice he had given* Abſalom; *but that he would not follow it; and that in a ſhort Time, that Refuſal would be his Ruine; for* David *would certainly baffle him, and ſoon after recover his Kingdom. Now it is more honourable for me*, ſays he, *to dye aſſerting my Liberty like a Man, than to wait ſneaking till* David *comes in again, and to be ſlay'd at laſt for the Services I have done the Son againſt the Father.* With theſe Words he withdrew into a private Apartment in his Houſe, and hang'd himſelf, in the Conſcience of a ſelf Condemnation: His Relations afterward taking Care for his Funeral.

Achitophel *lays it to Heart to ſee* Huſhai's *Counſel taken, and his rejected.*
Achitophel *goes Home, and hangs himſelf.*

David, being now over the River *Jordan*, as aforeſaid, came to [a] *Mahanaim*, the faireſt and the ſtrongeſt City in that Tract of Land: Where he was treated by the principal Perſons of the whole Country, with the higheſt Inſtances of Generoſity and good Will imaginable; partly out of Humanity, with a Regard to the Neceſſities of his preſent Condition, and partly out of a Reverence to the Memory of his former State. There was *Siphar*, a Prince of *Ammon: Barzillai*, and *Machir*, two principal Men of *Gilead*, &c. Theſe generous Perſons took ſuch Care of *David*, and his People, that they wanted neither Beds, Bread, Wine, Fleſh, nor any Thing elſe that might be needful, either for their Suſtenance, or for their Refreſhment.

David *paſſes the* Jordan, *and ſo to* Mahanaim.
Siphar, *a Prince of* Ammon; Barzillai, *and* Machir, *two eminent Men of* Gilead, *treat* David.

Abſalom, in the mean Time, was gotten over the River with a mighty Army againſt his Father, and encamped not far from *Mahanaim*, a Town of *Gilead*, having made his Kinſman *Amaſa* General, in the Place of *Joab*: *Amaſa* being the Son of *Jothar* by *Abigail*. Now *Abigail*, and *Zerviah*, the Mother of *Joab*, were *David*'s Siſters.

2 Sam. 18.
Abſalom *encamps with a mighty Army near his Father, commanded by* Amaſa *the Son of* Jothar *by* Abigail

The King took a Review of his Men, and found himſelf upon the Muſter to be only four thouſand Strong; but yet with this Pittance of an Army, he choſe rather to act the Part of an Aggreſſor, than to lye ſtill upon his Guard till *Abſalom* ſhould give the Attack. So that he preſently conſtituted his Officers, and divided the little Body of his Army into three Parts: *Joab* had the firſt Diviſion; *Abiſhai*, the ſecond; and his old Friend *Ittai* the *Gittite*, the third. *David* would needs have gone himſelf in *Perſon*; but his Friends, for very good Reaſons, oppoſed it; for, ſaid they, *if we ſhould be beaten, and you your ſelf in the Field, the whole Cauſe would be loſt without any Hope of Reſourſe: But otherwiſe, if one Diviſion ſhould have the ill Hap to be worſted, the Reſt (they told* David*) might repair to himſelf, and probably find ſome Means of Recruit: Beſide, that the King's not being upon the Spot, would poſſeſs the Enemy with an Apprehenſion, that he had another freſh Army in Reſerve.* This Motive carry'd it, and the King was prevail'd upon to ſtay at *Mahanaim*. *David* then adjur'd his Friends by all the Tyes of Honour, Gratitude, and Conſcience, to acquit themſelves in their Duty; and in Caſe God ſhould give them a Victory, to ſpare the Life of the young Man; for he durſt not truſt himſelf with his own Life after the Death of *Abſalom*. This was follow'd with a thouſand Bleſſings, and good Wiſhes, and ſo he diſpatched them to the Army.

David's *Officers, his little Army of* 4000 *Men.*
He divides them into three Bodies, under Joab, Abiſhai, *and* Ittai *the* Gittite.
David *would have engag'd in Perſon; but Reaſons are given againſt it.*
David *ſtays at* Mahanaim; *adjuring his Officers and Friends to ſpare* Abſalom.

When *Abſalom* ſaw that *Joab* had drawn up his Diviſion upon a Plain, with a Wood at his Back, he diſpos'd of his own Troops likewiſe into the ſame Form over againſt the other. When the two Bodies came to ſhock, there was great Bravery ſhew'd on both Sides. The one contending for the Recovery of what *David* had loſt; and the other for the Defence and Maintenance of what *Abſalom* had got; and there was nothing that *David*'s Men were not reſolv'd either to do, or ſuffer; ſo they might but avenge the Father upon the *Apoſtaſy* of a *rebellious Son*. *Abſalom*'s Men fought a good while upon a Point of Honour, and to avoid the Infamy of being worſted by ſo inconſiderable a Party. *David*'s Men, on the other Hand, for the Glory of routing ſo many Thouſands of the Enemy upon ſuch a Diſproportion. In the Concluſion, *David*'s *Veterans* did bravely, and like themſelves; for they brake the Enemy's Order, and put them to a total Rout, getting the Chace of them, over Woods, Mountains and Craggs, which Way ſoever they fled: Some they kill'd; ſome they took; and more loſt in the Purſuit, than in the Battle. They reckon'd upon ſome twenty thouſand Men ſlain in that Day's Action. Now *Abſalom* was ſo ſingular, both for his Beauty, and his Stature, that he was every Body's Mark. So that for Fear of being taken alive, he ran away upon the fleeteſt Mule he could lay Hands of, as faſt as her Heels could carry him. But in her Courſe, upon the whiſling of the Air, a ſnagged Bough of a Tree took hold of his Hair; and the Mule

The Army engage, and the firſt Charge was very brave on both Sides.
Joab *in the End puts the Rebels to a total Rout.*
20000 *kill'd upon the Place.*

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[a] Εἰς παρεμβολάς. Joſ.

Abſalom *flies, and is found hanging upon a Bough, by the Hair of the Head.*

Joab *ſtrikes* Abſalom *dead with his* Javelin.

Joab *ſounds a Retreat, and gives over the Chace.*

A marble Pillar erected by Abſalom *to the Honour of his Name.*

Abſalom *leaves behind him three Sons and one Daughter.*

running forward from under him, left him dangling in the Air, and continu'd her Speed, as if ſhe had had her Rider ſtill upon her Back. One of *David*'s Soldiers ſaw this, and carry'd the Tidings off to *Joab*, who bad him go quickly, and diſpatch him, and he ſhould have fifty Shekels of Silver for his Pains. No, ſays the Soldier, I would not do ſuch a Thing to the Son of my Lord and Maſter for two thouſand: Eſpecially conſidering the Charge the King gave in your Hearing, not to touch the Life of the young Man. Why then, ſays *Joab*, where was it that you ſaw him? In ſhort, he found him out at laſt, and gave him his Death's-wound through the Heart with his Javelin. His Armour-bearers that were then preſent, took down the Body from the Tree, and caſt it into a dark deep Hole, piling a great Heap of Stones upon it, in the Form of a Sepulchre. This being done, *Joab* ſounded a Retreat to take his Men off from the Chace, and ſave the Effuſion of more Blood in a civil War. *Abſalom* had already erected a marble Column, with an Inſcription upon it, in a Place call'd the *King*'s *Vally*, ſome two Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*; which he called by the Name of *the Hand of* Abſalom, to perpetuate his Memory, as he ſaid, even if he ſhould leave no Children behind him. He had three Sons, and one Daughter, which was marry'd to *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*, by whom he had *Abia*, his next immediate Succeſſor; but of this we ſhall ſay more hereafter.

CHAP. X.

David's *Grief for* Abſalom: *And* Joab's *Plain-dealing with him.* Shimei *pardon'd. The Tribe of* Judah *goes out to receive* David; *and the Reſt fall off at the Inſtigation of* Sheba. David *ſends* Amaſa *after* Sheba. Joab *meets him, and treacherouſly kills him; and then follows* Sheba, *and brings his Head to* David *himſelf. The* Iſraelites *puniſhed with a Famine for* Saul's *Breach of Faith with the* Gibeonites; *and then puniſh'd again with a Peſtilence for* David's *numbering the People.*

Ahimaaz *preſſes to carry* David *the firſt News of the Victory.*

Joab *rather ſends* Chuſi.

Ahimaaz *tries* Joab *a ſecond Time to let him go, and* Joab *gives him leave.*

Ahimaaz *tells* David *only of the Victory.*

Cuſhi, *after him, tells* David *both of the Victory, and of the Death of* Abſalom.

A Day of Triumph turn'd into a Day of Mourning.

David's *paſſionate Tranſports for the Death of his Son.*

ABSALOM being now dead, his People ſlipt away by Stealth every Man to his own Home: *Ahimaaz*, the Son of *Zadock* the High-Prieſt making it his Suit to *Joab* that he might be the Man to carry *David* the firſt News of the Victory, as being the Work of God's Power and Providence. *Joab* gave him this Anſwer, that it would not look well, for him that had been always heretofore the Meſſenger of good News to the King, to be now the firſt Man to tell him of his Son's Death. So *Joab* call'd to *Chuſi*, and ſent him on the Errand, and that he ſhould tell the King what he himſelf had ſeen. *Ahimaaz* was at *Joab* a ſecond Time, to let him carry the Tidings; for, ſays he, the King's Thoughts will be ſo intent upon the Main, that he'll never trouble his Head about the Death of *Abſalom*. *Joab*, upon this Importunity gave him Leave, and he knowing the neareſt Way better than the other, got thither before him. *David* was at this Time ſitting at the Gate in a longing Expectation to know the Event of the Battle, when a Scout brought him Word, that he ſaw one come running that Way, but he was too far off to diſcern who it was. The King looked upon it as a good *Omen*, and the Scout immediately upon this, told the King that he diſcover'd another, which gave him ſtill more Hope than before. The Meſſenger being now come within Diſtance, was found to be *Ahimaaz* the Son of *Zadock*, the High-Prieſt, who came poſting away in a Chariot. *Well!* Says *David*; *This is the Man that moſt certainly brings me good Tidings.* The Words were hardly paſt his Lips, when *Ahimaaz* caſt himſelf at *David*'s Feet to do him Reverence; who asked him what News from the Army? *Great Succeſs*, he ſaid, and *Victory*. *David* ask'd him then, what was become of *Abſalom? Ahimaaz*, anſwer'd him, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſaw the Enemy routed, he came away immediately with the Intelligence; but that he heard a mighty Clamour and Shouting all the while, upon the Purſuit of *Abſalom*; and *Joab* ſent him away in ſuch Haſte, that his Orders were only to carry the News of the Victory, without any Mention of *Abſalom*. By this Time, *Cuſhi* was at the King's Feet, with the Tidings of a Victory; and the King putting the ſame Queſtion to him as to the other, *i. e. What was become of* Abſalom? May it be, ſays *Cuſhi*, with all the Enemies of my Lord the King as it is with *Abſalom*. Theſe Words turned a Day of Joy and Triumph into a Day of Mourning. It prov'd ſo to the King, for the Loſs of *Abſalom*; and to the People, [to ſee their Sovereign ſo tranſported, notwithſtanding ſuch a Victory and Deliverance, when his Life and Crown were at Stake, for the Death of a Rebel.] But ſo it was that he withdrew himſelf upon it, out of Sight and Hearing, to the Top of one of the higheſt Turrets about the City, beating his Breaſt and tearing his Hair, with Cries and Exclamations, *Ah my Son* Abſalom, *my Son* Abſalom, *Ah that I my ſelf could have but dy'd with thee*

thee, my Son! Now *David* was in his Nature ſoft and tender, and his Love for *Abſalom* was the weak Side of that Inclination. This put *Joab*, and the Army quite out of Countenance; for them to come into the Town triumphant, and the King to appear drown'd in Sorrow for the Succeſs: So that they look'd rather likes Fugitives than Conquerors, and Men that had loſt the Battle rather than won it. *David*, in ſhort, went on ſo far in this Way of an abandon'd Dejection, that *Joab* without any more ado, brake in upon him in the very Agony of his Paſſion, to reaſon, and expoſtulate the Matter with him.

2 Sam. 19.

Sir, ſays he, *Do you know what you do? Are you aware of the Diſhonour you bring upon your ſelf by this wilful and effeminate Way of impotent Lamentations? Why, it makes you look as if you had a Hatred for your Friends, that have ſav'd your Life at the Hazard of their own; nay, for your ſelf and your Family too: and at the ſame Time, as great a Kindneſs even for thoſe of your Enemies, which divine Juſtice hath taken away in your Favour, by the Stroke of a moſt righteous Vengeance. If* Abſalom *had carry'd the Day, and ſettled himſelf in his Uſurpation, who do you think, Sir, would have bemoaned, either your Fate, or ours, in ſuch a Caſe? For we ſhould moſt certainly have been cut to Pieces, every Creature of us. Nay you your ſelf, and your Children ſhould have led the Dance. No, no Sir, your Enemies would have rejoyc'd and glory'd in your Ruine, and it would have been Death for any Man to have but ſo much as pity'd us. Pray Sir, does not your Conſcience as well as your Honour check you for this intemperate Tenderneſs, for the Memory of ſo implacable an Enemy. He was your Son, 'tis true, but a moſt ungracious one; and you cannot be juſt to God's Providence, without acknowledging the Bleſſing of his being taken away. Pray ſhew your ſelf chearfully to your People, and tell them, that it is to their Loyalty, and Bravery next under God, that you are indebted for the Honour of this Day. For if you go on as you have begun, your Kingdom and your Army will moſt infallibly be put into other Hands; and you will then find ſomething elſe to cry for.*

Joab's *bold and generous Way of plain-dealing with* David.

This bold and blunt Liberty of *Joab* brought *David* in ſome Meaſure to himſelf again; and to take Care of his Government, and People. So that he ſhew'd himſelf at the Gate, in a more popular Way of Addreſs, and with more of Satisfaction in his Countenance. This Change of Humour wrought ſo effectually upon the Multitude, that they came flocking-in to him from all Parts to pay him their Reverence.

Joab's *blunt Liberty brings* David *to himſelf again.*

While Matters were in this Diſpoſition, *Abſalom*'s Men that fled from the late Battle, and were got Home again, ſent Meſſengers up and down, from Place to Place, to mind their Friends of the infinite Obligations they had to *David* upon all Accounts, and particularly for the Toils, and Hazards he had undergone in his own Perſon, for the Vindication of their Liberty; how ungratefully they had behav'd themſelves in their Revolt, *&c.* and what had they more to do now, than to lay themſelves at his Feet; beg his Pardon, and beſeech him once again to receive them into his Care and Protection, as formerly: Eſpecially the Perſon being now gone, whom they had moſt injuriouſly ſet-up in his Stead. The King had Addreſſes of this Kind ſent him in Abundance, which he ſtill communicated by Letters to the High-Prieſts, *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, with certain Hints, how they were to menage the Heads of the Tribe of *Judah* toward his Reſtauration. And they inſinuated accordingly, how great a Shame it would be for them to ſtand looking-on, and let others go before them, in doing a common Right to a Prince ſo generous, and of their own Tribe and Extraction. This Way of proceeding created an Emulation among them, who ſhould be foremoſt. They were likewiſe to expoſtulate the Matter with *Amaſa*, the Enemy's General, how it came to paſs that he himſelf, the Nephew of *David* by his own Siſter, ſhould not diſpoſe the Army to a Senſe of their Duty, and the reſtoring of the Government to the right Owner. They told *Amaſa*, that for what was paſt, he might be ſure of his Pardon; and they doubted not but he might have the ſame Command under *David* that he had under *Abſalom*.

Abſalom's *People make publick Acknowledgments and Addreſſes to* David.

Zadock *and* Abiathar *menage all to* David's *Advantage.*

They expoſtulate the Matter with Amaſa *the General.*

The High-Prieſts dealt after this Manner with the Principals of the Tribe, and upon the aforeſaid Aſſurance brought *Amaſa* over to *David*. The Tribe of *Judah* were the firſt (and they did it eaſily too) that ſent their Commiſſioners to invite the King back to the Exerciſe of his Government: And betwixt the Influence of this Example and the Credit of *Amaſa*, they were all to attend, and receive the King at *Jeruſalem*. The Tribe of *Judah* were remarkably the forwardeſt of the whole Body, and the moſt officious in their Reſpects; for they went to the very Bank of the River *Jordan* to meet him. There was *Shimei* the Son of *Gera*, for one, at the Head of a thouſand *Benjamites*; and there was *Ziba* alſo, *Saul*'s Freeman, with his fifteen Children, and twenty Servants; who, together with the Tribe of *Judah*, laid a Bridge over the River, for the more commodious Paſſage of *David* and his Troops.

Amaſa *comes over to the Intereſt of* David.

The Tribe of Judah *leads the Way.*

Upon his coming to the River, the Tribe of *Judah* were the firſt that ſaluted him; and *Shimei* then advancing to the Bridge, threw himſelf at *David*'s Feet, beg-

Shimei *begs* David's *Pardon,*

ging his Pardon for the Indignities he had put upon him: Beſeeching him to paſs it all over, and that it might never riſe in Judgment againſt him when he ſhould come into his Kingdom: Deſiring moreover, that his early Repentance, and Return to his Allegiance might attone for his paſt Faults. Well! ſays *Abiſhai*, *Joab's Brother*, (who was then within Diſtance of hearing and ſeeing all that paſs'd) and *do you think to come off ſo eaſily, that could have the Face to blaſpheme the King that God hath ſet over you, at ſo unpardonable a Rate? Be quiet, you Sons of* Zerviah; *pray be quiet*, ſays *David*, *without blowing the Coal, and ſtirring up New Broils. For I would have you look upon this as the firſt Day of my Reign, and to take Notice of what I do now declare upon my Oath: I do freely forgive all the World, and I do promiſe that no Creature ſhall ſuffer for any Thing done againſt me, or againſt any Body elſe for my Sake, of what Kind or Quality ſoever: So that you may ſet your Heart at Reſt*, Shimei, *your Life is in no Danger*. Upon which Aſſurance, he made his Reverence, and went his Way.

Shimei *pardon'd.*

Mephiboſheth Saul's *Nephew.*

Mephiboſheth *traduced to the King by* Ziba.

The Loyalty and Gratitude of Mephiboſheth.

After him came *Mephiboſheth*, *Saul's* Nephew, in as forlorn, and uncouth an Appearance, as one could well imagine; for upon the Kings being forced away from his Palace, this good Man; reckoning the King's Calamity as his own, bound himſelf by a Vow, upon *David's* being driven away, never to cut his Hair, or change his Clothes till it might pleaſe God to reſtore him. *Ziba* took this Opportunity of traducing his Maſter to the King; for upon *David's* asking him how he came to leave him when he was under Perſecution; he laid the Fault upon *Ziba*, for not obeying his Orders; but on the contrary, treating him like a Slave, notwithſtanding the expreſs Charge he had given him to have all Neceſſaries in Readineſs for his Journey. *But Sir*, ſays he, *if I had the Uſe of my Legs, as other People have, this ſhould not have hinder'd me neither. Nay Sir*, ſays he, *and which is more, he has not only diſappointed me in the Exerciſe of my Duty; but I percieve he has done me ſpiteful Offices to your ſelf alſo: But Sir, you are ſo juſt, and ſo great a Lover of God and of Truth, that I am ſure your Generoſity and your Wiſdom will never entertain a Calumny to my Prejudice. Our Family have had the Experience of your Piety, Modeſty and Goodneſs, to a Degree never to be forgotten, in paſſing over, and pardoning the innumerable Hazards and Perſecutions that you were expoſed unto in the Days, and by the Contrivance of my Grandfather; when all our Lives were forfeited, and in your Power, and at Mercy: But then after all this gracious Tenderneſs, your ſuperadding the Honour of taking me to your Table as a Friend, and as a Gueſt, and a Perſon likewiſe ſo obnoxious, in Regard of my Relations, nothing could be either greater, or more obliging. David* heard all this without either animadverting upon *Mephiboſheth*, or putting *Ziba's* Credit to the Teſt: But he told him, that having given the whole Eſtate to *Ziba*, he would order him the one Half of it back again: Nay Sir, ſays *Mephiboſheth*, ſo long as I have the Satisfaction of ſeeing my Lord the King upon his Throne again, even let *Ziba* take the whole and welcome.

Barzillai *always faithful to the King.*

David's *kind Invitation to him.*

Barzillai *excuſes himſelf from a Court-Life.*

The King takes Barzillai's *Son* Chimham *along with him.*

King *David* in the Time of the War, had been much beholden for ſeveral good Offices to *Barzillai*, the *Gileadite*; a great Man to all good and honourable Purpoſes: And this *Barzillai* would needs bring the King onward of his Way to the River *Jordan*. The King preſs'd him with great Earneſtneſs to go thorough with him to *Jeruſalem*, promiſing that he would be as good as a Father to him, and that he ſhould want nothing that might be a Relief, and a Refreſhment to his old Age. *But he excus'd himſelf, that he ſhould be more at Eaſe in a private Way of Life, than in the Splendour, and Luxury of a Palace. He was now eighty Years of Age*, he ſaid, *and paſt the Reliſh of Court-Pleaſures; having no other Buſineſs in the World than to prepare for Death, and to give Orders for his Funeral. Wherefore he beg'd his Majeſty's Leave to retire Home again, where he might more conveniently govern himſelf after his own Faſhion. His Taſt was now gone, as to the Satisfaction of delicious Meat and Drink; and ſo for the Delights of ſinging, dancing, Revels, harmonions Conſorts of Inſtruments, or Voices, and the like. His hearing was deaded, and loſt* (he ſaid,) *and he had no longer any Senſe of theſe Entertainments.* The King, in Fine, was prevail'd upon at Length, to part with him; but upon Condition, *ſays he*, that your Son [a] *Chimham* ſhall go along with me, and take his Part in the beſt Offices I can do him. *Barzillai*, with all dutiful Acknowledgments, left his Son with the King; and taking his Leave, with the moſt paſſionate Wiſhes of a long and proſperous Reign to him, he went back to his own Home.

David *had Half the Nation with him at* Gilgal, *and the whole Tribe of* Judah. *The Tribe of* Judah *charg'd with going to the King before their Brethren. The Heads of the Tribe excuſe themſelves.*

When *David* came to *Gilgal*, he had one Half of the whole Nation with him, and the Tribe of *Judah* entire. There came to him ſeveral of the prime Men of the Country with a vaſt Multitude of People at their Heels, and charg'd the Tribe of *Judah* with taking too much upon them in going to the King, without conſulting their Brethren; whereas they ought unanimouſly to have gone together. The Heads of the Tribe of *Judah* deſired the reſt not to take any Thing amiſs in their going before; for they look'd upon it as a Duty incumbent on them for Kindred-ſake; which made them the more earneſt, and officious, upon that Conſideration. They did not propoſe any Advantage to themſelves (they ſaid) by being ſo forward; neither had they given any Cauſe of Offence by their Earlineſs, to thoſe that came after them. The Heads of the other Tribes were not at all pleas'd with this Way of reaſoning. *Pray how come you,* they cry'd, *to engroſs the King to your ſelves, as if he were not our King as well as yours? For he is by God's Providence indifferently the Governour of us all: So that if we are eleven Parts of the whole, and you but one, and conſequently valuable in* **Compariſon** *according to that Proportion, you have certainly done very ill in ſtealing away to the King by your ſelves, without acquainting us.* While the great Men were at hard Words upon this Controverſy, up ſtood *Sheba* the Son of *Bichri*, a *Benjamite*, (a Man of a factious and turbulent Spirit) and call'd out with a loud Voice in the Middle of the Crowd; *What do they talk to us for, of a Part in* David; *or what have we to do with the Son of* Jeſſe? So he cauſed the Trumpet to be ſounded, with a Kind of a Proclamation *for the People to depart to their Tents, and thereupon a War was denounced againſt* David. The Multitude fell off into the Party and Intereſt of *Sheba*, ſaving only the Tribe of *Judah*, who ſtood by the King, and conducted him to *Jeruſalem*. The firſt Thing he did there, was to clear his Palace of his Concubines, which his Son *Abſalom* had proſtituted in the Sight of the People; but he had them provided for elſewhere, with all Fairneſs of Reſpect, as before; though he himſelf had never more to do with them. He made *Amaſa* his General, in the Place of *Joab*, giving him Orders to draw what Troops he could get together out of the Tribe of *Judah*, and bring them to him in three Days, that he might be ready to march out with them againſt the Son of *Bichri*. *Amaſa* went about his Buſineſs; but finding more Work to do than he expected, and out-ſtaying his Time, *David*, upon the third Day diſcours'd the Matter to *Joab*. *This Buſineſs of* Sheba, ſays he, *is a Thing not to be trifled with; wherefore do you immediately take what Forces you have at Hand, with the ſix hundred Veterans, and ſo without any Delay, take your Brother* Abiſhai *along with you, and march directly away after the Son of* Bichri: *Fight him whereſoever you find him, before he draws his Party into a Body; for if we let him alone, he will gather like a Snow-Ball; ſtrengthen himſelf, and when he has gotten into ſome ſtrong Hold, or fortify'd Town, he will give us more Trouble perhaps than* Abſalom *did, before we get him out again.* *Joab*, in the ſame Inſtant, poſted forward with his Brother, and the Troops that were aſſigned him to ſearch for *Sheba*. At his coming to *Gibeon*, a Village ſome forty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, he met *Amaſa* upon his March in the Head of a gallant Army. *Amaſa* advancing toward him to embrace him, *Joab*, with a Breaſt-Plate upon his Body, and his Sword girt to him, dropt his Sword out of the Scabbard, going to meet him, and preſently catcht it up again, with one Hand, while he took *Amaſa* by the Beard with the other, as if it had been to have kiſs'd him; but ſtabb'd him into the Guts, and he dy'd upon the Place. Now what was the Provocation all this while to ſo impious and execrable an Outrage upon ſo good a Youth; nay, and his Kinſman too; but a diabolical Envy of his Preferment, and a Jealouſy of his being too great in the King's Favour. It was much upon the ſame Ground that he had already murder'd *Abner*; and much after the ſame treacherous Manner, that he did it too. 'Tis true, that in the former Caſe, he might appear to have ſome ſpecious Colour for it in the Revenge of his Brother *Hazael*: But for this ſecond Aſſaſſinate he had not a Word to ſay.

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[a] Αχίμανος, *Joſ.*

The other Tribes *take Exceptions, and expoſtulate the Matter.*

Sheba, *a Man of a violent Spirit.*
2 Sam. 20.

A Trumpet ſounded to a Rebellion.

A War denounced againſt David.

Only the Tribe of Judah *to conduct him to* Jeruſalem.

David *clears the Court of his* Concubines.

Amaſa *General in the Place of* Joab.

Orders to march againſt Sheba.

Amaſa *ſlips the Time, and* David *orders* Joab *about it.*

Joab *advances with his Brother* Abiſhai *to find out* Sheba.

Joab *meets* Amaſa *at* Gibeon, *in the Head of a brave Army: And* Amaſa *embraces him.*

Joab *under pretence of kiſſing* Amaſa *ſtabs him;*

as he had murder'd Abner *before.*

Upon the Death of *Amaſa*, *Joab* proſecuted his March to look out *Sheba*; leaving only one Man with the General's Body, with Order to make Proclamation thorough the Army, that he was an ill Man, and but ſerv'd according to his Deſert, deſiring all thoſe that were for the King to follow *Joab*, and his Brother *Abiſhai*. While the Body lay expoſed in the Way, there were Multitudes gather'd together, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, ſtaring at it: So that he that had it in Charge, got it out of the Way to a Village, where he hous'd it, with a Coat thrown over it; and ſo ſoon as the Wonderment was removed, the Soldiers march'd forward after their Commanders. *Joab* had by this Time almoſt quite run thorough the Land of *Iſrael*; and getting Intelligence at laſt, that *Sheba* had ſhelter'd himſelf in a ſtrong Town call'd *Abel-Maacha*, *Joab* order'd the Place to be preſently beſieg'd, and a *Trench* caſt up about it; and at the ſame Time to have it ply'd with Mines and Batteries; being reſolved to deſtroy it, even for the Affront of ſhutting their Gates againſt him.

Joab *advances to find out* Sheba: *proclaims* Amaſa *an ill Man; inviting all that lov'd the King to follow* Joab *and* Abiſhai.

Amaſa's *Body remov'd out of the Way.*

Sheba *is gotten into* Abel-Maacha, *and* Joab *orders it to be beſieg'd.*

While theſe Preparations were a-foot for the gaining of the Town, a good and a prudent Woman, out of a Zeal for the Service of her Country in that Extremity, mounted the Wall, and call'd out to *Joab* from the Battlements, to ſpeak a Word with him out of the hearing of the Soldiers. *Joab* did as ſhe deſired, and the Diſcourſe ſhe made him was to this Purpoſe. *Whereas God,* ſays ſhe, *has given us Kings and Governours to protect us againſt our Enemies, and to maintain and preſerve us in Peace and Unity one with another, here are you come, without any Injury, or Provocation, to ruin*

A Woman calls out to Joab *from the Wall:*

and charges him with Injuſtice in that Undertaking.

Joab *promiſes to quit the Siege upon the Delivery of* Sheba.

Sheba's *Head cut off, and thrown over the Wall. The Siege rais'd.* Joab *declar'd* General.

one of the moſt eminent Cities in the whole Land of Iſrael. God help thy Head poor Woman, ſays *Joab*; ſo far am I from the leaſt Thought of any unneceſſary Violence to this famous City, or of Harm to any one Creature in it, that your People have no more to do than to deliver up *Sheba*, that rebellious Son of *Bichri*, to Juſtice, and in the ſame Moment to be quit of my Army. Upon this Promiſe and Declaration, the Woman call'd out to *Joab*, only *to have a little Patience, and* Sheba's *Head ſhould be thrown down to him over the Wall.* She went back, upon this, to the Citizens, to reaſon the Matter with them. *Are you then reſolved*, ſays ſhe, *like a Company of wicked Men, and for the Sake of a wicked Wretch, and a mere Stranger to you, to ſacrifice your Habitations, your Wives, and your Children, and all in ſo wicked a Manner too? What has* Sheba *done for you, to balance the Obligations you have to* David? *Or ſetting aſide all other Arguments, are you able, do you think, to defend your City againſt this Army?* The Reaſon of the Thing was ſo plain and evident, that they cut off *Sheba*'s Head by Conſent, for a Compoſition, and caſt it over the Wall: Whereupon the Siege was forthwith rais'd; and the People returning to *Jeruſalem*, *David* declared *Joab* General of all his Troops. *Benaiah* had the Command given him of all the *Guards of the Body*, and the ſix hundred *Veterans*. *Adoram* was the Treaſurer. *Sabathes* and *Achilaus* were the Recorders; *Suſa* the Secretary; *Zadock* and *Abiathar* continuing in the Prieſthood.

A Famine in the Land, and God conſulted about it. 2 Sam 21. *Anſwer returned that the Blood of the* Gibeonites *cry'd for Vengeance.*

David *treats with the* Gibeonites *about Reparation. They demand ſeven of* Saul's *Sons.* David *orders ſeven of them to be deliver'd up; excepting* Mephiboſheth. *The* Gibeonites *accept it; the Famine ceaſes.*

Some Time after this, there was a Famine in the Land, and *David* earneſtly beſought God to reveal unto him in Mercy, both the provoking Cauſe of that grievous Judgment, and how it might be remov'd. Anſwer was returned by the Prophets, that the Blood of the *Gibeonites*, which *Saul* had moſt perfidiouſly cauſed to be ſhed, cry'd to Heaven for Vengeance; as an Action not only contrary to the Oath and Promiſe of *Joſhua*, and ratify'd alſo by the *Elders*; but againſt Conſcience and common Juſtice: Wherefore, ſaid they, let the King give ſuch Satisfaction to the *Gibeonites* as they ſhall require for the Loſs of their ſlaughter'd Citizens, and the *Iſraelites* may expect that God will be gracious to them, in a Deliverance from their preſent Calamity. When *David* came to underſtand this from the Prophets themſelves, he ſent to the *Gibeonites*, and ask'd them what Satisfaction would content them. So they demanded that ſeven of *Saul's Sons*, or of his *Race*, might be deliver'd up to Juſtice. The King order'd to have ſeven of them found out, and put into the Hands of the *Gibeonites*, to do with them as they pleaſed: But ſtill excepting *Mephiboſheth* out of the Number, for the Sake of *Jonathan* his Father. The *Gibeonites* accepted of this as a Compoſition, and puniſh'd them as they thought fit themſelves: In which Inſtant God ſent them Rain, and ſo kindly a Continuance of it, that the Earth in due Time came to it ſelf again, freſh and flouriſhing, as formerly, and bringing forth Fruits in their Seaſon.

David *overthrows the* Philiſtines. Achmon *ſtrikes* David *to the Ground.*

Abiſhai *reſcues him, and kills his Enemy.*

It was not long after this that *David* marched out with his Army againſt the *Philiſtines*; fought, and routed them; but following the Chace too eagerly, and too far, *Achmon* the Son of *Araph*, one of the Race of the *Giants*, (whoſe Arming was a Coat of Mail, a Launce weighing three hundred Shekels, and his Sword by his Side) ſeeing *David* alone, and quite ſpent, turned ſhort upon him, and ſtruck him down, and had certainly ſlain him, if *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s Brother, had not in that preciſe Moment come to his Relief; beſtriding *David*, and not only protecting the King, but killing his Enemy. The whole Army was ſo ſenſible of the Danger the King's Life was in, and of the Providence of his Deliverance, that the Commanders bound him by an Oath never to hazard his royal Perſon any more in a Battle; for being naturally brave and forward, he laid himſelf too open to the common Chances of War; and if he ſhould miſcarry, it would be an irreparable Loſs to the Nation, to be depriv'd of the Bleſſings they enjoy'd under his Adminiſtration.

The Philiſtines *rally and draw together again to* Gaza. *It came to a ſecond Battle, and* Sobach *got great Reputation in't. The* Philiſtines *raiſe another Army; fight, and are worſted.* Nephan *the King's Kinſman did Wonders that Day. The* Philiſtines *recruit once again.*

This Battle had not been long over, before the *Philiſtines*, rally'd again, and came to a *Rendezvous* at *Gaza*. *David* having Notice of it, diſpatch'd away an Army immediately againſt them. In this Expedition *Sobach* the *Hittite* (one of the braveſt Men in the whole Body) got himſelf great Reputation by cutting off ſeveral of the Race of the *Giants*, and Men of a prodigious Bulk and Strength too, with his own Hand. He had in ſhort the Honour of a great Share in that Day's Succeſs. The *Philiſtines*, after this, brought yet another Army into the Field, and the King ſent out his Troops to encounter them. *Nephan*, *David*'s Kinſman did Wonders, for he ſlew Hand to Hand, in a ſingle Combat, one of the boldeſt Men the *Philiſtines* had in their Party: The Reſt turned their Backs upon it, and loſt great Numbers in that Action. But the *Philiſtines* in a ſhort Time recruited yet once again, after all their Loſs, and encamped at a certain Town not far from the Borders of the *Hebrews*. The *Philiſtines* had in their Camp a Man ſix Cubits high; ſix Fingers on a Hand, and ſix Toes on each Foot, and one that valu'd himſelf upon his Deſcent from the Stock of the *Giants*.

Jonathan *the Son of* Shimei *kills a Giant Hand to Hand.*

The Philiſtines *beaten quite out of Heart.*

Jonathan the Son of *Shimei* had the Honour to kill this over-grown Monſter in a ſingle Combat, and at the Head of his Troops, which was a great Stroke in the Victory of the Day; beſide the glorious Character he acquir'd by it, of a valiant Man. This was the laſt Battle the *Iſraelites* had with the *Philiſtines*; for from that Time forward, they never had the Heart to look them any more in the Face.

2 Sam. 22.
David *being now at Peace, gives himſelf up to the Compoſing of* divine Hymns *and* Pſalms, *for God's holy Worſhip.*

David having now made his Way thorough all the Toyls and Dangers of War, into the Quiet of a profound Peace, gave himſelf wholly up to the compoſing of divine Hymns, and Pſalms, to the Glory of God; in Variety of Meaſures; as, *Trimeters*, *Pentameters*, and the like. Theſe Ayres he order'd to be ſung by the *Levites* upon the *Sabbaths*, and *other* Feſtivals, in Company with muſical Inſtruments provided for that Purpoſe: As they had an Inſtrument with ten Strings, to be touch'd with a Quill; the *Pſaltery* with twelve Strings, to be play'd upon with the Fingers; and large Cymbals of Braſs. But this is enough ſaid as to the general Underſtanding of the Nature of theſe Inſtruments. The King had about him, Men of Honour and Valour in Abundance; but for *Worthies of the firſt Rate*, he reckon'd only eight and thirty who had made themſelves ſignal for their Exploits; and Men of ſuch Force and Reſolution, as if they had been made for great Enterprizes, and the carrying of the World before them. Of theſe eight and thirty, I ſhall only name five, as a Meaſure to judge of the reſt by.

2 Sam. 23.
King David *had about him thirty eight* Worthies.

Five of them were as follows.

1. Iſſem.

The firſt was [a] *Iſſem*, the Son of [b] *Achem*, that brake ſeveral Times into the Body of the Enemy, and kill'd nine hundred of them upon one Encounter, with his own Hand.

2. Eleazar.

After him comes *Eleazar*, the [c] Son of *Dodo*, that was with the King in [d] *Araſam*. It was his Fortune to be in a Battle, where the *Iſraelites* finding themſelves mightily over-power'd with Numbers, gave Way and fled, leaving him alone in his own Perſon to make good his Ground; which he did ſo effectually, that he gave a Stand to the whole Army, killing and wounding great Numbers of them; ſo that his Sword was in a manner glew'd to his right-Hand with the Blood. The Example of this Bravery put Courage into the Fugitives, and brought them on again; preſſing ſo hard upon the Adverſaries Troops, that they recover'd the Day, and crown'd it with a wonderful, and a moſt illuſtrious Victory: *Eleazar* running them down all this while, and the common Soldiers ſtripping them.

3. Sebas.

The *third* was [e] *Sebas*, the Son of *Ilus*, who had the Place called the *Jaw*, upon another Engagement with the *Philiſtines*, finding the *Iſraelites* ſhrinking and giving Way, oppoſed his ſingle Body to the whole Force of the Enemy; did great Execution upon them; brake their Order; put them to Flight, and gave them Chace with a great Overthrow. In theſe three Inſtances we read the Bravery of theſe three heroical Adventurers, in the plain Field, and in the Face of an Enemy.

At another Time, when the King was at *Jeruſalem*, and the *Philiſtines* encamped before it, in the great Valley that ſtretches out as far as *Bethlem* a Matter of twenty Furlongs from the Town; *David* went up to a high Tower to ask Counſel and Direction of God, about the Government and Event of the War: And ſpeaking among his Friends of the delicious Water that was in his Country, and eſpecially of the Well at *Bethlem* that was next the Gate, *what would I give*, ſays he, *for a Soup of that Water!* Theſe three Men over-hearing him, went their Way immediately, brake through the Camp of the *Philiſtines*, and fetch'd of the Water from the *Well* itſelf, and came back with it the ſame Way they went: The *Barbarians* ſtanding at Gaze all the while, at the Hardineſs of the Undertaking; and not daring, though ſo few of them, to give them any Interruption in their Return. Upon their preſenting of this Water to the King, he gave God Thanks for the Safety of them that brought it; but it would not become him, he ſaid, to drink it, for it was the Price of Blood: And ſo he poured it upon the Ground as an Offering to the Lord.

4. Abiſhai.

In the *fourth* Place may be reckon'd *Abiſhai*, the Brother of *Joab*, that in one Day ſlew five hundred of the Enemy.

5. Benaiah.

The *fifth* and the laſt of theſe worthy Champions, ſhall be *Benaiah*, a Man of a ſacerdotal Family; who fought, upon a Challenge, with two Brothers, Men of eminent Fame for Feats of Arms among the *Moabites*, and kill'd them both. He fought again with an *Ægyptian*, of a monſtrous Force and Size; and cloſing with him, though himſelf naked, and his Adverſary arm'd at all Points; he forced his Spear out of his Hands, and diſpatch'd him with his own Weapon. And for his greater Honour ſtill, he diſarm'd him while he was yet living. He did another Thing too, that for the Stoutneſs and the Stomach of it, may be accounted equal, if not ſuperiour to all the Reſt. There was a *Lyon* dropt into a *Pitfall:* The Snow drove into the Hole, and cover'd the Mouth of it: So that the Beaſt finding no Way to get out again, ſet up a roaring,

[a] Joſ. Ἰασαιμος. [b] Joſ. Ἀχίμαιος. [c] Joſ. Υἱὸς Δωδείου. [d] Joſ. Ἀρασαμος. [e] *Al.* Semas *the Son of* Igus. *See Bochart's* Hierozoicon, *l.* 2, *c.* 15. *part.* 1.

roaring. It was *Benaiah*'s Hap to paſs by that Way, within hearing of this Out-cry. He went to the Place, and ſo into the Pit, and with a Cudgel ſtagger'd and kill'd the Lyon. Theſe were five great Men; and the other three and thirty not inferiour to them.

2 Sam. 24.

David *commands* Joab *poſitively to number the People.*

David *computes them to be* 900000 *Men, beſide the Tribes of* Benjamin *and* Levi.

David had now a Fancy come into his Head of taking an Account how many thouſand Men he could muſter out of the People of *Iſrael*, forgetting the old Precept of *Moſes*, that ſo oft as there ſhould be Occaſion to number the People, there ſhould be an Oblation of Half a Shekel by the Head to the Lord: but he ſent to *Joab* however to take the Account. He excus'd himſelf upon it, as a Thing that was needleſs; but *David* would not be ſaid *Nay*, and therefore poſitively commanded him to go about it, and let it be the firſt Thing he did. *Joab* upon this, ſummoned the Scribes', and the Heads of the Tribes to adviſe with all, and ſo went through the whole Land of the *Iſraelites* to make up this Computation. After nine Months and twenty Days, *Joab* returned to *Jeruſalem*, and told the King upon the whole Matter, that beſide the Tribes of *Benjamin* and of *Levi*, which he had nót as yet taken an Account of, he found the Number of the Reſt of the *Iſraelites* to amount to nine hundred thouſand Men that were able to draw the Sword. In the Tribe of *Judah* alone he reckon'd upon four hundred thouſand.

He repents of what he hath done, and begs God's Pardon: Which he obtains, and has the Choice of three Things offer'd him. ſeven Years Famine; three Months Flight before an Enemy; *or* three Days Peſtilence.

David *deliberates, and chuſes the* Peſtilence.

The Iſraelites *ſeiz'd with a* Plague.

70000 *Perſons ſwept away betwixt Break of Day, and Dinner-Time.*

The King betakes himſelf to Sackcloth, Prayers, and Supplications.

An Angel, with a drawn Sword, moving toward Jeruſalem.

David, while this was in Hand, repented himſelf of what he had done, and was told by the Prophets alſo, that God was highly offended at him; whereupon he betook himſelf to a true Repentance, begging Pardon of Almighty God, with Prayers and Supplications, and obtained it. Preſently after this, God ſent the Prophet *Gad* to him with an Offer of three Things to his Choice. That is to ſay; either a *Seven-Years Famine:* Or *to fly three Months before an Enemy*, or a *three Days Peſtilence*; and to demand a preſent Reſolution from him, which of the *three* he would take. *David* found himſelf in a great Streight, which to chuſe: If the *Famine*, ſays he to himſelf, it would look as if I had more Care of my *Self*, than of my *People*; for probably I can never want *Bread*. If to lie at the Mercy of an *Enemy*, it looks the ſame Way ſtill; for I have ſtrong Holds and Caſtles to repair to for my own Safety. But for the *third*, it is a Calamity that threatens Governours in common with their Subjects. As he was turning his Thoughts upon this Deliberation, the Prophet preſs'd him to an immediate Anſwer; to which he made this Return, that *he would rather fall into the Hands of God, than of Man; and therefore ſubmitting himſelf to God's Pleaſure and Goodneſs, he choſe the* Peſtilence. The *Prophet* had no ſooner received, and reported *David*'s Anſwer, but the *Iſraelites* were preſently ſeized with a moſt unaccountable Diſtemper, that was ſtill attended with certain Death, and accompany'd with Accidents that baffled all the Doctors, either to find a Remedy or a Reaſon. But they dy'd, in Fine, one upon the Neck of another, and no Body knew how. Some went-off with Gripes and Torments that diſpatch'd them in a Trice; ſome with incurable Faintneſſes and Languors, in Deſpite of the Phyſicians. Others with *Vertigo's*; *Dimneſs of Sight*, *Suffocations*, &c. Some again expir'd, themſelves, in the very Office of Mourning for the Death of others. The Mortality was ſo great, in Fine, that betwixt Break of Day, and Dinner-Time, there were ſwept away by this Peſtilence ſeventy thouſand Perſons. The deſtroying-Angel was now going to *Jeruſalem* upon the ſame Commiſſion; but the King putting on Sackloth, and humbly ſupplicating God with Prayers and Tears, to remove this dreadful Judgment; in the Middle of his Ejaculations, he liſted-up his Eyes, and diſcover'd an Angel, with a drawn Sword, moving toward *Jeruſalem*. Upon this Apparition, he brake-out into freſh and more paſſionate Exclamations. *Lord*, ſays he, *puniſh the Shepherd; but Alaſs! what have theſe Sheep done? Pour down thy Wrath rather upon me, and my Family; but ſpare the innocent People I beſeech thee.*

God puts a Stop to the Peſtilence.

An Altar erected at the thraſhing Floor of Araunah.

Araunah, *a try'd Friend of* David's.

David's Prayers were heard, and God immediately put a Stop to the Peſtilence; ordering the King, by the Mouth of the Prophet *Gad*, to go-up without Delay to the *thraſhing Floor* of *Araunah*, and there to erect an Altar, and offer Sacrifice upon it. *David* went away to the Place according to his Direction, where he found *Araunah* thraſhing his Corn; who no ſooner ſaw *David*, and his Sons, coming towards him, but he ran-out with infinite Reverence to receive them. Now this *Araunah* was a *Jebuſite*, and ſo particular a Friend of *David*'s, that he protected, and ſecured him from all Damage upon the very taking of the City, as has been formerly obſerv'd.

Well, ſays Araunah, *is there any Thing now that my Lord will be pleas'd to command of his Servant?* I come ſays *David*, to buy your thraſhing Floor, and to raiſe an Altar to God upon it, and to offer *Sacrifice*. *Nay*, ſays Araunah, *not only my thraſhing-Floor, but my Ploughs, my Oxen, and Burnt-Offerings, are all at my Lord's Service* Gratis: *And I beſeech that God to look graciouſly down upon your Worſhip and Sacrifice.* The

King was exceedingly pleas'd with the Candour and Greatneſs of this good Man's Mind; but told him, that it muſt be a Purchaſe, not a Gift; for it would not be fair to offer a Sacrifice that ſhould coſt him nothing. So *Araunah* remitted himſelf to *David*, who gave him fifty Shekels of Silver for the Floor; offer'd Sacrifices and Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings likewiſe upon it. After this Solemnity, *David* was reinſtated in God's Grace and Favour. This was the Place that *Abraham* brought his Son *Iſaac* to, when he ſhould have been offer'd up himſelf for a Sacrifice, if a *Ram* had not been preſented in his Stead, when the Knife was ready for the Execution. But we have ſpoken of this in another Place.

David *buys* Araunah's Threſhing-Floor, *and ſacrifices upon it.*

When *David* found that his Prayers were granted, and his Sacrifice accepted, he reſolved to call the whole Place by the Name of *the People's Altar*, or *the Iſraelites Altar*, and to build a *Temple* there; which Purpoſe of his was afterward ratify'd by God himſelf, who ſoon after ſent his Prophet to him with a Prediction, that his Succeſſor ſhould there build a Temple. *David* employ'd People upon this, to take an Account how many Strangers he had in his Dominions, which were reckon'd to amount to about one hundred and eighty thouſand Perſons. Out of theſe he choſe eighty thouſand to work in Stone: The Reſt to be employ'd in carrying all Sorts of Materials; out of which he appointed thirty five thouſand to overſee the Workmen. There was gotten together a mighty Maſs of *Iron* and *Braſs*; a prodigious Quantity of *Cedar*, which he had from *Tyre* and *Sidon*; the largeſt and the faireſt Trees that were to be got. *David* would be telling his familiar Friends all this while, that theſe Materials were only to lie ready for Uſe, when his Son ſhould have Occaſion for them; which would ſave Time, and Trouble, and expedite the Work: But that as yet, his Son was too young and unexperienc'd to manage ſuch a Province.

David *calls the Place the* People's, *or the* Iſraelites Altar, *and reſolves to build a Temple there.*

David *provides Artificers, Labourers, and Materials toward this magnificent Structure.*

CHAP. XI.

David *gives* Solomon *Orders and Inſtructions for the building of a Temple.* Adonijah *ſets up for* King; *but lets fall his Pretence upon the People's oppoſing him.* David's *Speech, and Charge to the Heads of the Nation, with Advice to his Son about the civil Government.*

THIS was the Face of Things when *David* called his Son *Solomon* to him, and gave him in ſpecial Charge, that ſo ſoon as ever he came to the Throne, he ſhould immediately enter upon the Building of a *Temple*, for the Honour and Worſhip of God. *I would have done it my ſelf*, ſays he, *but being frequently in War, and conſequently a Man of Blood, I was forbidden by an expreſs Command from Heaven, and the Work reſerved by Providence for my youngeſt Son*; who, according to the Prediction, was to be call'd *Solomon*, who ſhould be a Prince of Peace; of whom it was foretold, that God would take him with a paternal Affection into his own Care, and that the whole People of *Iſrael* ſhould be happy under his Adminiſtration; and enjoy, not only a Peace (the greateſt of all temporal Bleſſings) with Foreigners, but live free from any civil or inteſtine Diviſions among themſelves. *Now*, ſays *David*, *ſince you are deſign'd to be a King, even before you were born, do your Endeavour to behave your ſelf, as a Man otherwiſe worthy of that Providence. Govern your ſelf according to the Meaſures of Piety, Juſtice, and true Fortitude: Pay a Reverence to the Precepts, Laws and Traditions of* Moſes: *Obſerve them religiouſly your ſelf, and do not ſuffer any Violation of them in others. As for the Temple that God hath appointed to be built in your Reign, be ſure to attend it as you ought to do, and let not the Difficulty of the Work diſcourage you; for it ſhall be my Care to have all the Materials in Readineſs for you to begin withal, upon your firſt Entrance into the Government. I have made a Proviſion of ten thouſand Talents of Gold; one hundred thouſand of Silver; Braſs and Iron to a Quantity not to be imagin'd, beſide Timber and Stone in a vaſt Abundance. You ſhall have alſo many Thouſands of Carpenters and Maſons, and the Means of ſupplying your ſelf with what you want. Attend your Buſineſs with Care and Diſpatch; for upon the finiſhing of this Undertaking, you may aſſure your ſelf of the perpetual Favour and Protection of Almighty God.*

David *charges* Solomon *to build the* Temple *ſo ſoon as ever he comes to the Crown.*

David *gives excellent Advice to* Solomon;

And promiſes to provide the Materials *for the* Temple *in his Reign.*

After this, he recommended it to the Princes of the People to aſſiſt his Son in this Fabrick; and without being ſolicitous upon any other Account, to attend the Buſineſs of Religion in the firſt Place; for that alone would be ſufficient to ſecure the Peace and Welfare of the Commonwealth, which are the never-failing Rewards of Righteouſneſs and Juſtice. He appointed alſo, that upon the finiſhing of the *Temple*, the *Ark* ſhould be placed in it, with all the holy Veſſels and Utenſils thereunto belonging, which he told them ſhould have been there depoſited long ſince; if their Forefathers had minded the Injunction God laid upon them, of raiſing a *Temple* to him

David *orders the* Ark, *and all the holy* Utenſils *to be depoſited in the Temple upon the finiſhing of it,* him immediately upon their coming into the *Land of Promiſe*. Theſe Counſels and Exhortations of *David* were addreſs'd indifferently, both to his Son and to the Princes.

David *is now cold, and worn out with Age.* 1 Kings 2.

David *adviſed to make Uſe of a warm young Bedfellow.*

Abiſhag *is the Perſon to ſupply the Office.*

David was now but ſeventy Years of Age, and yet ſo worn out and ſpent with the Infirmities of old Age; and his Blood ſo chill'd, that all the Coverings and Blankets they could throw over him would hardly keep Life and Soul together: So that a Counſel of Phyſicians was called upon it; who gave their Opinion, one and all, that the beſt Thing in the World for a Man under thoſe Decays, was a fair young Bedfellow; for the Warmth being gentle and kindly, would relieve Nature without Force. They found out upon this, a delicate ſweet Creature there in the Town, that came up to the Nicety of the Preſcription, and put her to Bed to him. Her Name was *Abiſhag*, and her Buſineſs only to lye by him; hugg him, and comfort him; which ſhe might ſafely and innocently do, the King being now paſt the Temptations of all irregular Diſpoſitions: But of this Virgin we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak further hereafter.

David'*s fourth Son* Adonijah:

Claims the Government by Succeſſion.

David had a fourth Son, whoſe Name was *Adonijah*; born to him by *Haggith*, and the next after *Abſalom*. As to his Beauty, Stature, and the Gracious*ſ*neſs of his Perſon; nay, and in his Ambition too, he was not much unlike his elder Brother. This *Adonijah*, *Abſalom* being dead, puts up a Claim to the Government, as the next in Succeſſion: Setting all his Friends at Work, by Intereſt and Popularity, to aſſiſt him toward the gaining of his Point. He puts himſelf into a pompous Equipage of Chariots, Horſes, Guards, and the like; while the good Man his Father innocently lets him go on, without the leaſt Check or Caution; nay, or ſo much as a Queſtion of Curioſity, what all this Splendor and Parade tended to. His chief Complices were *Joab* the *General*, and the *High-Prieſt Abiathar*; but *Zadock* the *High-Prieſt*, and the Prophet *Nathan*, *Benaiah* the Captain of the Guards, *Shimei* the King's Friend, and the Generality of the Sword Men were all for *David*.

Adonijah *makes a mighty Entertainment.*

Nathan *adviſes* Bathſheba *to ſpeak of it to* David.

Bathſheba *tells* David *as* Nathan *directed her.*

As Bathſheba *is telling her Story,* Nathan *comes to the Door.*

Nathan *asks* David *if he had made* Adonijah *his Succeſſor.*

Adonijah's *Gueſts were feaſting and drinking Healths to their* New King.

Bathſheba *being withdrawn was called in again.*

David *by an Oath declares, that* Solomon *ſhall ſit upon the Throne that Day.*

Adonijah prepared a mighty Treat in the Suburbs of *Jeruſalem* near the Fountain in the King's Gardens. To this Entertainment, he invited all his Brothers, ſave only *Solomon*; and there was *Joab* alſo, and *Abiathar*; and the Chiefs of the Tribe of *Judah*: But for *Zadock*, *Nathan*, and *Benaiah*, and others of that Intereſt, there was not a Man of them ſent to. The Prophet *Nathan* took Notice of this, and told the Story of it to *Bathſheba*, the Mother of *Solomon*. *Look ye*, ſays he, *here's* Adonijah *kinging of it already, and* David *knows nothing of what's done: Wherefore let it be your Care, as well for your Son's Sake, as for your own, to look after this Affair. Go you to* David, ſays the Prophet, *and when you have him alone, mind him of his Oath, that* Solomon *ſhould reign after him; and yet here's* Adonijah, (you may tell him) *as good as upon the Throne already. While you are diſcourſing this Matter with the King, I may come into the Chamber to you, and ſecond your Information. Bathſheba* follow'd the Prophets Advice, and went in to the King, where ſhe made her Reverence; and after Leave given her to deliver ſomewhat ſhe had to ſay, ſhe gave *David* an Account of the Affair in the very Words the Prophet had put into her Mouth: *Telling him the Circumſtances of* Adonijah's *Entertainment; whom he invited, and whom he left out: Adding withal, that the People were in a Suſpenſe what to do till he ſhould declare his Succeſſor, and that her own Life and her Son's were both at Stake upon the Iſſue.* While this Diſcourſe was a-foot, the Servants brought *David* Word, that the Prophet *Nathan* was at the Door to wait upon him. He was immediately call'd in, and upon the very Inſtant of entring the Preſence, *he asked* David, *in ſome Confuſion, whether or no he had that Day transferred his Government to* Adonijah, *and declared him his Succeſſor; for he has made*, ſays he, *a mighty Feaſt yonder; invited ſuch and ſuch to't; left out ſuch and ſuch others; and there are they eating, drinking, and making merry, with Healths and Acclamations to the Honour of their new King* Adonijah: *But for* my ſelf, Zadock *the* High-Prieſt, *and* Benaiah *the Captain of the Guards; we are all Strangers to the Matter. Now it would be well*, ſaid he, *to let the World underſtand whether this be done with your Privity and Approbation, or not. Bathſheba* withdrew when the Prophet came in, and was now by the King's Order call'd for back again. She was accordingly brought to *David*, and he ſpake to her after this Manner. *Well!* ſays he to *Bathſheba*, *The Thing that I have ſworn formerly, I do now ſwear over again, in the Preſence of the great God. Your Son* Solomon *ſhall reign after me, and ſit upon my Throne; and you ſhall ſee it done this very Day:* Upon which Declaration and Aſſurance, ſhe ſubmiſſively took her Leave, wiſhing the King a long Life.

David *commands* Zadock *and* Benaiah *to anoint* Solomon, King:

David, upon this Reſolution, ſent for *Zadock* and *Benaiah*, and bad them take the Prophet *Nathan*, and the Royal Guards along with them; mount *Solomon* upon the King's Mule, and carry him out of the City to the Fountain that is called *Gihon*, there to anoint him with holy Oyl and proclaim him *King*. This Office being aſſigned to the High-Prieſt and the Prophet, Command was further given, that they ſhould conduct him thorough the Heart of the City with Trumpets ſounding before him, and Multitudes of Troops following with Shouts and Rejoycings, *crying,* [*Long live King* Solomon :] to the End, that the whole Nation might take Notice of it, that his Father had declared him his Succeſſor. *David*, for a Concluſion, gave *Solomon* in Charge to be ſure to govern, not only the Tribe of *Judah*, but the whole Nation of the *Hebrews*, according to the ſtricteſt Rules and Meaſures of Piety and Juſtice.

And ſo to conduct him with Shouts, and Trumpets through the City.

Benaiah, after this, with an affectionate Ejaculation for God's Bleſſing upon *Solomon*, and the whole Proceeding, went inſtantly away with the Reſt of the Company, according to their Order, and about their Buſineſs. They mounted *Solomon* upon the King's Mule; conducted him out of the City to the *Fountain*; anointed him with *holy Oyl*, and then brought him back again attended with Acclamations, and the unanimous Wiſhes of a long and a happy Reign. They brought him afterward to the Palace, and placed him upon his Father's Throne. This Solemnity being over, the People gave up themſelves to Jollity, and Feaſting, Muſick, Dancing, and all other chearful Diverſions, to ſuch a Degree of Tranſport and Shouting, that Heaven and Earth rang of it. The Clamour of this extravagant Joy coming to the Ears of *Adonijah* and his Gueſts, did not a little ſurpriſe them; *Joab* himſelf declaring that the Noiſe he heard of Shouts and Trumpets, did not at all pleaſe him. In one Word, they forſook their Meat upon it; and as they lay thoughtful, and muſing what ſhould be the Matter, in comes running to them *Jonathan* the Son of *Abiathar* the High-Prieſt, whom *Adonijah* was very glad to ſee, upon a miſtaken Opinion that he brought good News with him. So *Jonathan* gave them the whole Relation of the King's Orders, and the Proceeding concerning *Solomon*; which they had no ſooner heard, but every Man ſlipt away from the Banquet to his own Home. Only *Adonijah* being conſcious to himſelf of an Indignity too great to be forgiven, he fled for *Sanctuary* to the Horns of the Altar, and there begg'd for Pardon. When *Solomon* came to underſtand how it was with *Adonijah*, and that he inſiſted upon ſome Security to be given him for an Indemnity and Oblivion, with as much Prudence, as Clemency, he granted him a Pardon for what was paſt; but with a Precaution, to have a Care how he behav'd himſelf for the future; for if he ſhould ever be found in any ſuch Practice again for the Time to come, his Deſtruction ſhould lie at his own Door. So *Solomon* order'd him to be brought to him from his Place of Refuge, and when he had paid his Duty and Reverence to the new King, he bad him go to his own Houſe again in Peace, and to behave himſelf thence-forward like a good Man; which it was highly his own Intereſt to do.

They place Solomon *upon his Father's Throne, and cloſe the Ceremony with Joy and Acclamations.*

The Noiſe of Shouts and Trumpets ſtartles Adonijah *and his Gueſts.*

Jonathan *comes in, and tells them the whole Story. The Company ſlinks away.*

Adonijah *flies for Sanctuary to the* Altar, *and begs Pardon.*

Solomon *forgives him for what was paſt.*

It was *David*'s Intention to have *Solomon* declared and recognized the King of the whole Nation of *Iſrael:* In order to which End, he ſummon'd all the *Princes* to *Jeruſalem*, together with the *Prieſts* and *Levites*; and he found upon the Roll thirty eight thouſand Men among them, that were above thirty Years of Age; out of which Number there were twenty three thouſand to attend the Building of the *Temple:* Judges and their Clerks ſix thouſand; four thouſand Porters belonging to the Houſe of God, and as many Singers and Muſicians, or Players upon Inſtruments; of which we have ſaid ſomewhat already. Theſe he divided into Families; and upon ſeparating the Prieſts from the Reſt of the Tribe, he found four and twenty of them: That is to ſay, ſixteen deſcended from *Eleazar*, and eight from *Ithamar:* Appointing every Family to officiate eight Days, or from *Sabbaoth* to *Sabbaoth*, and ſo to do Duty one after another. The Lots of the whole were all caſt in the Preſence of *David*, and of the High-Prieſts, *Zadock* and *Abiathar*, together with the Heads of the Tribes. The Lot that came out firſt being enter'd upon the Roll [*The firſt Family*] and ſo the *ſecond*, and the *third*, &c. to the *four and twentieth*, in Order as it happen'd, which Way of Diſtribution continues in Uſe to this Day. He divided the Tribe of *Levi* alſo in twenty four Parts, to ſucceed one after another, according to the Chance of the Lot, in the ſame Manner with the Prieſts. But the Preference was ſtill given to the Poſterity of *Moſes*; to whom was committed the Truſt and Cuſtody of the holy Treaſure, and the Bounties and Donations of Princes and royal Benefactors. He likewiſe order'd the whole Tribe of *Levi*, and the *Prieſts*, to attend the Service of God, Day and Night in their Turns, according to the primitive Preſcription and Inſtitution of *Moſes*.

A Summons of all the Princes to Jeruſalem, *with the* Prieſts *and* Levites.

The Prieſts apart from the Reſt of the Tribe make twenty four Families: Sixteen from Eleazar, *and eight from* Ithamar.

They caſt Lots, *and the firſt that comes out is called,* The firſt Family, *and ſo in Order to the* laſt.

The Tribe of Levi *is divided alſo into twenty four Parts, to ſucceed in Order, as the Prieſts; but with a Preference to the Poſterity of Moſes.*

In the next Place he made a Diſtribution of the whole Army into twelve Diviſions, with their Commanders in Chief, Tribunes, Centurions, and their Subordinates. Every Diviſion to conſiſt of twenty four thouſand Men, and each of thoſe Diviſions to do a Month's Duty in their reſpective Courſes, upon the Guard of *Solomon*'s Palace, together with their Tribunes and Centurions: Every Part to have its diſtinct Officer or Judge; and he to be a Perſon of a try'd Integrity and Juſtice. He appointed alſo Overſeers of the King's Income, Vineyards, Lands, Husbandry, Flocks,

The Army diſtributed into twelve Diviſions: Each containing 24000 *Men: And to do a Month's Duty by Turns in* Solomon's *Palace: Each Part to be aſſign'd a particular Judge or Officer.*

Overſeers appointed of the King's Revenue.

David *calls a* General Aſſembly, *and ſpeaks to them from his Throne, upon the Subject of the Temple.*

and Herds, *&c.* whom it would be needleſs to name in this Place. When *David* had order'd Matters as above, he call'd a general Aſſembly of the *Hebrew* Magiſtrates, the Princes of the Tribes, the Officers of the Army, and the Managers of the Revenue; and then raiſing himſelf upon an Eminence, ſpake to the People from his Throne to the following Effect.

David *enjoins a dutiful Obedience to* Solomon.

I am now to give you to underſtand, ſays he, *my Countrymen and Brethren, that I have had it a long Time in my Thought to erect a* Temple *to the Lord, and I treaſur'd up a mighty Maſs of Gold, and a hundred thouſand Talents of Silver toward the Charge of the Undertaking; but it hath pleaſed God in his Providence, by the Mouth of the Prophet* Nathan, *to put a Stop to my Deſign; upon this Conſideration, that he would not have the Foundation of his holy Houſe laid by Hands that had been dipt in Blood, which Mine have inevitably been, though in the Blood of your Enemies, by Reaſon of the Wars I have been forced upon, in the righteous and neceſſary Defence and Vindication of your Liberties. But the Prophet told me further, that God would tranſmit the Care of it to my Son and Succeſſor, both to begin and finiſh the Work. You know very well*, ſays *David, that our Father* Jacob *had twelve Sons; and that* Judah *was yet choſen by common Conſent to be Ruler of all the Reſt. You know likewiſe that I my ſelf, though there were ſix Brothers of us, was advanced by God to the Government, and that none of the Reſt thought themſelves injur'd; wherefore I muſt now require in like Manner of you, and of all my Sons, that you ſubmit chearfully and dutifully to my Son* Solomon; *and that you do it without any grumbling, Faction, or civil Diſſenſion; for it is from God's immediate Command and Commiſſion that he derives his Authority. Make it the Caſe now that God ſhould have ſet a Stranger over you, how great a Folly and Wickedneſs would it have been for you to murmur at it? But how thankful ought you now to be for the Choice of ſo near a Relation, when you your ſelves are Partakers of the Honour that is done to your Brother. There is nothing I ſo much long for as to ſee God's gracious Promiſes take a ſpeedy Effect; and the whole People without any more Delay put into a full and laſting Poſſeſſion of the Bleſſings they are to enjoy under the Reign of* Solomon. *All this, my dear Son, will be made good*, ſays *David, and every Thing ſucceed to your Wiſh, ſo long as you govern according to Piety and Juſtice, with a Reſpect to your Duty both to God and Man, upholding a Reverence to the Laws, and treading in the Steps of your Forefathers: But whenever you paſs theſe Bounds, there is nothing but Miſery and Ruin to be expected.*

David *delivers to* Solomon *a* Draught *and* Model *of the* Temple; *with Directions for* Utenſils, *and holy Veſſels.*

The Materials *and* Workmen *are provided beforehand.*

Upon the finiſhing of this Diſcourſe and Charge, *David* gave his Son, in the Sight of all his People, a Draught of the Form, and Model of the *Temple* from Top to Bottom; the Foundation and the Superſtructure; the Height and Breadth of the Fabrick; the private Cells, their Number, and Dimenſions; what Veſſels of Gold and Silver were to be provided, with Directions for their preciſe Weight: David *preſſing his Son alſo, with all Diligence and Application, to go in Hand with the Building, calling in the Princes, and the Tribe of* Levi *to his Aſſiſtance; not only in Regard of his Youth, and Want of Experience, but out of a Reverence alſo to his divine Commiſſion, which both entitled him to the Government, and likewiſe authoriz'd and predetermin'd him to this Province. And*, ſays *David, it will not be a Work of any great Difficulty neither; for the Materials are provided to your Hand: So many Talents of Gold; more of Silver; Stone and Timber; Carpenters, Stone-Cutters, and other Workmen; a great Treaſure in Emeralds, and other precious Stones over and above: Beſide a further Supply of three thouſand Talents of the pureſt Gold, out of my own Store, for the adorning of the holy Place, and the Chariot of God, and the* Cherubims *that are to cover the* Ark.

The Princes, Prieſts, *and* Levites, *are pleaſed with what* David *delivered, and undertake for large Contributions, in Gold, Silver, and precious Stones.* Jalus, *of the Line of* Moſes, *is made the* Treaſurer.

This Speech of *David*'s was entertain'd with great Chearfulneſs, both by *Princes, Prieſts*, and *Levites*, who were all zealous for the forwarding of the Work, every one in his Proportion. They offer'd, among them, to bring in five thouſand Talents of Gold, a hundred thouſand of Silver, ten thouſand Shekels, and a Maſs of Iron not to be imagin'd. They that had precious Stones brought them into the Treaſury, where they were depoſited in the Cuſtody of one *Jalus*, of the Race of *Moſes*. The People were infinitely pleas'd upon the whole Matter, and *David* above all the Reſt, to ſee ſo unanimous an Agreement in a common Satisfaction, at the Frankneſs and good Faith of the whole Proceeding; Bleſſing God all the while with a loud Voice, in the Style of *the Father, and Creator of Heaven and Earth; the Governour and Protector of the* Hebrews, *and the bleſſed Fountain of Happineſs to the People committed to his Charge*; concluding his Devotions with a fervent Prayer for the Comfort and Happineſs of the Nation; and with particular Wiſhes of Peace of Conſcience, and the Bleſſing of an unſpotted Innocence and Integrity, to his Son. He called then upon the People to joyn with him in their Thanks to Almighty God for all his Mercies, who fell upon their Faces and worſhipped; and coming after this to *David*, made their Acknowledgments for all the Benefits and Advantages they had enjoy'd under his Reign. The Day following was a great Day of Sacrifices; a thouſand

Calves, a thouſand Rams, and a thouſand Lambs, for a Burnt-offering, and afterward, ſeveral *Victims* more for Peace-offerings. It was a Day in fine, dedicated to Feaſting and Jollity, both by King and People. *Solomon* was now a ſecond Time anointed, and declared, and owned by the People, for their lawful King; and *Zadock*, by the Voice of the whole Multitude, deſigned for their High-Prieſt. *Solomon* was now conducted to the Palace, and placed upon his Father's Throne, from which Day forward, the People pay'd him their true Allegiance.

Solomon *anointed, owned and declared a ſecond Time King; and* Zadock, *the* High-Prieſt.

CHAP. XII.

David's *laſt Charge, Prayer, and Farewel to his Son* Solomon. *His Death and Burial.*

DAVID was now ſinking apace, under the double Weight of Age, and Sickneſs; and finding himſelf near his End, he called for his Son *Solomon* to give him his Counſel, and his Bleſſing, and ſo to take his laſt Leave of him. *Son*, ſays he, *I am now going to my Fathers; and you that I leave behind me, are in due Time to come to me: Which is no more than the paying of a common Debt to Nature. There's no returning from the Grave; and when we are once gone, we have done with this World for ever: Wherefore, while I am yet among the Living, and before it be too late, pray let me mind you of the ſame Things once again, that I have ſo often inculcated over and over to you heretofore: Govern your Subjects according to Juſtice. Worſhip that God, from whom you have receiv'd your Dignity as well as your Being, as you are bound to do: Obſerve his Precepts, and keep his Laws, as they have been handed down to you from* Moſes; *and have a Care that you never forſake them, either for Fear, Flattery, or any other Paſſion or Intereſt whatſoever: For otherwiſe, you can never pretend to hope for the Bleſſings of God's Favour and Providence. But if you behave your ſelf with Reverence and Submiſſion towards God, as you ought to do, and as I wiſh you may do, your Kingdom will be eſtabliſh'd to your ſelf, and the Succeſſion of it continu'd to your Family, from Generation to Generation.*

1 Kings 2.

David's *laſt Leave to his Son* Solomon.

It is Religion and Juſtice that ſupports Government.

Let me now mind you of the Iniquity of Joab, *in the* Aſſaſſinate *of* Abner *the Son of* Ner, *and of* Amaſa *the Son of* Ithra; *two great Captains, and worthy good Men; and all this purely out of a malicious Spite and Envy. You may do by him as you think fit. The Truth of it is, I had puniſh'd him my ſelf, but that he was ſo popular, I durſt not meddle with him. As for the Sons of* Barzillai *the* Gileadite, *I muſt deſire you for my ſake to be very kind to them, and to do them all the good Offices you can: Not as an Obligation, but in Requital of the generous Friendſhips I received from their Father in the Time of my Baniſhment; which I reckon as a Debt incumbent upon our whole Family. For the Son of* Gera, Shimei *the* Benjamite, *that hunted me with ſuch Bitterneſs of Curſing and Reviling in the Days of my Perſecution, at* Bahurim; *and afterward meeting me at the River* Jordan, *obtain'd my Pardon for it, you may take ſome warrantable Occaſion to reckon yet with him for that Affront.*

David *minds* Solomon *of the horrid Murder of* Abner, *and* Amaſa, *by* Joab: *and moſt generouſly recommends to his Son* Solomon, *the Care of* Barzillai's Family. David *has pardon'd* Shimei; *but leaves him at Mercy, if he tranſgreſſes again.*

So ſoon as *David* had finiſh'd this Diſcourſe to his Son about his Government, the Requiting of his Friends, and the Puniſhing of his Enemies, he gave up the Ghoſt; in the ſeventieth Year of his Age, after he had reign'd ſeven Years and ſix Months over the Tribe of *Judah* at *Hebron*; and thirty three Years more over all *Iſrael*, at *Jeruſalem*. He was a Man of wonderful Goodneſs, and endued with all the royal Excellencies that might qualify a Prince for the Diſcharge of ſo great a Truſt. He was valiant, no Man more; and himſelf perſonally in the Head of all Dangers, for the Protection, and Defence of his People. He did more with his Soldiers by his Example, than by any Imperiouſneſs of Command. He was a judicious Prince in the Choice of his Counſels; of a ſingular Preſence of Mind, to make the beſt of what he had before him; and of as ſharp a Foreſight for the improving of all Advantages, and the obviating of Difficulties to come. To all this, he was temperate and ſober; affable to all; tender toward People in Diſtreſs; righteous, and humane; which are all princely Virtues. He was a Prince, in ſhort, that never made an ill Uſe of his Power, ſaving only in the Caſe of the Wife of *Uriah*. He left a Treaſure to his Succeſſour greater than ever any other Prince whatſoever left before him: And he was bury'd at *Jeruſalem*, with a Solemnity of royal Pomp and Magnificence that was glorious to the higheſt Degree: And over and above the Splendour of the Ceremony, his Son *Solomon* depoſited in his Monument an ineſtimable Treaſure,

David *finiſhes his Diſcourſe upon Reward and Puniſhment, and ſo departs this Life.*

David *the beſt of Princes, and of Men.*

David *was a Ruler without Exception, ſave only the Matter of* Uriah.

He dy'd rich, and was buried at Jeruſalem.

which a Body may give ſome tolerable Gueſs at from that which I have farther to ſay.

Solomon *depoſited a mighty Treaſure in* David's *Monument.* Antiochus *laid Siege to* Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus *compounds to raiſe the Siege for* 3000 *Talents.* *King* Herod *found another Maſs of hidden Treaſure long after.*

A Matter of thirteen hundred Years after this Revolution, *Hyrcanus* the High-Prieſt was beſieged in *Jeruſalem*, by *Antiochus*, ſirnamed *the pious*, and the Son of *Demetrius*. They came to a Treaty, and *Antiochus* offer'd for a certain Sum of Money, to raiſe the Siege, and draw-off his Army. *Hyrcanus* had no Way to raiſe it, but by the opening of *David*'s Monument, and thence he took three thouſand Talents; out of which he paid *Antiochus* the Sum agreed upon for a Compoſition, and ſo ſet the Town at Liberty, as we have ſhew'd elſewhere. It was King *Herod*'s Fortune, many Years after this, to diſcover another Cell of hidden Treaſure, which he took away, to a prodigious Value, but neither of them were come yet to the ſecret Place where the King's Aſhes lay; that Privacy being ſo artificially contriv'd, and ſo far under-ground, that there was hardly any coming at it; but here's as much ſaid already, as needs, upon this Point.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

From the Year of the World 2931, to 3048.

CHAP. I.

Solomon *comes to the Throne with an univerſal Joy; only* Adonijah *tampers Under-hand with* Bathſheba. Solomon *cauſes* Adonijah, Joab, *and* Shimei *to be put to Death; and depoſes* Abiathar *from the High-Prieſthood.*

WE have treated in the laſt foregoing Book, of the Life and Character of *David*; his Piety, and his Converſation; the great Services, and the many good Offices he render'd to his Country; the terrible Wars and Combats that he underwent, with the Hiſtory of his Victories and Succeſſes; and we have brought him to his End at laſt, full of Years and Honour, to ſleep with his Fathers. *Solomon*, his Son and Succeſſor, came young to the Government; but by the over-ruling Will and Appointment of God however, and not without the ſolemn and declaratory Conſent and Approbation alſo of his Father. When he was once advanced to the Throne, the People came all running in to him, as is uſual upon ſuch Changes, with congratulatory Acclamations, and multiply'd Wiſhes of long Life, and a happy Reign.

1 Kings 2.

Solomon *enters upon the Government with univerſal Joy.*

Only *Adonijah*, who had formerly made an Attempt upon the Government in the life Time of his Father, apply'd himſelf in a fawning Way of Addreſs to *Bathſheba*, the King's Mother. She received him with great Courteſy, and with large Aſſurances of her Aſſiſtance, if there were any Thing in her Power that ſhe could ſerve him in. Upon this Encouragement, he came preſently to his Point, *great Princeſs* (ſays he) *I ſhall not need to tell you, that if I were diſpoſed to be troubleſome upon this Turn of Government, the Right of Priority, and the good Will of the People would be on my Side. But* (ſays he) *ſince it has pleaſed God to devolve it upon your Son* Solomon, *I am the King's moſt humble Servant, and ſhall very well content my ſelf within the Bounds of my preſent Condition. I have only one Boon to beg of you; which is, that you will be pleas'd to uſe your Intereſt with your Son, on my Behalf, that I may be permitted, with his good Leave, to take* Abiſhag *to Wife. She lay by* David's *Side only to keep him warm in his extreme Decay of Heat, and undoubtedly he left her as good a Virgin as he found her. Bathſheba* promis'd him the Uttermoſt of what ſhe could do in the Matter, and encourag'd him to hope well of the Iſſue; for *Solomon*, ſhe doubted not, would moſt readily agree to gratify the Joint-requeſt of his Brother and his Mother, in a greater Matter than this appear'd to be. This was a Word of Comfort to *Adonijah*, and ſo away went *Bathſheba*, directly to her Son, upon this Errand. *Solomon* went out to meet his Mother; and receiving her in his Arms, conducted her to his Bed-chamber, where he plac'd her on his right Hand upon a Chair of State next to his own. *Bathſheba* was no ſooner ſeated, but ſhe enter'd preſently upon her Buſineſs. *Son,* ſays ſhe, *I have an humble Suit to you, and it would go to the very Heart of me if you ſhould refuſe it.* Pray what is it? *ſays Solomon*, not without ſome Uneaſineſs at ſuch a Preface, as if there were any Thing for her to aſk, which a dutiful Child could deny to his own Mother. So *Solomon* entreated her to go on, and to depend upon his Readineſs to comply with her in any Thing he could do. *Well Son! ſays Bathſheba*, I make it my Requeſt then, that you will give *Abiſhag* in Marriage to your Brother *Adonijah*. The King ſtarted up at that Propoſal in a Surprize, and diſmiſs'd his Mother. *No No*, ſays *Solomon*, Adonijah *has another Freak in his Head beſide*

Adonijah *makes an Intereſt with* Bathſheba, *for his own Ends:*

And under the Appearance of a ſeeming Reſignation,

He begs Bathſheba's *good Word to her Son, for Leave to marry* Abiſhag.

Bathſheba *promiſes him her Intereſt.*

Bathſheba *moves* Solomon *to give* Abiſhag *to* Adonijah.

Solomon *ſtarts up at the Motion, and diſcharges his Mother.*

beſide the Marrying of Abiſhag. *Why does he not ſpeak plain rather, and put in his Claim to the Kingdom, as elder Brother; which he might every Jot as honeſtly do, and as good cheap. Firſt, he deſires* Abiſhag *in Marriage; and then he has fortify'd himſelf with great Friends and Intereſt to back his Pretenſions: As* Joab, *the General for one;* Abiathar *the High-Prieſt, for another, and the like.* *Solomon* at this Rate deliberating and computing upon the preſent State of Things, ſent *Benaiah*, the Captain of his Guards, forthwith to make away his Brother; and then calling for *Abiathar*, the High-Prieſt he told him, that though he had deſerv'd to dye, yet in Regard of the Services he had done his Father, and of the Hand he had in bringing back the *Ark*, his Puniſhment ſhould be thus. *Go your Ways* (ſays he) *immediately from this Place, and let my Eyes never ſee you more. Get you gone to your own Home; take up your Habitation in the Country, and there continue to the Day of your Death. You have been falſe to me in joyning with* Adonijah, *and for that Fault, this is your Sentence. You have made your ſelf unworthy of the Honour of the Prieſthood, and from this Time forward you ſhall exerciſe the Function no more.*

Solomon *orders* Benaiah *to put* Adonijah *to Death:*

And baniſhes Abiathar *from his Preſence:*

And depoſes him from the Pontificate for joyning with Adonijah

This was the Cauſe of tranſlating the *Sacerdotal* Dignity from the Houſe of *Ithamar* (as God had foretold to *Eli*; the Grandfather of *Abiathar*) into the Family of *Phinehas*, to *Zadock*. During the Continuance of the *Pontificate* in the Houſe of *Ithamar*, reckoning from *Eli*; the firſt that executed that Office: There were of the Family of *Phinehas*, that led private Lives, *Boccias*, the Son of *Joſeph*; *Jonathan*, of *Boccias*; *Maræoth*, of *Jonathan*; *Arapha*, of *Maræoth*; *Achitob*, of *Aropha*; and *Zadock*, the Son of *Achitob*, who was the firſt High-Prieſt that was erected under *David*.

The Sacerdotal *Dignity tranſlated from the Houſe of* Ithamar *to that of* Phinehas, *as was foretold to Eli.*

The Line of Zadock.

When *Joab* heard of the Death of *Adonijah*, being conſcious to himſelf of a Conſpiracy with him againſt his Maſter, and that he himſelf deſerv'd to dye every Jot as well as his Principal, he took up a very reaſonable Apprehenſion that his own Turn would be next, and ſo fled for Sanctuary to the *Altar*; not doubting but that the Veneration the King had for God, and for holy Things, would be a Protection to him. When *Solomon* came to underſtand that *Joab* had taken *Sanctuary*; he ſent *Benaiah* to cite him to a Court of Juſtice to anſwer for what he had done, but *Joab* would not be got out of the Chapel, declaring, that *if periſh he muſt, he would rather dye there than in another Place.* *Benaiah* gave the King an Account of *Joab*'s Behaviour, in what he both ſaid and did; who preſently order'd him to cut off his Head where he was, as a juſt Puniſhment upon him for the deteſtable Murders of *Abner* and *Amaſa*, againſt all the Meaſures of Honour, Humanity and Juſtice: But the King gave it in Charge to *Benaiah*, to ſee his Body bury'd, for a Memorial to Poſterity of ſo execrable a Wickedneſs, and likewiſe to acquit both himſelf and his Father, of any Rigour in the Death of *Joab*. *Benaiah*, upon the Execution of this Commiſſion, was made *General* in *Joab*'s Place; and upon the Remove of *Abiathar* the *High-Prieſt*, the King aſſigned *Zadock* to ſucceed him.

Joab *hearing of* Adonijah's *Death, flies to the* Altar,

Solomon *cites him to a Court of Juſtice.*

Benaiah *brings the King Word of* Joab's *Refuſal to appear.*

Solomon *orders* Joab's *Head to be cut off where he was, for the Murders of* Abner *and* Amaſa.

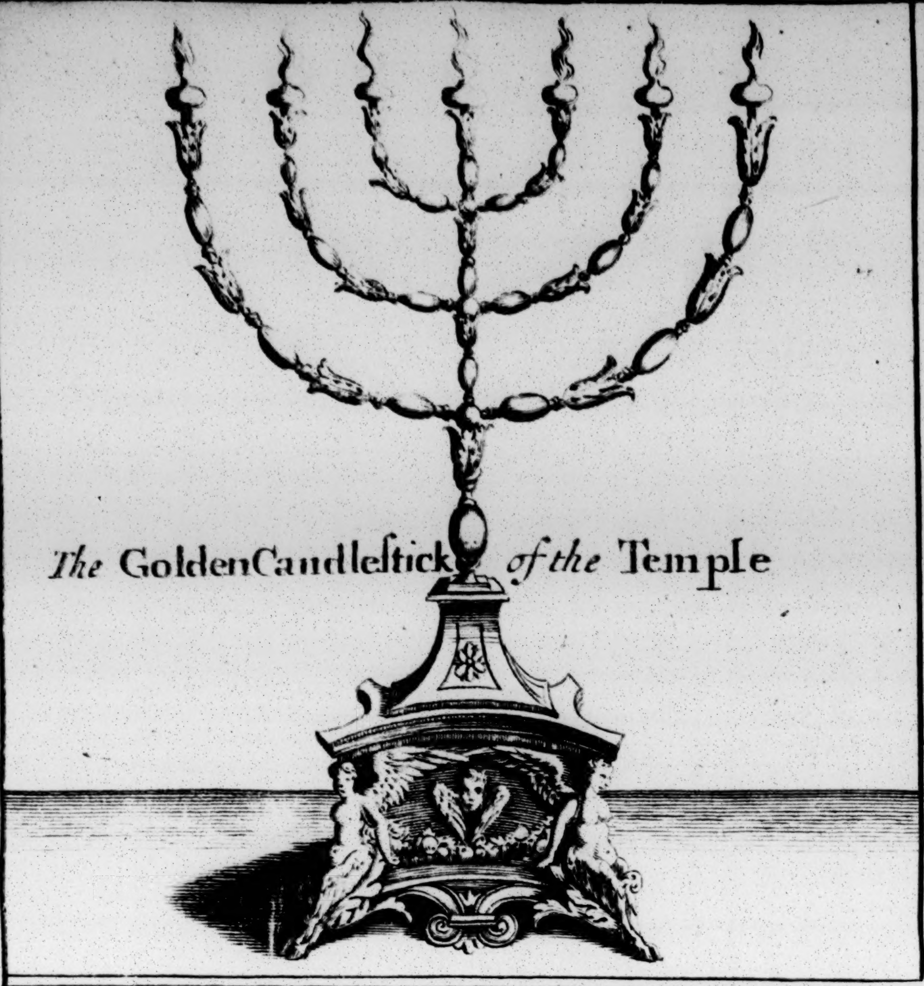
Solomon *makes* Benaiah Generaliſſimo *in* Joab's *Place, and* Zadock *the High-Prieſt in* Abiathar's.

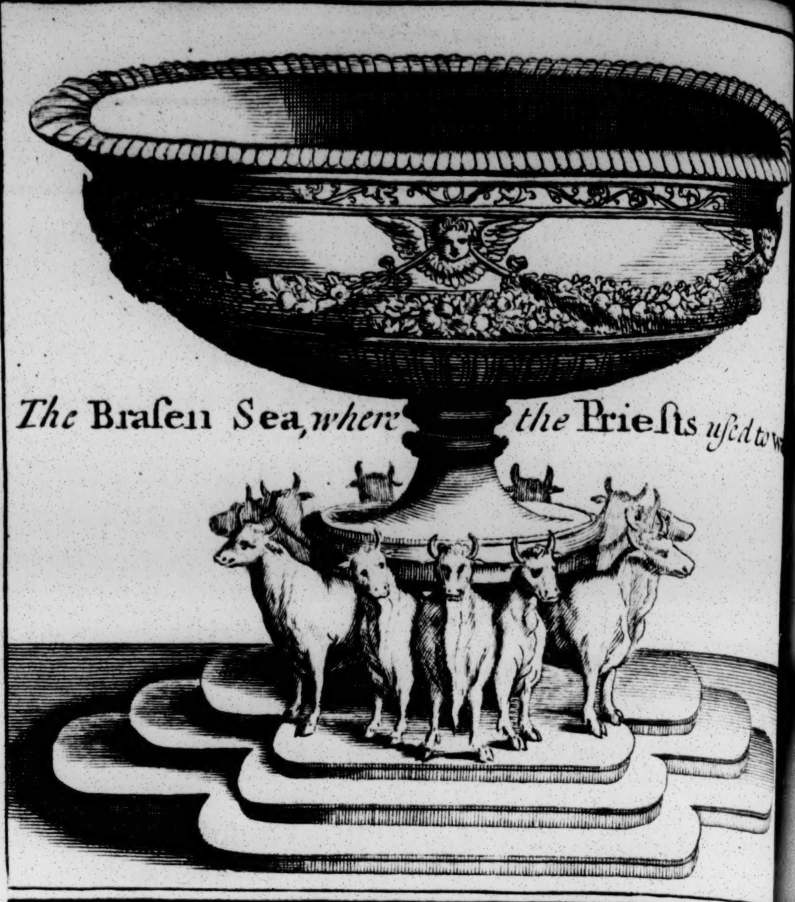
Solomon, at the ſame Time, appointed *Shimei* to build himſelf a Houſe at *Jeruſalem*, and not to ſtir out of it, or paſs the River *Kebron*, upon the Peril of his Life: Neither was this Menace ſufficient, without an Oath, over and above, to perform what he had promis'd. *Shimei* ſeem'd very well ſatisfy'd with the Conditions, and gave his *Oath* for the Obſervance of them. Hereupon, he quitted his own Country, and went his Way, and dwelt at *Jeruſalem*. It happen'd a Matter of three Years after this, that two of *Shimei*'s Servants ran away from him; and the Maſter hearing that they were at *Gath*, made a Step over to fetch them back again. Upon his Return with his Servants, the King it ſeems got Notice of it, and took the double Contempt ſo heinouſly, firſt of the *Command*, and then of the *Oath*, that he call'd *Shimei* to a ſevere Account for the Miſdemeanour. *Didſt not thou ſwear to me,* ſays Solomon, *that thou wouldeſt never ſtir out of this Town into any other, to the Day of thy Death? And like a falſe Wretch, as thou art, thou haſt now broken that ſacred Oath, and for that Perjury thou ſhalt dye. Take this for thy Inſtruction too, that divine Vengeance, ſooner or later, finds out the Delinquent; and that Forbearance is ſo far from an Acquittal, that it inflames the Reckoning. The Hand of God is in this Judgment upon thee, not only for thy late Perjury, but for thy Sins of ancient Date: I mean thy Ribaldry and Inſolences againſt my dear Father of bleſſed Memory, in the Depth of his Diſtreſſes. Think of it,* ſays Solomon, *for God is juſt:* And ſo *Benaiah* put *Shimei* to Death by the King's Order.

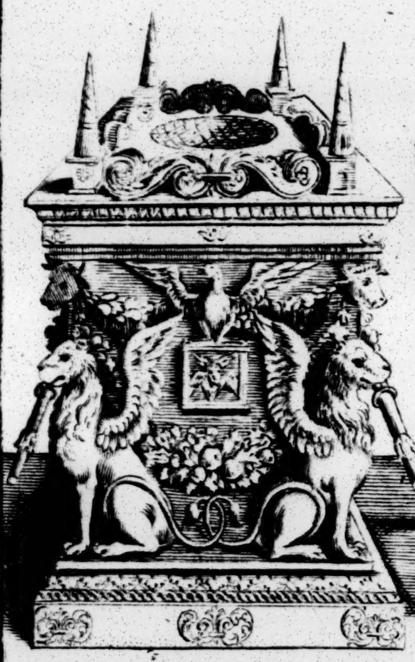
Solomon *appoints* Shimei *a Houſe in* Jeruſalem; *confines him to it, upon Pain of Death; and under an Oath, never to ſtir out of it over the River.*

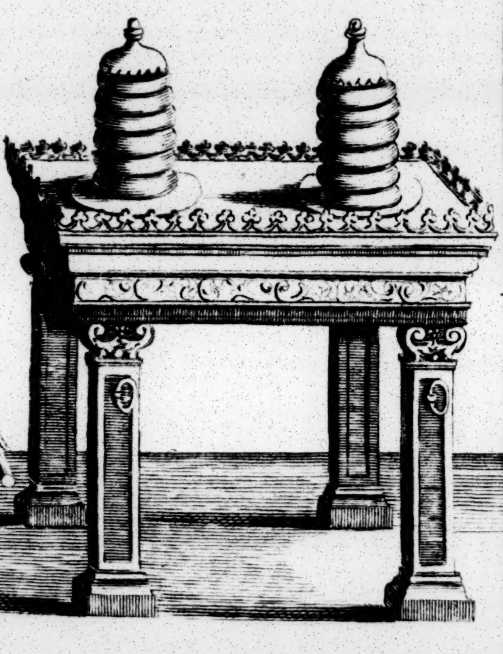
Shimei *croſſes the River.*

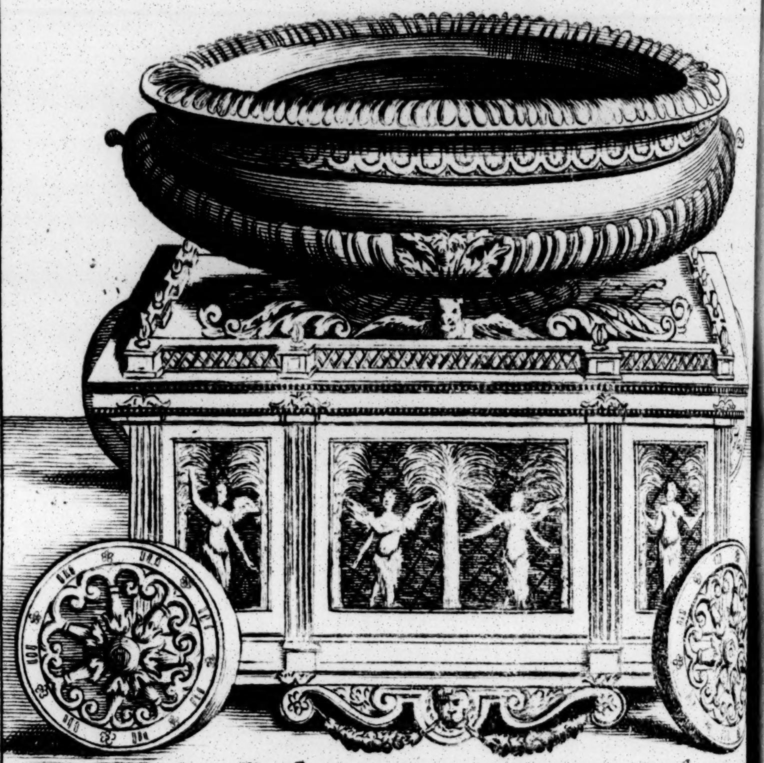
And Benaiah *puts* Shimei *to Death, according to his Order.*

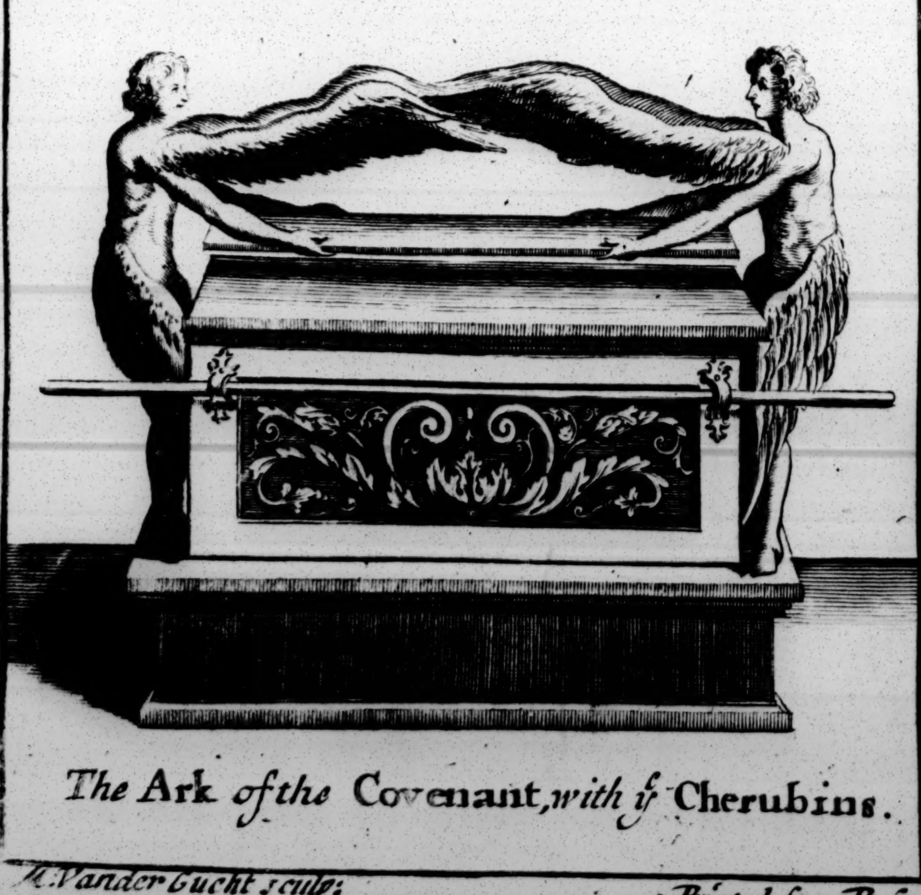

The Golden Candlestick *of the* Temple

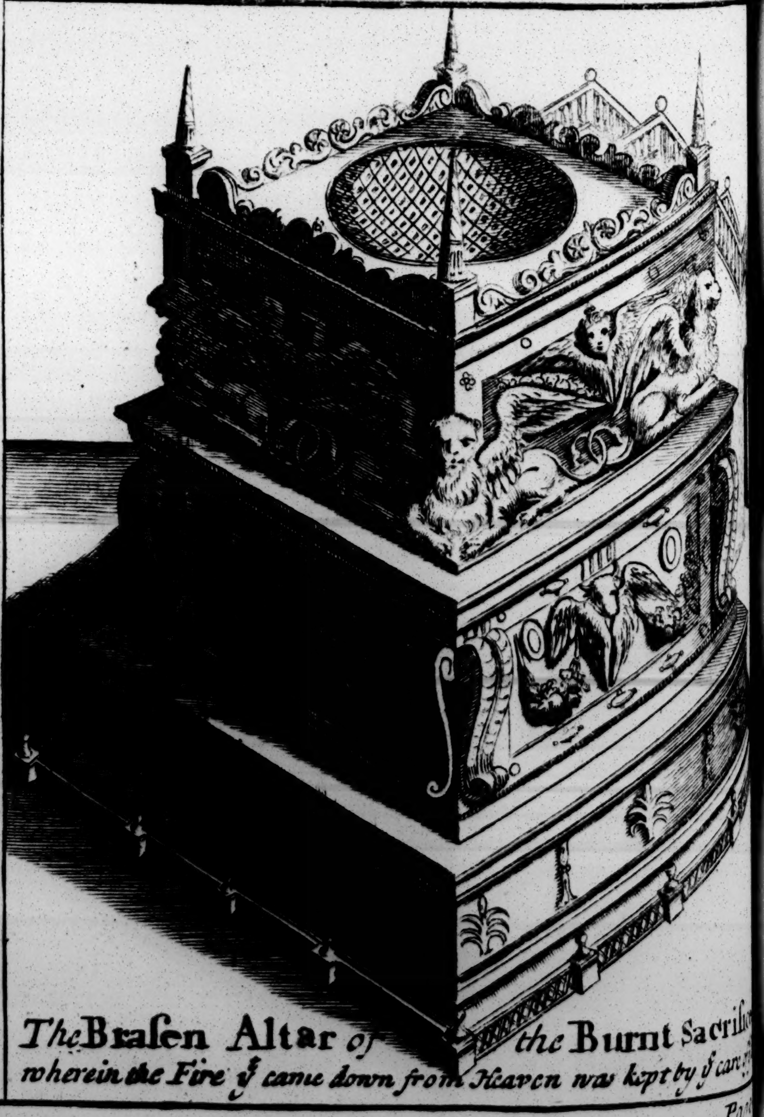

The Braſen Sea, *where* *the* Prieſts *uſed to w*


The Golden Altar
of Incenſe.


The Golden Table *and*
12 Cakes of Shew-Bread


The Braſen Baſes, *and* Laver *wherein y^e^ Sacr*
were Waſh'd


The Ark *of the* Covenant, *with y^e^* Cherubins.


The Braſen Altar *of* *the* Burnt Sacrifi
wherein the Fire y^t^ came down from Heaven was kept by y^e^ car

M. Vander Gucht sculp: *Printed for R: Sare* *Pa*

CHAP. II.

Solomon *marries the Daughter of the King of Ægypt, and repairs the Walls of* Jeruſalem. *He's endu'd with the Gift of Wiſdom. The Names of his great Officers. He builds a Temple; places the* Ark *in it; erects a ſtately Palace; fortifies* Jeruſalem; *ſubdues the* Cannaanites. *His prodigious Wealth. The Love of Women brings him to* Idolatry. Adad *ſtirs up a Sedition againſt him.* Jeroboam *foretold that ten Tribes of the twelve ſhall fall under his Allegiance.*

Gel. *cap.* I. *fol.* 245.

Solomon *being now ſettled in a profound Peace, marries* Pharoah's *Daughter.*

He builds, and repairs the Walls of Jeruſalem.

He pays Reverence to the Precepts of his dying Father.

SOLOMON had by this Time all his Enemies at his Feet; his Throne eſtabliſh'd; the Minds of the People ſettled, and his Government conſequently made eaſy to him. In this Interval of a profound Peace, both at Home and Abroad, he took to Wife the Daughter of the King of *Ægypt*; fell to work upon rebuilding the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, which he made much larger, and ſtronger than they were before, and ſo apply'd himſelf to the Office of his publick Adminiſtration. He was very young, 'tis true, but want of Years was never any Hindrance, or Excuſe to him in the doing of Juſtice, or in the Execution of the Laws, or in the Paying of a religious Reverence to the Authority and Doctrine of his dying Father's Precepts. For, in one Word, ſuch was the Pregnancy, even of his early Youth, that he rul'd, and manag'd every Thing with a Judgment that might have become the Gravity of a moſt conſummated Experience.

Solomon *makes a Journy to* Hebron, *and there ſacrifices upon* Moſes's brazen Altar.

God bids Solomon *in a Dream, ask what he will, it ſhall be granted him.*

Solomon *asks neither Silver nor Gold; but a* right Underſtanding *and a* ſound Judgment.

God is ſo well pleas'd with his Choice, that he gives him Riches and Glory, over and above.

Now finding himſelf in this State of Quiet and Freedom, he thought he could not do better than to addreſs himſelf to God by Prayer and Sacrifice in Acknowledgment of theſe Mercies: And upon that Motion, he went to *Hebron*, where he offer'd upon *Moſes*'s *Brazen Altar*, long ſince erected there, a thouſand Victims for a Burnt-offering. This Piety and Zeal was ſo acceptable to God that the very Night following he appear'd unto him in a Dream; and to ſhew him that the Services of his Heart and good Will ſhould not go unrewarded, he bad him ask what he would, and it ſhould be granted him. *Solomon* pitch'd upon the greateſt, and the moſt valuable Thing he could think of, and that, which he concluded would be moſt agreeable to the Liking of the Giver, and at the ſame Time moſt advantageous to the Receiver. It was not Silver, nor Gold, nor any of thoſe vulgar Satisfactions, that young Men, and the miſtaken Part of the World commonly ſet their Hearts upon, as the only Things worth asking: This, I ſay, was not *Solomon*'s Wiſh; but *Lord*, ſays he, *grant me a right Apprehenſion of Matters, and a ſound Judgment, that may enable me to govern this People according to Truth and Juſtice.* This Choice of *Solomon*'s was ſo acceptable to God, that he not only promis'd him what he deſir'd, but Riches and Glory, over and above: And in the firſt Place, ſuch a Degree of Underſtanding, and of a practical Wiſdom, as no Man either publick or private, could ever pretend to before him; with a farther Promiſe that, upon Condition of his continuing juſt to the World, obedient in all Things to God, and treading in the Steps, and imitating the eminent Virtues of his Father, the Government ſhould remain in his Family for many Ages. Upon theſe Words, *Solomon* awak'd; leapt out of his Bed, worſhip'd, and gave thanks, and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he ſacrificed to God before the Tabernacle, and feaſted all his People.

Solomon *awakes, gets up, worſhips, and gives thanks; goes back to* Jeruſalem, *ſacrifices, and feaſts with the People.*

The Caſe of a live Child, *and a* dead *one; and which was the Mother of the* live Child.

About this Time there was a difficult Caſe brought before him, which I ſhall give the Reader a particular Account of, partly for the Nicety of it, and partly for the Uſe it may be of to others, in exciting the like Induſtry of Search and Scrutiny, upon the like Occaſion. There came to the King two common mercenary Proſtitutes, for Juſtice. The Plantiff told her Tale firſt, and it was to this Effect. *This Woman*, ſays ſhe, *and I liv'd both in a Lodging, and it was our Fortune to be deliver'd each of us of a male Child on the ſame Day and Hour. Within a Matter of three Days, this Woman having overlaid her own Child, and ſmother'd it, took mine ſoftly out of my Arms as I was aſleep, and laid her's in the Place of it. Early the next Morning, when I was thinking to ſuckle my own poor Infant, the Child was not to be found, but a dead one laid in the Place; for I know my own Child by moſt infallible Marks. I have preſs'd her for my Child; but ſhe keeps it from me, and bears me down that it is her Child ſtill, and I have no Witneſs to prove the contrary. Now Sir*, ſays the Woman, *I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to ſee Right done betwixt us.* Well! ſays the King to the other Woman, and what have you now to ſay for your ſelf? *She laid no ſuch Child there*, ſhe ſaid, *but the living Child was her own, and ſo ſtood upon her Juſtification.* People were all in the Dark what Judgment to make of it, for want of competent Proofs; till *Solomon* bethought himſelf of this Expedient. He order'd the two Children, one living, and the other dead, to be brought, and one of his Guards to take his Sword, and cut them both in Halves, juſt in the Middle, and ſo divide them betwixt the two pretended Mothers, Half of the one, and Half of the other, to either of them. This was look'd upon to be a Kind of a childiſh Sentence at firſt; but one of the Women crying out earneſtly, and begging that her Companion might rather have the Child, and paſs for the Mother of it, provided only that the Life of it might be ſpar'd; and ſhe her ſelf have the Comfort of ſeeing it yet amongſt the living. This was all ſhe had to aſk, ſhe ſaid: The other Woman all this while quietly ſubmitting to the Judgment, and not without ſome ſeeming Satisfaction at the Calamity of her Neighbour; a cruel, certainly, and a hard hearted Pleaſure! The King, in Fine, adjudg'd the Child to the right Woman, upon the Evidence of her Tenderneſs, and natural Affection; highly condemning the Wickedneſs of the other, that, after ſhe had kill'd her own Child, did what ſhe could to deſtroy that of her Friend's too. This was ſo ſingular an Inſtance of the King's Wiſdom, Sagacity and Conduct, that from that Day forward, the People honour'd and obey'd him, as a Prince that acted by the Guidance and Direction of a divine Impulſe.

Solomon *adjudges the Child to the right Woman.*

Solomon's Governours, *and* great Officers. 1 Kings 4.

He had his Governours and great Officers in all his Provinces. There was *Uri* the Son of *Hur* in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, including *Bethlehem*. The Son of *Aminadab*, Son in Law to *Solomon*, had the Command of *Dora*, and the *Sea Coaſt*. The great Plain was under *Baana*, the Son of *Achil*, and ſo as far as to the River of *Jordan*. The Son of *Geber* had the Government of the *Gileadites*, and the *Gaulonites*, as far as *Mount Libanus*; within which Command there were ſixty large and well fortify'd Cities. *Abinadab* that marry'd *Baſima*, another of *Solomon*'s Daughter, had the Government of all *Galilee* up to *Sidon*. Under *Baanah*, was the Government of the *Sea Coaſt* about *Aſher*. *Jehoſaphat* commanded the Mountains *Ittabyr*, and *Carmel*, and all the Lower *Galilee*, to the farther Side of *Jordan*. The whole Country of the *Benjamites* was under the Government of [a] *Shimei*: And the Land beyond *Jordan* was under [b] *Tabar*. Theſe were *Solomon*'s Governours, and he had one Lieutenant General to ſuperintend them all.

The People ſettled in a State of Peace. They apply themſelves to Husbandry and Trade.

So ſoon as the People found themſelves ſettled in a State of Peace and Plenty, and out of Fear of any Diſtractions by War or Tumult, they gave themſelves up to Husbandry, and Improvements, and in a ſhort Time advanc'd their Fortunes and Poſſeſſions (the Tribe of *Judah* eſpecially) to a Miracle. The King had likewiſe other Officers, beſide thoſe before mentioned, over the *Syrians*, and other barbarous Nations, between *Ægypt* and *Euphrates* to whom he committed the Care of his Receipts; thoſe People being his *Tributaries*. The daily Proportion of Proviſions that theſe People furniſh'd every Day for the King's own Table and Entertainment, was thirty Meaſures of fine Flour, threeſcore Meaſures of Meal; ten fat Oxen; twenty Oxen out of the Paſtures, and a hundred fat Lambs beſide Deer, Birds, Fiſhes and other contingent Curioſities of the Chace. He had ſo prodigious a Number of Chariots, that there were forty thouſand Stalls provided for the Horſes that belonged to them, over and above twelve thouſand Horſemen that were of his Guards; the one Half being quarter'd in *Jeruſalem*, near his Perſon, and the other Half diſtributed into Out-Villages near the City. And the ſame Officer that was Commiſſary for the Expence of the King's Table, was appointed alſo to provide Neceſſaries for the King's Houſe, which Way ſoever he mov'd.

Vaſt Proviſions for the King's own Table and Entertainments.

The Wiſdom, in Fine, and Knowledge of *Solomon*, being a divine Infuſion, was ſo far beyond the Philoſophy and Underſtanding of the Ancients, that the *Ægyptians* themſelves, though reputed the wiſeſt of Men, fell infinitely ſhort of him: And ſo did the great Men of his Age among the *Hebrews*, how highly ſoever celebrated and eſteemed; as for Example, there was *Athan*, and *Heman*, and *Calcol*, and *Dodan*, the Sons of *Hemahon*. This wonderful Prince compos'd fifteen hundred Books of *Odes*, and *Poems*; three thouſand Books of *Parables*, and *Similes*. He wrote the Hiſtory of Plants, from the *Cedar* to the *Hyſſop*; and ſo of Cattle, and Beaſts of the Earth; Water-Fowl, and the Birds of the Air: For he underſtood the Nature of all theſe Creatures; ſtudy'd, and philoſophiz'd upon it, and upon their reſpective Proprieties and Diſpoſitions. And he did not only know, and underſtand, (by a Gift from above;) but likewiſe improve his Knowledge and Underſtanding of theſe Things, for the Help and Benefit of Mankind, even to the Confuſion of the Devils themſelves; for he compos'd *Charms* and Incantations, for the Cure of Diſeaſes, and left behind him *Forms of Conjuration*, in writing, ſo effectual againſt evil Spirits, that they fly before them, without ever daring to return: Which Way of Remedy is much in Requeſt with our People to this Day. *I ſaw one* [c] Eleazar, *a Country Man of mine*, *diſpoſſeſſing of People in the Preſence of* Veſpaſian, *and his Sons*, *Officers and*

Solomon's *Writings, and Compoſitions:*

Charms, Incantations, and Forms of Conjuration. Eleazar's *Way of caſting out Devils in the Time of* Veſpaſian.

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[a] Σεβεῒς Joſ.

[b] Ταβάρης. Joſ.

[c] *See* Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. 1. c. 32.

Soldiers: And his Way was this; he applied a Ring to the Noſtrils of the Perſon poſſeſt, with a Piece of a Root convey'd under the Seal of it, being a Secret of Solomon's. *The* Demoniack *did but ſmell to't, and the Devil was drawn out by the Noſe. The Spirit threw the Man down; but* Eleazar *adjur'd it never to trouble him any more: Making frequent mention of* Solomon's Name *in the Time of the Operation, and reciting Charms and Incantations of his Invention.* Eleazar, *after this, was willing to ſhew the Company a Maſter Piece: So he ſet a Cup, or a Baſin of Water, at a little Diſtance from a Man that was poſſeſs'd, and adjur'd the Devil to overturn this Baſin at his leaving the Man, as a Token to the Company* that he had quitted him. *This being done, no Body doubted of the admirable Knowledge and Wiſdom of* Solomon. I have thought fit to inſert this Narration for the Honour of this King's wonderful Talent, and to ſhew how much he was in God's Favour, and how eminent in all manner of Excellencies.

A Root under the Seal of a Ring for the Demoniack *to ſmell to.*

Another Maſter-Piece of Eleazar's, *by a Cup of Water; naming* Solomon *often in the Operation.*

Upon the Death of *David*, and the Succeſſion of *Solomon* to the Throne, *Hiram* the King of *Tyre*, that ever had a great Affection for the Father, ſent a gratulatory Embaſſy to the Son, upon the News of his Acceſſion to the Government, expreſſing great Joy to ſee it continu'd in the Family. Upon the Return of theſe Embaſſadors, *Solomon* laid hold of the Occaſion, and wrote a Letter to *Hiram* in theſe Terms.

1 Kings 5. Hiram *the King of* Tyre *ſends a gratulatory Embaſſy to* Solomon.

King *Solomon* to King *Hiram*, Greeting.

Be it known unto thee, O King, that my Father David *had it a long Time in his Mind and Purpoſe to erect a Temple to the Lord; but being perpetually in War, in his Days, and under a Neceſſity of clearing his Hands of his Enemies, and making them all his Tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy Work: He hath left it to me in a Time of Peace both to begin, and to finiſh it; according to the Direction, as well as the Prediction, of Almighty God. Bleſſed be his great Name for the preſent Tranquillity of my Dominions! and by his gracious Aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt Improvements of this Liberty and Leiſure to his Honour and Worſhip. Wherefore I make it my Requeſt, that you will let ſome of your own People go along with ſome Servants of mine to mount* Libanus, *to aſſiſt them in cutting down Materials towards this Building; for the* Sydonians *underſtand it much better than we do. As for the Workmen's Reward, or Wages, whatever you think reaſonable ſhall be punctually paid them.*

K. Solomon's *Letter to K.* Hiram, *about the building of the Temple.*

Hiram was wonderfully pleas'd with the Letter of *Solomon*'s, and returned him this Anſwer.

King *Hiram* to King *Solomon.*

Nothing could have been more welcome to me, then to underſtand that the Government of your bleſſed Father is devolved by God's Providence into the Hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a Succeſſor: His holy Name be praiſed for it. That which you write for, ſhall be done with all Care and Good Will. For I will give Order to cut down, and to export ſuch Quantities of the faireſt Cedars *and* Cypreſs Trees, *as you ſhall have Occaſion for. My People ſhall bring them to the Sea-ſide for you; and from thence ſhip them away to what Port you pleaſe, where they may lye ready for your own Men to tranſport them to* Jeruſalem. *It would be a great Obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a Proviſion of Corn in Exchange, as may ſtand with your Convenience; for that is the Commodity we* Iſlanders *want moſt.*

Hiram's *anſwer to the Letter above, much to* Solomon's *Satisfaction.*

The Duplicates of theſe Letters are extant to this Day, both in our own, and in the *Tyrian* Records: And they that have a Mind to be better ſatisfy'd in the Truth of this, let them only conſult the Keepers of theſe Regiſtries, and they ſhall find the Matter of Fact in thoſe *Papers* to be juſt as we deliver it. I write this to acquit my ſelf to the Reader, by Way of Precaution, that I do not intermix any Inventions of my own, or Things Curious, or but barely probable, for the Ornament of the Relation; but that I am willing to put every Thing that I deliver, to the ſtreſs of the uttermoſt Scrutiny; and in Truth, there can be no prevaricating in a Subject of this Quality without extreme Impiety, and Scandal: And I ſhall not take it ill to be blaſted for the worſt of Falſaries, if there ſhall be any Thing found in my Papers that will not abide the uttermoſt Teſt.

The Duplicates of theſe Letters are ſtill extant.

Upon the Receipt of *Hiram*'s Letter, *Solomon* was wonderfully pleas'd with the Frankneſs, and Humanity of the proceeding: So that in Return for his Goodneſs and Reſpect, he order'd him a yearly Preſent of two thouſand Meaſures of Wheat, and likewiſe of two thouſand Veſſels of Oyl, and as many of Wine, of ſeventy two Quarts a Piece. This was the firſt Earneſt of a Friendſhip betwixt theſe two Kings; and it went on increaſing to the laſt, every Day firmer and greater than other.

Solomon *orders* Hiram *a Yearly Preſent of* Wheat, Oyl, *and* Wine.

The King order'd his People to provide him thirty thouſand Workmen, which he diſpos'd of in ſuch eaſy Ways and Methods of Diſtribution, that their Labour

The King provides Workmen; aſſigns the Number, the Task, and their Time of waiting.

Adoniram *the Overſeer.*

ſhould not be grievous to them. The Number of them was thrice ten thouſand; and their poſt was to do Duty for one Month by ten Thouſand at a Time, in cutting down Wood upon *Mount Libanus*; and to be reliev'd at the Month's End by the ſecond ten thouſand; and the ſecond after another Month, by the third: So that they had two Month's Liberty to be at their own Homes; and ſo thus in a Circle, every fourth Month, each ten thouſand to take their turn over again. Their Inſpector General, or Superintendent, was *Adoniram*. Beſide theſe, there were ſeventy thouſand Forreigners, formerly deſigned by *David*, for the carrying of Stones, and other Materials: Eighty thouſand Stone-Cutters and Maſons; and thirty two thouſand Overſeers of the Work. Their Order was to make Uſe of the largeſt Stones they could get for the Foundation, and to have them ſquar'd, and ready wrought upon the Mountains where they grew, and thence to be carry'd whole to *Jeruſalem*. In which Injunction, *Hiram*'s Men were concern'd as well as any of the Reſt.

The Time when Solomon *began the building of the Temple.*
1 Kings 6.

Solomon was now in the fourth Year of his Reign, when he began this mighty Work; and of that Year, the ſecond Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Artemiſius*; and the *Hebrews*, *Jar*: Five hundred ninety two Years from the *Iſraelites* coming out of *Ægypt*: A thouſand and twenty Years from *Abraham*'s coming out of *Meſopotamia* into the Land of *Canaan*; fourteen hundred and forty from the Deluge; and from the Creation of the World, three thouſand one hundred and two. It was alſo in the eleventh Year of *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre*; and two hundred Years after the building of that City.

The Foundation of it.

The Walls.

The Dimenſions.

The Order of the whole Fabrick.

The Beauty *and* Ornaments *of it.*

The Curioſity in the putting of it together.

The Foundation was laid prodigiouſly deep; and the Stones not only of the largeſt Size, but hard, and firm enough to endure all Weathers; and Proof againſt the Worm: Beſide, that they were ſo morteſſed one into another, and wedg'd into the Rock, that the Strength and Curioſity of the *Baſis* was not leſs admirable than the Bulk and Ornament of the intended Superſtructure: And the one every way anſwerable to the Beauty and Magnificence of the other. The Walls were all of a white Stone from the Ground to the Cieling. The Height of the building was ſixty Cubits; the Length as much; and the Breadth, twenty; over which there was another Stage of the ſame Dimenſions: So that the whole Height of the Building, from Bottom to Top, was a hundred and twenty Cubits, and it look'd toward the Eaſt. The Porch, or Court next to the Entrance, was twenty Cubits in Length, to anſwer the Temple. Ten in Breadth, and a hundred and twenty Cubits in Height. There was built round about it, and againſt the outward Walls, like ſo many Buttreſſes to ſupport it, thirty Cells, or little Houſes; in the Form of Galleries, opening one into another. The Length and Breadth of theſe Cells was five Cubits each; and the Height twenty: And there were two other Floors over this, of the ſame Make, and Proportions; amounting altogether to the juſt Height of the lower Part of the Fabrick, which we have been ſpeaking of; for theſe Cells or Galleries, went no higher than the Top of the firſt Story. They were all cieled with *Cedar*, and every Partition had it's Covering apart, independent one of another; but they were all coupled and faſten'd together, by long and large Beams, in ſuch a Faſhion, that they look'd but like one Piece, and as if the very Walls were the ſtronger for them. Under theſe Beams were ſeveral curious Varieties of Carving, fret Work, Gilding, *&c.* the Walls all wainſcoted with *Cedar*, and ſo illuſtrated with Works in Gold, that the dazling Splendor made every Thing about it look glorious. The whole Frame, in Fine, was rais'd upon Stones, poliſh'd to the higheſt Degree of Perfection; and ſo artificially put together, that there was no Joynt to be diſcerned, nor the leaſt ſign of a Hammer, or of any working Tool that had ever come upon it: All Things being ſo adjuſted and accommodated, one Piece to another before-Hand, that upon the whole Matter it look'd liker the Work of Providence and Nature, than the Product of Art, or humane Invention.

A Contrivance for Paſſages of Communication.

A Partition of it into two Diviſions.

Now in regard that the ſecond Story had not a large Door to it at the *Eaſt* End of it, as the lower had; but only ſome ſmall Doors to go in at, from the Sides above; *Solomon* contriv'd a pair of winding Stairs to be cut out through the Thickneſs of the Wall, for a Paſſage to the upper Part. The inſide of the Temple was all lin'd with *Cedar*; and the cramping of the Timbers together with ſtrong Irons, was a great Strength and Security to the Building. The King cauſed it to be laid in two Diviſions; that is to ſay, the inner Part, or *Holy of Holies*, of twenty Cubits Square, which was inacceſſible; and the other of forty Cubits, which was aſſigned to the Uſe and Service of the Prieſt. In the Partition Wall, betwixt the inner and the outward Part of the Temple, he built large *Cedar* Doors, which were richly gilt, and delicately carved; beſide choice Curioſities of Fancy and Hiſtory, embroider'd upon a hanging Veil before it, of rich Silks and fine Linnen, interwoven with beautiful Flowers; ſome purple, ſome ſcarlet, and the Colours all in Perfection.

Two golden Cherubims *in the holy Place.*

The holy Ark *in the Middle.*

The very Floor, and the Doors, all rich and glorious, with Gold upon Gold.

Solomon cauſed alſo to be made two *Cherubims* of maſſy Gold, which he dedicated to God in the holy Place; both of a Size; being each of them five Cubits high, and two Wings, each of them of five Cubits in Length; which being ſtretched out, one touched the South Side, and the other the North; and with their other two Wings, they met one another, over-ſpreading the holy *Ark*, in the Middle. It is not for any Man to deſcribe, or ſo much as to imagine a Deſcription of theſe *Cherubims*. And then the very Floor of the *Temple* was overlaid with beaten Gold; the Doors very large, and proportion'd to the Height of the Walls, twenty Cubits broad, and ſtill Gold upon Gold. To ſpeak all in a Word, it was Gold all over, and nothing wanting, either within or without, that might contribute to the Glory and Magnificence of the Work. There was a curious Curtain, or Hanging, put up at this Gate, as at the other; but none at the Entrance into the Porch.

Solomon *ſends for one* Hiram *from* Tyre, *a famous Architect, and Worker in Metals.*

1 Kings 7

Several Curioſities of Hiram's *making.*

Solomon had heard of a famous Man in *Tyre* for working in Gold, Silver, and other Metals: His Name was *Chiram*. He was an eminent Architect, over and above. His Mother was of the Tribe of *Naphthali*; and his Father, by Extraction, an *Iſraelite*. He ſent for this Man to *Tyre*, and employ'd him in his Buſineſs; and whereſoever *Solomon* had any Thing to do that was difficult or curious, *Chiram* was the Doer of it. He caſt him two brazen hollow Pillars of four Fingers thick in the Metal, eighteen Cubits high, and twelve in Circumference: Two Chapiters of Braſs on the Tops of the two Pillars, five Cubits each. Theſe were cover'd with a Kind of Braſs Net-Work; and below them, were Flowers or Lilly-Work of the ſame Contrivance, with two Rows of Pomegranates hanging down, a hundred in each Row. Theſe two Pillars he placed in the Entrance of the Porch; one on the Right Hand, which he called *Jachin*; and the other on the Left, which he called *Boaz*.

The Figure of the Brazen-Sea.

He made a Veſſel alſo of molten Braſs; ſomewhat after the Figure of a Globe cut off in the Middle; which for the Largeneſs of it, he call'd his *Sea*. It was made Goblet-Faſhion; the *Diameter* ten Cubits from Side to Side, four Fingers thick, with a twiſted Pillar of one Cubit over, under the Middle of it for a Supporter. Around this Pillar were placed the Figures of twelve Bulls, or Oxen; facing, by three and three, the four principal Quarters of *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North* and *South*. They ſtood in a Poſition lower behind than before; which was both an eaſing to the Weight, and kept it firm and ſteady. This *Sea*, or Veſſel, held three thouſand *Baths*, reckoning every *Bath* at about *ten Engliſh Pottles*.

Ten Baſes of Braſs for as many Lavers.

Chiram made alſo ten *Baſes* of Braſs of an oblong Square, and all of the ſame Form and Dimenſions: That is to ſay, five Cubits in Length each of them; four in Breadth; and ſix in Height. The ſeveral Pieces caſt apart, and then put together after this Manner. There were four Pillars, or Underſetters; one to the Corner of every Baſe, which were ſo incorporated with the Reſt of the Work, that they ſerved not only to uphold the Weight, but to keep the Sides tight one to another. Upon the Squares, were the Figures of a Lyon, a Bull, an Eagle, *&c.* and the like Images alſo upon the Pillars, and upon the Plates of the Borders. The whole Work was mounted upon four Wheels, a Cubit and a half over, all of Caſt-Work; Nave, Spokes, and every Thing that belonged to it: And it was a wonderful Thing to ſee how true and accurately every Inch of it was wrought. The Angles were made good with emboſſed Work, of Shoulders, Hands, Paws of Lyons, Talons of Eagles; with Reſts, or Ledges of Rail upon them to receive the *Laver*; but ſo artificially fitted to the Figures of thoſe Creatures, as they were there repreſented upon the Pannels, together with Branches of Palm-Trees intermixed upon the ſame Piece, that every Thing look'd as Natural as if it had been to the Life.

Ten Brazen Lavers *for ten* Baſes.

All placed in the Temple,

and fill'd with Water.

This was the Structure of the *ten Baſes*; and to theſe *Baſes* he made ten *Lavers* of the ſame Metal, and of a roundiſh *conchous* Form, each containing forty Baths; the Height four Cubits, and the *Diameter* as much. Theſe ten Lavers were ſet upon as many Baſes, which in their Language they called *Mechenoth*. They were all placed in the Temple: Five of them on the Left Hand, at the *North Side*; and the other five at the *South Side*, on the Right, looking toward the Eaſt. In the ſame Place ſtood likewiſe the *Brazen-Sea*. They were all fill'd with Water: The Sea for the Uſe of the Prieſts to waſh their Hands and Feet with, upon entring the Sanctuary, before they went up to the Altar; and the Reſt of the Lavers for cleanſing of the Inwards, and other Parts of the Burnt-Offerings.

A Brazen Altar *and Veſſels belonging to it.*

Several Tables.

He erected moreover a *Brazen Altar* of twenty Cubits in Length, as many over, and ten in Depth, for the Service of the *Holocauſts*: Providing all the Veſſels thereunto belonging, of the ſame Stuff; as Boilers, Water-Pots, Fleſh-Hooks, *&c.* He dedicated alſo a World of Tables, and one of pure Gold for the *Shew-Bread*, larger than the Reſt. But there were a great many others yet of ſeveral Makes and Sizes, not much inferior to that for the *Shew-Bread*, and ſufficient to hold twenty thouſand golden Cups and Veſſels, and twice the Number of ſilver ones. He made a Proviſion likewiſe of twelve thouſand *Candleſticks*, according to the Appointment of *Moſes*; and one of them to be apply'd by a *peculiar* Dedication to the Service of the Temple, and there to be kept with Lights in them burning Day and Night, after the Direction of the Law. The Table for the Shew-Bread was placed on the *North Side*, over againſt the *Candleſtick* which ſtood on the *South*. Betwixt theſe two was the *Golden Altar*. This was all in the fore-part of the Temple of forty Cubits, and a Partition-Veil betwixt that and the *Holy of Holies*, where the *Ark of the Covenant was to be kept*.

Candleſticks.

The Golden Altar.

The King cauſed to be made likewiſe, fourſcore thouſand *Wine-Cups*; and ten thouſand golden Veſſels, and Goblets of other Sorts and Faſhions, and twice as many ſilver ones. Plates and Diſhes of Gold to ſteep the Flour in, upon the Altar eighty thouſand: And of Silver, double the Number. Golden Meaſures, ſuch as the *Moſaical Hin*, and *Aſſaron* twenty thouſand; and as many more of Silver. Golden Cenſers for Incenſe twenty thouſand, and fifty thouſand other Cenſers to carry Fire from the great Altar to the little one within the Temple.

Wine Cups, Veſſels *of* Gold *and* Silver. Plates *and* Diſhes *of Gold*. Golden Meaſures. Silver *and* Golden Cenſers.

This mighty Prince made a Proviſion alſo of a thouſand *Prieſts Habits*; as *Robes*, *Ephods*, Suits of *precious Stones*, &c. only there was but one Crown with *Moſes*'s Inſcription of God upon it, which is yet to be ſeen to this very Day. There were alſo *Silken Veſts* and *Purple Girdles* for the Prieſts: Ten thouſand of each; two hundred thouſand *Trumpets*, according to the Inſtitution of *Moſes*, and as many *Silken Stoles* for the *Levites* that chanted the holy Hymns: Beſide four hundred thouſand *muſical Inſtruments*; as Harps, Pſalteries, and the like, which were made of a mixt Metal betwixt Gold and Silver, to accompany the Voices.

Prieſts Habits, Robes, Ephods, precious Stones.

Silken Veſts, Purple Girdles *for the Prieſts*. Trumpets *and* Silken Stoles *for the* Levites. Muſical Inſtruments *to accompany Voices*.

There was nothing wanting, in Fine, of Induſtry, Magnificence, or Expence toward the advancing of this glorious Work, that might either expreſs the Zeal of the Founder himſelf for the Honour of God, or ſtir up the like Affections in others. When the preparatory Part was over, the Church Stuff was depoſited in the holy Treaſury, and ſet apart for religious Uſes. The Temple it ſelf was fenced with an Encloſure of three Foot in Height (in *Hebrew*, *Giſon)* to keep out the Laity from entring into a Place where only the Prieſts were to be admitted. Beyond this Partition was another Square-Court or Building, with large *Portico's* or Galleries about it, and four ſtately Gates, that open'd *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North* and *South*: The Doors all plated and inlaid with Gold. This Place was common to all People, provided they came thither with that Purity of Preparation and legal Qualification which the Law required.

The Church ſtuff *is depoſited in the holy Treaſury*. Fences *and* Partitions *in and about the Temple*.

The erecting of this outward Building was ſo ſtupendous an Undertaking, that no Tongue can expreſs the Difficulties of raiſing it; and the Man would have much ado to believe his own very Eyes that ſaw it: Such Hollows, ſuch Depths to be fill'd up, as a Body could hardly have look'd upon, or but ſo much as fanſy'd, without turning his Brain: Four hundred Cubits to be brought up to a Level with the Top of the Mountain; only to make the Work regular, and the Ground even. This Port was encompaſs'd again with a Kind of double Cloyſter, and two Rows of Pillars, to ſupport it; every Pillar being cut Whole out of the Rock. The Doors were all Silver-Work: The Roof Fret-Work, and the Wainſcotting all of *Cedar*.

A horrid Depth of a Valley to be fill'd up, and level'd for the erecting of this Fabrick.

This admirable Structure was but ſeven Years in Hand, and it is hard to ſay, conſidering the Magnitude, the Curioſity, the Expence, and the Ornament, on the one Hand; and the Diſpatch of it on the other; whether was the more wonderful of the two. For it was effectually the Buſineſs of many Ages drawn into the Compaſs of a very few Years.

1 Kings 8. *This wonderful Structure was but ſeven Years a Building*.

This mighty Undertaking being now brought to Perfection, *Solomon* wrote to all the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, and the Heads of the *Tribes* to ſummon the People up to *Jeruſalem* to ſee the *Temple*, and to aſſiſt in tranſporting thither the *Ark* of the Covenant. The Reſolution was duly notify'd, and in the ſeventh Month, which we call *Thuri*, and the *Macedonians Hyperberetæus*, with much ado they got together. In this Month was the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, which among the *Hebrews* was accounted the moſt ſacred and ſolemn of their Feſtivals. So the Prieſts took up the *Ark*, and *Moſes*'s *Tabernacle*, with the holy Veſſels belonging to the *Altar*, and carry'd them all into the *Temple*; the King, and the whole Congregation, with the *Levites*, marching before them, with their Sacrifices and Oblations, ſprinkling the Ground, as they paſs'd, with their Blood, and perfuming the Air with the Fragrancy of Incenſe, and ſweet Odours; to ſuch a Degree, that People were ſenſible of it at a Diſtance; and reflected upon the Delicacy of the Breath they drew, as no leſs than a celeſtial Influence: Inferring from that agreeable Alteration, that God himſelf had deſcended from Heaven to conſecrate

Solomon *ſummons the Elders and Heads of the Tribes up to* Jeruſalem; *to ſee the* Temple, *and tranſport the* Ark *thither*.

On the Feaſt of Tabernacles, *the Prieſts carry the* Ark, Tabernacle, *and Veſſels belonging to the* Altar, *into the* Temple. *The Solemnity of the* Proceſſion.

crate the *Temple* that was newly built, and dedicated to himſelf, and therein to take up his Abode: For though the whole Congregation came ſinging and dancing all the Way to the Temple, they went on freſh and chearfully to their Journey's End. This was the Manner of their tranſporting the *Ark*.

When they were now come to the *Holy of Holies* where it was to be depoſited, the People withdrew, and the *Prieſts* only that brought it, carry'd it in to the *Oracle*, and there plac'd it under the Figure of the *two Cherubims*, that were repreſented with the Points of their Wings touching one another; which look'd like a Kind of Cover, and Protection to the *Ark* that was juſt under them. There was nothing more in it than the two *Stone-Tables* with the *ten Commandments* engraven upon them, as God deliver'd them upon *Mount Sinai*. The *Candleſtick*, *Table*, and *Golden Altar*, ſtood in the ſame Order now in the *Sanctuary*, as they did at firſt in the *Tabernacle*, when they offer'd their daily Sacrifices. The *Brazen Altar* was placed directly againſt the Door, for the better View of the Magnificence of the Worſhip on the other Side: And then for the Reſt of the *holy Utenſils* and Veſſels, they were all laid up together in the *Temple*.

The Ark *depoſited in the* Holy of Holies, *and placed under the* two Cherubims.

Nothing in it but the two Tables *with the ten* Commandments *engraven upon them, which were deliver'd in* Mount Sinai.

The *Ark* being now diſpos'd of into its proper Place, with all Decency and Reverence, and the Prieſts withdrawn, there deſcended a Cloud, which ſo fill'd and darken'd the Place, that they could hardly ſee one another thorough it: Not like an angry Winter's Cloud, big with foul Weather; but only ſuch a temperate, breathing Diffuſion, as by the Benignity of the Appearance and Operation, was look'd upon to be rather a Token of God's ſpecial Approbation and Acceptance of the Work they were upon, and of his coming down to dwell among them in that Temple as in his own Houſe, than the Effect of any natural Cauſe.

After the placing of the Ark, *a Cloud deſcends;*

in Token of God's Approbation.

While the People's Heads were working upon this Thought, *Solomon* ſtood up; and with a Grace and Majeſty becoming the Dignity of the Subject and Occaſion, addreſſing himſelf in a ſhort Prayer to Almighty God in Words to this Effect; *Lord!* (ſays he) *thou that inhabiteſt Eternity, and haſt raiſed out of nothing the mighty Fabrick of this Univerſe; the Heavens, the Air, the Earth, and the Sea: Thou that filleſt the whole, and every Thing that is in it; and art thy ſelf unbounded and incomprehenſible, look down graciouſly upon thy Servants that have preſumed to erect a Temple here to the Honour of thy great Name. Lord! hear our Prayers, and receive our Sacrifices: Thou that art every where, vouchſafe alſo to be with us; thou that ſeeſt and heareſt all Things, look down from thy Throne in Heaven, and give ear to our Supplications in this Place. Thou that never faileſt to aſſiſt thoſe that call upon thee Night and Day, and love and ſerve thee as they ought to do, have Mercy upon us.*

Solomon's *Prayer for a Bleſſing upon the Work.*

Upon the finiſhing of this Prayer, *Solomon* made a Diſcourſe to the People upon the Subject of God's Power and Providence: Telling them, what wonderful Things had been revealed to his Father *David*, in Dreams and Viſions; ſome already paſt, and others as yet to come, concerning himſelf, his Name, his Succeſſion to the Throne, his building of the Temple, the Eſtabliſhment of the Family, and the Well-Being and Proſperity of the Nation. *Now,* ſays Solomon, *a great Part of theſe Predictions being already verify'd, you are to thank God, not only for the Comforts you enjoy; but for the good Things alſo that are further promiſed, and to look upon the former, only as the Earneſt of greater Bleſſings.*

Solomon's *Diſcourſe to the People, upon God's Power and Providence.*

After the ſpeaking of theſe Words, the King turn'd his Eye again toward the *Temple*; and with his Hand advanced, *Lord!* ſays he, *What are the moſt glorious Works of Man, in Balance, even with the ſmalleſt of thy Benefits and Mercies? Or what can we that have nothing to give, pretend to do for thee that wanteſt nothing? When the very leaſt of thy Bounties are above, and beyond all Requital? We can only render thee Praiſe, Acknowledgment and Thankſgiving; and that indeed is a Prerogative Faculty, that thou haſt vouchſafed to Mankind above all other Creatures: So that this I am not only allow'd, but obliged to do, in the Name of my ſelf, and my Family, and the whole People of* Iſrael, *for all thy multiply'd Favours and infinite Goodneſs towards us. Now having no other Way of expreſſing our Duty and Affections, than by the Means of bare empty Words, that are only ſo much Air drawn in and breath'd out again, be pleaſed to accept of our humble Gratitude in that humane Capacity: Firſt, for thy gracious Goodneſs to my dear Father, in raiſing him from a Shepherd's Crook to an imperial Scepter: And in the ſecond Place, for making good to thy Servant* Solomon *all thy Promiſes and Predictions in his Favour. Lord! continue thy Bounties to us, as to thy choſen People; preſerve, proſper, and perpetuate the Government to our Family, by a conſtant Train of Succeſſions from Generation to Generation, according to thy Promiſes to my Father, living and dying. Lord! grant us all this; and to all mine, the Virtues and the Graces that may make them acceptable in thy Sight. I do further moſt humbly beſeech thee, to let thy Holy Spirit deſcend upon this* Temple, *in the Bleſſing of thy peculiar Preſence. Heaven and Earth I know are too little for thy Majeſty and Glory;*

Solomon's *Ejaculation upon the Goodneſs of God.*

He bleſſes God for the Elevation of his Family; and making good all his Promiſes and Predictions.

He implores the Continuance of God's Mercy and Goodneſs; and his peculiar Preſence in his holy Temple.

ry; and much more the Workmanſhip of Men's Hands, in a Fabrick of Wood and Stone: And yet I cannot but preſume to implore thy Providence and Protection over it: Lord! Preſerve it from the Power and Rage of Enemies; and be pleaſed to take Care of it, as of thy own Propriety and Poſſeſſion. And if at any Time hereafter thou ſhalt be mov'd in thy juſt Diſpleaſure to puniſh this People for their Tranſgreſſions, with Famine, Peſtilence, or any other Judgment whatſoever anſwerable to the Degree of the Wickedneſs, Lord! be pleaſed upon their humble Supplications to thee in thine own Houſe, with Prayers and Tears, for Mercy and Forgiveneſs, to accept of their true Repentance, and to remove thy Judgments. This I beſeech thee, not for the Hebrews *alone; but for the Relief indifferently of all People whatſoever, that ſhall offer up their Petitions to thee in this thy holy Place. By this Means it will appear to the whole World, that this is thy Houſe, and we thy People: And that the* Hebrews *are not ſo inhumane, as to envy Strangers the common Diſpenſations of the Author and Fountain of all our Happineſs.*

Solomon *proſtrates himſelf, and worſhips: Riſes up and ſacrifices.*
A Flaſh of Fire from Heaven conſumes the Sacrifice, in Token that God owns both the Worſhip and the Temple.

With theſe Words, *Solomon* caſt himſelf upon the Ground, and after a little Pauſe in that Act and Poſture of Adoration, he roſe and offered Sacrifices in Abundance; having the Satisfaction alſo of an Aſſurance, by a Token effectually from God, that his Oblations were accepted; for there fell a Flaſh of Fire from above, that ſhot through the Air directly down to the *Altar*, and conſum'd the Offerings. This Prodigy being ſeen by the whole Multitude, they all look'd upon it as a certain Sign of God's owning, both the Worſhip and the Temple; which put them into ſuch an Extaſy of Joy, that they all fell down together, and joyn'd in the Adoration. *Solomon* went on upon the Point of Praiſes and Thankſgivings, perſuading and encouraging the Multitude to do the like, in the Contemplation of ſo clear an Evidence of God's ſpecial Favour toward them. The King charged the People to be Inſtant with God in Prayer, for the Continuance of his Goodneſs and Graces to them, that they might live in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, without any Spot or Blemiſh, and walk in the Steps, and according to the divine Traditions of *Moſes*, to their Live's End: This being the ſure and the only Way to render the *Hebrews* the happieſt People of all Mortals. He minded them alſo that their Felicity was no Way to be ſecured, and augmented, but by the Means by which it was acquir'd; as being not only the Effect, but the Reward of Piety and Juſtice. He told them further, that it was much eaſier to get what they wanted, than to keep what they had got; and bad them have a Care, not to forfeit by any Miſdemeanour, what they had gain'd by their Virtue.

Solomon *diſmiſſes the Aſſembly.*

The King made an End of ſpeaking here, and diſcharg'd the Aſſembly; having firſt offered up in Sacrifices for himſelf and his People, twelve thouſand Calves, and a hundred and twenty thouſand Lambs. This was the firſt Blood that was ſpilt in the Temple; and the *Iſraelites*, with their Wives and Children were all feaſted at it. There was celebrated at the ſame Time before the Temple, beſide this Solemnity, the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, which laſted fourteen Days at the King's Expence, with great Jollity, Magnificence, and Splendour.

The Feaſt of Tabernacles, *and the* Dedication *of the* Temple *happen'd together.*
The Ceremony being now over, the People returned to their own Homes.

The Noiſe and Pomp of Things was now over, and all imaginable Right done to the Honour and Piety of the Occaſion: So that every Man was now returning to his own Habitation, but not without infinite Acknowledgments of the King's Wiſdom, Care and Bounty in all Reſpects; and Prayers for the long Life of *Solomon*, and the long Continuance of the People under the Bleſſing of his Government. They went back, in Fine, ſinging, rejoycing, and giving Glory to God; with all Things ſo much to their Heart's Content, that betwixt Joy and good Company, the Time paſs'd away chearfully and eaſily, without any Senſe of Tediouſneſs or Trouble in the Journey.

1 Kings 9.

A Voice tells Solomon *from Heaven that his Prayers are heard and granted; upon Condition that he walk in the Steps of his Father.*
But if ever he or his Subjects go over to ſtrange Gods, they ſhall be no longer a People; but be ſcatter'd over the Face of the Earth, like Vagabonds.

The *Ark* being now brought into and depoſited in the Temple; the Beauty and the Magnificence of that glorious Structure, with all due Ceremony and Solemnity expoſed; the Congregation diſperſed, and ſo went Home again. *God appeared now a ſecond Time to* Solomon, *in his Sleep; and a Voice told him, that God had accepted his Sacrifices, and heard his Prayers; that he would preſerve his Temple, and make it the Houſe of his Dwelling: That is to ſay, ſo long as he himſelf, and his Poſterity and People ſhould continue to walk before him, as* David *his Father did, in Pureneſs of Heart: Promiſing him, upon that Condition, to advance him to the higheſt Degree of earthly Bliſs; to perpetuate the Throne of* Iſrael *to his Family; ſo that there ſhould never want a Prince of that Line, and of the Tribe of* Judah, *to wield that Scepter. But on the other Hand, if ever they ſhould betray, and depart from, or forget the Worſhip they profeſs'd, and run after ſtrange Gods, they ſhould be quite rooted out from off the Face of the Earth, and* Iſrael *be no longer a People; but after being torn to Pieces, and broken with Wars, and other Calamities at Home, be forced away to ſhift for themſelves in the wide World, as* Vagabonds *and* Exiles. The Voice told him further, *that in Caſe of ſuch an* Apoſtacy, *his new erected Fabrick ſhould, with divine Permiſſion, come to be ſack'd and*

burnt

their Temple *ſackt and burnt by* Barbarians, *and* Jeruſalem *laid in the Duſt.*

burnt by the Hands of Barbarians, *and* Jeruſalem *it ſelf laid in Rubbiſh and Aſhes, by a merciles Enemy: Inſomuch that People ſhould ſtand amazed at the very Report of ſo incredible a Miſery and Diſtreſs, and be wondering one to another how it ſhould come to paſs, that a People that were but yeſterday the Envy of all Mankind, for Riches, external Glory and Reputation, ſhould now all on a ſudden be ſunk and loſt to the laſt Degree of Wretchedneſs and Contempt; and reduced to this deſpicable State too, by the ſame Hand that raiſed them. To which Queſtion, their own guilty Conſciences ſhall make this Anſwer: We have forſaken our God; we have abandoned the Religion of our Forefathers, and of our Country, and all this is juſtly befallen us for our Sins.* This was the Subſtance of *Solomon*'s *Dream*, or *Viſion*, as we find it tranſmitted to us in Holy Writ.

Solomon *erects a* royal Palace, *which was thirteen years a finiſhing.* 1 Sam. 7.

After the finiſhing of this Temple; which, as we have ſaid already, was ſeven Years in Hand, *Solomon* enter'd upon the building of a royal *Palace* for himſelf, which was full thirteen Years more a perfecting. He was not ſo ſolicitous and intent upon the latter, as the former, which in the Truth was great and artificial to a Miracle; and without God's peculiar Bleſſing, and Aſſiſtance, could not have been compleated within that Compaſs of Years. *Solomon*'s *Court* indeed was in Appearance much inferiour to the Majeſty of his *Temple*, not only for want of Time to provide his Materials; but the one was deſigned only for the Honour and Convenience of a temporal Prince, and the other dedicated to the King of Kings: So that the Thing was the longer a doing. It was however ſufficient to anſwer the End it was deſign'd for; being a Work that redounded much to the Glory, both of Prince and People. But it will be worth the while to ſay ſomewhat more particularly of the Model, and Diſpoſition of this majeſtical Fabrick, for the Reader's better Underſtanding of the whole, as well as for his Curioſity and Satisfaction.

The Deſcription of the royal Palace, *with the Offices and Apartments.*

There was erected, upon ſeveral Rows of Pillars, a fair ſpacious Pile of Building, in the Nature, and after the Manner of a *common Hall* for the Hearing of Cauſes. It was a hundred Cubits in Length, fifty in Breadth, and the Depth thirty: Nor could it well be leſs, to receive the vaſt Multitudes that came thronging thither from all Parts, for Juſtice. It was ſupported by *ſixteen ſquare Columns*, cover'd with *Corinthian* Work, in *Cedar*, and fortify'd with double Doors curiouſly wrought, that ſerved both for the ſecurity, and the Ornament of the Place. In the Middle of this *Court*, or *Hall*, was another Edifice of thirty Cubits ſquare, and under-ſet with ſtrong Pillars; in which Quarter was a Throne of State, where the King himſelf uſed to ſit perſonally in Judgment. Next adjoining to this royal *Court of Juſtice*, was the Queen's Houſe, and other Apartments thereabouts; for Diverſion and Retreat, after the Fatigue of Cares and Buſineſs: All fitted up with *Cedar*, and raiſed upon huge Stones of ten Cubits ſquare, which were partly plain, and part overlaid with the moſt precious Marble, after the Faſhion of the moſt magnificent of Palaces or Temples. The Rooms were hung with three Depths of rich Hangings, and beautify'd with Images, in Sculpture, of Trees, Plants, Branches, Leaves, *&c*; and all ſo miraculouſly wrought, that they appear'd to the Eye to be all in Motion. As to the Remainder of the Space up to the Cieling, it was all ſet out with delicate particolour'd Figures, upon a Ground of White. And then beſide all theſe, there was a great Variety of other Chambers too, for Retirement or Delight; long and large Galleries; vaſt Rooms of State, and others for Feaſting and Entertainment, ſet out as rich as rich could be, with coſtly Furniture, and Gildings: Beſide that all the Services for the King's Table were of pure Gold. But it would be an endleſs Work to give a particular Survey of this mighty Maſs of Buildings: So many Courts, and other Contrivances; ſuch an infinite Diverſity of Chambers and Officers, great and little: Some under Ground, others above; as Vaults, Turrets, and the like. In a Word, the whole Houſe was in a Manner made up from Top to Bottom, of white Marble, Cedar, Gold and Silver with precious Stones here and there intermingled upon the Walls, or Cielings, after the Manner of the Adorning of the Temple. There was alſo erected a very fair, large, ivory Throne, with delicate carved Work, and Engraving upon it, after the Faſhion of a Tribunal. There were ſix Steps that led up to it; the Figure of a Lion at each End of every Step, and two Lions more above: That is to ſay, one on either Hand of the State. As the King reſted upon his Throne, there were Arms put forth, as in a Readineſs to take Care of him, and to receive him; and the Figure of a Bullock placed in a proper Poſture under him, for his Support: The whole Piece being cover'd all over with Gold.

Solomon's Throne. 1 Kings 10.

1 Kings 1?.

Theſe two magnificent Structures were twenty Years a finiſhing; and it was a huge Maſs of Gold, and a greater of Silver; beſide a mighty Proviſion of *Cedar* and *Cyprus*, that *Hiram* the King of *Tyre* contributed to the perfecting of the Work. And *Solomon* was not behind-hand with him neither, in his Acknowledgments, and Preſents: For he ſent him every Year, great Quantities of *Corn*, and *Wine*, and *Oyl*, as a Supply that *Hiram*, being an Iſlander, ſtood moſt in need of; as has been obſerv'd heretofore. He beſtow'd upon him moreover, twenty Cities upon the Borders of *Galilee*, not far from *Tyre*; which, upon View and Conſideration (not being much to his Liking) he fairly declin'd, with a reſpectful Excuſe to *Solomon*, that he had no Need of thoſe Cities. From this Refuſal, that Part of the Country was call'd [a] *Chabalon:* Which with the *Phœnicians* is as much as to ſay, *It does not pleaſe me.*

Many good Offices betwixt Solomon *and* Hiram. Hiram *applies himſelf to* Solomon *for the Solution of all difficult Caſes.* Menander *makes Mention of theſe two Princes.*

Hiram had ſo great a Veneration for the Wiſdom of *Solomon*, that ſtill as he found himſelf gravell'd for the Underſtanding of any Difficulty, or myſterious Queſtion, he apply'd himſelf to this wiſe Prince for the Solution of it; who never fail'd of anſwering him to his Satisfaction, according to the true Reaſon, and Nature of the Matter in Hand. The *Hiſtorian Menander*, that turn'd the *Tyrian Annals* out of the *Philiſtin* Tongue into *Greek*, makes Mention of theſe two Princes, as follows. Hiram, ſays he, *the Son of* Abibale, *ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of* Tyre. *He liv'd three and fifty Years, and reigned four and thirty. He annex'd a Piece of forced Ground, called the great Field, to the Iſland, and dedicated a golden Pillar to* Jupiter *in his Temple. He cut down Materials alſo in Abundance upon the Mount* Libanus *for the Covering of Holy Places; and demoliſhing ancient Temples, he built new ones, to* Hercules *and* Aſtarte. *He erected a Statue for* Hercules, *in the Month of* Peritius: *And then in an Expedition againſt the* Eyceans, *for not paying the Duty of a Tribute, as they ought to have done, he overcame them, and went Home again. In his Days, there was one* Abdemonus, *a young Man that took upon him to give* Solomon, *the King of* Jeruſalem, *a Reſolution upon all dark and myſterious Queſtions that you ſhould put to him. Dius* writes alſo to this Effect. Abibale *being now dead,* Hiram *his Son ſucceeded him; who, by filling up void Places on the Eaſt Quarter of the Town, enlarged the Borders and brought the Temple of* Olympian Jupiter, *that before ſtood apart, and at a Diſtance, into the Compaſs of the City; enriching, and adorning it with golden Offerings to a very great Value: After which, he order'd the cutting down of* Cedars *upon Mount* Libanus *for the Uſe of Holy Places.* He tells farther, *that* Solomon, *the King of* Jeruſalem, *would be often ſending Problems and Riddles to* Hiram, *upon the Forfeiture of a great Sum of Money, if he fail'd of expounding them. Thoſe difficult Caſes were afterward, not only unriddled by* Abdemonus, *a* Tyrian, *but new Propoſitions ſtarted by him; and* Solomon *himſelf too incur'd a great Forfeiture, if he did not uncypher them.* Thus far goes *Dius.*

And Dius *ſpeaks of* Hiram *too.* Solomon *repairs, fortifies, and enlarges the Walls.*

The Walls of *Jeruſalem* were not at this Time in a Condition either for the Defence, or Reputation, of ſo famous a City: So that *Solomon* repair'd, and enlarged them, with the Addition of ſuch Towers and other Fortifications, as he found requiſite for the ſecuring of the Place. He built ſeveral Cities alſo of conſiderable Note, as *Aſor*, *Magedon*, and *Gazara*, in the Land of the *Philiſtines*; which *Pharaoh* the King of *Ægypt* had formerly taken by Aſſault; and raſing it to the Ground, put every Creature in it to the Sword; giving it afterward to his Daughter upon the Match with *Solomon*. This City the King rebuilt, for the Strength of its Situation, and the Uſe it might be of to the Government, as well in War as Peace. He built likewiſe, not far from thence, *Betachora* and *Baleth*, beſide other Places of Pleaſure, in Reſpect of the Temperature of the Climate, the Delicacy of the Fruits, and the Conveniencies of excellent Air and Water. He poſſeſs'd himſelf after this, of the Entrance into the Deſert that lies toward *Syria*; where he built a very fair City, two Days Journy from the Upper *Syria*, one from *Euphrates*, and ſix from *Babylon*. Now the Reaſon of erecting a City here at ſuch a Diſtance from the habitable Parts of *Syria*, was this; that it might ſerve for a watering Place (there being ſeveral Springs and Fountains in it) to thoſe that travell'd through that Deſert. This Town being built, wall'd, ſtrongly fortify'd, was called *Thadamora*, which Name it bears among the *Syrians* to this Day. The *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*. And let this ſuffice for the Hiſtory of *Solomon* thus far.

He builds Five Cities alſo, beſide other Places of Pleaſure. A fair City called Thadamora.

for a watering Place.

All the Kings of Ægypt *from* Memphis *to the Days of* Solomon, *were called* Pharaoh's.

Pharaoh, *in* Ægyptian, *ſignifies* King; *and ſo the Name denotes Office.*

As with the Ptolemys, *and the* Cæſars.

Now in Regard that I find many People inquiſitive how it comes to paſs that the Kings of *Ægypt*, from *Minæus* the firſt Founder of *Memphis* it ſelf, which was long before our Father *Abraham*, to the Days of *Solomon*, being upward of thirteen hundred Years, ſhould be all called by the Name of *Pharaoh*; and from what Original they took their Denomination, I ſhall give this plain and ſhort Account of it, for their Satisfaction. *Pharaoh*, in the *Ægyptian* Language, ſounds as much as *King*. My Opinion is that they were brought up by other Names; and that upon coming to the Exerciſe of a publick Character, they exchang'd the Diſtinction of the Family for the common Name of Power. It was the ſame Thing with the Kings of *Alexandria*, that were educated by *one* Name, and govern'd by *another*; being all call'd *Ptolemeys*, from the firſt of their Kings: And ſo it is with the *Roman Emperours* too; who in Caſe of ſuch an Elevation, drop their private and hereditary Names, and are all call'd *Cæſars*, with a Reſpect to the Character of a *ſovereign Power*. This was it, perhaps, that made *Herodotus* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in his Account of the Succeſſors to *Minæus* the firſt King of *Memphis*, to reckon upon three hundred thirty Kings, referring to the Number without mentioning their Names, *Pharaoh* being one common Name to them all. Now upon the coming of a Woman afterwards to the Government, he ſpeaketh of her by the particular Name of *Nicaulis*, the Appellation of *Pharaoh* being only proper to the other Sex. Neither do I find in the whole Hiſtory of our Affairs, that after *Pharaoh*, the *Father-in-Law*, of *Solomon*, there was ever any other King of *Ægypt* known by that Name. I am alſo well aſſured that this *Nicaulis* was the Queen of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, that came afterward to *Solomon:* But of this, more hereafter. I have been the larger upon theſe Particulars, to ſhew the Agreement betwixt our Memorials, and thoſe of the *Ægyptians*.

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[a] Bochart *reads* Chabulon *in his* Geogr, Sacr.

There were ſome ſtubborn Canaanites *that refus'd Allegiance to the* Iſraelites. Solomon *at length makes them Tributaries, upon Condition of furniſhing ſo many Slaves for Drudgery.*

There was ſtill a ſtubborn Remainder of the *Canaanites*, betwixt Mount *Libanus*, and the City *Amathe*, that for ſome Time diſputed their Allegiance to the Kings of *Iſrael*, till *Solomon* at laſt made them his Tributaries; upon Condition of furniſhing him yearly with ſuch a certain Number of Slaves, as was agreed upon to be employ'd upon tilling the Land and other Sorts of Drudgery; for the *Hebrews* were not upon any Work that was coarſe and ſervile; neither would it have been reaſonable, when God had ſubdu'd ſo many Nations to his Power, for the Conquerors to deſcend to do the Buſineſs of their Captives. As to the *Iſraelites*, their *Genius* lay more toward *Arms*, *Chariots*, *Horſes*, Exploits of *War*, and *military Exerciſes*. The *Canaanites* in the mean Time were held to their Labour, and ſix hundred Officers of the King's put over them, to appoint them their Taſks, and keep them to their Work.

Solomon *builds a Fleet of Ships.* Hiram *aſſiſts him to rigg them, and ſet them out; and ſupplies them with Guides to the Land of* Ophir.

The King built a Fleet of Ships alſo in *Ezon-Geber*, an *Ægyptian* Bay upon the *Red-Sea*. The Port is now call'd *Berenice*, not far from the City of *Elan*, which in thoſe Days was reckon'd to be under the Juriſdiction of the *Hebrews*. In the building, fitting and rigging out of this Navy, *Solomon* was highly obliged to King *Hiram* for his generous Aſſiſtance; for he ſent him as many expert Pilots, and ſkilful Mariners, as he had Occaſion for, that ſerv'd the King's Officers for Guides to the Land of *Ophir*, ſince called *India*, or the *golden Land*, where they got together four hundred Talents of Gold, and went back with it to the King.

Solomon's *Fame coming to the Queen of* Ægypt *and* Æthiopia.
1 Kings 10.

She takes up a Reſolution of giving him a Viſit.

The Queen ſets forward for Jeruſalem *with a royal Train, and with magnificent Preſents.*

Her Reception is ſuitable to the Quality, and Occaſion.

She finds the King's Wiſdom much above the Fame of it.

The Queen looks upon the Grove of Libanon *as the Maſter-piece of the whole Fabrick: But the daily Sacrifices, and the Order of God's Worſhip tranſports her beyond all the Reſt.*

The Fame of *Solomon*'s Virtue and Wiſdom was ſo advantagiouſly repreſented, upon this Occaſion, to *Nicaulis* the Queen of *Ægypt* and *Æthiopia*, that being a Princeſs of wonderful Underſtanding her ſelf, and a Perſon every Way extraordinary, the very Glory of the Character gave her a longing Impatience to hear and ſee the Original: For, ſays ſhe to herſelf, what ſignifies all this Here-ſay, without experimental Proof? Illuſtrious Rumours ſpeak but the Senſe or Affection of the Reporter: And after all, their ſplendid Pretenſions fall flat perhaps, and come to nothing in the Concluſion. When ſhe had been ballancing a while upon theſe Thoughts, ſhe took up a Reſolution, in Contempt of all the Riſques and Difficulties of a long Voyage, to give him an honourable Viſit, for the Satisfaction even of her Curioſity, as well as of her Inclination and Judgment; and to enjoy the Fruit, and Comfort of that Wiſdom ſhe had heard ſuch Wonders of. In this Determination ſhe ſet forward toward *Jeruſalem*, with a Train and Equipage ſuitable to her royal Dignity; taking along with her a Number of Camels, laden with Gold; Variety of rich Perfumes, and of precious Stones. Upon her Arrival, the King receiv'd her with all poſſible Honour, Courteſy, and Reſpect; and with ſo much Eaſe and Clearneſs ſolved all the Difficulties ſhe propos'd, that it put her into an Amazement to find his Excellencies, in Truth, and Effect, ſo much beyond what ſhe had heard of them in Fame and Report. She ſtood in great Admiration at the Majeſty and Curioſity of his Palace; the Order and Diſpoſition of the Building, and at the King's incomparable Prudence upon the main, through the whole Contrivance and Conduct: But ſhe was mov'd at nothing more than at the Maſter-piece of that Fabrick call'd *the Grove of Libanon*; The magnificent, and the regular Courſe of his Entertainments; The *Diſcipline* and *Oeconomy* of the Family, and the doing every Thing with ſo peculiar a Grace. She was likewiſe infinitely pleaſed with the Spectacle of the daily Sacrifices and to ſee with what Application, Care and Veneration, the *Prieſts* and *Levites* perform'd their Part in the Worſhip. The conſtant Courſe and Practice of this orderly Reverence ran in her Head Day and Night, and her Heart was ſo ſet upon it, that the more ſhe conſider'd it, the more ſhe found it to be ſtill her Wonder and Delight: Nor did ſhe make any Difficulty of owning as much to the King himſelf.

The Queen's Addreſs to Solomon.

Great Prince, ſays ſhe, *the Credit of Reports is ſo doubtful and uncertain, that without a demonſtrative and experimental Confirmation of the Truth of what we hear, we are forced to ſuſpend our Aſſent for want of knowing what to believe, eſpecially where the Fame of Things byaſſes toward either extreme of Good or Evil: But in the Queſtion of your incomparable Faculties and Greatneſs; that is to ſay, the internal Advantages of the*

Mind in a ſuperlative Degree of Knowledge and Underſtanding, and the Glory of your outward State; the Rumour has been ſo far from partial, that it falls ſhort even of a common Juſtice: For though common Fame ſaid as much to your Honour as could be put in Words, I have yet the Happineſs at this preſent to ſee much more than I heard. Bleſſed are the Hebrews: *Bleſſed the Friends and People of* Solomon, *that ſtand ever before him, and hear his Wiſdom; and bleſſed be God for his Goodneſs to this Land and Nation, in placing them under the Government of ſo excellent a Prince.*

Rich and curious Preſents.

Having proceeded thus far, this generous Princeſs did not ſtop here at Words and Profeſſions, but follow'd her Speech with more ſubſtantial Effects as a farther Inſtance of the high Reſpect ſhe had for the King. She made him a Preſent of *twenty Talents of Gold*, *aromatical Spices*, *rich Perfumes*, and *precious Stones*, to a prodigious Value. They ſpeak alſo of a Root of *Balſam* that ſhe brought with her, which (according to a Tradition we have) was the firſt Plant of the Kind that ever came into *Judæa*, where it hath propagated ſo wonderfully ever ſince. Neither was *Solomon* wanting, on the other Hand, in a ſuitable Return of whatever he thought might be to the Queen's liking, and Satisfaction; for he deny'd her nothing, and was much readier to give than ſhe to aſk, even to the preventing of her Askings. After this reciprocal Interchange of Preſents, given and taken, the Queen went back again into her own Country.

Soon after this Interview the Queen returns. The Arrival of Solomon's *Return-Ships from* Ophir.

About this Time came *Solomon*'s Return-ſhips from *Ophir*, (otherwiſe called the *Land of Gold*) with *Stones for Jewels*, and *Pine-Wood* in Abundance; the latter was made Uſe of, partly for Pillars, and Supporters to the King's Temple and Palace, partly for muſical Inſtruments; as Harps, Cymbals, Pſalteries, and the like, for the *Levites* to glorify God upon in Company with their Voices. It is to be noted, that for Size and Beauty, *Solomon* had never ſeen any of this Sort of Wood comparable to it before. This was none of the Wood that paſſes commonly upon the World for *Pine*, in the Way of *Trade*, betwixt Buyer and Seller. This has ſomewhat of the Grain of a Fig-Tree, only a little whiter, and more gloſſy. I thought it not amiſs to advertiſe the Reader of a common Miſtake; eſpecially being a Queſtion that falls ſo naturally upon this Occaſion into *Solomon*'s Story.

The Cargo *of this* Plate-Fleet. *Beſide the* Merchants Adventures, *and what his Governours and the Kings of* Arabia *ſend him for* Preſents. *His vaſt Returns of Gold and Silver coſt him nothing more than Commodity for Commodity.*

This *Plate-Fleet* brought the King ſix hundred ſixty ſix Talents of Gold, over and above the Merchants Adventure, and what the Governours, and Kings of *Arabia* ſent him for Preſents. Of this Gold he cauſed to be caſt *two hundred Targets*, weighing ſix hundred Shekels of Gold each; and theſe were all hung up in the great Hall of the *Grove of Libanon*. His drinking Cups were all of beaten Gold too, garniſh'd with precious Stones, and wrought with all the Curioſity imaginable; and in ſhort, the Reſt of his Utenſils were of the ſame Metal. There was no trading with Mony in this Caſe; for the King had his Ships in the Sea of *Tarſus* that dealt upon the Truck with foreign Nations; and in Exchange for Commodities of his own, return'd him Gold and Silver; great Quantities of Ivory, Blacks, Apes, *&c*, going and coming, they reckon'd upon this Expedition as a three Years Voyage.

Divers great Princes preſent him with Gold, Silver, Purple Robes, Spices, Perfumes, Horſes, Chariots, Mules, &c. *The royal Magnificence of* Solomon's *Guards.*

The Reputation of *Solomon*'s Greatneſs and Wiſdom was by this Time ſpread far and near, inſomuch that ſeveral great Kings, for their own Satisfaction ſake, were inflam'd with a longing Deſire to ſee him; and laid hold of all Occaſions, by their Munificence, and other good Offices, to ſhew the Deſire they had to ſerve him. They ſent him Gold and Silver-Plate; Purple Robes, Spices and Perfumes of all Sorts; Horſes, Chariots and Mules for Burdens, ſuch as for Strength and Beauty they thought might be moſt acceptable to the King: So that he had now an Addition of four hundred Chariots to what he had before: That is to ſay, a thouſand Chariots, and [a] twenty thouſand Horſes, that for Beauty and Speed were beyond all others: And for the better Grace of the Spectacle, they had the Flower of the Youth to ride and manage them. They were all proper goodly Perſons, in [b] purple Veſts; their Hair diſhevel'd and flowing, to the great Advantage of their Motion, and ſuch an Intermixture of golden Threads with their Locks, that the Sun playing upon them, irradiated their Heads with a Kind of Glory. This was the Guard, which with their Arms and Quivers, attended the King's Chariot; (himſelf mounted in it cloathed in white) to a Houſe of Pleaſure he had at *Ethan*, not far from the City; which for the delicate Gardens, Walks and Fountains, and the Fruitfulneſs of the Place, he took great Delight in.

His Providence deſcends from the building of Palaces to the Care of the High-Ways.

This Prince had it in his Nature to be neat and curious, and his Providence looked ſo far, that there was hardly any Thing ſo minute as not to fall under his Care. He provided for the very paving of the High-ways that led to his Palace at *Jeruſalem*, partly for the Convenience of Comers and Goers, and in Part for the Honour of his own Magnificence. He kept not many Chariots about his Perſon, but diſpoſed of them here and there at ſo many in a Town upon free Quarter: And theſe Places were called his Chariot-Towns. Silver was as plentiful in *Jeruſalem*, as Stones; and *Cedars*, which had never been ſeen in *Judæa* before, were now as common as *Mulberry-Trees*. He gave Commiſſion alſo to his *Ægyptian* Merchants to buy him a Proviſion of Chariots with two Horſes, at the Price of ſix hundred *Silver Drachmas* apiece; and theſe were to be ſent away to the Kings of *Syria*, and beyond *Euphrates*.

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[a] 1 *Kings* 4. 26. & 10. 26. 2 Chron. 1. 14. & 9. 25. 'tis *twelve thouſand*. See *Bochart*'s *Hieroz*. l. 2. c. 9. part. 1.

[b] *Bochart* fancies that he deſcribes them acording to the Faſhion of his own Times. *Ibid.*

Now as it is without Controverſy, that this King was hitherto the moſt glorious, pious, and incomparably the moſt wiſe, and powerful Prince that ever ſat upon that Throne; ſo is it no leſs certain, that he made the latter Part of his Life a Scandal to the former, by departing from the Precepts of *Moſes*, and the Laws and Religion of his Forefathers; and blaſting ſo hopeful a Beginning with ſo foul an End. The raging Impotency of his Luſt after Women, made him ſtark mad, and the Women of his own Country would not ſerve his Turn neither; for he took indifferently Women of all Nations; *Sidonians*, *Tyrians*, *Ammonites*, *Idumæans*, &c. quite contrary to the Inſtitution of *Moſes*, that barr'd the *Hebrews* marrying with Strangers; wiſely foreſeeing that *ſtrange Women* would inveigle *Men* over to *ſtrange Gods* too. And this was the true Reaſon of the Precaution againſt ſuch Marriages; for the Violation of one Law, is but a Step toward the breaking of another; and the taking of a prohibited Wife does naturally lead to the embracing of a prohibited Religion. But *Solomon*'s ſenſual Appetite was deaf to all Counſels of Sobriety and Reaſon. He had no fewer then ſeven hundred Wives, that were Princeſſes; (the Daughter of the King of *Ægypt* for one) and three hundred Concubines; and the Paſſion he had for the Charms of their Converſation tranſported him into Compliances with them in the Impiety of their Practices and Opinions, as the moſt effectual Earneſt he could give them of his unchangeable Tenderneſs and Affection. As he came further into Years, he felt the Decay of Age in his Mind, as well as in his Body, and ſtill as he grew more and more careleſs and remiſs in the Exerciſe of the true Worſhip, he was the more eaſily prevail'd upon to joyn with the Women in a falſe one: Not that this was the firſt Breach of the Law that he was guilty of; for he had tranſgreſs'd the Rule, in the very Figures of his Bulls under his brazen Sea, and in the Lyons afterward that were ſet as a Guard upon his Throne: Which was all directly againſt a poſitive Inſtitution. He had at the ſame time in his own Family the moſt glorious Preſident for Honour and Virtue, that was any where to be found, in the Example of his bleſſed Father; whoſe Piety and Practice was ſo expreſly recommended to his Imitation, that God inculcated the Charge over and over to him in his Sleep; and upon the Pain of his uttermoſt Diſpleaſure, to be ſure to tread in his Father's Steps. This he neglected to do, and came, in the Concluſion, to an ignominious End.

Never a more glorious, wiſe, and powerful Prince.

The Latter part of his Life blaſted the Former.

1 Kings 11. *His Luſt made him mad upon Women.*

Strange Women brought him to ſtrange Practices and Opinions.

As he grew careleſs of the True Religion, he was more apt to Embrace a Falſe one.

His Bulls *under the* Brazen Sea, *was a Breach alſo of the Law.*

The Word of the Lord came after this, to *Solomon*, by the Mouth of a Prophet, *telling him that his Wickedneſs was no Secret, and he ſhould not paſs long unpuniſh'd: But in Regard of a Promiſe from Heaven, to his Father, that he ſhould have no other Succeſſor, the Prophet told him that his Government ſhould not be taken from him, while he was Living; and that after his Death, his Son ſhould ſuffer for the Iniquities of his Father: Not that there ſhould be an univerſal Defection; but that* ten Tribes *only ſhould* revolt, *and the other two continue in their Allegiance to the Son of* Solomon *for his Grandfather's Sake, and for the Sake of the Temple at* Jeruſalem, *which God had made Choice of for the Place of his Habitation.* Theſe Words wounded *Solomon* to the very Soul, to ſee himſelf caſt down in a Moment from the higheſt Pitch of all ſublunary Comforts, and temporal Glory, into the very depth of the contrary Extreme.

God foretold Solomon *by the Mouth of a Prophet,*

that after his Death his Son ſhould be puniſh'd for the Father's ſake, by a Revolt of Ten Tribes.

Some ſhort Time after this denouncing Meſſage by the Prophet, God ſtirred up a bitter Enemy againſt *Solomon*, whoſe Name was *Adad*, an *Idumæan* by Birth, and a Branch of the Royal Family; the Ground of his Animoſity being as follows. When the *Hebrews* over-ran the Country of *Idumæa* under the Command of *Joab*, who at that Time was *David's General*; *Joab* having ſubdu'd the People, put to the Sword all the Males he could find in the Province, that were able to bear Arms, and this Execution continu'd for ſix Months. This ſame *Adad*, who in thoſe Days was but a Child, made his Eſcape to *Pharaoh*, the King of *Ægypt*; who not only receiv'd him with great Humanity, but very generouſly gave him Houſes, Lands, and Revenues for his Entertainment, and took ſuch an Affection further for him, upon his growing up into the World, that he marry'd him to his own Wife's Siſter, whoſe Name was *Taphines*; who bare him a Son, that was train'd-up with the Children of *Pharaoh*. In Proceſs of Time News was brought into *Ægypt*, that *David* and *Joab* were both dead; and *Adad* upon theſe Tidings deſir'd *Pharaoh*'s Leave to return into his own Country. The King took him up ſhort, and ask'd him what he wanted, or what he meant by that Earneſtneſs to part with the beſt Friend he had in the World? For he preſs'd it over and over, but could not as yet prevail.

Adad *a ſpiteful Enemy to* Solomon.

When Joab *over-ran* Idumæa, *he put all the Males to Death that were able to bear Arms.*

Adad *then a Child, fled to* Pharaoh; *who gave him Maintenance and Protection, and marry'd him to* Taphines.

Upon David's *and* Joab's *Death*, Adad *deſir'd Leave to go back.*

Solomon *was now declining.*

Pharaoh *gives* Adad *leave to return, who goes to* Idumæa, *to ſtir-up the People againſt* Solomon.

Solomon being now in a declining Condition, and the Meaſure of his Iniquity well nigh full and ripe for Judgment, God put it into *Pharaoh*'s Heart, whom he had hitherto reſtrain'd, to let *Adad* go: So that away he went forthwith to *Idumæa*, with a Deſign to ſtir-up the People to a Rebellion againſt *Solomon*: But finding the Garriſons ſo ſtrong, and the Country in ſuch a Poſture, that there was no good to be done by a Surprize, he took new Meaſures, and went from thence into *Syria*; where he joyn'd Intereſts with one [a] *Rezon*, a Fugitive from his Maſter [b] *Adadezer* the King of *Zobah*, and a famous Captain of a Body of *Banditti* that made Spoil and Ravage up and down at pleaſure. *Adad* ſtruck a League with this Man; and with his Aſſiſtance, maſter'd that Part of *Syria*, where he got himſelf to be declared King, and made ſo many Inroads upon the Land of the *Iſraelites*, that all Things were in a Confuſion with Blood and Pillage, even while *Solomon* himſelf was yet living.

Adad *finding no good to be done that way, he goes for* Syria.

Adad *and* Rezon *maſter'd that part of* Syria.

Adad *is declared* King, *and breaks in upon the* Iſraelites, Solomon *yet living.*

Another Conſpiracy headed by Jeroboam, *the Son of* Nebat, *upon the Encouragement of a Prophecy.*

Solomon *finding* Jeroboam *a frank forward Youth, makes him Overſeer of his Works at* Jeruſalem: *And gives him afterward the Command of the Tribes of* Joſeph.

The Prophet Ahijah *meeting him upon the Way, takes him aſide, and tears his Garment into* twelve Pieces, bidding him to take ten *of them to himſelf: For the Government would be taken from* Solomon, *and* Jeroboam *ſhall have ten of the Tribes; and* Solomon's Son *the other two.*

This prophetical Prediction ran in his Head.

A Plot laid to take up Jeroboam, *and diſpatch him; but he eſcapes.*

And it was not all neither, for the King to ſuffer theſe Affronts and Indignities from a Stranger, without a more dangerous Conſpiracy againſt him at the ſame time, in his own Bowels; meaning that of *Jeroboam*, the Son of *Nebat*; a Man of a turbulent, and ambitious Spirit, and one that had taken-up a Conceit long ſince from an old Prophecy, of a ſtrange part, that he was to play in the overturning of the Government. *Jeroboam* being left by his Father, very young, and under the Tuition of his Mother, *Solomon* took notice of him, as he grew-up towards Man's Eſtate, for a Youth of a frank generous Humour, and made him Overſeer of his Works, being at that time repairing and rebuilding the Walls of *Jeruſalem*. He acquitted himſelf ſo well in that Commiſſion, that *Solomon* gave him the military Command of the Tribe of *Joſeph*, as a Conſideration for his Induſtry and Service. As he was one Day travelling out of *Jeruſalem* about his Buſineſs, the Prophet *Abijah* the *Shilonite*, met him upon the way; and after the Formality of a Salute, took him aſide, out of all Sight and Hearing, and there laid hold of a Garment he had on, and rent it into *twelve Pieces*, bidding him take *ten* of them to himſelf; for it was God's Will and Order, that it ſhould be ſo; for he is reſolved, ſaid the Prophet, to tear the Government from *Solomon*; and for his Promiſe-ſake, to give the two contiguous Tribes to the Son of *Solomon*, and the other *ten* to you, as a juſt Puniſhment for giving-up himſelf to *ſtrange Women, and to ſtrange Gods. Wherefore ſince you ſee the ground of his Rejection, let* Solomon's *miſerable Caſe be a Warning to you, not to do the ſame Things your ſelf that ruin'd him. Be juſt to all Men; obſerve and protect the Laws; imitate* David's *Virtues of Piety and Religion, and you may promiſe your ſelf the Comfort of* David's *Reward.*

Jeroboam was not a little elevated with theſe Words of the Prophet; and being naturally hot, and haughty over and above, every little Thing that gratify'd his Ambition, made him reſtleſs and unquiet. The prophetical Prediction would not out of his Head, and the firſt Thing he did, after he came to the Army, was to tamper the People againſt their Sovereign, and to ſet-up for himſelf: But *Solomon* all this while was no Stranger to the Malice and Practice of his Deſigns; and there was a Train laid to take him-up, and diſpatch him: But the Plot was diſcover'd, and *Jeroboam* ſlipt away to *Shiſhack*, the King of *Ægypt*; where he waited the Death of *Solomon*, for a fair Opportunity to revive his Pretenſion.

CHAP. III.

The Death of Solomon. Rehoboam *diſcontents the People. Ten Tribes fall off, and declare for* Jeroboam; *who ſeduces them to Idolatry. He officiates as* High-Prieſt. *The Prophet* Jadon *reproves him.* Jeroboam *and* Rehoboam *do both forſake God.*

Solomon's *Reign, Life, Death, and Burial.*

SOLOMON, in Fine, liv'd to a great Age. He reign'd Eighty Years, dy'd at Ninety Four, and was bury'd at *Jeruſalem*; the wiſeſt and the richeſt Prince that ever was heard of; and in all other Reſpects the happieſt, bating only the Sin of his ungovernable Paſſion for Women, and of thoſe Dotages that he was led into, in his declining State, by their Arts: Of which Miſdemeanours, and the Miſchiefs that enſu'd upon them, I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

Rehoboam *ſucceeds him.* 1 Kings 12.

Jeroboam *has Notice in* Ægypt *of* Solomon's *Death.*

He comes from thence to Sichem, *and* Rehoboam *comes thither alſo.*

Solomon being now dead, and *Rehoboam* his Son (by *Naama* an *Ammonitiſh* Woman) ſucceeding in courſe to the Throne, ſome of the Great-ones ſent out of hand into *Ægypt*, to inform *Jeroboam* how Matters ſtood, and to recall him. He came preſently, upon Notice, to *Sichem*; and *Rehoboam* came thither alſo, propoſing to himſelf the calling of an Aſſembly, and ſo to enter upon the Government by the common Declaration and Conſent of the People. Upon this Occaſion, divers of the Princes and Leading Men, together with *Jeroboam* himſelf, went to *Rehoboam*, and made him a Diſ-

[a] Ῥαάζαρος. Joſ. [b] Ἀδραάζαρος. Joſ.

a Diſcourſe, by the Way of Advice and Reſpect, how his Father had born a little too hard upon his Subjects, and that they were in Hope they ſhould find him eaſier; for it was his own Intereſt and Security ſo to be, and rather to make himſelf belov'd than fear'd. They recommended this humbly to his Thought; and *Rehoboam* took three Days Time to conſider of it. The Delay of his Anſwer gave them ſome Jealouſy what would be the Reſult; eſpecially in a Caſe (as they underſtood it) ſo eaſy, and ſo neceſſary to be reſolv'd immediately, and ſo well becoming the Years and Circumſtance of a young Prince to appear forward and obliging in. But they were not however quite out of Hope yet; the *Put-off* being only a Suſpenſion, not a Repulſe.

Some great Men with Jeroboam *adviſe* Rehoboam *not to bear ſo hard upon his People as his Father did.*

He takes three Days Time to conſider of it.

While this was a doing, *Rehoboam* adviſes with his Father's Friends and Counſellors, what Anſwer to return them; who being both well affected to the Publick, and well ſeen in the Humour and Diſpoſition of the common People, adviſed him by all Means to treat them with Courteſy and Deſcenſion; for he would gain much more upon them by a popular Freedom, *they told him*, than by ſtanding ſtiff upon his Points, in the Formalities of Majeſty and State; there being no ſuch Charm upon the Hearts of the People, as Graciouſneſs and Humility in the Prince. Nothing could have been ſaid more to the Purpoſe in general, or more eſpecially to his Purpoſe in particular; having a Kingdom in his Eye: But his Underſtanding was taken away by a judicial Infatuation, to ſuch a Degree, that he rejected the Counſel; call'd a *Cabal* to him of his own Humour and Years; told them what had paſs'd, and demanded their Opinion upon the whole Affair. They took the Point into Debate, and whether for want of Experience and Foreſight, or that God had blinded them, they came all to this Agreement upon the Queſtion. *Rehoboam* was to tell them, *That ſince they complain'd of his Predeceſſor, they ſhould find his little Finger heavier than his Father's Loins. If they thought themſelves ill uſed formerly, they muſt expect to have him harder upon them: And that if his Father had chaſtized them with* Whips, *he himſelf was reſolved to chaſtize them with* Scorpions. The King was ſo delighted with the miſtaken Majeſty and Dignity of this huffing Anſwer, that upon the third Day, when the People were gather'd together in the greateſt Anxiety imaginable, betwixt Hope and Fear of the Doom they were to receive; ſome fanſying one Thing, ſome another; the King appear'd, and paſſing over the Opinion of his Father's Counſellors, gave the People for Anſwer the very Syllables that the young Men had put in his Mouth, the Providence of God having ſo order'd it, that the Prophecy of the Prophet *Abijah* might be fulfilled. Theſe Words were ſo many Blows to them, and no leſs terrible in the Hearing, than the dreadful Things they threaten'd would have been in the Execution: Inſomuch that they all cried out in a Rage, as with one Voice, *What have we to do with the Houſe of* David? *Let him take to himſelf the Temple that his Father built:* And the Uproar look'd like a Prologue to a general Revolt. The Sedition was ſo outragious, that *Adoram*, one of the King's Officers in the Treaſury, being ſent out to pacify them by laying the Blame upon the Intemperance of ſome hot-headed young Men, the People ſton'd him to Death, without ſo much as hearing him. *Rehoboam* look'd upon the Malice of this Violence to be levell'd at himſelf rather than againſt his Officer; and he was much in the Right: So that he preſently mounted his Chariot in a Fright; and in a Hurry poſted away to *Jeruſalem*, to get out of the Reach of the Mutineers. The Tribes of *Juda* and *Benjamin*, all as one Man, ſtuck to him, and *proclaim'd him for their King*; but all the Reſt of the People went over to *Jeroboam*, and from that Day forward would have nothing to do with the Houſe of *David*. *Rehoboam* had ſo great an Indignation at the Thought of this Revolt, that he ſummon'd a full Convention of the two Tribes that ſtood firm to their Allegiance, and drew out one hundred and eighty thouſand Soldiers upon the Muſter; propoſing to himſelf, with this Body of Men to reduce the *other ten Tribes* to their Duty by Force. While he was preparing for this Enterprize, he was admoniſhed by a Prophet from God not to engage himſelf in a civil War; eſpecially where the Deſertion was in ſome Meaſure the Work of a divine Direction.

He conſults his Father's Friends and Counſellors; who adviſe him to Gentleneſs and Moderation.

He goes from them to a Cabal *of his own Age and Humour.*

The Advice of Rehoboam's *Counſellors.*

The People preſently brake out into ſo outragious an Uproar, that they ſtoned Adoram *to Death.*

Rehoboam *takes his Chariot in a Fright, and poſts away to* Jeruſalem.

The Tribes of Judah *and* Benjamin *ſtand to* Rehoboam.

The other ten go over to Jeroboam.

Rehoboam *muſters* 180000 *Men out of the two* Tribes.

God admoniſhes Rehoboam *not to engage in a civil* War.

We ſhall now in the firſt Place give ſome Account of the Actions of *Jeroboam*, the King of the *Iſraelites*, and proceed from thence to the Hiſtory of *Rehoboam*, and the *two Tribes*, according to the Order of the Narration.

Jeroboam built himſelf a Palace at *Sichem*, which he made his Place of Reſidence; and for Variety Sake, he built another at *Penuel*. This was a little before the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, which was the Thing that put theſe Thoughts into his Head. *If*, ſays he, *I ſhall now ſuffer the People to go up to* Jeruſalem, *and leave them at Liberty for the Celebration of that Feſtival, they'll be ſo taken with the Shews and Ceremonies of the Place, and of the Religion, that they'll be in Danger of changing their Minds perhaps, and of going back to their old King again, as well as to their old Way; which may lead to the*

Jeroboam *builds him two Palaces.*

He deliberates upon the Danger of letting the People go up to worſhip at Jeruſalem.

extreme

He builds two Temples, and ſets up two Golden Calves.

He conſecrates the Temples *and the* Images.

extreme Hazard, even of my Life as well of my Government. Now for Prevention Sake, he bethought himſelf of this Expedient. He cauſed to be made *two golden Calves*, and *two Temples* to be built; the one at *Bethel*, and the other at *Dan*, which is a Town ſituate at the Head of the *Leſſer Jordan*. Theſe *Images* were conſecrated in both Places, and indicting an Aſſembly of the *ten Tribes* under his Command, he made a Diſcourſe to them to this Purpoſe.

Jeroboam's *plauſible Way of ſeducing the Multitude.*

I need not tell you, my Countrymen, that God is every where, and not confin'd to any certain Place; but wherever we are, he hears our Prayers and accepts our Worſhip, in one Place as well as in another; and therefore I am not at all of Opinion for your going up to Jeruſalem *at this Time, to a People that hate you. 'Tis a long tedious Journey, and all this only for the Sake of Religion. He that built that* Temple *was but a* Man, *as every one here is: And the* Golden Calves *that I have provided for you, the one in* Bethel, *the other in* Dan, *are* conſecrated *as well as that* Temple, *and brought ſo much nearer you, on Purpoſe for the Convenience of your Worſhip; where you may pay your Duty to God in ſuch Manner as beſt pleaſes him. As for* Prieſts *and* Levites, *I ſhall make ſuch a Proviſion for you, that you ſhall have no Want, either of the Tribe of* Levi, *or of the Race of* Aaron. *Let him that has a Mind to enter into the* ſacerdotal Function, *initiate himſelf into the* Prieſthood *by the Sacrifice of a* Calf *and a* Ram, *according to the* Inſtitution *of* Aaron; *who was the firſt of that Order, and only ſo qualify'd. This was* Jeroboam's *Way of ſeducing the Multitude into an* Apoſtacy *from the Laws of their God, and of their Country; and he himſelf conſequently the capital Cauſe and Author of all thoſe Calamities that afterwards befel the* Hebrews; *as foreign Wars, Routs, Captivity, and the like:* Of which hereafter in their due Time and Place.

Jeroboam *ſets up a Worſhip at* Bethel.
1 Kings 13.
He does the High-Prieſt's *Part himſelf.*

The *Feſtival* of the *ſeventh Month* was now drawing on, and *Jeroboam* took up a Reſolution to worſhip the ſame Way at *Bethel* that the *two Tribes* did at *Jeruſalem*. There was an *Altar* erected before the *Golden Calf*: He himſelf perſonated the *High-Prieſt*, and went up with his *own Prieſts* after the Manner of the *Temple-Worſhip*. But as he was preparing to put Fire to the Offering in the Sight of all the People, there came a Prophet from *Jeruſalem* in that very Point of Time, whoſe Name was *Jadon*. He was ſent by God, and being advanc'd into the Middle of the Crowd, he addreſs'd himſelf in the King's Hearing to the *Altar*, in Words to this Purpoſe. *Altar, Altar,* ſays he, *Thus ſaith the Lord, there ſhall ariſe one out of the Houſe of* Juda, *whoſe Name ſhall be* Joſiah; *who upon thee ſhall put to Death the* Falſe Prophets, Seducers, *and* Impoſtors *of thoſe Times, and upon thee ſhall burn their Bones: And to the End that no Creature may doubt the Truth of this Prediction, the Authority of it ſhall be now confirmed by a Prodigy. The* Altar *ſhall fall to Pieces, and the Fat of the* Sacrifices *upon it ſhall be ſpilt upon the Ground.* The King was ſo inflam'd upon theſe Words of the Prophet, that he lifted up his Hand againſt him, and commanded aloud that ſome Body ſhould lay hold of him; but his Arm was immediately ſo *benumb'd* and blaſted, that it was like a *dead Limb*, and he could not draw it back again. The *Altar* fell to Pieces, as was preſag'd, and the Fat of the *Sacrifices* was thrown upon the Ground, as the Prophet had foretold. The King, finding by what Spirit the Man ſpake, and that he was no Counterfeit, beſought him to pray to God on his Behalf for the reſtoring of his *wither'd Arm*: Which being done, and the Miracle wrought, *Jeroboam* thankfully acknowledg'd the Benefit of the Cure, and earneſtly preſs'd the Prophet to ſtay Dinner with him, who excuſed himſelf upon an Injunction that God had laid upon him, not ſo much as to taſte either Bread or Wine in that City, nor to return the ſame Way he came. This Reſerve and Sobriety of the Prophet, made the King give more Heed to what he ſaid than otherwiſe he ſhould have done; ſo that he grew very uneaſy upon it in his Forebodings concerning himſelf.

Jadon's *Prophecy addreſs'd to the Altar, foretelling the End of Falſe Prophets and Seducers.*
Jadon's *Authority confirmed by Miracles.*

The Withering of Jeroboam's *Arm.*

The wither'd Hand *reſtor'd.*

A falſe Prophet that was Jeroboam's *Favourite, hearing of the Wonders that* Jadon *had done, and that he was now return'd, follows him immediately to overtake him. He finds him reſting himſelf under an Oak, and invites him to a Collation.*

There was in that Town a certain *Falſe Prophet*, that was much in *Jeroboam's* good Graces; not for the Truth, (for he was an arrant Juggler) but for the time-ſerving Pleaſingneſs of the Things he foretold. This Man was old and crazy; and as he lay at this Inſtant dozing upon his Bed, his Sons brought him News of a *famous Prophet* that was come from *Jeruſalem*, and what Wonders he had done: With the Story of *Jeroboam's wither'd Arm*, and the Recovery of it at the Prophet's Interceſſion to God for him, and how he was now gone back again, and which Way he went. The Fame of this Stranger put ſuch a Jealouſy in the ſick Man's Head for Fear of being ſupplanted in his Maſter's Favour, that he preſently order'd his Sons to fetch his Aſs, which was immediately done, and the Man mounted, and away, to ſeek after the ſtrange Prophet. He follow'd him upon the Heel, till he came up to him at length, as he was reſting himſelf under the Shadow of a large well-ſpread Oak. After the Formality of the firſt Salute, the Falſe Prophet fell to expoſtulating with the other, why he would not be ſo kind as to call at his Houſe, and do him the Honour to take a Collation with him. The Stranger told him it could not be; for God had poſitively forbidden him either to eat or drink in that City. Nay, ſays the other, I can abſolve you in this Point my ſelf; for I am a Prophet as well as you, and we are both Servants to the ſame God: And it is by that God's expreſs Command, that I am come hither now to invite you to Dinner with me. *Jadon* gave Credit to this falſe Wretch; accepted of his Invitation, and ſo went along with him. While they were yet at Dinner, and in the Freedom of Table-Diſcourſe, God appeared to *Jadon*, and told him that he would not only puniſh him for his Diſobedience, but the very Manner of his Puniſhment: which was, that he ſhould be torn to Pieces upon the Way, by a *Lyon*, and that his Body ſhould not be laid in the Sepulchre of his Forefathers. It fell-out accordingly, and perhaps God order'd it ſo, for the hardening of *Jeroboam*'s Heart, into a Diſbelief of *Jadon*, upon ſo remarkable a Miſcarriage; for in his Way back to *Jeruſalem*, a *Lyon* tore him off from his Aſs and kill'd him; the Aſs untouch'd and ſtanding ſtill, the *Lyon* couching by the Carcaſs, like a Guard to both. The Relation of this Diſaſter, being brought to the *falſe Prophet*, by ſome Travellers that paſs'd that Way, he appointed his Sons to fetch the Body into the City; which being done, he gave it a magnificent Burial; charging his Sons, whenever he dy'd, to ſee his own Body laid in the ſame Monument; for, *ſaid he*, whatever this good Man has ſpoken concerning the *City*, the *Altar*, the *Prieſts*, and the *falſe Prophets*, it is all true. Now when I am dead, ſays he, and my Bones depoſited with his, I am ſafe; for who ſhall know his Bones from mine?

Jadon *excuſes himſelf; for he was forbidden either to eat or drink in that City.*

The falſe Prophet *tells him that he came from God to invite him.*

Jadon *goes along with him: and God foretells him that a* Lyon *ſhall meet him by the way, and tear him to Pieces; which fell out accordingly.*

The falſe Prophet *ſends his Sons for the Body, and gives it a magnificent Burial; being convinc'd of the Truth of his Predictions.*

So ſoon as *Jadon's* Funeral-Rites were well over, and the Sons competently inſtructed, away goes their wicked Father to *Jeroboam*; who finding him exceedingly diſturb'd, ask'd him, What he meant to trouble his Head at that Rate, for the Words of a Mad-Man? Well but, ſays the other, what do you think of the Prodigy of the *Altar*; and the miraculous Loſs and Recovery of my *Arm?* (telling him both the Stories at Length.) The Man, ſays he, is certainly *a Man of God*, and a *true Prophet*, he could never do all this elſe. The other in the mean Time, ſhuffles-off every Thing with plauſible Gloſſes, and Diſtinctions; doing all he could, in ſhort, to diſguiſe the Truth. As to the Buſineſs of your Hand, ſays he, you had overwrought your ſelf, it may be with lugging *Sacrifices* to the *Altar*. The very Wearineſs made it *numb* at firſt perhaps, but after a little Reſt, you ſee, it came to it ſelf again. And ſo for the *Altar*, it was New Built; and not being thoroughly ſettled, it ſunk under the Weight of an inſupportable Burden of *Sacrifices* that were laid upon it. And what was your Holy Man's *End* at laſt? Why, he was kill'd by a *Lyon:* and here's not the leaſt Sign or Token of a Prophet all this while, that I can find, either in Word, Life or Death. The King was ſo poyſon'd and corrupted with the Vanity and Mockery of theſe looſe Inſinuations, that from thence-forward he had no longer any Thought of God, or Goodneſs; but on the contrary, abandon'd himſelf wholly to the Love, Study and Practice of all Manner of Wickedneſs: And to ſuch a Degree too, that he did effectually bid Defiance to all that was ſacred, either in Heaven, or Earth; making it his Buſineſs to find out new Sins, and in the Event to out-do himſelf. But I ſhall paſs now to *Rehoboam*, according to the Order of the Relation.

The falſe Prophet *goes to* Jeroboam; *who tells him of the Miracles* Jadon *had wrought.*

The Impoſtor *ſhuffles them off, and ridicules them.*

Jeroboam *ſo abandon'd, that he never thought of God after.*

Rehoboam, being King all this while of the *two Tribes* before-mention'd, built and fortify'd ſeveral ſtrong and fair Cities, as *Bethlehem*, *Etan*, *Tekoa*, *Beth-zar*, *Shoco*, *Adullam*, *Ipa*, *Mareſha*, *Ziph*, *Adoraim*, *Lachiſh*, *Azekah*, *Zorah*, *Ajalon*, and *Hebron*, all in the Tribe of *Judah*; beſide other Towns, no leſs conſiderable, in the Lot of *Benjamin:* which he provided with good Garriſons and Governours, and with Corn, Wine, Oyl, and other Neceſſaries in Abundance, for their Maintenance and Defence; beſide Shields and Lances many Thouſands. While *Rehoboam* continu'd at *Jeruſalem*, there came-up from all Parts, great Numbers of *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and ſo many of the Layety too, as made any Conſcience of their Ways, to worſhip there; quitting their Countries to attend the Duties of their Religion. They were all ſick of *Jeroboam*'s Tyranny, and to ſee themſelves forc'd to the worſhipping of his *Calves*, to the Diſhonour of the true God. The Diſcontent, in Fine, was ſo great, that in three Years Time, the Power and Intereſt of *Rehoboam* was mightily increas'd. This King's firſt Wife was his Kinſwoman, by whom he had three Children, and he afterwards marry'd *Maacah*, the Daughter of *Thamar*, who was the Daughter of *Abſalom*, by whom he had *Abiah*, and ſhe was a-kin to him too. He had ſeveral Wives beſide, and Children by them; but none ſo dear to him as *Maacah*. He had eighteen Wives legitimate, and thirty Concubines, by whom he had eight and twenty Sons, and ſixty Daughters: But *Abiah* the Son of *Maacah* was the Perſon he deſign'd for his Succeſſor, committing his Treaſure and ſtrong Holds all to his Truſt. But it fell out to be with *Rehoboam*, as it fares commonly with other Mortals; Proſperity puff'd him

Rehoboam *builds and fortifies ſeveral ſtrong Cities in the Tribes of* Judæa and Benjamin.

1 Kings 14.

Theſe Cities he garriſons and ſupplies with all Manner of Proviſions.

Prieſts, Levites, *and Laiety come thronging to* Jeruſalem *from all Parts to Worſhip.*

Rehoboam'*s Wives and Children.*

A diſſolute Prince makes a licentious People.

up, and in time ruin'd him; for the greater he grew in the World, the more Liberty he took to be wicked; and he did not only turn his Back upon God, and his holy Commandments himſelf; but made his People as wicked too, out of a kind of Reverence to his Example. It is but according to the Nature of humane Affairs, for Subjects to be deprav'd by the Exemplary ill Manners of their Superiors; for the Virtue or the Iniquity of the Governour is, generally ſpeaking, ſome ſort of Rule for the People to walk by; and it has the Reputation of a kind of political Virtue, to imitate the very Vices of Rulers. Not to do as they do, is tacitly to condemn their Doings; as it happen'd under *Rehoboam*, where the *People* were wicked and licentious, for fear of diſpleaſing the *King*.

CHAP. IV.

Shiſhak *King of Ægypt lays Siege to* Jeruſalem. *King* Rehoboam *meanly gives it up; and the Temple is pillag'd.* Rehoboam *dyes, and* Abias *his Son ſucceeds him:* Jeroboam *is foretold by the Prophet* Achias, *of the utter ruine of himſelf, and his whole Family.*

Shiſhak *marches againſt* Rehoboam *with a mighty Army; garriſons ſeveral Towns, and Beſieges* Rehoboam *in* Jeruſalem.

The King in his Diſtreſs has recourſe to Prayers for Victory.

The Prophet tells him, as he had forſaken God, God would forſake him.

Rehoboam *delivers up* Jeruſalem *to* Shiſhak: *and* Shiſhak *breaks his Articles; and carries away Pillage to an ineſtimable Value.*

Herodotus Halicarnaſſus *makes mention of this Expedition.*

GOD avenged himſelf upon *Rehoboam* by the Hand of [a] *Shiſhak* the King of *Ægypt*, not by *Seſoſtris*, as [b] *Herodotus* miſtakes the Matter. This ſame *Shiſhack*, in the fifth Year of *Rehoboam*'s Reign, marched againſt him with a vaſt Army. They reckon'd 1200 Chariots, 60000 Horſe, and 400000 Foot; the Soldiers being moſt of them *Africans*, and *Æthiopians*. With this Army, *Shiſhak* brake in upon the *Hebrews*, and took into his Protection ſeveral of their ſtrong Towns, that render'd, on their own accord. In all which Places he left Garriſons, and marched afterwards directly up to *Jeruſalem*, where *Rehoboam* and his People were block'd-up in the Town. The King in this Streight, betook himſelf to Prayers and Supplications, for Victory over his Enemies; but could not prevail for an Anſwer, to his Satisfaction: And thereupon *Sameas* the Prophet told him, for his greater Terror, that God threatned to forſake all thoſe that forſake him firſt; which frighted them all into an Acknowledgment of their Wickedneſs, and of God's juſt Judgment upon them for their Apoſtacy and Diſobedience. Being now brought to the uttermoſt Extremity of Deſpair, the Prophet told the King once again, that God was pleaſed ſo far to accept of their Humiliation, and Repentance, that they ſhould not be utterly deſtroy'd and cut-off; but only deliver'd-up in Subjection and Slavery to the *Ægyptians*, that they may learn upon Experience, whether it be better to ſerve God or Man. In this *Panick Dread*, *Rehoboam* deliver'd-up *Jeruſalem* to *Shiſhak*, upon certain Conditions; but without any Regard to Faith, or Honour, he brake his Articles; pillag'd the Temple; took away all the Plate and Treaſure, as well God's, as the King's; Gold and Silver to an ineſtimable Value, without leaving ſo much as one Grain behind him. He carry'd away the *Golden Shields* and *Bucklers* of *Solomon*'s, with the *Golden Quivers* that *David* took from the King of [c] *Sophena*, and dedicated to the adorning of the Temple. After which, *Shiſhak* went back again with a prodigious Booty. *Herodotus* of *Halycarnaſſus* takes Notice of this Expedition, only miſtaking the Name, where he ſpeaks of the King of *Ægypt*'s March thorough ſeveral other Countries, and of ſubduing the *Paleſtine-Syria* without ſtriking a Stroke. Now this can only be underſtood of the Conqueſt of our Country by the *Ægyptians*; for he tells of ſeveral Pillars erected, and left there, with the Images of Men cut upon them, with the privy Parts of Women; as an emblematical way of ſtigmatizing the Men for giving-up their Country without a Blow. Now this *Rehoboam* was undoubtedly our King that gave up all for the asking. He ſays likewiſe, that the *Æthiopians* took up the Cuſtom of Circumciſing from the *Ægyptians*. Now it is agreed at all Hands, that the *Philiſtines*, and the *Paleſtine-Syrians* had it from thence: And it is as clear, that there are no other People in *Paleſtine-Syria* circumciſed, but our ſelves. But of this, every Man has the Freedom of his own Thought.

After the Departure of *Shiſhak* into *Ægypt*, *Rehoboam* repair'd the Loſs of the *Golden Shields* and *Bucklers*, with the ſame Number of *Braſs*, and committed the Care of them to his proper Officers and Guards: And ſo he liv'd-on, in a private, quiet Way, without any conſiderable Adventure, or Undertaking; his Fear being a continual Check upon him, in regard of the everlaſting Feud betwixt *Jeroboam* and himſelf. He liv'd ſeven and fifty Years; ſeventeen of them in a Station of ſovereign Power. He was a Man, weak and arrogant, and loſt himſelf, his Government, and his Reputation, by refuſing wiſe Counſel, when it was given him. He was bury'd

[a] *Σεσακυς, Joſeph. Σεσακιμ, Septuagint.* Sefac, St. *Jerom.* [b] Lib. 2. [c] *Al.* Zoba.

at *Jeruſalem* among the Kings, His Son *Abias* ſucceeded him, in the eighteenth Year of *Jeroboam*'s Reign over the *ten Tribes*.

Rehoboam *was bury'd at* Jeruſalem, *and his Son* Abias *ſucceeded him.*

And now we have ſpoken of the End of this King, it remains in the next Place to ſee what became of *Jeroboam*. He was a Worker of Iniquity out of all Bounds and Meaſure. He was every Day ſetting-up and multiplying *Altars* in the *high Places*; and raiſing *Prieſts* to officiate, out of the *Dregs* of the *People*; which Indignities and Affronts, God, in his righteous Judgment, avenged upon himſelf and his Family. It happen'd at that Time, that *Obimes*, his Son, fell ſick, and he bad his Wife put her ſelf into the Diſguiſe of a private Perſon, and go to *Achias* the Prophet, being a Man that had the Spirit of Prediction, and the Perſon who told him formerly that he himſelf ſhould come to be King. *Go you*, ſays he, *to this Prophet, and ask him, if the Boy ſhall recover or no.* She dreſs'd her ſelf according to her Husband's Order, and ſo went to *Shilo* where *Achias* at that Time liv'd. As ſhe was upon the Way toward the Houſe, a Voice from Heaven ſpake to the Prophet (who was now dim-ſighted with Age) and told him that the Wife of *Jeroboam* was then coming to him; told him likewiſe her Buſineſs, what Queſtions ſhe would ask him, and what he ſhould anſwer. Upon her coming to the Door in the Dreſs of an ordinary Gueſt, the Prophet call'd her to him by the Name of *Jeroboam*'s *Wife*. Come in, ſays he, and never diſguiſe your ſelf for the Matter; for he that told me who you are, and put the Words in my Mouth that I am to ſay to you, is not to be impos'd upon. Go therefore to your Husband from me, and tell him that *thus ſaith the Lord God*; *As it was I that rais'd thee out of a low Condition to the Dignity of a Throne; and cutting-off the Family of* David *from the Kingdom, gave it to thee: So, on the other Hand, in Return for all theſe Bounties and Benefits, thou haſt now moſt ungratefully caſt-off him that exalted thee, and ſet up Gods of thine own Fancy, and of the Founders making, in Preference to the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and in Contempt of my Majeſty and Power. Wherefore, I will now forthwith raſe thee and thy Family out of the Roll of Mankind; give your Carcaſſes to the Dogs, and to the Fowls of the Air, and ſet-up another King over my People, that ſhall not leave one living Man of the Houſe of* Jeroboam *upon the Face of the Earth; and the very Multitude ſhall not eſcape the Stroke of divine Juſtice neither; for they ſhall be exterminated out of the good Land they were poſſeſs'd of, and driven away and diſperſt beyond* Euphrates, *for being wicked after their King's Example, in adoring* His Gods, *to the Contempt of* me *and* my Commandments. *Woman, be gone to your Husband now, and make haſte, and tell him, as I have told you: And for what concerns your Child, you ſhall find it dead when you come back; for the very Moment you enter the City he ſhall breath his laſt. He ſhall be lamented, and bury'd with the Solemnity of a publick Mourning, as the only Creature of* Jeroboam's *Family that had any Thing of good in it.* The Woman haſten'd away in a Fright, upon what ſhe had heard; and miſerably bewailing the Loſs of her poor Boy all the Way ſhe paſs'd, went ſtreight to her Husband; and the more haſte ſhe made, the ſooner the Child dy'd; for being come to her Journy's End, ſhe found the Child dead, as the Prophet foretold her, and ſo gave her Husband an Account at Length of the diſmal Story ſhe had in Charge from the Prophet.

1 Kings 14.

Jeroboam *was a Worker of Iniquity, ſetting up Altars in the* High Places, *and making Prieſts of the Scum of the People*

Jeroboam's *Son falls Sick, and his Wife goes in a Diſguiſe to enquire of the Prophet* Achias, *whether he ſhall live or die.*

A Voice from Heaven tells the Prophet of her coming, and of her Buſineſs, and what Anſwer he ſhould give her.

The Prophet delivers his Meſſage, and foretells the diſmal Calamities that are to befall Jeroboam *and his People, and the death of the Child.*

CHAP. V.

Abias *the King of* Judah *gets a Victory over* Jeroboam *King of* Iſrael. Abias *dies, and leaves* Aſa *his Succeſſor. The Death of* Jeroboam. Nadab *his Son ſucceeds him.* Baaſha *kills* Nadab, *and extirpates the whole Race of* Jeroboam.

JEroboam, in Defiance of all theſe Judgments, made great Levies ſtill, and marched out with an Army againſt *Abias* the Son of *Rehoboam*, who was then King of the *two Tribes* in the Right of his Father; making little Doubt of his Succeſs, againſt a Prince of ſo little Experience, either in Government, or Arms: But *Abias* was ſo far from being terrify'd at this Preparation, that beyond all Expectation from a Perſon of his Years, he preſently drew together an Army out of the *two Tribes*, and advanced with it toward *Jeroboam*, in a certain Place they call'd the *Mount Samaron*; and there encamping himſelf, he made ready for a Battle. He had in his Army four hundred thouſand Men, and *Jeroboam* double the Number. As the two Armies were both drawn-up, and ready to engage, *Abias* advanced to a little Eminence upon a riſing Ground, and from thence held up his Hand to beſpeak a Silence, and an Attention to what he had to ſay; which was preſently agreed to, and the Sum of his Diſcourſe was this.

Jeroboam *draws out an Army againſt* Abias.
1 Kings 15.
1 Chron. 13.

Abias *advances with an Army to* Mount Samaron, *and prepares for a Battle.*

Good People, ſays he, *you cannot be ignorant of God's Promiſes, that this Kingdom ſhould be continu'd to* David, *and his Poſterity, for many Ages. Now this being the very*

Abias *addreſſes himſelf in a Speech to the* Hebrews.

ry Caſe, I cannot but wonder to ſee my Father deſerted, and Jeroboam, *his Subject, taken into his Place; and you your ſelves in Arms againſt the divine Right of a Government ſettled by God himſelf: And not content with that neither, unleſs you can force the rightful Heir out of the ſmall Remainder that is left him, when* Jeroboam *hath already by Violence and Uſurpation engroſſed the greater Part of the Kingdom to himſelf. But he is not long to enjoy the Fruit of his Wickedneſs; for God will call him to a ſevere Account for his Iniquities, and put an End to this Courſe of Rapine and Oppreſſion; which he himſelf is ſo far from doing, that he makes it his daily Buſineſs to continue, and to enflame a moſt impious Sedition: And what was the true Ground and Reaſon now at laſt of this Defection? My Father never did you any Injury; only by the Advice of evil Counſel,* Jeroboam *himſelf being in the Bottom of it, he let fall an unlucky Word or two; and upon this, you all went off in a Huff, abandoning your Duty not only to my Father; but to God himſelf, and to his Laws and all Things that are ſacred. You ſhould have weigh'd Matters with Allowances for human Frailty. You ſhould have conſider'd that my Father was a young Man, and one that does not ſet up for an Orator. You ſhould have conſider'd him again as the Son of* Solomon *too, your royal Patron and Benefactor. Now all this together might have aton'd, methinks for a wry Word or two; and it would have been but Reaſon, to have born a little with the Son, for the* Father's *ſake. But theſe are Thoughts never came near your Heart, I perceive; nor truly are they ever like to do, if a Body may judge by the Army that is advancing againſt us. And what is it you have to truſt to at laſt? If your* golden Calves, *your* Altars, *and your* High-Places; *'tis not your* Religion *that you depend upon, but your* Wickedneſs: *Beſides that you have the Laws of God and Man to contend withal. Piety and Juſtice will have the better of you in the Concluſion: And you do manifeſtly fight againſt both in this Cauſe, in fighting againſt us, who have conſtantly aſſerted the Worſhip and the Reverence that we owe to the* True God; *not a God of* Wood, *or* Stone, *or the Impoſture of a wicked King upon a credulous Multitude, but God the Maker of all Things and of all Things that are made, the Beginning and the End. Wherefore let me adviſe you to repent of your paſt Sins and Follies, and to betake your ſelves to ſounder Counſels for the Future: or if you muſt needs be contending, let it be for the Defence of, and not in Oppoſition to thoſe Laws that have made you ſo great and happy.*

Jeroboam*'s Violence and Uſurpation.*

Rehoboam*'s want of Years and Experience.*

Reflections upon the golden Calves, Altars, *and* High Places.

In this Interim Jeroboam *ſlips off a Detachment to fall upon the King's Rear, whereupon they go to their Prayers.*

The Prieſts ſound a Charge; fall-on, and give the Enemy an abſolute Rout: 500000 Men kill'd upon the Place; and their ſtrong Towns taken.

Abias *dies, and his Son* Aſa *ſucceeds to the Government.*

While *Abias* was upon his *Harangue*, a Detachment of *Jeroboam*'s Army had ſlipt away by Stealth, and gotten upon the King's Rear ſo unexpectedly, that his People were not a little ſtartled at the Surprize, till he himſelf hearten'd them up, and bad them caſt themſelves upon God; for the Cauſe, he told them, was his, who was not to be over-reach'd by *Stratagem* and *Trick*. Theſe Words of the King's brought them to themſelves again, and ſo they went preſently to their Prayers; till at laſt the Prieſt ſounding a Charge, they fell-on, with a mighty Clamour, and ſo victoriouſly upon the Enemy, that, with the Help of God, they put them to a total, abſolute Rout, and made ſuch a Slaughter, as no Story, either *Greek* or *Barbarous*, ever came-up to. There were five hundred thouſand Men ſlain upon the Place; a Victory never to be forgotten: Their ſtrongeſt Towns taken and rifled; *Bethel*, and *Ithen*, with their Dependancies. After this Blow, *Jeroboam* was ſo broken, that he was never able to make any farther Attempt ſo long as *Abias* was living; who dy'd not long after in the third Year of his Reign, and was bury'd at *Jeruſalem*, in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors. He left two and twenty Sons behind him, and ſixteen Daughters; which he had all by *fourteen Women*. *Aſa* his Son ſucceeded him, whoſe Mother's Name was *Maacha*; and under his Government, the *Iſraelites* enjoy'd a ten Years Peace.

Jeroboam *dies in the ſecond Year of* Aſa*'s Reign. His Son* Nadab *ſucceeds him.*

The End of Jeroboam *and his* Family.

This is all that we find written of *Abias*; and after him dy'd *Jeroboam*, the King of the *ten Tribes*, in the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Aſa*, and the two and twentieth of his own. His Son *Nadab* ſucceeded him, and liv'd in a kind of Competition for Malice and Impiety, with the Character of his Father, and reigned only two Years: In which Time he led out an Army againſt *Gabathon* a City of the *Philiſtines* upon an Opinion that he might take it by a Siege; but in the mean Time, he was cut-off by the Treachery of a familiar Friend, whoſe Name was *Baaſha*, the Son of *Machel*; who ſeiz'd upon the Government, and deſtroy'd the whole Family; which made good the Words of the Prophet, *that the Dogs, ſhould eat him of* Jeroboam's *Stock that dy'd in the City, and that the Fowls of the Air ſhould eat him that dy'd in the Field*. This was the End of *Jeroboam*, and his Family; and the Judgment was juſt upon them for their impious *Apoſtaſy*.

CHAP. VI.

Aſa *the King of* Judæa *was an excellent Perſon. He gave a very great Overthrow to* Zaræus *the King of* Æthiopia. *The King of* Damaſcus *joins againſt* Baaſha *the King of* Iſrael, *who is murder'd by* Creon; *and* Elah, *his Son and Succeſſor, aſſaſſinated by* Zimri.

Aſa, *King of* Jeruſalem, *a pious Prince.*
1 Kings 15.
2 Chron. 14, & 16.

Aſa's *Army.*
Zaræus *marches againſt him with* 900000 *Foot,* 100000 *Horſe, and* 300 *Chariots.*
Aſa *draws up in a Valley called* Saphatha.
Aſa *prays for a Bleſſing upon his Arms.*
A Promiſe and Aſſurance of Victory.

ASA, the King of *Jeruſalem*, was a Man ſo conſcientiouſly ſtrict, both in his Religion, and in his Morals, that he led a Life, in Word, Thought and Deed, in a moſt ſcrupulous Conformity to the Laws of God and Nature. He rectify'd all that he found amiſs in his Government; purg'd his Dominions from all extravagant Luſts, and foreign Abominations. He had a ſelect Body of Men armed with Lances and Shields, to the Number of three hundred thouſand, of the Tribe of *Judah*; and of the Tribe of *Benjamin* he had two hundred and fifty thouſand with Bows and Bucklers. In the tenth Year of his Reign, *Zaræus*, a King of *Æthiopia*, marched againſt him with an Army of nine hundred thouſand Foot, one hundred thouſand Horſe, and three hundred Chariots. When he was advanc'd as far as *Mareſa*, a City in the Dependency of *Judah*, *Aſa* went out to meet him, and rang'd his Army not far from the City, in a certain Valley called *Saphatha*. Upon the Sight of ſo prodigious a Multitude of Men, Aſa *called out to God for his Aſſiſtance, and that he would vouchſafe to proſper his Arms, and give him Victory over ſo formidable an Enemy: For it was wholly in a Dependance upon his divine Goodneſs that he had now undertaken this Enterprize; concluding with an Ejaculation, that he wholly reſign'd himſelf to his bleſſed Pleaſure, whoſe Power was more than ſufficient to ſupply the Want either of Strength or Number.* Upon this Prayer of *Aſa*'s, God was pleaſed to encourage him with a Token and Aſſurance of Victory.

Aſa *charges, and routs the Enemy with a mighty Slaughter.*
Aſa *returns to* Jeruſalem.
Azariah *ſtops them upon their march.*
A Diſcourſe upon the Bleſſings of Obedience and the Danger of faultering in Matters of Religion.

In this Confidence, *Aſa* charg'd the Enemy, and with ſo great Bravery, that with a mighty Slaughter, and a total Rout, he purſu'd them to the Plain of *Gerar:* And there quitting the Purſuit, he took and rifled *Gerar* it ſelf, and likewiſe the Enemy's Camp, with a vaſt Booty in Gold, Camels, Flocks and Herds. Upon gaining this mighty Victory, through the Goodneſs of divine Providence, the King return'd with his Army to *Jeruſalem*, laden with the Spoil. As they were upon the Way, not far from the Place, the Prophet *Azariah* call'd to them to make a Stand, and then told them as follows. *God hath been pleaſed*, ſays he, *to bleſs you with this glorious Victory, in Conſideration of your Juſtice, your Piety, and your Obedience to his Will and Commandments; and if you go on as you have begun, you may expect the ſame providential Advantages and Succeſſes in all your Affairs for the Time to come. But if ever you faulter in your Religion, you will find in all Reſpects the clear Contrary; and that the Time will come, wherein there ſhall not be a* true Prophet *among you, nor a* Prieſt *anſwerable to the Dignity of his Function. Your Cities ſhall be laid level with the Ground; your Nation ſcatter'd like Vagabonds over the Earth, without any Seat or Habitation that they can call their own. Wherefore*, ſays he, *let me adviſe you while you have Time, to apply your ſelves to the Study and Practice of Virtue: And finally, to join with Thankſgiving in the Acknowledgment and Enjoyment of the Bleſſings of God's Favour.* Theſe Words of the Prophet were a great Rejoycing to the Hearts, both of King and People; who thereupon made it their expreſs Buſineſs, publick and private, one and all, to keep their Religion ſacred, and inviolate, in the Obſervance of the Laws: In Order to which End, the King had his Commiſſioners every where up and down thorough his Dominions, to attend that Care and Duty.

Baaſha, *King of the* Iſraelites, *kill'd* Nadab, *ſeiz'd the Government, and reign'd four Years.*
1 Kings 16.
Gimon *the Prophet denounces Deſtruction to* Baaſha *and his Race.*
Baaſha, *inſenſible and harden'd.*

This was the Poſture of *Aſa*'s Affairs, the King of the *two Tribes*. I ſhall now return to *Baaſha*, the King of the *Iſraelites:* He, that when he had kill'd *Nadab* the Son of *Jeroboam*, ſeiz'd the Kingdom to his own Uſe. This Prince reigned four Years, and his Palace was in *Tarſhiſh:* A Man, that for all Sorts of Lewdneſs and Impiety, went beyond either *Jeroboam* or his Son; a tyrannical Oppreſſor of his People, and of a ſtubborn and contumacious Spirit toward God himſelf: Inſomuch that *the Word of the Lord came to* Gimon *the Prophet, commanding him to tell* Baaſha, *that God had fully determin'd to root out him and his Family from off the Earth, as he had done* Jeroboam *before him, for his Ingratitude to that Power and Goodneſs that raiſed him to the Throne, and for his Tyranny and Impiety in the Exerciſe of his Government, without any Regard to Righteouſneſs, or Juſtice; two Virtues that are above all others, the moſt acceptable to God, and profitable to the People;* telling him farther, *that ſince he thought fit to make* Jeroboam *his Example for all Manner of Iniquity, it was but reaſonable to have him as exemplary in his Miſery and Puniſhment.* *Baaſha*, after all theſe frightful Denouncings, ſtood his Ground, as if it had been a Point of Honour to affront his Maker; and as if the Prophet had rather promiſed him a Reward for his Wickedneſs, than threaten'd him with the Stroke of ſo dreadful a Vengeance. So that he went on ſtill, heaping Sins upon Sins, and every Day worſe than other, without any Care or Thought how to avert the Judgment, and reconcile himſelf to God: Nay without the leaſt Motion, or Diſpoſition toward Amendment or Repentance. In the Concluſion, he march'd with an Army to *Ramath*, a Place of ſome Note, and a Matter of ſome forty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*. He took it, and fortify'd it, with an Intent to make it the Seat of the War, as a commodious Station for the Advantage of making Inroads into the Dominions of *Aſa*. Now *Aſa* was not without ſome Apprehenſion of the Quality of his Deſign; and computing with himſelf how great a Danger the Neighbourhood of ſo powerful an Army might bring upon his Country, he ſent Embaſſadors preſently to the King of *Damaſcus*, with Money and Preſents, inviting him over to his Alliance, out of a Reſpect to the former Friendſhip that had been betwixt thoſe two Families. This King receiv'd the Money and Preſents; brake off with *Baaſha*, and enter'd into a League with *Aſa*; ſending an Army ſome ſhort Time after, into the Territory of *Baaſha*; fell upon his Towns and ſtrong Holds in that Hurry; burning ſome, and rifling others, as *Achion*, *Dan*, and *Abelmaen*. Upon the News of this Incurſion, the King of the *Iſraelites* quitted *Ramath*, and went back to look to himſelf nearer Home: But *Aſa* erected two ſtrong Towns there out of the Materials that *Baaſha* left behind him; calling the one *Gaba*, and the other *Maſpha*. This was the laſt of *Baaſha*'s military Adventures for he was cut off by *Creon*, and bury'd in the City of *Arſanes*; his Son *Elah* ſucceeding him: He himſelf being afterwards treacherouſly ſlain by *Zimri*, the Maſter of one Diviſion of his Horſe, in the ſecond Year of his Reign, as he was drinking with *Oſa*, the Steward of his Houſe; a Troop of Horſe breaking in upon him, in the Abſence of his Guards and Officers, who were then abroad at the Siege of *Gabathon*, a City of the *Philiſtines*.

He marches againſt Ramath. *He takes and fortifies it.*

A League betwixt Aſa *and the King of* Damaſcus; *who falls into* Baaſha's *Country with Fire and Sword.* Aſa *erects two conſiderable Towns;* Gaba, *and* Maſpha. Baaſha *cut off by* Creon: *His Son* Elah *ſucceeds him.* Elah *baſely kill'd by* Zimri.

CHAP. VII.

Zimri *murders* Elah *the King of* Iſrael: *And the Army chuſes* Omri *King. He ſets Fire to the Palace and burns himſelf with it.* Ahab *ſucceeds to* Omri; *a wicked Prince* Elias *foretels his Ruine.* Jehu *anointed King of* Iſrael; *and* Hazael, *King of* Syria. Neboth *ſton'd at the Inſtigation of* Jezebel.

ZIMRI, after this Exploit, advanced himſelf from Maſter of the Horſe, to the Throne; and according to the Prediction of *Gimon*, totally extinguiſhed the whole Race of *Baaſha*; which was utterly rooted out for their Wickedneſs, after the Method of the Deſtruction that befel *Jeroboam*. The News of the King's Death coming to *Gabathon* when the Army was before the Town, and that *Zimri*, the *Aſſaſſin*, had taken the Government to himſelf, the Army preſently choſe *Omri*, the Captain of the Guards, for their King; who raiſes the Siege, and immediately goes away to *Tirzah*, and takes it by Storm. *Zimri* finding the City without a Guard, withdraws himſelf into a private Apartment in the Palace; gives Fire to't, and burns himſelf and the Houſe together. This was in the ſeventh Day of his Reign. All Things were now in a Confuſion, and the People immediately divided into two Factions; the one was for *Thaman*, and the other for *Omri:* But the latter carry'd it; for *Thaman* was ſlain, and *Omri* had the whole Government to himſelf. This was in the thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Aſa*; and *Omri* govern'd twelve Years; ſix at *Tirzah*, and the Reſt at *Mareon*; which the *Greeks* call *Samaria*. He gave it the Name of *Samareon*, from *Samar*, the Man's Name that ſold the Mountain whereupon it was built. He differ'd little from the former Kings, but in the Degree of being ſtill worſe; for they all made it their Buſineſs to alienate the People's Hearts from the Love and Service of God, by the repeated Practices of daily Wickedneſs. Wherefore God in his Wrath made Uſe of them ſucceſſively for the Deſtruction one of another; till in the End, the whole Race was extinct. This Prince dy'd at *Samaria*, and *Ahab* his Son reigned in his Stead. In the Courſe of this reſolution, we are given to underſtand how the Wiſdom and Providence of God interpoſes in humane Affairs, in ſhowering down Bleſſings upon the righteous, and in the utter Extirpation of the wicked. For the Kings of the *Iſraelites* were in a ſhort Time cut off, with their whole Families, by the Hands of one another: Only *Aſa* the King of *Jeruſalem*, and of the *two Tribes*, liv'd happily, and in the Favour of God, to a great Age, in Conſideration of his Piety and Juſtice; and after a Reign of one and forty Years, departed this Life with Comfort. His Son *Jehoſhaphat* that he had by *Abida*,

ſucceeding

Zimri *advanced to the Throne. The Race of* Baaſha *utterly extirpated.*

The Aſſaſſin *poſſeſſes himſelf of the Government. The Army chuſes* Omri *for their King; who takes* Tirzah. Zimri *ſets Fire to the Palace, and burns it over his own Head, on the 7th Day of his Reign. Two Factions.* Omri *reigned twelve Years.* Samareon *from* Samer.

Omri *dy'd at* Samaria, Ahab *his Son ſucceeded him.*

Aſa *reigned 41 Years, and his Son* Jehoſhaphat *came on next.*

ſucceeding him, and no leſs a Succeſſor to his Father's Virtues, than to his Government, propoſing to himſelf the Holineſs and the Bravery of *David* for his Example: But this is enough ſaid for this Place.

Ahab the King of the *Iſraelites* took up his Abode at *Samaria*, where he ruled two and twenty Years without any Innovation in the Government, ſaving only where he made Things worſe than he found them. He was a faithful Imitator of the worſt of his Predeceſſors in the worſt of Things, and moſt particularly of *Jeroboam*: Not only in the worſhipping of his Golden Calves, but in the multiplying and ſuperadding of other heinous Offences. He took to Wife *Jezebel*, the Daughter of *Eth-baal* then King of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, who drew him over to the *Idolatry* of worſhipping *her Country Gods*. She was a Woman of a raſh, enterprizing Humour; and of ſo impetuous and ungovernable a Spirit, that ſhe had the Confidence to erect a *Temple* to *Baal*, the God of the *Tyrians*; to plant *Groves* for Superſtition, of all Sorts of Trees, and to appoint her *Prieſts* and Falſe Prophets expreſly for that *idolatrous* Service. Now theſe were a Sort of People that the King was well enough pleas'd to have about him; being a Man violently bent upon any daring or malicious Wickedneſs, beyond all that ever went before him. There came to *Ahab*, about that Time, a certain *Prophet*. He was a *Tiſhbite*, and born in the City of *Gilead*. *His Meſſage was to tell the King, that from the Time of his going away, there ſhould not be one Drop of Rain, or ſo much as the leaſt Sign of a Dew in that Province, till he came back again; confirming his Prediction with a ſtrong Aſſeveration, that ſo it ſhould be.* So ſoon as he had deliver'd his Errand, he went away to the *Southward*, till he came to a Torrent, where he might ſupply himſelf with Water, and there he ſtopp'd for the preſent; the *Ravens*, Time after Time, bringing him Meat. The Drought continuing and encreaſing, the Channel was dry'd up; whereupon God warned the Prophet to remove to *Sareptha*, which is a Town betwixt *Tyre* and *Sidon*: A Voice from Heaven foretelling him, that he ſhould find a *Widow Woman* there that would feed and provide for him. He follow'd his Order, and being come almoſt to the End of his Journey, ſpy'd a poor Woman gathering of Sticks, not far from the Port, which Woman he underſtood by a divine Impulſe, was to be his Nurſe: So he call'd to her to give him a little Water to drink; and as ſhe was going to fetch it, he ſpake to her again to bring him a little Bread too. The Woman ſolemnly proteſted to him, that ſhe had nothing in the Houſe, but one Handful of Meal, and a little Oyl, and that ſhe was now getting a few Sticks for a Fire to bake a Cake of it for her ſelf, and her Son; and when that was eaten, they muſt even ſtarve; for ſhe had not one Bit more in the World. *Well!* ſays the Prophet, *good Woman, go thy Ways with a good Heart, and hope for better Things, and bring me a Piece of it when it is ready; for I do aſſure thee, that when we have all eaten our Fill, thy Barrel ſhall never be without Meal, nor thy Cruiſe without Oyl, till God ſhall ſend Rain upon the Earth.* The Woman did as the Prophet bad her, and found his Words to be true; for they had all three their Bellies full, and the Proviſion was ſtill recruited again as it waſted, till this miſerable Drought was over. *Menander* ſpeaks of it in the Hiſtory of *Eth-baal*, a King of the *Tyrians*. *In his Time*, ſays he, *there was an extreme Drought for Want of Rain, that laſted from the Month of* Hyperberetæus, *till the ſame Month again next Year. There were Prayers indeed put up for the averting of the Judgment, which were follow'd with mighty Claps of Thunder. This Prince built* Botrys *in* Phœnicia, *and* Auzates *in* Africa. This was undoubtedly the Drought under *Ahab*; for it was in his Reign that *Eth-baal* was King of *Tyre*, as *Menander* has it in his Commentaries.

Ahab *rul'd twenty two Years. His Abode at* Samaria.

A punctual Imitator of Jeroboam.

Ahab *takes to Wife* Jezebel, *the Daughter of* Eth-baal.

A Woman of an impetuous, enterprizing Humour.

Jezebel *has* Prieſts *for her* Idol-Worſhip.

1 Kings 17.

A Prophet with a Meſſage to Ahab, *that they ſhould have no Rain till he came back.*

Elias *fed by* Ravens.

The Widow of Sareptha.

She relieves the Prophet without waſting her Store.

The Prophet reliev'd by Miracle.

Menander *mentions this Drought.*

At, or about this Time, the Woman's Son of the Houſe fell deſperately ſick; and the Mother, in a paſſionate Extravagance of raging and exclaiming for the Loſs of her Boy, laid the Blame upon the *Prophet*. *This Man*, ſays ſhe, *that I have entertain'd, hath diſcover'd my Sins, and now brought this Judgment upon me.* The Child being abſolutely given over for Dead, the Prophet bad the Woman comfort her ſelf, and deliver up her Son into his Arms; with an Aſſurance that he would ſuddenly reſtore him to her alive again. He took him up, and carry'd him into his Chamber; laid him upon his Bed, and offer'd up a Prayer to God for him. *Lord!* (ſays he) *this will look like an ill Requital to my Preſerver, to have her Son taken from her while I am in the Family: Be pleaſed in thy infinite Goodneſs to reſtore this innocent Creature to Life again.* God was pleaſed upon the Prophet's Supplication, beyond all Thoughts, or Expectation, to call the Child to Life again, that the poor Woman might not have any Misfortune to complain of while the Prophet was in the Family. The Child, upon this Prayer, was reviv'd, and the Woman with great Thankfulneſs to the Prophet, found her ſelf now fully convinc'd, *ſhe ſaid*, that he was authoriz'd and directed by the Spirit of God.

The Prophet raiſes a dead Child.

The Prophet tells Ahab, *there ſhall be ſuddenly* Rain.
1 Kings 18.

Ahab *ſends* Obadiah *to find out* Elias.

Obadiah *meets* Elias.

Elias *bids* Obadiah *tell the King that he is coming.*

Ahab *reproaches* Elias, *as the Occaſion of this Famine.*

Elias *charges it upon* Ahab, *himſelf and his Family.*

Elias *directs a Meeting upon Mount* Carmel, *and all* Ahab's *Prophets to be there preſent.*

The Prophets meet accordingly, to the Number of about 400.

Elias *puts the Cauſe to an Iſſue.*

The Prophet, a while after this was ſent to *Ahab*, to tell him, that there ſhould ſuddenly be *Rain*. The *Famine* was now ſo pinching all over the Country, and ſo general a Scarcity of all Neceſſaries for Life, that not only the People were ready to ſtarve for Want of *Bread*; but the very Cattel alſo, and other Animals upon the Point of periſhing, for Want of Food and Forage; ſo parching was the Drought every where. In this Diſtreſs, the King ſent for *Obadiah*, the Overſeer of his Stables and his Grounds, to come to him, and to ſearch every where about the Brooks and Rivers for Graſs for his Horſes and Herds; charging him by all Means to get *Elias* the Prophet to him; whom they had been looking up and down for, but could not find him: So the King walk'd on, and bad his Bayliff follow him; and when they had gone a while together, the King ſtruck off into one Way, and *Obadiah* into another. This *Obadiah* was a very good and holy Man; and at the Time when Queen *Jezebel* was in the Heat of her bloody Perſecution againſt the *Prophets*, he conceal'd and protected a hundred of them in Caves, and fed them with Bread and Water. The *King* and *Obadiah* were no ſooner parted, but the latter met *Elias* upon the Way; and finding who he was, by his Anſwer to the Queſtion, he did him Reverence. The Prophet after a while, deſired *Obadiah* to go to the King and tell him that he was a coming. *Why what have I done,* ſays Obadiah, *to be ſent of ſuch an Errand, to a Perſon that is at this Time looking after you to put you to Death? And there is no Torment you are not to expect whenever he catches you. But what now, when I go to the King, if the Spirit that governs you as it pleaſes, ſhould carry you another Way; and when you are not to be found, my Head lies at Stake to anſwer for you? Pray be not ſo indifferent in a Caſe where my Life is in ſo much Danger. You may aſſure your ſelf, I do not want Affection for your Party, that ran the Riſque of preſerving a hundred of your Prophets from the Rage of* Jezebel, *and to this Day maintain them in Caves upon my own Account. Well,* ſays the Prophet, *fear nothing; but go to the King, upon my ſolemn Oath, and Promiſe that I will come to him.* So ſoon as *Ahab* underſtood that *Elias* was there, he mended his Pace, and in Haſte and Indignation, marching toward him, call'd out: *Are you,* ſays he, *at this Day the Troubler of* Iſrael? *Are you the Occaſion of this Drought and Famine?* Elias *told him, with Liberty and Aſſurance, that it was* Ahab *himſelf, and his Family, and their bringing in of* foreign *and* falſe Gods; *and the ſuppreſſing of the* true Religion; *that was the Cauſe of all their Miſery. Pray,* ſays the Prophet, *will you give Order for all the People to meet in a Congregation upon Mount* Carmel, *and let your own, and your Wife's Prophets be there alſo; (expreſſing the very Number of them.) Summon likewiſe the Prophets of your* Groves, *(about* four hundred, *more or leſs.)* The King ſummoned them, and they met accordingly; *Elias* ſtanding in the Middle of the Throng, and calling out to them after this Manner. *How long,* ſays he, *will you ſtand wavering betwixt two Opinions. If you believe ours to be the true and the only God, obey him, and keep his Commandments; or if you are rather of Opinion for the worſhipping of ſtrange Gods, take what you like.* The People making no Anſwer to what he ſaid, *Elias* went on, and proceeded to this Challenge. *If,* ſays he, *you have a Mind to be certainly aſſur'd which Worſhip is the Right,* yours *or* ours; *here do I ſtand a ſingle Prophet on the one Side, to defend the Cauſe againſt the* three hundred *on the other. I will take an Ox and lay it upon a Pile of Wood, without putting any Fire to it: Let them do the ſame Thing, and call upon their Gods to ſet their Pile in a Flame. By this Means you will be able to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe.* The People were well enough pleas'd with the Experiment, and *Elias* bad *Ahab's Prophets* take an Ox, as is ſaid before, and call upon their Gods by their Names, giving them the Precedency of being the firſt to offer up the Sacrifice. When they had pray'd, and call'd a good while, and without any Effect, *Elias* turn'd their Superſtition to Ridicule, and bad them *cry out louder*; for their Gods might poſſibly *be upon a Journey*, or *aſleep* perhaps. At this Rate they went on, with Outcries and Exclamations, from Morning till Noon, cutting and lancing their Bodies, after the Cuſtom of their Way of worſhipping; and all to no Manner of Purpoſe. Now when it came to the other's Turn to ſacrifice, and theſe phanatical Oblations were taken away, Elias *ſpake to the Multitude to draw nearer, and to ſpy every where if they could find any Fire that was ſecretly convey'd there.* Upon their coming up, *Elias* took *twelve Stones* to anſwer the Number of the *twelve Tribes*, and erected an *Altar* out of them, cutting a deep Ditch about it. The *Wood* was fitted, and laid upon the *Altar*; the Sacrifice upon the Pile, and four Veſſels of *Fountain-Water* caſt upon the *Altar*; ſo that it ran off, and fill'd the Trenches. When every Thing was ready, *Elias call'd upon God, and beſought him to ſhew his Power now for the Conviction of a miſtaken and unbelieving People.* While the Words were yet between his Lips, there fell a Fire, as from Heaven, down upon the *Altar*, that in the Sight of the People conſum'd the Sacrifice, and dry'd up all the Water about the *Altar*, and in the *Ditch*.

The *Iſraelites*, upon this Prodigy, fell proſtrate upon the Ground, and agreed in the Adoration of *One Deity*; confeſſing him to be the great and only true God: And for the Reſt, they look'd upon them to be only the vain Imaginations of weak Men. The four hundred Prophets were taken, and put to Death by the Command of *Elias*; who then bad the King to go to Dinner without troubling himſelf any farther.

The whole Multitude give it for Elias.

Elias *orders the* 400 *Prophets to be put to Death.*

When the King was gone, *Elias* went up to the Top of *Carmel*; where he ſat down upon the Ground, and laying his Head upon his Knees, order'd his Servant to get up to a Rock toward the Sea, and look about him, if he could ſee ever a *Cloud*. He went up again and again; but ſtill ſaw nothing: At laſt, after the ſeventh Time, looking about him, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething *Blackiſh* in the Air about the Bigneſs of a Man's Hand. So ſoon as *Elias* heard that, he ſent away immediately to *Ahab*, to make Haſte to the City; for he would be taken in a very great Shower elſe: And by the Time he was come to the City of *Jezreel*, the whole Air was dark and overcaſt, and there fell immediately a pouring *Rain*. The Prophet, in the mean Time, by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God, ran before *Ahab*'s Chariot, till he came to *Jezreel*.

1 Kings 19.

Jezebel *threatens* Elias *for the Death of her Prophets.*

Elias *flies to* Beerſhebe.

When it came to the Ear of *Jezebel*, the Wife of *Ahab*, what Wonders *Elias* had done, and how he had kill'd all her Prophets, ſhe ſent him threatening Meſſages, that his Life ſhould anſwer for theirs. *Elias*, upon theſe Menaces, fled to *Beerſheba*, which is in the fartheſt Part of *Judæa*, and bordering upon *Idumæa*: In which Place he left his Servant, and ſo went away into the *Wilderneſs*, where he laid himſelf down, as a Man weary of Life, and calling for Death. *Lord!* ſays he, *I am not better than thoſe that are gone before me; and I find no Temptations left me to the Deſire of longer Life.* So he laid himſelf down under a Tree, and there fell aſleep, till ſome Thing or ſome Body waken'd him, he knew not how, nor for what; and upon raiſing himſelf, he found Meat and Drink ſet before him, which he fed heartily upon, and in the Strength of that Refreſhment he went forward to Mount *Sinai*, the Place where, according to our Tradition, God deliver'd the Law to *Moſes*. There was a large convenient Cave there, which he enter'd into, with ſome Thought of taking it up for his Habitation. While he was there, the Queſtion was put to him, how he came to leave the City, and wander thus in the Deſert. He heard the Voice diſtinctly; but whence it came he knew not. His Anſwer was, that, upon the killing of the *falſe Prophets*, and preaching the Doctrine to the People of only *one God*, and that God only to be worſhipped, the Queen for this Crime threatened to have him put to Death. He was commanded after this, by the ſame Voice, to quit the Cavern the next Day, and receive his Inſtructions how to govern himſelf for the Future. The Day following, he came out from his Retreat; and immediately upon it, there was a great *Earthquake*, and after the *Earthquake*, the Appearance in the Air of a *Blazing Fire*; which Fire was follow'd with a little Pauſe of Silence, and after that a ſtill Voice, bidding him *fear nothing, for his Enemies ſhould not prevail againſt him*; and ſo commanded him back again, by the Way of *Damaſcus*, and there to anoint *Hazael* King of *Aram*: And *Jehu* the Son of *Nimſhi* King over *Iſrael*; and to anoint *Eliſha* alſo, of *Abel*, Prophet in his Room: For that God was reſolved to root out all the Wicked from the Land by the Stroke of divine Juſtice; and thoſe that ſcap'd the Sword of *Jehu*, to fall by that of *Hazael*. Upon theſe Words *Elias* preſently returned according to his Order, and found *Eliſha* the Son of *Shaphat* ploughing, in Company of others, with twelve Yoke of Oxen. He went to him, and caſting his Cloak over him, *Eliſha* immediately began to propheſy; quitted his *Oxen*, and preſented himſelf to follow him: Only deſiring to take Leave of his Father and Mother before he departed for good and all. This was granted him, and upon his Return from his Parents, he became thenceforward a Diſciple and Companion to *Elias*: Which ſhall ſuffice at Preſent for the State of his Affairs.

The Doctrine of one God *is the Crime laid to the Charge of* Elias.

Elias *commanded to anoint* Hazael *King of* Aram; Jehu, *King of* Iſrael, *and in his own Room to anoint the Prophet* Eliſha.

Elias *returns and finds* Eliſha *at Plough.*

Eliſha *begins to propheſy; leaves his Oxen, and becomes a Diſciple of* Elias.

It happen'd that one *Naboth* of [a] *Jezreel* had a Vineyard near the Palace of *Ahab*, the King of *Samaria*, which lay contiguous to the King's Grounds. *Ahab* had a mighty Mind to take this Parcel of Land into his own Gardens, and ſo was often at *Naboth* to let him have it, either in Exchange for ſome Equivalent in another Place, or otherwiſe for a Sum of Money. *Naboth* excus'd himſelf, that it was his Inheritance, and in ſo particular a Manner the Gift of Providence, that he could not part with it, either for Money, or otherwiſe. This Diſappointment upon another Man's Eſtate, was as much to *Ahab*, as if he had loſt his own: Inſomuch that he fell ſad, and ſick upon it; refuſing to bathe as he uſed to do, and forſaking his Meat. *Jezebel*, upon this Change, became very ſolicitous and inquiſitive to know the true Reaſon of ſo wonderful an Alteration, that her Husband ſhould all on a ſudden give over waſhing as he uſed to do, and forſake his Meat: So that upon her Importunity, he told her the Story of *Naboth*, and how brutiſhly and ſawcily he had behav'd himſelf. *I gave him*, ſays Ahab, *the beſt Words in the World, and in Truth treated him, even below the Majeſty*

The Story of Naboth, *his Vineyard.*

1 Kings 21.

Ahab *hath a Mind to't, and* Naboth *will not part with it.*

So Ahab *tells his Wife the whole Buſineſs.*

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[a] ʼΑζάρης πόλεως, Joſ.

The Prophet tells Ahab, *there ſhall be ſuddenly* Rain. 1 Kings 18.

Ahab *ſends* Obadiah *to find out* Elias.

Obadiah *meets* Elias.

Elias *bids* Obadiah *tell the King that he is coming.*

Ahab *reproaches* Elias, *as the Occaſion of this Famine.*

Elias *charges it upon* Ahab, *himſelf and his Family.*

Elias *directs a Meeting upon Mount* Carmel, *and all* Ahab's *Prophets to be there preſent.*

The Prophets meet accordingly, to the Number of about 400.

Elias *puts the Cauſe to an Iſſue.*

The Prophet, a while after this was ſent to *Ahab*, to tell him, that there ſhould ſuddenly be *Rain*. The *Famine* was now ſo pinching all over the Country, and ſo general a Scarcity of all Neceſſaries for Life, that not only the People were ready to ſtarve for Want of *Bread*; but the very Cattel alſo, and other Animals upon the Point of periſhing, for Want of Food and Forage; ſo parching was the Drought every where. In this Diſtreſs, the King ſent for *Obadiah*, the Overſeer of his Stables and his Grounds, to come to him, and to ſearch every where about the Brooks and Rivers for Graſs for his Horſes and Herds; charging him by all Means to get *Elias* the Prophet to him; whom they had been looking up and down for, but could not find him: So the King walk'd on, and bad his Bayliff follow him; and when they had gone a while together, the King ſtruck off into one Way, and *Obadiah* into another. This *Obadiah* was a very good and holy Man; and at the Time when Queen *Jezebel* was in the Heat of her bloody Perſecution againſt the *Prophets*, he conceal'd and protected a hundred of them in Caves, and fed them with Bread and Water. The *King* and *Obadiah* were no ſooner parted, but the latter met *Elias* upon the Way; and finding who he was, by his Anſwer to the Queſtion, he did him Reverence. The Prophet after a while, deſired *Obadiah* to go to the King and tell him that he was a coming. *Why what have I done*, ſays Obadiah, *to be ſent of ſuch an Errand, to a Perſon that is at this Time looking after you to put you to Death? And there is no Torment you are not to expect whenever he catches you. But what now, when I go to the King, if the Spirit that governs you as it pleaſes, ſhould carry you another Way; and when you are not to be found, my Head lies at Stake to anſwer for you? Pray be not ſo indifferent in a Caſe where my Life is in ſo much Danger. You may aſſure your ſelf, I do not want Affection for your Party, that ran the Riſque of preſerving a hundred of your Prophets from the Rage of* Jezebel, *and to this Day maintain them in Caves upon my own Account. Well*, ſays the Prophet, *fear nothing; but go to the King, upon my ſolemn Oath, and Promiſe that I will come to him.* So ſoon as *Ahab* underſtood that *Elias* was there, he mended his Pace, and in Haſte and Indignation, marching toward him, call'd out: *Are you*, ſays he, *at this Day the Troubler of* Iſrael? *Are you the Occaſion of this Drought and Famine?* Elias *told him, with Liberty and Aſſurance, that it was* Ahab *himſelf, and his Family, and their bringing in of* foreign *and* falſe Gods; *and the ſuppreſſing of the* true Religion; *that was the Cauſe of all their Miſery. Pray*, ſays the Prophet, *will you give Order for all the People to meet in a Congregation upon Mount* Carmel, *and let your own, and your Wife's Prophets be there alſo; (expreſſing the very Number of them.) Summon likewiſe the Prophets of your* Groves, *(about* four hundred, *more or leſs.)* The King ſummoned them, and they met accordingly; *Elias* ſtanding in the Middle of the Throng, and calling out to them after this Manner. *How long*, ſays he, *will you ſtand wavering betwixt two Opinions. If you believe ours to be the true and the only God, obey him, and keep his Commandments; or if you are rather of Opinion for the worſhipping of ſtrange Gods, take what you like.* The People making no Anſwer to what he ſaid, *Elias* went on, and proceeded to this Challenge. *If*, ſays he, *you have a Mind to be certainly aſſur'd which Worſhip is the Right*, yours *or* ours; *here do I ſtand a ſingle Prophet on the one Side, to defend the Cauſe againſt the* three hundred *on the other. I will take an Ox and lay it upon a Pile of Wood, without putting any Fire to it: Let them do the ſame Thing, and call upon their Gods to ſet their Pile in a Flame. By this Means you will be able to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe.* The People were well enough pleas'd with the Experiment, and *Elias* bad *Ahab's Prophets* take an Ox, as is ſaid before, and call upon their Gods by their Names, giving them the Precedency of being the firſt to offer up the Sacrifice. When they had pray'd, and call'd a good while, and without any Effect, *Elias* turn'd their Superſtition to Ridicule, and bad them *cry out louder*; for their Gods might poſſibly *be upon a Journey*, or *aſleep* perhaps. At this Rate they went on, with Outcries and Exclamations, from Morning till Noon, cutting and lancing their Bodies, after the Cuſtom of their Way of worſhipping; and all to no Manner of Purpoſe. Now when it came to the other's Turn to ſacrifice, and theſe phanatical Oblations were taken away, Elias *ſpake to the Multitude to draw nearer, and to ſpy every where if they could find any Fire that was ſecretly convey'd there.* Upon their coming up, *Elias* took *twelve Stones* to anſwer the Number of the *twelve Tribes*, and erected an *Altar* out of them, cutting a deep Ditch about it. The *Wood* was fitted, and laid upon the *Altar*; the Sacrifice upon the Pile, and four Veſſels of *Fountain-Water* caſt upon the *Altar*; ſo that it ran off, and fill'd the Trenches. When every Thing was ready, *Elias call'd upon God, and beſought him to ſhew his Power now for the Conviction of a miſtaken and unbelieving People.* While the Words were yet between his Lips, there fell a Fire, as from Heaven, down upon the *Altar*, that in the Sight of the People conſum'd the Sacrifice, and dry'd up all the Water about the *Altar*, and in the *Ditch*.

The *Iſraelites*, upon this Prodigy, fell proſtrate upon the Ground, and agreed in the Adoration of *One Deity*; confeſſing him to be the great and only true God: And for the Reſt, they look'd upon them to be only the vain Imaginations of weak Men. The four hundred Prophets were taken, and put to Death by the Command of *Elias*; who then bad the King to go to Dinner without troubling himſelf any farther.

The whole Multitude give it for Elias.

Elias *orders the* 400 *Prophets to be put to Death.*

When the King was gone, *Elias* went up to the Top of *Carmel*; where he ſat down upon the Ground, and laying his Head upon his Knees, order'd his Servant to get up to a Rock toward the Sea, and look about him, if he could ſee ever a *Cloud*. He went up again and again; but ſtill ſaw nothing: At laſt, after the ſeventh Time, looking about him, he ſaid he ſaw ſomething *Blackiſh* in the Air about the Bigneſs of a Man's Hand. So ſoon as *Elias* heard that, he ſent away immediately to *Ahab*, to make Haſte to the City; for he would be taken in a very great Shower elſe: And by the Time he was come to the City of *Jezreel*, the whole Air was dark and overcaſt, and there fell immediately a pouring *Rain*. The Prophet, in the mean Time, by the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God, ran before *Ahab*'s Chariot, till he came to *Jezreel*.

When it came to the Ear of *Jezebel*, the Wife of *Ahab*, what Wonders *Elias* had done, and how he had kill'd all her Prophets, ſhe ſent him threatening Meſſages, that his Life ſhould anſwer for theirs. *Elias*, upon theſe Menaces, fled to *Beerſheba*, which is in the fartheſt Part of *Judæa*, and bordering upon *Idumæa*: In which Place he left his Servant, and ſo went away into the *Wilderneſs*, where he laid himſelf down, as a Man weary of Life, and calling for Death. *Lord!* ſays he, *I am not better than thoſe that are gone before me; and I find no Temptations left me to the Deſire of longer Life.* So he laid himſelf down under a Tree, and there fell aſleep, till ſome Thing or ſome Body waken'd him, he knew not how, nor for what; and upon raiſing himſelf, he found Meat and Drink ſet before him, which he fed heartily upon, and in the Strength of that Refreſhment he went forward to Mount *Sinai*, the Place where, according to our Tradition, God deliver'd the Law to *Moſes*. There was a large convenient Cave there, which he enter'd into, with ſome Thought of taking it up for his Habitation. While he was there, the Queſtion was put to him, how he came to leave the City, and wander thus in the Deſert. He heard the Voice diſtinctly; but whence it came he knew not. His Anſwer was, that, upon the killing of the *falſe Prophets*, and preaching the Doctrine to the People of only *one God*, and that God only to be worſhipped, the Queen for this Crime threatened to have him put to Death. He was commanded after this, by the ſame Voice, to quit the Cavern the next Day, and receive his Inſtructions how to govern himſelf for the Future. The Day following, he came out from his Retreat; and immediately upon it, there was a great *Earthquake*, and after the *Earthquake*, the Appearance in the Air of a *Blazing Fire*; which Fire was follow'd with a little Pauſe of Silence, and after that a ſtill Voice, bidding him *fear nothing, for his Enemies ſhould not prevail againſt him*; and ſo commanded him back again, by the Way of *Damaſcus*, and there to anoint *Hazael* King of *Aram*: And *Jehu* the Son of *Nimſhi* King over *Iſrael*; and to anoint *Eliſha* alſo, of *Abel*, Prophet in his Room: For that God was reſolved to root out all the Wicked from the Land by the Stroke of divine Juſtice; and thoſe that ſcap'd the Sword of *Jehu*, to fall by that of *Hazael*. Upon theſe Words *Elias* preſently returned according to his Order, and found *Eliſha* the Son of *Shaphat* ploughing, in Company of others, with twelve Yoke of Oxen. He went to him, and caſting his Cloak over him, *Eliſha* immediately began to propheſy; quitted his *Oxen*, and preſented himſelf to follow him: Only deſiring to take Leave of his Father and Mother before he departed for good and all. This was granted him, and upon his Return from his Parents, he became thenceforward a Diſciple and Companion to *Elias*: Which ſhall ſuffice at Preſent for the State of his Affairs.

1 Kings 19.

Jezebel *threatens* Elias *for the Death of her Prophets.*

Elias *flies to* Beerſhebe.

The Doctrine of one God *is the Crime laid to the Charge of* Elias.

Elias *commanded to anoint* Hazael *King of* Aram; Jehu, *King of* Iſrael, *and in his own Room to anoint the Prophet* Eliſha.

Elias *returns and finds* Eliſha *at Plough.*

Eliſha *begins to propheſy; leaves his Oxen, and becomes a Diſciple of* Elias.

It happen'd that one *Naboth* of [a] *Jezreel* had a Vineyard near the Palace of *Ahab*, the King of *Samaria*, which lay contiguous to the King's Grounds. *Ahab* had a mighty Mind to take this Parcel of Land into his own Gardens, and ſo was often at *Naboth* to let him have it, either in Exchange for ſome Equivalent in another Place, or otherwiſe for a Sum of Money. *Naboth* excus'd himſelf, that it was his Inheritance, and in ſo particular a Manner the Gift of Providence, that he could not part with it, either for Money, or otherwiſe. This Diſappointment upon another Man's Eſtate, was as much to *Ahab*, as if he had loſt his own: Inſomuch that he fell ſad, and ſick upon it; refuſing to bathe as he uſed to do, and forſaking his Meat. *Jezebel*, upon this Change, became very ſolicitous and inquiſitive to know the true Reaſon of ſo wonderful an Alteration, that her Husband ſhould all on a ſudden give over waſhing as he uſed to do, and forſake his Meat: So that upon her Importunity, he told her the Story of *Naboth*, and how brutiſhly and ſawcily he had behav'd himſelf. *I gave him*, ſays Ahab, *the beſt Words in the World, and in Truth treated him, even below the Ma-*

The Story of Naboth, *his Vineyard.*

1 Kings 21.

Ahab *hath a Mind to't, and* Naboth *will not part with it.*

So Ahab *tells his Wife the whole Buſineſs.*

[a] Ἀζάρης πόλεως. Joſ.

Jezebel *undertakes it.*

An Aſſembly called.

Three Witneſſes ſwear Blaſphemy *againſt him.* Naboth *convict, ſentenc'd, and ſton'd.*

jeſty of a King, I ſpake him fair, in Fine, and all I got by't was to be put off at laſt with a Repulſe. The Queen, on the other Side, hearten'd him up to come to himſelf again, and bad him never trouble his Head farther in the Caſe; for ſhe would undertake to bring it about herſelf, and *Naboth* ſhould never carry off this Affront *Gratis.* Hereupon ſhe wrote Letters in *Ahab*'s Name to the Elders and chief Men of *Jezreel,* to this Purpoſe; *that they ſhould proclaim a Faſt, call an Aſſembly, and aſſign* Naboth *a Place there among the principal Men of the People: That they ſhould have three Witneſſes ready, that would ſwear any Thing, to give Evidence againſt him, for ſpeaking Blaſphemy againſt God and the King; upon which Teſtimony he ſhould ſtand convict, and receive Sentence to be ſton'd to Death by the People.* Every Thing was done according to the Queen's Direction, and *Naboth* convict, ſentenc'd, and ſton'd. *Jezebel* inſtantly upon the News of this Succeſs, went her Way to the King, and told him that *Naboth*'s Work was now done, and that he might take Poſſeſſion of the *Vineyard* when he pleas'd, without beating any more Bargains for the Price. *Ahab* was ſo overjoy'd at what *Jezebel* told him, that the firſt Thing he did was to take a Journy to his new Purchaſe; but God ſent *Elias* to him in his Wrath, to charge him with the *Murther* of the *true Owner* of that *Vineyard,* and the Iniquity of his uſurping upon the Poſſeſſion. When *Ahab* ſaw the Prophet coming toward him, he went to him of himſelf with a Confeſſion in his Mouth, and a Tender of any Satiſfaction the Prophet ſhould require. This he did to prevent the other's Beginning with him.

The Prophet's Prediction of what ſhould befall Ahab *and his* Family.

Ahab's *true Repentance reſpites the Vengeance till the Days of his Son.*

Elias told him, by the Direction, and in the Name of God, that *where the Dogs licked the Blood of* Naboth, *they ſhould alſo lick the Blood of* Ahab *and* Jezebel; *and that the whole Race ſhould be rooted out for this flagitious Cruelty, in taking away the Life of an innocent Man by Calumny and Subornation.* Theſe Words of the Prophet brought *Ahab* to the Senſe of a true and of a ſincere Repentance. He mortify'd himſelf in Sackcloth and Faſting, going bare Foot, and giving all Manifeſtation of a hearty Sorrow for his Sins. So that God ſent the Prophet once again to him with another Meſſage; and to let him know, that in Regard of his Penitence and Humiliation, the Judgment denounced ſhould not be executed in his Days; but in the Days of his Son, it ſhould all come to paſs. Upon theſe Words the Prophet went his Way.

CHAP. VIII.

Adad *beſieges* Ahab *in* Samaria, *and is beaten off. He is worſted again the next Year, and flies to* Ahab *for Mercy; who treats him kindly, and diſmiſſes him, which the* Prophet *reproves him for.*

1 Kings 20.

Adad *with thirty two confederate Kings, makes War upon* Ahab.

Ahab *keeps to his ſtrong Holds, and* Samaria *the Chief.*

Adad *ſits down before* Samaria,

and ſends Ahab *a Summons.*

Ahab's *Anſwer.* Adad *ſends a ſecond Embaſſy.*

WHile Matters went thus with *Ahab, Adad* the King of *Syria* and *Damaſcus* levy'd a mighty Army out of his whole Kingdom; and being joyned by two and thirty confederate Kings beyond the *Euphrates,* he marched with this mighty Force againſt *Ahab,* who did not think it reaſonable upon ſo vaſt an Odds of Number to venture a Battle in the plain Field; but choſe rather to draw his military Men out of the open Country into ſtrong Holds, and fortify'd Towns; and to keep themſelves upon the Defenſive. He himſelf made Choice of *Samaria* for his Capital, which he reſolved to make good. The Place was ſtrong by Situation, good Walls, and good Works about it, and a good Garriſon to maintain it. The *Syrian* brought his Army before it, and began in Form to make his Attacks, ſending a *Herald* to *Ahab* at the ſame Time, for Licenſe to diſpatch Embaſſadors to him, with Inſtructions to propoſe what he ſhould demand. This was granted, and the Embaſſadors ſent, and received; having a Commiſſion, as they ſaid, to tell him, that his Treaſure, his Wives and his Children were all at *Adad*'s Mercy; and that if he would acknowledge as much, and permit the other to take what he thought fit out of them, he would inſtantly quit the Siege, and withdraw his Army. *Ahab* ſent the Embaſſadors back with this Anſwer; that he himſelf, and all he had was at their Maſter's Service. The *Syrian,* after this Demand and Return, ſent yet another Embaſſy; which was, that upon ſending his Officers, and Servants to him next Morning, they ſhould have free Liberty to ſearch all his own Lodgings, with the Houſes and Apartments of all his Relations, and Domeſticks, and to take away with them whatever they ſhould think worth the while; and for the Remainder, *Ahab* might keep it to himſelf.

Ahab *calls a Council upon't.*

This Meſſage was the leſs troubleſome to *Ahab,* becauſe it gave him a fair Occaſion of calling a Council, and furniſh'd him with Matter for a very plauſible and ſeaſonable Debate. *Look you Friends,* ſays he, *I have had two Propoſals ſent me from* Adad;

the former for an Acknowledgment that my ſelf, my Wives, and Children, are all at his Mercy; and upon the Terms of ſuch a Confeſſion, he was to raiſe the Siege. Now all this I yielded to, as I would part with any Thing of my own Intereſt for the Sake of the publick Peace, and the common Good of my People: But they are now come up to inſiſt upon a general Search and Rifle; out of a mere captious Humour, to pick a Quarrel with us: And nothing leſs, they ſay, *will do. They began at firſt with my own particular Concerns, out of an Opinion I would have ſtuck there: But I am now to deliver up my Country and my People alſo, which they know I will never do; and ſo that muſt be the Riſe of a War. But I am ready and reſolv'd at laſt to do only what you ſhall adviſe me to.* The Council cry'd out upon the Inſolency of this *Barbarian*, with all the Contempt imaginable; and gave their Voices unanimouſly for a downright War: So the Ambaſſadors were ſent away with this Anſwer, *That the King would yet agree to their firſt Demands; but that for the Security and Honour of the Citizens, he would never conſent to the other.* Adad was ſo nettled at this Anſwer, that he ſent a third Embaſſy, which was much more peremptory and menacing than the former. *Tell their King,* ſays *Adad*, *that he values himſelf upon the Strength and Security of his Walls; but that I will, before he is aware, caſt up Works that ſhall over-top them; and that it will be but every Soldier a Handful of Earth to do his Buſineſs;* giving to underſtand the incredible Number of his People: To which *Ahab* reply'd, that *Men of Honour were to diſpute with their Swords, not with their Tongues. Ahab* happen'd to be at Supper with his two and thirty confederate Kings, upon the Ambaſſador's Arrival with this Anſwer: And he gave Orders in the ſame Moment for the Siege, and the Works; and for the doing of every Thing, in Fine, that might conduce to the taking of the Town. *Adad* in the mean while, and his Party, were as much down and hopeleſs, as Men could well be, till a certain Prophet came to him and rouz'd him with an Aſſurance from God, that he ſhould prevail againſt that prodigious Army. *Ahab* was now deſirous to know by what Hands this Victory ſhould be obtain'd. *By the Sons,* ſays he, *of the Nobility, and you your ſelf in the Head of them.* So the King call'd them together to the Number of two hundred thirty two: And *Ahab* having Information that the *Syrian* was in the Height of his Cups and Luxury, the Gates were thrown open of a ſudden, and theſe Heroes made a Sally. The Information of this was no ſooner brought to *Adad*, but he forthwith ſent out a Party toward them with Orders, that whether they came to fight or to treat, they ſhould bring them bound to him. *Ahab* in the mean Time had the Reſt of his Army in Readineſs within the Walls, to iſſue out upon Occaſion. Theſe great Officers Sons firſt engag'd with the Guards, kill'd a great many of them, and purſu'd the Reſt up to their Tents. When the King of *Iſrael* found that they ſucceeded thus far ſo well, he iſſu'd out with the Remainder of the Army, and made a furious Charge upon the *Syrians*; took them at unawares, and routed them without any Difficulty, having only Men in Drink, and without Arms, to deal withal: So that they were forc'd to run for their Lives; *Adad* himſelf getting off only by the Swiftneſs of his Horſe. They had, in Short, the Chace of them a great Way, killing thoſe they overtook; and ſo with a mighty rich Booty of Gold, Silver, and Equipages that they took in the Tents, and the very Chariots and Horſes of *Adad*, they march'd back again to the City. The Prophet however adviſed the King after all this, to have an Army in Readineſs to take the Field next Spring; for *Adad* would give him Occaſion for it. So *Ahab* prepares vigorouſly for it on the one Hand; and *Adad* calls his Friends together on the other, with the Remains of his broken Army, to adviſe how to manage it. *Adad*'s Friends were againſt his fighting any more in the Mountains; for the *Iſraelites God*, they ſaid, was the *God* of the *Mountains:* But if they had fought upon the Plains, the *Iſraelites* would have been worſted. They gave Counſel alſo for the diſcharging of the confederate Princes from any further perſonal Service and Attendance; only their Troops to ſtay, and be ſupply'd with good Officers in the Head of them; and in the mean Time, their Commanders might be levying Recruits of Horſe and Foot to fill up their ſhatter'd Companies. The King was well enough pleas'd with this Advice, and ſo apply'd himſelf to his Preparations. The Spring being now at Hand, he march'd his Army againſt the *Hebrews*, and pitch'd his Camp in a large Plain, according to the Advice of his Prophets, not far from the City of *Apheca*. *Ahab* in the mean Time, with his Troops, advanced and drew up juſt over againſt him, though many thouſands ſhort of the Number of the *Syrians*. While they were facing one another, the Prophet came to the *Hebrews*, with an Aſſurance from God, that they ſhould be victorious, and that the Enemies ſhould find the *God* of the *Mountains* to be the *God* of the *Vallies* too. The Armies continu'd for *ſix Days* in the ſame Station without moving; and upon the *ſeventh* they advanc'd on both Sides in a Line, and ſtruck the Battle. It was hard fought at firſt; but when the *Syrians* found that they were not able to ſtand the Shock any longer,

Adad's *Propoſitions rejected.*

Adad *ſends a third Summons.*

Ahab *returns him a more contemptuous Anſwer.*

Adad *gives Orders for preſſing the Town.*

Ahab's *Heart is down, till the Prophet aſſures him from God of a glorious Victory.*

Ahab *makes a Sally with 232, upon* Adad *in his Cups.*

Adad *detaches a Party to encounter them; which is beaten back.*

Ahab *follows the Blow, and gives the* Syrians *a total Rout.*

A great Slaughter and a mighty Booty.

The Prophet cautions Ahab *to provide for another Encounter next Spring.*

Both Sides prepare accordingly.

Adad *encamps upon a large Plain near* Apheca; *and* Ahab *over againſt him.*

The Armies face one another for ſix Days, and fight.

The Syrians *utterly routed on the Seventh.*

they turn'd their Backs immediately, and every Man ſhifted for himſelf, in a direct Rout, with the Enemy cloſe at their Heels. Betwixt thoſe, in Fine, that were ſlain upon the Purſuit, and thoſe that periſh'd by Miſadventure in the Confuſion of their Flight, by their own Chariots and Men; ſome torn to Pieces, others trampled upon, and trod to Death, the Calamity was very great. Thoſe that got into *Apheca*, the only Place they had to fly to, were not many, conſidering ſo mighty a Body of Men; and then they reckon about ſeven and twenty thouſand bury'd under the Ruins of the Walls; beſides a Matter of a hundred thouſand that were ſlain in the Battle.

27000 *bury'd under the Ruins of* Apheca, *and about* 100000 *ſlain in the Battle.*

Adad, *with ſome Officers, lie hid in a Cellar.*

Commiſſioners ſent to Ahab *in Sackcloth and Halters.*

Adad, with ſome of his truſtieſt Officers and Servants, got into a Cave and hid himſelf, where ſome of thoſe about him took up a Diſcourſe of the natural Humanity and good Nature of the *Hebrews*; and upon the Iſſue, adviſed their Maſter to caſt himſelf at *Ahab*'s Feet for Mercy, in Confidence that upon ſuch an Application and Submiſſion, it would not be refuſ'd him. The King agreed to try the Experiment; and thereupon ſo many of his Train were immediately dreſs'd up in the Guiſe and Habit of Supplicants and Captives, cloathed in Sackcloth, and Halters about their Necks, according to the Cuſtom of the Country in ſuch Caſes, and ſent to *Ahab* with a Commiſſion to tell him that *Adad* was his Priſoner, and would ever own himſelf ſo to be; and that they came in his Name, only to implore his Grace toward him for the ſaving of his Life. *Well*, ſays *Ahab*, *I am glad he is ſafe; and you may aſſure him, that he ſhall be as welcome to me, as if he were my own Brother.*

Adad *begs his Life, and* Ahab *grants it.*

Ahab takes Adad *into his Chariot, and kiſſes him.*

Adad's *Acknowledgments.*

The Meſſengers, upon the Solemnity of a ſacred Oath that no Violence ſhould be offer'd to his Perſon, went away preſently to their Maſter in the Cellar, and brought him out to the King of *Iſrael*; who was at that Time in his Chariot. So ſoon as the Priſoner had made his Obeiſance, *Ahab* bow'd himſelf to receive him, taking him up to him with his Right-Hand, and kiſſing him, giving him his Faith and Honour alſo for his abſolute Security and Freedom. *Adad*, on the other Side, returning as large Acknowledgments, with repeated Proteſtations, that this Generoſity and Goodneſs ſhould never be forgotten: And in the mean Time, he ſaid, he would reſtore again to the *Hebrews* all the Cities and Lands that had been taken from them; and that *Ahab* ſhould be as free at *Damaſcus*, as ever the other's Father had been at *Samaria*. Upon this they proceeded to the ſigning and ſealing of a *League*, and the reciprocal Interchange of Oaths for the Performance of Covenants; and ſo *Adad* was diſmiſs'd, not without magnificent Preſents.

A League ſign'd and ſeal'd betwixt them.

Adad *diſmiſs'd with magnificent Preſents.*

After this Blow given to the *Syrians*, a certain Prophet, whoſe Name was *Micaiah*, came to an *Iſraelite*, and bad him ſtrike him over the Head; telling him withal, that it was God's Will to have it ſo: But the Man refuſing to do it, the Prophet told him, he ſhould pay dear for his Diſobedience; for he would come to be worried by a Lion. This fell out accordingly; and the Prophet, with the ſame Words in his Mouth, went afterwards to another; who immediately gave him a Blow that drew Blood of him. Upon this, he bound up his Head, and went to the King with this Story, that he was a Soldier, and a certain Officer had deliver'd him a Priſoner to keep, who had made his Eſcape, and he himſelf was now forc'd to fly for't; for Fear the Officer that committed him to his Cuſtody, ſhould put him to Extremities now for letting him go. Well, ſays *Ahab*, and he ſhould ſerve you but right neither: Upon which Words, the Prophet unbound his Head, to give *Ahab* to underſtand that he that told him this Story was *Micaiah*. He made Uſe of this Way of Parable to faſten the deeper Impreſſion upon him; telling him in the End, that God would call him to a ſevere Account, for letting go ſo impious and blaſphemous a Wretch as *Adad*, when he had him in his Power; for the Time will come, ſays the Prophet, when this very *Adad* that you have now ſpar'd, ſhall be the Death of you your ſelf, and the Deſtruction of your Army. *Ahab* was highly exaſperated at this Liberty of the Prophet, and order'd him to be impriſon'd; but he went Home however with a heavy Heart, for this diſmal Prediction would not out of his Head.

Michaiah *reproves* Ahab *for letting* Adad *go: And tells him he will be the Death of himſelf, and the Ruin of his Army.*

Ahab *orders* Michaiah *to be impriſon'd.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Piety, Good Fortune, and Power of Jehoſhaphat. *His Son* Joram *marries the Daughter of the King of* Iſrael, *and joyns in a War with* Ahab *againſt* Adad.

TO return now from the Story of *Ahab*, and his Matters, to *Jehoſhaphat* King of *Jeruſalem*; This Prince had not only enlarged his Territory, and put Garriſons into all the Cities under his Juriſdiction, but he had put Men and Governours into thoſe alſo in the Land of *Ephraim*, that his Grandfather *Abias* had taken from *Jeroboam*, the King of the *Ten Tribes*. This King never fail'd of God's Bleſſing and Protection in any of his Undertakings; for he was a juſt and a pious Man, and not a Day paſs'd over his Head, without doing ſome good Thing or other that was acceptable to God. This Integrity of his Life and Manners gave him a very high Reputation among all the Neighbouring Kings, as appeared by the Frequency and Munificence of their Preſents; which not a little contributed to the advancing, even of his Fortune, as well as of his Fame.

2 Chron. 18.

Jehoſhaphat *a pious Prince.*

In the third Year of his Reign, he called together the *Elders* and the *Prieſts* that were under his Juriſdiction, and gave them Orders to have Commiſſioners ſent from Town to Town, wherever he had to do, to attend the Care of God's Worſhip, and to ſee that *Moſes*'s Laws might be duly executed and obſerved. This Care of his for the Preſervation of their Religion, was ſo great a Satisfaction to all his Subjects, that they were at Strife among themſelves, who ſhould be foremoſt in the promoting of ſo excellent a Work. And the Princes every where about him all this while, had ſo great a Reverence for him, that they liv'd in a fair Underſtanding one with another, and an inviolate Peace. The *Philiſtines* pay'd their ordinary Tribute with punctual Juſtice; and the *Arabians*, their Annuity of ſix hundred and thirty Lambs, and the like Number of Kids. *Jehoſhaphat* alſo fortify'd his great and ſtrong Towns, and kept in conſtant Pay a well-diſciplin'd Army, to be ever in Readineſs upon Occaſion. Of the Tribe of *Judah*, there were three hundred thouſand *Shield-bearers*, under the Command of *Edra*; two hundred thouſand under *Johanan*; and of the Tribe of *Benjamin* two hundred thouſand *Archers*, under the ſame Officers. There was another Captain alſo, by Name *Ochobat*, that commanded a hundred and eighty thouſand Men armed with *Bucklers*: Beſide the Soldiers that were diſpers'd into Towns and Garriſons. He marry'd his Son *Jehoram*, in Fine, to *Gotholia* the Daughter of *Ahab*, King of the *Ten Tribes*: and when he had an Occaſion to go to *Samaria*, he was moſt magnificently received by *Ahab*; he, and all his military Men about him, with Corn, Wine, Fleſh, and other Proviſions; and upon *Ahab*'s Entreaty, joyn'd with him in a War upon the King of *Syria* for the Recovery of *Ramath-Gilead*, which had been taken, and was detained from him by that Prince. *Jehoſhaphat* having an Army of his own, not inferiour to the others, promis'd him his Aſſiſtance, and ſent for his Troops from *Jeruſalem* to *Samaria*; where both the Kings went out of the Town, and each of them ſitting upon his Throne, apart, took a Review of their Forces, and pay'd the Army. *Jehoſhaphat* upon this Occaſion, was of Opinion, if any of the Prophets were within Call, to adviſe with them in this Expedition againſt the *Syrian*, whether or no it might be a War at that time to be undertaken; for there had been a three Years Peace now betwixt thoſe two Kings, ſince the *Syrian* was taken.

Jehoſhaphat *orders Commiſſioners from Town to Town, to take Care of God's Worſhip.*

Jehoſhaphat *highly eſteemed both at Home and Abroad.*

Jehoſhaphat's *Army.*

Jehoram *the Son of* Jehoſhaphat *marries the Daughter of* Ahab.

Jehoſhaphat *joyns with* Ahab *againſt the King of* Syria.

1 Kings 22.

CHAP. X.

The Prophets conſulted about the War with Adad. Zedekijah *tells* Ahab *that he ſhall be victorious.* Michaiah *the contrary. It comes to a Battle, and* Ahab *the only Man that falls in it; and* Ahaziah *his Son ſucceeds him in the Government.*

AHAB call'd his *Prophets* together about him, to the Number of ſome four hundred, and order'd them to enquire, whether or no they ſhould be victorious in this War againſt *Adad*, and carry the City, which was the main Point in Queſtion. The *Prophets* were altogether for the War; for the *Syrian*, they ſaid, ſhould be overcome, and made a Priſoner, as before. *Jehoſhaphat* ſuſpected a Double-meaning in the Words, and that they were *Falſe Prophets*: So that for more Certainty Sake, he asked *Ahab* what other *Prophets* there were, that he might have Recourſe to; who made Anſwer, that there was one indeed, (one *Michaiah*, the Son of *Imli*) but he hated the Man, for he could never get a good Word of him: Inſomuch that he

Ahab *conſults his Prophets about the War with* Adad.

Ahab's *Prophets promiſe him Victory, and* Adad *a ſecond time a Priſoner.*

Jehoſhaphat *ſends for the Prophet* Michaiah.

Upon Michaiah's *Arrival,* Ahab *adjures him to ſpeak the Truth.* Michaiah *anſwers him by an Alluſion.*

would have perſuaded him into a Fancy, that he was to loſe his Life in this Action againſt the King of *Syria*; ſo that he had now laid him in a Jayl for his Pains. But *Jehoſhaphat* would needs have him ſent for however; and an *Eunuch*, one of the *Bed-Chamber Waiters*, was diſpatch'd preſently to fetch him. This Meſſenger was telling *Michaiah*, as they were upon the Way together, what the reſt of the Prophets ſaid, and how they were all agreed upon't, that *Ahab* ſhould be victorious. Well! ſays the other, I muſt not prevaricate with him that made me; but by the Grace of God, what Meſſage ſoever he ſhall think fit to put in my Mouth, ſhall be moſt faithfully reported to the King. Upon the Prophet's Arrival, *Ahab* adjur'd him to ſpeak the very Truth of the Matter, as he found it, without making it either more or leſs. Why then ſays *Michaiah*, I ſaw all *Iſrael* ſcatter'd and flying, and the *Syrians* purſuing them, as Sheep that had no Shepherd; by which Repreſentation, God hath given to underſtand, that all the Reſt of the People ſhall return ſafe, and *Ahab* only fall in the Battle. The King upon theſe Words, turning to *Jehoſhaphat*: *Well!* ſays he, *and do not you find it to be true now as I told you, that this Man is my Enemy?* No, ſays *Michaiah*, the Words that I deliver are according to the expreſs Direction and Command of God; but you ſuffer your ſelf to be flatter'd by your Falſe Prophets into a War, upon the Hope of Victory, when you your ſelf are to fall in't. This Firmneſs and Reſolution of the Prophet made the King very uneaſy.

Zedekijah *a falſe Prophet calls* Michaiah *an Impoſtor.*

Zedekijah *charges him with contradicting* Elias.

The Credit of the two Prophets put to the Teſt.

Zedekijah *preſages Victory to* Ahab; Michaiah, *the contrary.*

One of the *Falſe Prophets*, whoſe Name was *Zedekijah*, ſtept out upon this Occaſion, and in Contempt of *Michaiah*, adviſed the King not to give any Heed to what the prating Fellow ſaid, for there was not one Word of Truth in it; and there needed no other Proof of his being an Impoſtor, than the Prediction of *Elias*, who undoubtedly ſaw further into Things to come then he did, for he had foretold, that *in the Place where Dogs licked the Blood of* Naboth, who was ſton'd to Death by his Procurement, *in the Field of* Naboth, *Dogs ſhould lick the King's Blood alſo. Now this is a moſt palpable Falſity in Contradiction to the Foretelling of a Prophet of much greater Authority than himſelf; for he will have it, that within the Compaſs of three Days, the King is to fall in the Battle; but it ſhall be quickly ſeen,* ſays the Prophet, *by what Spirit this Man ſpeaks. I will now give him a Box on the Ear, and let my Hand wither upon doing of it, as* Jeroboam's *did upon lifting-up his Hand againſt* Jadon, *when he would have had the Prophet taken into Cuſtody; if what he delivers to you be from Heaven. I take it for granted that you have heard of the Story.* Upon the ſaying of theſe Words, he ſtruck the *Prophet*; and *Ahab* finding that no Judgment or Miſchief follow'd upon it, was harden'd in his Reſolution upon this War, by the ſtrange Force of a Fatality, that made him give more Credit to falſe Prophets, than to true ones; and ſo diſpos'd of Cauſes, that they might be follow'd with ſuitable Events. *Zedekijah* then made him Horns of Iron; and, ſays he, under the Figure of theſe Horns, is ſignify'd by God, the puſhing, and the breaking of all *Syria*: *Michaiah*, on the other Hand, telling the *Falſe Prophet*, that in a very ſhort Time he ſhould be call'd to an Account for the Vanity and Falſity of his Pretenſions, and be driven from one hiding-Place to another to ſave himſelf. *Ahab* was ſo exaſperated at this Liberty, that he appointed [a] *Apion* the Governour of the City to take him into ſtrict Cuſtody, and to feed him with only Bread and Water, till he ſhould return.

It comes to a Battle.

Ahab *in a Diſguiſe.*

Jehoſhaphat *taken for* Ahab.

Ahab *receives his Death's Wound by a chance Arrow.*

The two Kings, upon this, advanced with their Troops towards *Ramath*, and the King of *Syria* hearing of it, went out to meet them. It was agreed upon betwixt them, that *Ahab* ſhould put himſelf that Day into the Diſguiſe of a private Habit, and a Native of *Jeruſalem* repreſent the Perſon of the King in His Royal Robes, the better to evade the Dint of the Prophet's Preſage: But a providential Fatality found-out the King, though without any diſtinguiſhing Marks about him of his Regality; for *Adad* gave a ſtrict Charge to his Officers and Commanders to fight, neither with ſmall nor great, but with the King of *Iſrael*. The *Syrians*, upon the firſt Puſh, ſeeing *Jehoſhaphat* in the Head of the Army, immediately preſs upon him, taking him for *Ahab*; but when they found their Error, they went-off and left him. They kept the Field from Morning to Night, the one flying, and the other Purſuing, but not one Drop of Blood ſpilt all this while; only Hunting after *Ahab*, and ſtill not finding him. But in the End, one of *Adad's* Domeſticks, *Aman* by Name, drew an Arrow at a Venture, that ſtruck the King through the Joints of his Armour into his very Lungs. *Ahab* was willing to keep it private for Fear of diſcouraging his Men; and ſo ſpake to his Charioteer to carry him a little out of the Army; for he was mortally wounded. He kept his Chariot, however till about Sun-ſetting, though in a miſerable Fortune, and then betwixt Agony and Weakneſs with the Loſs of Blood, he departed this Life; and the Night coming on, the *Syrians* withdrew

[a] *Achamon.* Joſ.

to their Tents: And ſo ſoon as ever they were advertis'd by a Herald, of *Ahab*'s *Death*, the Camp brake-up, and every Man went to his own Home.

Upon Ahab's *Death the Camp breaks up.*

The King's Body was carry'd to *Samaria*, and there interr'd; and upon waſhing the Blood off from the Chariot in a Fountain near Hand, the Prediction of *Elias* was verify'd; for *the Dog's lick'd-up the Blood*, and the Place was afterwards made Uſe of for common Women to bathe in. He dy'd at *Ramath*, according to the Prophecy of *Michaiah:* So that for the greater Honour and Authority of the Revelation, the Preſages of both the Prophets were made good to the eternal Shame and Confuſion of fawning and time-ſerving Impoſtors, that ſquare all their Judgments to their Profit; and inſtead of telling us from God what we are to believe and do, give us effectually to underſtand what we are not to believe, or do. Upon this Occaſion, I cannot but reflect upon the inſuperable Neceſſity of our Fate; which is not in the World to be avoided, even if it ſhould be foreknown: But we ſuffer our ſelves to be egg'd-on with vain and fooliſh Hopes, till we are hamper'd irrecoverably in the Snare. This was the Ruine of *Ahab*: He would not believe thoſe that told him the unpleaſant Truth of Things; but loſt his Life by a fatal Credulity toward thoſe that betray'd, and humour'd him. This was his End, and *Ahaziah* his Son reigned in his Stead.

Elias's *Prediction of the Dogs licking* Ahab's *Blood fulfill'd,*

Ahab *was flatter'd, and humour'd out of his Life. And* Ahaziah *his Son ſucceeded him.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,

BOOK THE NINTH.

From the Year of the World 3048, to 3224.

CHAP. I.

Jehoſhaphat *gets a great Victory over the* Moabites, Ammonites, *and* Arabians *The Wickedneſs and Death of* Ahaziah, *as* Elias *had foretold it.* Jehoram *his Brother, ſucceeds him; who with the Aſſiſtance of* Jehoſhaphat, *and the King of* Idumæa, *overthrows the King of the* Moabites. *The Death of* Jehoſhaphat.

Jehu *rebukes* Jehoſhaphat *for ſiding with* Ahab 2 Chron. 19.

Upon Jehoſaphat's *Repentance, God pardons him.*

He ſettles Religion: conſtitutes Magiſtrates.

UPON *Jehoſhaphat*'s Return to *Jeruſalem*, after his joyning with *Ahab* againſt *Adad*, the Prophet *Jehu* met him, and gave him a Rebuke for eſpouſing the Quarrel of ſo impious and flagitious a Wretch as *Ahab*; he told him how highly he had offended God in that Alliance; but yet that he was graciouſly pleaſed, for the good that was in him, to paſs over what he had done amiſs, and to deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies. Upon this Admonition, the King reconcil'd himſelf to God by Prayers and Sacrifices; appointed a general Viſitation through all his Dominions, with Orders for inſtructing the People in the Laws of *Moſes*, and in the Religion of their Forefathers. He alſo erected Magiſtrates in all their great Towns and Places, giving them Charge to adminiſter Juſtice to all Men Indifferently, the Poor as well as the Rich, without any Reſpect to Profit, Favour, or Affection; and, in Fine, to diſcharge their Duties, as in the Sight of an All-ſeeing God, that knew the very Thoughts of their Hearts. When he had taken Care for the Eſtabliſhment of good Order and Manners in the ſeveral Cities of the *two Tribes*, he return'd to *Jeruſalem*; where he conſtituted Judges out of the moſt conſiderable of the Prieſts and *Levites*; enjoyning them, by the Way of Precaution, to do Juſtice impartially to all the People: Or if there ſhould ariſe any Controverſies of more Weight than ordinary in any of their Neighbour-Cities, that ſhould be brought to them for Judgment, that they ſhould not paſs Sentence, without all poſſible Care and Conſideration; for it would be a moſt ſcandalous and diſhonourable Thing not to do punctual and accurate Juſtice in a City where *God* had eſtabliſh'd his *Temple*; and the King, his Palace. He choſe the chief Magiſtrates out of the Number of his own Friends; as [a] *Abaziah* the Prieſt, [for the Matters of the Lord;] and *Zebediah*, of the Houſe of *Judah* [for the Kings Affairs.]

He appoints Amaziah *for holy* Matters, *and* Zebediah *for civil.*

The Moabites, Ammonites *and* Aramites *make War upon* Jehoſhaphat.
2 Chron. 20.

Jehoſhaphat *calls an Aſſembly, and prays before the Temple for a Bleſſing upon his Arms.*

It was at this Time, that the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, with the People of *Aram*, made War upon *Jehoſhaphat* with a mighty Army of Mercenaries, and encamped at *Engedi*, a City near the Lake of *Aſphaltites*, ſome three hundred Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, and a Place famous for *Balſam* and *Palm-Trees*. When *Jehoſhaphat* underſtood that they had paſs'd the *Lake*, and broken into his Country, he was not a little ſtartled at the Surprize, and preſently order'd an Aſſembly to be call'd; and then ſtanding before the Temple, he betook himſelf to his Prayers, for God's Bleſſing upon his Arms againſt ſo powerful an Invader: Which was but according to the Form and Practice of our forefathers, upon the firſt Inſtitution of that holy Place; who, whenever they found themſelves in Danger of being over-run by a foreign Enemy, cauſed all the People to meet in a full Congregation to implore God's Aſſiſtance toward the repelling of that Violence, and for the Maintenance of that Inheritance which the Lord in his infinite Bounty had beſtow'd upon them, and their Enemies would take away by Force. *Jehoſhaphat* mingled his Prayers with Tears, and the joynt Supplications of the whole Multitude, with their Wives and Children; went along with them.

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[a] *See* Selden *de* Synedr, *Hebr. l.* 2. *c.* 8. *p.* 244, 245. Ed. Amſtel.

As they were in the Fervour of their Devotions, there ſtarted up a certain Prophet in the Middle of them, whoſe Name was *Jabaziel*, crying out to the People, that God had heard their Prayers, and would fight their Battle, in Favour of the Religion they profeſs'd; appointing them, upon this, to be in Readineſs the next Day to march towards their Enemies, whom they ſhould find encamped betwixt *Jeruſalem* and *Engeddi*, at a certain Aſcent, known by the Name of *Sis*; which in *Hebrew* is as much as *an Eminence:* Telling them farther, that they ſhould not need to ſtrike a Stroke; but only to ſtand looking on, as quiet Spectators of an Action wherein God would fight for them. After this Declaration, both King and People fell proſtrate upon their Faces; gave Thanks, and worſhipp'd: the *Levites* in the mean while accompanying their Hymns with muſical Inſtruments.

A Prophet ſtarts up in the Middle of their Devotions.

Victory promiſed them without ſtriking a Stroke.

The King, early next Morning, went into the *Deſert* under the City of *Tekoa*, where he admoniſhed the Multitude to put their Truſt in God according to the Prediction of the Prophet, and that there was no need of ranging themſelves in Form of Battle; but only to ſet the *Prieſts* with their *Trumpets* in the firſt Line, and the *Levites* with their *Singers*, and ſo to move chearfully forward, with Muſick and Thankſgiving, as upon a Day of Victory, or Deliverance from a common Enemy. They were all highly ſatisfy'd with the King's Advice, and ſoon after they put it in Execution; for God ſtruck the *Ammonites* and their Allies, with ſuch a panick Terror and Conſternation, that falling foul one upon another, the Outrage was ſo furious againſt their own People, that of ſo many thouſands of Combatants, there was not one Man left alive. When *Jehoſhaphat* came to take a View of the Valley where the Enemy was encamped, he found it all cover'd with dead Bodies: Never ſo eaſie and ſo abſolute a Victory, gain'd without either Sweat or Blood: So that *Jehoſhaphat*, in a Tranſport of Joy for ſo unexpected a Bleſſing, gave his Soldiers the Pillage of the Camp, and the Spoil of the Dead; which was ſo exceſſively great, that it coſt them full three Days to carry-off the Booty.

A Victory obtain'd without Blood.

The Booty ſo great, that it coſt three Days to carry it off.

On the fourth Day, all the People gather'd together in a deep, craggy Valley, called the Valley of *Beracha*; where they praiſed and bleſſed God for all the Works of his Power and Mercy. From hence it was that the Valley took its Name; which is as much as to ſay, *the Valley of Bleſſings:* And it is ſo called to this very Day. The King led his Army from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where he paſs'd ſeveral Days in Sacrifice and Feaſting. The Fame of this miraculous Victory poſſeſs'd all foreign Princes and Nations wherever it came, with ſuch a Reverence for the Sanctity and Piety of *Jehoſhaphat*, that they look'd upon him as a Perſon for whom God had a peculiar Kindneſs; and kept-up the ſame Opinion of him to his Dying-day. But he was yet a Friend all this while to [*Ahaziah*] the Son of *Ahab*, King of *Iſrael*, and went Shares with him in the ſetting out of Ships for the Gold-Trade: But the Deſign miſcarry'd, to their very great Expence and Damage; for the Veſſels were not of a Make and Size for thoſe Seas: So that, in ſhort, what with one Thing and another, whether through ill Conduct or foul Weather, they were all caſt away, and ſo the Project fell to the Ground, and was never afterwards revived. Let this ſuffice for the Hiſtory of *Jehoſhaphat*,

This Action mightily advances the Reputation of Jehoſhaphat.

Jehoſhaphat *a conſtant Friend to* Ahaziah.

Ahaziah the Son of *Ahab*, and the King of *Iſrael*, had his royal Palace in *Samaria*. He was a peſtilent, wicked Man, and the very Picture of his Father and Mother, and all that was Naught: Beſide a certain Emulation that he had to out-do *Jeroboam* himſelf, the capital Seducer of *Iſrael*. In the ſecond Year of his Reign, the King of the *Moabites* fell off, and abſolutely refuſed to be any longer ſubject to the Tribute he had formerly paid to his Father. It happen'd that *Ahaziah* got a terrible Fall down-Stairs one Day, as he was paſſing from an upper Chamber that endanger'd his Life: He was very ill upon it, and ſent to the God of the *Accaronites*, or the *Fly* (as they call'd him) to know whether he ſhould live or die. Upon this Occaſion, the God of the *Hebrews* commanded the Prophet *Elias* to go preſently and meet the Meſſengers, and to ask them whether the *Iſraelites* had not a God of their own; and if ſo, there was no Need of conſulting a ſtrange God in the Caſe: And therefore, they had e'en beſt go back again to the King, and tell him that he ſhould not recover. The Meſſengers immediately took their Errand from *Elias*, and poſted away with it to the King; who was in great Admiration to ſee them ſo ſoon back again; and enquiring farther into the Matter, they told him of a Man they met, that bad them go no farther, and withall charging them to tell their King in the Name of the God of the *Iſraelites*, that his Illneſs was mortal. The King was very earneſt, and particular with them to deſcribe the Man: So they told him, it was a hairy Man, with a leathern Girdle about him. By this Deſcription, the King preſently concluded

Ahaziah *had his Palace in* Samaria,
2 Kings 1.

Ahaziah *the very Image of* Jeroboam, *and Seducer of* Iſrael.

Ahaziah *being in Danger of his Life by a Fall, ſends to conſult the God* Accaron *about his Recovery.*

Elias *meets the Meſſenger; and bids him tell the King he ſhall die.*

The King ſends an Officer to ſeize Elias.

Elias calls for Fire from Heaven to conſume the Officer.

A ſecond Officer ſent on the ſame Errand, and deſtroy'd after the ſame Manner. A Third Officer was ſent.

Elias *goes along with him,*

and tells the King that this Illneſs will be his Death.

cluded this Perſon to be *Elias*, and ſo diſpatch'd away an Officer with fifty Soldiers to take him into Cuſtody. The Commander found him upon the Top of a Mountain, and ſo call'd him down to go along with him to the King; for that was his Order, he ſaid: And if he would not go by fair Means, he would make him go by foul. *Elias* told him, that to ſhew him the Difference betwixt a *true Prophet* and a *falſe*, he would now convince him by a Prodigy that he was no Impoſtor. *If I am a Man of God*, ſays he, *let Fire come down from Heaven, and devour thee and thy Fifty*: Upon which Prayer a Fire deſcended, and conſumed them all. The Tidings of this dreadful Judgment came no ſooner to the King's Ear; but in a Rage, he ſent another Officer, with the ſame Number of Men, and upon the ſame Errand. The Captain ſaid the ſame Things over again; uſed the ſame Menaces, and they were all deſtroy'd after the ſame Manner. After this, the King ſent yet again a third Officer with his Party. Now the Man being a candid good-natur'd Perſon, when he came up to *Elias*, he ſaluted him with Reſpect. I need not tell you (ſays he) that I am under Command; that I come upon this Errand unwillingly, as they did likewiſe who came before me: Wherefore I beſeech you be pleas'd out of Pity to me, and my Soldiers about me, to come down willingly, and follow us to the King. *Elias* was ſo much mov'd with the Modeſty and Civility of the Man, that he went down and follow'd him. When they had brought him into the King's Preſence, the Spirit of God came upon him, and he freely told the King, *thus ſaith the Lord: Since you have an Opinion of me that I am no God, nor able to foretell what will be the Iſſue of your Diſtemper; and that you have rather choſen to ſend to your God* Accaron *for your Satisfaction, take Notice that it will be your Death.*

Ahaziah *dies without Iſſue, and leaves the Kingdom to his Brother* Jehoram, *an impious Prince.*

In ſome ſhort Time, this Prophecy was fulfill'd; and *Ahaziah* dying without Iſſue, *Jehoram* his Brother reigned in his Stead; a Man no Way inferiour to *Ahab* for a vicious and an impious Courſe of Life: For he deliver'd himſelf up wholly to ſtrange Gods, to the Scandal and the Diſhonour of the Religion of his Forefathers, though otherwiſe a Man of Senſe, and well enough qualified for Buſineſs.

Elias *is tranſlated like* Enoch.

No Account of Elias's *Death.*

It was in his Time, that *Elias* was taken away from the Converſation of Men, and no Manner of Account given what became of him even to this Day; but he left *Eliſha*, his Diſciple, behind him, of whom we have ſpoken already. We find in holy Writ the ſame Thing atteſted of *Enoch* before the Flood, as well as of *Elias* here, and that they were both taken away; but no Mention made of the Death of either of them.

Jehoram *reſolves to make War upon the King of the* Moabites. 2 Kings. 3.

Jehoſhaphat *joins with him, and undertakes for the King of* Idumæa.

The three Kings of Jeruſalem, Iſrael, *and* Idumæa, *march toward the Deſert of* Idumæa. *In great Diſtreſs for Want of Water.*

They ask Eliſha, *the Diſciple of* Elias, *what will become of the Army?*

Upon *Jehoram*'s coming to the Throne after his Brother, he reſolved to make War upon *Meſha* the King of the *Moabites*, for refuſing to pay the Tribute of two hundred thouſand unſhorn Sheep a Year, upon the Account of what was formerly pay'd to his Father *Ahab*. Wherefore he began with levying an Army at Home; and after that, pray'd the Aſſiſtance of *Jehoſhaphat* (for ancient Kindneſs Sake betwixt the two Fathers) to joyn with him; who not only promis'd for himſelf, but undertook likewiſe to engage the King of *Idumæa*, having ſome Tye upon him, in the Party. When *Jehoram* came to underſtand how well he was like to be ſeconded, he went forthwith to *Jeruſalem*, where he was ſplendidly receiv'd and treated by the King of the Place. Being there in Council, the Ways and Method of the Expedition were taken into Debate, and a Vote paſs'd by common Conſent for the Army to ſteer their Courſe through the Deſert of *Idumæa*, where the Enemy would be leaſt aware of the Deſign. The three Kings; that is to ſay, of *Jeruſalem*, *Iſrael*, and *Idumæa*, put themſelves upon their March according to the Reſolution of the Council; and when they had wandred up and down for the Space of ſeven Days, they fell into a great Diſtreſs for Want of Water, both for Man and Beaſt, till they were all within a very Little of the uttermoſt Extremity of Deſpair. *Jehoram* eſpecially, who called out to God in an expoſtulatory Way of Impatience, *what have theſe three Kings done*, ſays he, *to be deliver'd up Captives to the King of the* Moabites *without a Stroke? Jehoſhaphat*, on the other Hand, as became a pious Man, ſpake comfortable Words to *Jehoram*; adviſing him to enquire, if there were ever a Prophet in the Army to ask Counſel of God what was to be done under their Circumſtances. A Servant within hearing, told them that he had ſeen *Eliſha* the Son of *Shaphat* there, the Diſciple of *Elias*; and upon this Information, the three Kings upon the Propoſal of *Jehoſhaphat*, went and found him out. When they came to his Tent, which was a little out of the Camp, they ask'd him what would become of this Army; *Jehoram* eſpecially was the moſt inquiſitive. Why, ſays *Eliſha* to him, you ſhould have gone to your Father's and your Mother's Prophets for Satisfaction, without troubling other People: They would have ſet you Right no Doubt. *Jehoram* lay at him ſtill, begging and praying for an Anſwer, if it were but for the Saving of ſo many Men's Lives that were ready to periſh. *Eliſha* ſwore ſolemnly to *Jehoram*,

horam, that if it were not for the Sake of *Jehoſhaphat*, who was a good and a pious Man, he ſhould have had no Anſwer from him at all. And upon this, he order'd a Muſician to be call'd, and as he was ſinging, the Spirit of God came upon the Prophet; who ſpake to the Kings to make ſeveral Ditches in the Chanels of the Torrent; and, ſays *Eliſha*, you ſhall ſee them all flowing with Water, without either Wind or Rain; water ſufficient for your ſelves and your Cattle, to all Manner of Purpoſes: Beſide that, henceforward you ſhall never feel any more Drought. And this is not all neither; for God will bleſs you yet further ſtill, for by his Grace and Help, you ſhall overcome your Enemies, and ſcatter them, and ruine their Plantations; lay their Country waſte, and choak-up their Rivers, and their Fountains. The next Day before Sun-riſe, after theſe Words of the Prophet, there came down from *Idumæa*, three Days Journy from the Place, an impetuous Torrent upon a mighty Fall of Rain, ſo that there was no longer any Want of Drink, either for Horſe or Man.

Eliſha *promiſes them Water and Victory.*

Water ſupply'd by a violent Torrent.

When the King of *Moab* underſtood that theſe three Kings were advancing againſt him by the Way of the *Wilderneſs*, he raiſed all the Force he was able to make, to meet them upon the Borders, for Fear of any Inroad upon him by Surprize. The two Armies were by this Time not far from the Land of *Moab*; when the riſing Sun ſtriking upon the Torrent, made the Water look ſo red, that the *Moabites* took it for *Blood*; vainly imagining, that the three Kings had fall'n to cutting of Throats among themſelves, in a Rage for Want of Water, and that this Torrent was a Stream of their Blood. In this Confidence, they went to their King only for Liberty to rifle the Enemy's Camp, giving for granted, that it was all abandon'd. Upon their Application, they obtained Leave to break-in upon the Enemy's Pillage, and ſo ran Hand over Head in a Confuſion to the Enemy's Camp, as if there needed no more to the gaining of the Booty, than the taking of it up; but they quickly found their Miſtake, for they were ſet upon on all Hands in the Attempt; Part kill'd, and the Reſt ſo ſcatter'd, that they had much ado to make their Way Home again. The Kings, in the mean while, made an Incurſion into the Land of the *Moabites*; deſtroy'd their Towns and Cities; drove away all their Cattle, and cover'd all the Turf with the Sand and Gravel of the Torrent; cut down the beſt of their Woods and Trees; damm'd up the Springs and Fountains, and levell'd their Walls to the Ground: Nay, the King himſelf was forc'd to take Sanctuary in a Town, where he was afterward beſieged; and in ſuch Danger of loſing it by an Aſſault, that he attempted a Sally with ſeven hundred Horſe upon the Enemy's weakeſt Quarter, to break through their Body; but failing of his Puſh, he was forc'd into the Town again, where he enter'd upon the moſt horrid, barbarous Action that the uttermoſt Pinch of Neceſſity or Deſpair could put a Man upon. He took his eldeſt Son, the next Heir to the Government, and ſacrific'd him to God upon the Walls, in the View of the Enemy's Army. The Kings reflecting upon the Force of an abandon'd Deſperation, together with the Viciſſitude of Humane Affairs, were ſoften'd to ſuch a Degree of Compaſſion, and making it their own Caſe too, that they brake-up the Siege upon it, and every Man went back to his own Home. *Jehoſhaphat* was at Eaſe after this Expedition; but he did not long outlive it. He dy'd at *Jeruſalem* in the *ſixtieth* Year of his Age, and the *twenty fifth* of his Reign; and he had in that City a moſt magnificent Burial; ſuch a one, as might become the Imitator of *David*.

Theſe Kings being upon their March, the King of Moab *advances to meet them.*

The Moabites *take the Water of the Torrent for* Blood.

The Moabites *ſcatter'd, and cut to Pieces;*

and their Country laid waſte.

The King of Moab *ſacrifices his Son.*

The Kings relent upon this horrid Spectacle, and break up the Siege.

The Death, Age, and Burial of Jehoſhaphat *at* Jeruſalem.

CHAP. II.

Jehoram *the Son of* Jehoſhaphat *ſucceeds his Father.* Eliſha *works Miracles.* Adad *beſieges* Jehoram *in* Samaria. *The miraculous raiſing of the Siege.* Hazael *ſtrangles* Adad, *and uſurps the Kingdoms of* Syria *and* Damaſcus. *The execrable Impieties of* Jehoram, *and the dreadful Judgment that* Eliſha *denounces againſt him.*

JEHOSHAPHAT left behind him ſeveral Sons; and *Jehoram* the eldeſt of them, by his Father's Appointment, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He bare the ſame Name with his Mother's Brother the King of *Iſrael*, and the Son of *Ahab*, who was then but newly return'd to *Samaria* from the War with the *Moabites*, and brought *Eliſha* with him. The Holy Scriptures make Mention of ſeveral memorable Paſſages of that Prophet, which I ſhall account well worth the taking Notice of in this Hiſtory. The Wife of *Obadiah*, *Ahab*'s Steward, apply'd her ſelf to *Eliſha*, and told him, that he was no Stranger to the

Jehoram, *the eldeſt Son of* Jehoſhaphat, *ſucceeds his Father*

2 Chron. 21.

2 Kings 4.
Obadiah *ſhelter'd* 100 *Prophets againſt the Outrage of* Jezebel.
The Creditors of Obadiah *fall upon his Widow and Children.*
Eliſha *redeems them by a Miracle.*

outragious Violence of *Jezebel* againſt the *Prophets*, and how her Huſband conceal'd and preſerv'd a hundred of them from Deſtruction, and took up Money upon his own Credit to feed them while they were in the Cave; but that her Huſband being now dead, the Creditors threaten'd to make Slaves of her and her Children for the Debt: Wherefore ſhe entreated him for her Huſband's Sake, to procure her ſome preſent Relief. So the Prophet ask'd her what ſhe had in the Houſe; who ſaid ſhe had nothing at all, but a little Oyl in a Cruiſe. The Prophet then bad her go borrow ſome empty Pots, or Veſſels, of her Neighbours, and keep her Chamber-door ſhut, and put Oyl into all thoſe Veſſels; for God would fill them all. The Widow did as ſhe was order'd; and after the diſtributing of the Oyl, ſhe came back again to the Prophet, and gave him a particular Account of what ſhe had done; who adviſed her to ſell the Oyl, and diſcharge the Debt; for there would be ſomewhat remaining, after Satisfaction given to the Creditors, for the Relief of her Children. By this Means ſhe deliver'd her ſelf from a troubleſome Obligation.

Eliſha *precautions* Jehoram *of a Plot upon him by* Adad, *and ſaves his Life.*
Eliſha *is beſet in* Dothan.
Upon Eliſha's *Prayer, a Band of armed Men are ſeen in the Air, as a Guard upon his Perſon.*

The Prophet one Time having got Notice of a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of *Jehoram*, and that *Adad* had treacherouſly planted an Ambuſh to ſurprize him, he gave the King Intelligence of it, with a Caution to have a Care of ſuch a certain Place, where the *Syrians* had laid a Plot to entrap him. This Precaution kept the King from going a Hunting, and diſappointed the Plot. But *Adad* was in ſuch a Rage when he found his malicious Contrivance defeated, that he fell to ſtorming and railing at his own Domeſticks, for a Company of Traitors, threatening them with no leſs than Death it ſelf, for diſcovering a Deſign, that no other Creatures were privy to but themſelves. Some-body made Anſwer, that they had no need to look for Treaſon among his own Friends and Domeſticks, and thoſe that were of the Party to have done the Execution, ſo long as his Enemy had *Eliſha* for a Spy upon him, that lay perpetually prying into his Ways and Actions, on his Maſter's Behalf; and he had the Faculty of Diving into the moſt ſecret of his Counſels. The King preſently ſent his Scouts abroad to enquire after *Eliſha*, and to learn where he was; and Word was brought him, that he might be found at *Dothan*. Upon this Intelligence, he immediately diſpatch'd away Horſemen and Chariots to apprehend him. They went and beſet the Town by Night, ſo that there was no paſſing, either out or in; and early the next Morning, a Servant of the Prophet's ran trembling to his Maſter to tell him the News, and how the Town was begirt with a Body of the Enemy that came to take him. *Eliſha* bad him have a good Heart, and fear nothing; for his Truſt and Confidence was in the Goodneſs and Power of an over-ruling Providence; and ſo he pray'd to God for ſome ſpecial Token of his Preſence and Protection, that might confirm his Servant in a fearleſs Reſignation to his holy Will and Pleaſure. The Prophet's Prayers were heard, and there appeared forthwith, in the Sight of the Servant, a Multitude of Horſes and Chariots round about *Eliſha*, as a Guard upon his Perſon. The Conſideration of this Succour, as the Servant underſtood it to be, put him out of all Fear of any further Danger for his Maſter.

Upon Eliſha's *ſecond Prayer,* Adad's *Soldiers are ſtruck blind.*
The Soldiers ask Eliſha *himſelf where to find* Eliſha.
Eliſha *leads them into* Samaria.
Upon Eliſha's *third Prayer, the* Syrians *are reſtored to their Sight, and find themſelves in the Hands of their Enemies.*

After this Viſion, the Prophet pray'd once again that God would caſt a Miſt before the Eyes of theſe People, and ſtrike them with ſuch a Blindneſs that they might not ſee him, ſo as to diſcern him from another Man. Upon the granting of this Requeſt alſo, *Eliſha* caſt himſelf into the Middle of their Troops, and ſo went from one to another, asking them for what, or for whom they ſought. They told him, for *Eliſha* the Prophet. Well, ſays *Eliſha*, do but follow me to the Place where he is, and you ſhall have him: So theſe Men that were blinded in their Underſtanding, as well as in their Eyes, went after him without any Difficulty or Scruple, till at laſt he brought them into *Samaria*. Upon their Entrance into the City, the Prophet bad *Jehoram* cauſe the Ports to be ſhut, and the *Syrians* to be ſurrounded. *Eliſha*, upon this Occaſion, betook himſelf to his third Prayer; which was, that God would reſtore the *Syrians* to their Sight again: whereupon the *Syrians* Eyes were open'd; and to their great Aſtoniſhment and Admiration, they found themſelves coop'd-up in an Enemy's Town, and at Mercy in the Hands of their Adverſaries.

While the *Syrians* were at a Stand upon this unaccountable Surprize, and at their Wits End what to do next, the King propoſed to the Prophet the putting of them all to Death; which he abſolutely oppoſed, as a Way of Proceeding, that would not ſtand with his Honour and Juſtice; and only to be allow'd of in Caſes where Men are overcome in Battle. But theſe were People, he told him, that were guilty of no Act of Hoſtility upon his Country, and only brought thither by the Will and Power of God, without any malicious Intention, or but ſo much as the bare Knowledge of what they did. And therefore the Prophet gave his Opinion for the treating of them with Hoſpitality and Reſpect; and after ſuch a generous Refreſhment, leaving them to their own Freedom. *Jehoram* took the Prophet's Advice; gave them a ſplendid and a liberal Entertainment, and ſo ſent them back again ſafe and ſound to their Maſter. They gave the King, at their Return, ſo particular an Account of this wonderful Story, that his Conſcience was ſtruck, upon the hearing of it, with a Conviction, that the Hand of God was manifeſtly in this Prodigy, and that what the Prophet deliver'd in the Name of God, was no other than the Dictate of a divine Inſpiration. So that after this Time, *Adad* never enter'd into any under-hand Practice againſt the King of *Iſrael*; but reſolved however to make open War upon him, in Confidence of his greater Strength and Numbers.

Jehoram *by* Eliſha's *Advice, leaves the Soldiers at Liberty.*

Upon the taking of this Reſolution, *Adad* rais'd a mighty Army, and marched with his whole Force, againſt *Jehoram:* Who finding himſelf too weak to venture his All upon the Puſh of a Field Battle, kept himſelf within the Walls of *Samaria*, where he had good Works and Defences to truſt to. It was a ſtrong Place, and *Adad* in ſome Doubt whether to attempt it by Aſſault, or by Famine: But however, Siege was laid to the Town, and the Garriſon brought to ſo miſerable a Scarcity of Proviſions, that an Aſs's Head was ſold for fourſcore Pieces of Silver, and a Pint of Pigeon's Dung (for ſeaſoning) for five Pieces. There was nothing the King feared ſo much in this Extremity, as leſt ſome Body or other ſhould betray the Place to the Enemy under the Force and Neceſſity of an inſupportable Famine: So that *Jehoram* every Day viſited the Walls and the Guards himſelf; took Care that no Spies ſhould enter privately into the Town, and had a vigilant Eye upon all Motions and under-hand Practices whatſoever.

Adad *lays Siege to* Samaria, *and brings it to great Extremity.*

As the King was attending his Buſineſs, there came a Woman crying to him for Help; and *Jehoram* ſuppoſing ſhe had come to beg of him, turn'd her off with a Kind of angry Rebuke; *I have no Barns, nor Wine-Preſſes*, ſays he, *and what have I left me to ſupply your Wants?* The Woman told him ſhe did not come to beg his Meat, but to implore his Juſtice, and to deſire that he would do her Right in a Controverſy betwixt her ſelf and another Woman. The King ask'd her what it was? And ſhe told him; *Sir*, ſays ſhe, *a certain Neighbour of mine, and my ſelf, that were ready to die for Want of Food, came to an Agreement betwixt our ſelves, having each of us a little Male Child, to eat our Children by Turns, barely to keep Life and Soul together. Mine was kill'd and dreſs'd Yeſterday, and ſhe had her Part of it; and now I ſhould have my Part of her Child; ſhe breaks her Word with me; and has hid him.* *Jehoram*, in a raging Paſſion of Grief and Horror, rent his Garment, raving and crying out, that he never knew what it was to be perfectly miſerable, till that Inſtant: And all this might have been prevented, ſays he, for a Word ſpeaking, if the Prophet would but have interceded with God for me, on my Behalf: But, ſays he, I'll have his Blood for it; and in that Heat diſpatch'd away an Officer to cut off his Head, who in the ſame Moment ſet forward upon that Commiſſion.

Two Women covenant to eat their Children by Turns.

Jehoram *imputes this Miſery to* Eliſha's *not interceding for them.*

Jehoram *gives Order to cut off* Eliſha's *Head.*

This outragious Diſpleaſure of the King's was no Secret to *Eliſha*; who told his Diſciples as he was ſitting with them at Home, that *Jehoram*, that Son of a Murderer, had ſent a Party with an Officer, that was then upon his Way, to take off his Head. Wherefore, ſays he, do you watch and obſerve them; and when they come near the Houſe, be you ſure to ſhut the Door upon them, only to put them to a little Stand till the King himſelf ſhall come up; who hath now chang'd his Mind, and is haſtening after his People to prevent Miſchief. They watch'd, as they were directed; ſhut the Door upon the Men when they came, and kept them out till *Jehoram* appeared himſelf, who made all the Haſte that was poſſible for Fear of being too late to countermand the Execution of the Order, and to ſave the Life of the Prophet.

Jehoram *changes his Mind.*

Upon the King's coming to *Eliſha*, he fell to reproaching of him, that he could have the Heart to ſee him and his People in ſo many Extremities of Diſtreſs, without putting up one Prayer to God for their Relief. The Prophet gave him for Anſwer, this Promiſe and Aſſurance, that by the ſame Hour the next Day *Samaria* ſhould be ſo abundantly ſtored with all Sorts of Neceſſaries for Life, that a Meaſure of fine Flour ſhould be ſold publickly in the Market for one Shekel, and two Meaſures of Barley at the ſame Rate. The King and his Court made no Doubt at all of the Truth of his Predictions, having had ſo many Proofs of their Authority and Credit: So that they comforted themſelves upon the Preſage, as if it had been a Thing already done, and made their preſent Difficulties eaſy to them in the Hope of what was to come; but a certain Favourite, and an Officer of the King's, that commanded a *Tertia* of his Army, told the Prophet, as the King was leaning upon him, in a familiar Way: *Eliſha*,

The King goes to Eliſha.

Eliſha *promiſes him Relief in twenty four Hours.*

1 Kings 7.

Eliſha, ſays he, *a Body may as well believe, that it ſhall rain Flour and Barley from Heaven, as what you have now foretold; for it ſeems to me incredible, even to the Degree of impoſſible.* Well, ſays the Prophet, make no Queſtion of it; for you ſhall ſee it: But you ſhall only ſee it, without enjoying it: Which Prediction was made good.

It was a Cuſtom among the *Samaritans*, that no *leprous* Perſons ſhould be ſuffer'd to live within the Walls of the City: And at this Time there were *four Lepers* that had their Habitations without the Gates. The Famine in the City was ſo extreme, that there was no Proviſion to be expected from thence: So that whether they went back into the Town, or ſtaid where they were, they had certain Death before them the one Way as well as the other. Upon this Deliberation, they took up a Reſolution of caſting themſelves upon the Enemy. If they ſpar'd them, they ſhould live; or if they put them to Death, it would be a gentler Way of Diſpatch. They agreed all four in this Opinion, as the beſt Expedient they had before them, and ſo ſlipt away by Night into the Enemies Camp; in which very Point of Time it pleaſed God to poſſeſs the *Syrians* with a panick Terror upon the imaginary Noiſe of Horſes, and armed Men, breaking in upon them; and in the Strength of this Fancy and Apprehenſion, they all ran thronging to *Adad*, and told him that *Jehoram*'s Confederate Kings of *Ægypt*, and of the *Iſlands*, were juſt at Hand, and within hearing of the March of the Army. *Adad* gave the more Credit to the Deluſion, in Regard that he himſelf labour'd under the ſame falſe Imagination: So that in this unaccountable Affright, the whole Army brake up in a Confuſion, and every Man did what he could to ſhift for himſelf, leaving their Horſes, Carriages, Baggage, and their whole Treaſure in the Camp, without any other Care in the World, than how to ſave their Lives. When the *Lepers* came up to the *Syrians* Tents, all Things were in a profound Silence, and ſo they went from Place to Place, eating and drinking what they pleas'd, and taking as much Gold and rich Booty, as they could carry away, without finding ſo much as one Perſon in the Field. They loaded themſelves four Times, and bury'd their Burdens in a Hole they digg'd for that Purpoſe without the Camp. They might now reaſonably conclude the Enemy to be drawn off, and came upon this to blame themſelves for not giving *Jehoram*, and the Citizens an Account of this wonderful Deſertion, upon the firſt Diſcovery of it. Wherefore they made all poſſible Haſte back to *Samaria*, calling aloud to the Watch from under the Walls, that the Enemy had totally abandon'd their Camp; and upon this Intelligence, in the ſame Inſtant ſent by them to the King's Guards, *Jehoram* preſently called a great Council upon it, of his Friends and Officers, and gave his own Opinion, that he look'd upon it as a Trick to draw his People into an Ambuſh under that Pretence. They might, ſays he, perhaps deſpair of ſtarving us, and ſo bethought themſelves of this Invention to ſurprize us; and if they could but draw us out to take Poſſeſſion of the Booty, they might make an Excurſion upon us from their Hiding-Places; cut our Men to Pieces, and with great Eaſe make themſelves Maſters of the City; and therefore, ſays the King, I am for providing againſt Treachery, and being the more wary ſtill for this Pretence; I cannot think they are run away, and ſhould be loth to venture the main Chance upon the Credit of this Intelligence. One of the Council ſtood up, and with great Reſpect to the King's Opinion, judg'd it to be the true Reaſon of the Caſe. But this notwithſtanding, ſays he, it might be worth the while, I conceive, to ſend out two Horſemen upon the Scout for Diſcovery, as far as *Jordan*. If they ſhould happen to be taken, it will ſerve for a Warning to others however not to expoſe themſelves too far; and then the Loſs would not be very great; beſide that, if they ſcape the *Sword*, they are in Danger to die of the *Famine*. The King was much of this Counſellor's Mind, and ſent away his Scouts immediately for Intelligence; who returned ſoon after with this Report: That they had been ſo far, without ſeeing ſo much as one Enemy; but that they ſaw Arms, and Corn, and ſeveral Bundles of Things upon the Way that look'd as if the *Syrians* had thrown them there to eaſe them in their Flight. The King, upon this Information, ſent out his People to the rifling of *Adad*'s Camp, where [a] they found a wonderful rich Booty, in Gold, Silver, Horſes, and ſeveral Sorts of Beaſts; beſide ſuch an incredible Proviſion of Grain, that it look'd liker a Dream than a Truth: So vaſt a Quantity, in Short, that the People preſently forgot their former Scarcity in this Superabundance; for two Meaſures of Barley were ſold for one Shekel, and a Meaſure of Flour at the ſame Price too, according to the Prediction of *Eliſha*. Now this Meaſure contains about an *Italian* Buſhel and a Half: Only the Officer before ſpoken of, that commanded the *Tertia*, had no Benefit by this Relief, being poſted at the Gate by the King's Command to keep the People in Order, that they ſhould not crowd one another to Death upon the Sally they were to make. He himſelf was ſmother'd

The Syrians abandon'd their Camp in a panick Terror.

Intelligence given to Samaria, of this Deſertion.

ur ſent out for Diſcovery, confirm the Report.

The Pillage of the Syrians Camp is [illegible] ther'd in the Throng. This was a Judgment that befel him for his Unbelief, in giving ſo little Heed to what *Eliſha* foretold.

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[a] *See* Cotelerius's *Notes upon the 2d Vol. of his* Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. *p.* 578.

Adad *ſcapes to* Damaſcus. 2 Kings 8.

Adad *falls ſick.*

Hazael *conſults* Eliſha *about* A-dad's *Diſeaſe: Who tells him he ſhall die; but bids him tell his Maſter otherwiſe.*

Eliſha *foretels the miſerable Fate of the* Iſraelites, *the Death of* Adad, *and the Promotion of* Hazael.

Hazael *ſtrangles* Adad, *and takes Poſſeſſion of his Palace.*

Adad was by this Time gotten ſafe back to *Damaſcus*; and when he came to underſtand that all theſe *Alarums* of Chariots and Horſemen that had given ſuch an irreparable Rout to him and his Army, were, in Truth, only judicial Impreſſions of Affright and Terror, without any other Foundation, he look'd upon it as a Declaration from Heaven againſt him: And the Anxiety of that Thought made him as ſick in his Body too as he was in his Mind. *Eliſha* went then toward *Damaſcus*; and *Adad* being informed where he was, ſent *Hazael*, his particular and truſty Friend, with a Complement and magnificent Preſents, to meet him, and to enquire likewiſe of the Prophet, *whether the King ſhould out-live this Diſeaſe or not? And what would be the Iſſue of it.* *Hazael* took forty Camels, and loaded them with the choiceſt Curioſities that either the Court or the Country afforded; advanced with them toward *Eliſha*; and meeting him upon the Way, ſaluted him with great Reverence, in the Name, and by the Order of King *Adad*; telling him, that he had in his Commiſſion to offer him thoſe Preſents, and likewiſe to adviſe with him about his Diſeaſe, whether or no he might hope for any Relief. The Prophet told *Hazael*, that the King was to die; but charged the Meſſenger to ſay nothing of it to the King. This went to the Heart of *Hazael*; and *Eliſha* fell upon that into an extreme Fit of weeping in the Contemplation of the Miſeries the People were to endure after the Deceaſe of *Adad*. *Hazael* ask'd the Prophet what might be the Cauſe of that exceſſive Grief? ***Why***, ſays the Prophet, *I cannot forbear weeping to think of the Calamities that you your* ***ſelf*** *are to bring upon the* Iſraelites. *You ſhall put the Beſt of their Men to the Sword; burn their walled Cities; daſh their Children to Death againſt the Stones; and rip up the Children out of the Bellies of their Mothers.* Well, ſays *Hazael*, but how is it poſſible for me to compaſs all this Miſchief? Why, ſays the Prophet, it is declared to me by God, that you are to reign in *Syria:* And upon this Diſcourſe *Hazael* left him, and returned to his Maſter, with an Account, that he ſhould recover of his Diſtemper. On the Day following, he made the King a Viſit; and taking his Opportunity, ſtrangled him with a wet Cloth, and took Poſſeſſion of his Palace and Government. He was a Man of great Intereſt and Reputation with the People of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*; inſomuch that to this Day, the Memory of *Adad*, and of *Hazael* his Succeſſor, is celebrated among the *Syrians* with divine Honours, not only for their Bounty and Generoſity, in general; but in particular, for the pompous Magnificence of the Temples they erected at *Damaſcus*, and the Care they took for the Honour and Ornament of the City. Their Images, in Fine, are carry'd about in a daily Proceſſion, as in an Oſtentation of their Antiquity; whereas, in Truth, they were not of above eleven hundred Years Standing from their Original.

2 Chron. 21. *The abominable Wickedneſs of* Jehoram *the King of* Juda.

The Idumæans *fall off from* Jehoram.

The profligate Impiety of Jehoram.

The Death of *Adad* ſet the Heart of *Joram* the King of *Iſrael* much at Eaſe, as it gave him a breathing while from Wars and Broils, and the Comfort of ſeeing himſelf once again in a State of Peace. But *Jehoram*'s Nameſake (I mean the other *Jehoram*, the King of *Judah*) of whom I have ſpoken already, was no ſooner enter'd upon the Sovereignty, but for a Welcome to his Reign, he began with the Slaughter of his Brothers, and of his Father's Friends; and briefly, with ſuch Outrages, as if he had been upon a Competition with the worſt of former Kings, which ſhould be the wickedeſt: Having alſo at his Elbow his Wife *Gotholiah*, the Daughter of *Ahab*, an excellent Inſtructreſs to all impious Purpoſes and the Inſtrument of his idolatrous Defection from the true Worſhip to the Service of ſtrange Gods. Now though God would moſt certainly ſtand firm to the Promiſe he made to King *David*, that he would never utterly extinguiſh the whole Race; *Jehoram* did all he could yet to provoke a total Extirpation, by a lewd, daily Courſe of freſh Impieties and Abominations. *Idumæa* at this Time revolted from *Jehoram*, and they made Way to their *Apoſtaſy* by the Murder of their *King*, who had ever been faithful to [his Father] *Jehoſhaphat*, and by ſetting up another in his Place. Upon the firſt Impreſſion of this Affront the King made a running Incurſion by Night with a good Body of Horſe and Charioteers, into the Enemy's Quarters: But they were fain to content themſelves with burning, and making a little Havock upon the Borders; and ſo falling off again, without daring to attempt any farther Progreſs into the Country. This Expedition was ſo far from ſtriking any Sort of Terror, or Apprehenſion into the Deſerters, that, on the Contrary, it ſerv'd for an Encouragement to others to follow the Example of their Leaders, and ſlipping their Necks out of the Collar, to fall off for Company: *Libnah* rebelling alſo at the ſame Time. Such, in Short, was the Madneſs and Folly of *Jehoram*, that he forc'd the *Iſraelites* up to the *Groves* and *high Places* upon the Mountains, and there to worſhip *falſe Gods*. He went on for ſome Time, in the Defiance and Contempt of Law and Religion, and all that could be ſacred either in Heaven or Earth, Eliſha *denounces dreadful Judgments to befal* Jehoram.

Earth, till in the End, there came a menacing Letter from the Prophet *Eliſha* to him to this Effect: That *ſince he had audaciouſly and wilfully ſet himſelf up againſt the Practice and Example of his Forefathers, and eſpouſed the impious Superſtition of the* Iſraelites; and not reſting there neither, had likewiſe debauch'd the Tribe of *Judah*, and the Citizens *Jeruſalem*, from the Religion of their Country, into the *Paganiſh* Superſtitions of *Idolatry*, in making *Gods* of *Images*, after the Example of *Ahab*'s Violence upon his People to force them into theſe Abominations: After the doing of all this, and the dipping his Hands in the Blood of his own Brothers, and other good and righteous Men, this Judgment was denounced againſt him in the aforeſaid Letter; that *his Family and his People ſhould fall into the Hands of a mercileſs Enemy, that ſhould ſpare neither Women nor Children; that he himſelf ſhould be tormented with a lingring Pain in the Guts, till his Bowels, by little and little, ſhould rot, and fall out.* This was to be his miſerable Condition, that ſhould bring him at laſt, though too late, to a Senſe, and a Sight of his Wickedneſs. This in Short was the Subſtance of the Writing that was deliver'd to *Jehoram* in the Name of *Eliſha*.

C H A P. III.

The Arabians *break in upon* Jehoram. *His miſerable End.* Ahaziah *his Son ſucceeds him.*

Jehoram*'s Country ravaged by the* Arabians.

He dies of a Plague in the Guts.

Ahaziah *ſucceeds him.*

SOme ſhort Time after this, an Army of *Arabians* from the Borders of *Æthiopia*, together with a Medly of other *Barbarians*, brake in upon the Kingdom of *Jehoram*; ravaged the Country; rifled the Palace; put the King's Wives to the Sword, and all his Children, one only excepted, *Ahaziah* by Name, who very narrowly ſcap'd the Fury of the Enemy. The King, after this publick Calamity, fell into a Diſeaſe according to what the Prophet foretold him; which was ſuch a Kind of Plague in the Guts, that all People looked upon it, as a juſt Judgment of God upon him in his Diſpleaſure; his Bowels dropping daily out of his Belly before his own Eyes. The People inſulted over the Carcaſs and drew Inferences from the exemplary Manner of his Puniſhment, to the Degree of his Wickedneſs, and that the Wrath of God was upon him. They would neither vouchſafe him a royal Funeral, nor a Place in his Father's Monument. He lived *forty Years.* He reigned *eight*; and the People of *Judah* placed *Ahaziah* upon the Throne of his Father.

C H A P. IV.

Jehoram *beſieges* Ramoth; *receives a Wound, and retires to* Jezreel. Jehu *carries on the Siege.* Jehu *anointed King of* Iſrael *with a Command to extirpate the Family of* Ahab. *He marches directly to* Jezreel *where* Jehoram *and his Nephew* Ahaziah *were at that Time together.*

Jehoram *beſieges* Ramoth-Gilead, *and leaves it to* Jehu.

Jehu *takes it by Aſſault.* 2 Kings 9.

Jehu *anointed King, with Order to root out the Houſe of* Ahab.

JEHORAM, the King of the *Iſraelites*, was in Hope, after the Death of *Adad*, that he might recover *Ramoth* of *Gilead*; and in that Proſpect, he levy'd a great Army, and advanced towards it. In that Attempt, he received a Wound with an Arrow from the Bow of a *Syrian*. It was not mortal; but yet, ſuch as it was, he was fain to withdraw to the City of *Jezreel* for the Conveniencies of the Cure, leaving his whole Army behind him at the Siege of *Ramoth*, under the Command of *Jehu*, the Son of *Amaſis*, who took the Town by Force. *Jehoram* propoſed upon his Recovery, to make War upon the *Syrians*; and in the mean Time, *Eliſha* ſent one of his Diſciples with holy Oyl to *Ramoth*, there to anoint and declare *Jehu King*, and to do it in the Name of God, and by his Authority and Order. The Prophet gave him ſome other Things in Charge alſo, and commanded him to ſlip away as faſt as he could, and without making any Creature privy to his Journy. When he came to the Town, he found *Jehu* ſitting with the head Officers of the Army, as was foretold him by *Eliſha*: So he went up to him, and gave him to underſtand, that he deſir'd to have a Word or two in Private with him. *Jehu* roſe up preſently, and the Meſſenger followed him into his Cabinet. So the young Man took out the Oyl, and poured it on his Head; telling him that God had choſen him King for the Deſtruction of the Houſe of *Ahab*, and to revenge the Blood of the Prophets, that againſt all Right and Reaſon was ſpilt by *Jezebel*: And that as *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*; and after him, the Family of *Baaſha*, were utterly rooted out, and deſtroy'd for their Wickedneſs; ſo there ſhould be no Remainder left of the wicked

Stock of *Ahab*. So ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe Words, he went his Way out of the Cabinet in all Haſte; and as near as he could, ſo privately, that no Body ſhould ſee him; *Jehu* returning forthwith to his Place among the Commanders. The Officers had a great Mind to know what that Youth's Buſineſs was; for he look'd (they ſaid) as if he were not well in his Wits. Why you are not much wide, ſays *Jehu*, for he did ſpeak effectually the Words of a Mad-Man. This Suſpenſion did but make the Officers more and more inquiſitive, what it was he came about: So *Jehu* told them in plain Terms, that he came to him with a Meſſage from God to pronounce him *King*. At the hearing of theſe Words, the Commanders took every Man his Cloak, and laid them one upon another for *Jehu* to ſit down upon, in Lieu of a *Throne*; and when he had taken his Place, they all ſaluted him *King*, with Acclamations, Benedictions, and the Sound of Horns and Trumpets, to gratulate his Acceſſion to the Throne. *Jehoram* was now under the Surgeon's Hands at *Jezreel* for the Wound he got at the Siege of *Ramoth*; and his Siſter's Son *Ahaziah* was there at the ſame Time too, upon a Kinſman's Viſit to him: So that *Jehu* took this Opportunity of marching with his Army to *Jezreel*, where he might ſurprize them both at once; precautioning his Soldiers, as a Proof of their Fidelity to him, neither directly nor indirectly to give *Jehoram* any Knowledge, or Intimation of the Matter.

Jehu *is ſaluted King with Acclamations and Benedictions.*

CHAP. V.

Jehu *kills* Jehoram *and* Ahaziah *with his own Hand.*

THE Soldiers plyed their Orders with great Chearfulneſs, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the Paſſes and Avenues to the Town, and keeping ſo ſtrict a Guard upon them, that it was morally impoſſible to get any Intelligence into the Place without Diſcovery. While this was adoing, *Jehu* mounts his Chariot, and with a Party of choice Men, advances in all Haſte toward the City. The King had a Scout abroad to obſerve, what People paſſed that Way, and his Scout finding *Jehu* at the Head of the Troops, poſted away immediately to *Jehoram* with the Tidings of a Body of Horſe upon their March: The King upon this diſpatch'd away a Horſeman out of Hand, with Inſtructions to go up towards the Party, and learn who they were. The Meſſenger went and did as he was order'd, and inquiring alſo into the State of the Army: For the King he ſaid had a Mind to know. Do not you trouble your Head, ſays *Jehu* with the Buſineſs of the Army; but fall off into the Rear, and march along with them. The Man did ſo, and the Scout preſently gave the King Notice of it, that his Meſſenger had joyn'd the Troops. *Jehoram*, upon this, ſent once again yet with the ſame Inſtructions, and with the very ſame Succeſs; when receiving no Satisfaction upon the Main, he took his Chariot himſelf, and *Ahaziah* the King of *Judah* along with him, (his Kinſman, as I told you, that was upon a Viſit to him;) ſo they went out together to meet *Jehu*; who moved very leiſurely, and coming into the Field of *Naboth*, *Jehoram* asked *Jehu* how Matters went in his Army, the other anſwering with a bitter Reflection upon the Whoredom and Witchcraft of his Mother. This gave *Jehoram* to underſtand, that that was no Place for him to ſtay in: So he told *Ahaziah* that he was betray'd; and as he was driving away to ſhift for himſelf, *Jehu* ſhot him through the Heart with an Arrow, ſo that he dropt from his Chariot; and ſoon after commanded *Bidkar* the Captain of a *Tertia* of the Army, to take the Carcaſs, and caſt it out into the Field of *Naboth*, which put him in Mind of what the Prophet *Elijah* had formerly ſaid to his Father *Ahab*; to wit, that he and his Family were to periſh in that Place: Which he himſelf had heard, as he was ſitting in a Chariot behind *Ahab*; and every Thing fell out accordingly. Upon the Death of *Jehoram*, *Ahaziah* began to have an Apprehenſion of himſelf too, and ſo turn'd-off into a By-way, where he thought *Jehu* would not find him; but following him however to a certain Bank, he wounded him with an Arrow which made him preſently leave his Chariot, and take Horſe to ſave himſelf by Flight. He got-off to the City of *Megiddo*, where he lay a while for his Cure, and not long after dy'd of his Wound: From thence he was carry'd to *Jeruſalem*, and there bury'd after he had reigned one Year; and a wickeder Man by much than his Father.

Jehoram *and* Ahaziah *meet him in the Field of* Naboth.

Jehu *ſtrikes* Jehoram *dead with an Arrow, and orders the Carcaſs to be caſt out into the Field, according to the Prediction.*
2 Kings 9. 25, 26.

The Death of Ahaziah *at* Megiddo.

CHAP. VI.

Jehu *orders* Jezebel *to be put to Death*; *with* Ahab's *ſeventy Sons, and all his Relations*; *forty two Perſons of the Blood of* Ahaziah, *and all the Prieſts of the* Tyrian-Baal: *The Temple alſo to be deſtroy'd, which* Ahab *erected to the Honour of that Idol.*

Jezebel *is caſt down from a Window upon the Pavement.*

The Dogs eat Jezebel's *Fleſh as was foretold.* 1 Kings 21, 23. 2 Kings 10.

AS *Jehu* came into *Jezreel*, *Jezebel* planted her ſelf in a Turret-Window, ſet out gloriouſly with Dreſs and Ornament, to ſee his Entry. As he was paſſing by, ſhe let fall this *ironical Conceit* upon him: *A hopeful Servant*, ſays ſhe, *that kills his Maſter. Jehu*, both ſeeing the Woman, and hearing the Words, call'd out to her to know what ſhe was, and bad her come down; but not coming immediately, he commanded the *Eunuchs* that were then about her to caſt her down headlong; which they did, and the Walls were bloody with the daſhing of the Body in the Fall. As ſhe lay dead upon the Ground, the Horſemen rode over the Carcaſs, and trampled it to Dirt: *Jehu* and his Friends marching forward to the Palace to refreſh themſelves. When they had been there awhile, *Jehu* order'd *Jezebel*'s Servants, out of Reſpect to her Quality, to ſee their Miſtreſs bury'd; for ſays he, ſhe was a King's Daughter: But when they came to look for the Body, there was nothing to be found but a Piece of the Skull, the Palms of her Hands, and the Soles of her Feet; the Dogs having eaten up all the reſt. This Providence gave *Jehu* more and more Veneration ſtill for the divine Spirit of *Elijah*, who had foretold, *that Dogs ſhould eat the Fleſh of* Jezebel *in the Field of* Jezreel.

Ahab had ſeventy Sons, and all at this Time in *Samaria*, where they were brought up: So *Jehu* wrote thither two Letters, one to their Governours, and the other to the Magiſtrates of the Place, wherein he gave them to underſtand, that being well provided of Horſes, Men, Arms, Chariots, and other Neceſſaries for War; beſide fortify'd Towns, and ſtrong Holds, they ſhould do well to make Choice of one of the fineſt, and the braveſt young Men they could pick out of the whole Brood of *Ahab*, for their *King*, under whoſe Conduct they might revenge the Death of their Lord and Maſter. He caſt out theſe Words among them, only to feel the Pulſe of the People, and to try how they ſtood affected to his Intereſt. The Perſons to whom theſe Letters were addreſs'd, read them over and over with great Care and Conſideration; and agreeing upon the Main, that it would not be ſafe, under their Circumſtances, to oppoſe a Power that had already been too hard for two great Kings, the Anſwer they reſolv'd upon was only in the Way of a ſly and civil Excuſe, to let him know, that they neither did nor would own any other Lord and Maſter than himſelf; and that they were to all Purpoſes at his Devotion. *Jehu* wrote them Word back again, that if they meant good Faith, they ſhould forthwith ſend him the Heads of all *Ahab*'s Sons, as a Token and Teſtimony of their Readineſs to ſerve him. The Magiſtrates and the young Mens Tutors conferr'd together about it; and without any Scruple of Tenderneſs or Compaſſion, agreed among themſelves to cut of all their Heads, and ſend them in Baskets to *Jezreel*. The King and his Friends were together at Supper, when the News was brought him that the Heads were come: So he order'd them to be laid in two Heaps before the Gate; on each Side one; and the next Morning going out to view them, turning his Speech to the People, *I had a Hand*, ſays he, *in the Death of my Maſter*; *but whoſe doing is all this?* His Buſineſs was to ſatisfy the People, that all this Rigour upon the Houſe of *Ahab*, was not only according to the Will of God; but anſwerable to what God himſelf had foretold by the Mouth of the Prophet. He deſtroy'd as many, in ſhort, of the Family of *Ahab* as he could find; and returned afterward to *Samaria*. Falling into company upon the Way with ſeveral of the Kindred of *Ahaziah*, King of *Jeruſalem*, he asked them whither they were a going? They anſwered, that they were going to pay their Duty to *Jehoram* and King *Ahaziah*, having heard nothing as yet of their Death by the Hand of *Jehu*. There were two and forty of them in Number, and *Jehu* caus'd them all to be ſlain. He happen'd afterward to meet with *Jehonadab*, a particular Friend of his, and a very good juſt Man; who after the firſt Salutation, highly commended him for his Zeal in rooting out the Race and Family of wicked *Ahab*, according to the Command, and Appointment of God. *Jehu* then invited him into his Chariot to go along with him to *Samaria*; telling him that he ſhould now ſee he would ſpare no *Apoſtates*, but put all the *falſe Prieſts* and *Prophets* to the Sword, every Man of them, that had ſeduced the People from the Religion of their Forefathers, into the *Idolatrous* Worſhip of *falſe Gods*; accounting it a glorious Spectacle, for a good Man to ſee the wicked puniſh'd according to their Deſerts. *Jehonadab* ſubmitted to the King's

Ahab's ſeventy Sons *are put to Death.*

Forty two *of* Ahaziah's *Relations are put to Death.*

Pleaſure,

A Search made after Ahab's *Relations.*

A Project to deſtroy all the Falſe Prieſts *and* Prophets *at once.*

Pleaſure, and waited upon him in his Chariot to the City. *Jehu*, ſo ſoon as they came thither, cauſed a ſtrict Search to be made for *Ahab's* Relations, and put them all to Death as faſt as he found them; and being alſo reſolved that none of *Ahab's falſe Prophets*, or *prophane Prieſts* ſhould 'ſcape him, he circumvented them all with a Trick. He appointed the People to meet in an Aſſembly, telling them, that if *Ahab* ſerved *Baal a little*, *Jehu* ſhould ſerve him *twice as much*, for he would worſhip double the Number; and therefore he would have all the *Prieſts* and *Prophets* of *Baal* to be preſent, to a ſingle Man; for he had a great Sacrifice to offer to the God of *Ahab*, whom they called *Baal*, and it ſhould be *Death* for any Prieſt to abſent himſelf. So he ſent his Meſſengers up and down all over *Iſrael*, to ſummon the *Prieſts* up to *Samaria* at the appointed Day. Upon their Arrival they had Veſtments given them, which they put on. So *Jehu* took *Jehonadab* with him into the Houſe of *Baal*, where a ſtrict Search was made, that there might not be any Creature there preſent, more than the Servants of *Baal*; for *Jehu* would not ſuffer, he ſaid, any prophane Intruder to intermix in that holy Worſhip. When *Jehu* found that they were all *Baalites*, and juſt entring upon the Ceremony, he had fourſcore Men ready at the Door, that waited only the Word of Command to break in upon the *Apoſtates*. Their Orders were to put all the *falſe Prophets* to the Sword, and to vindicate the Religion of their Anceſtors, under this Condition and Penalty, that whoever ſhould ſpare the Life of but any one of them, his Life ſhould anſwer for the other's. The Word was given, and they executed their Commiſſion to the uttermoſt Rigour. They kill'd them all to a Man; ſet Fire to the Palace it ſelf, and ſo purged the City of all it's ſacrilegious Abominations. This *Baal* was the *Syrians* Idol, that *Ahab* dedicated an *Altar* to, in *Samaria*, for the Sake of *Ithobal* his Father-in-Law, the King of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; and aſſign'd them Prieſts and Prophets, and other Neceſſaries appertaining to their Religion. Now *Jehu* aboliſh'd the Rites and Ceremonies of this Worſhip; but permitted the *Iſraelites* to go on ſtill in the Adoration of their *Golden Calves*. This Severity of his againſt that impious Generation, did however ſo far atone for the reſt, that God ſignify'd to him by his Prophet, that his Poſterity ſhould ſit upon the Throne of *Iſrael* to the fourth Generation.

Baal's Prieſts *all cut-off to a Man.*

The Iſraelites *ſtill go on, worſhiping their* Golden Calves.

CHAP. VII.

Athaliah *meditates a Revenge upon the Houſe of* David, *for that of* Ahab. Jehoiada *the High-Prieſt ſaves* Joaſh, *the Son of* Ahaziah *King of* Judah; *ſets him upon the Throne, and cauſes* Athaliah *to be put to Death.*

2 Kings 11.
2 Chron. 22, 23.
Athaliah *propoſes to avenge her ſelf upon the Family of* David, *for the Havock made in the Family of her Father* Ahab.

All Ahaziah's *Sons put to Death, but* Joaſh, *and how he came to 'ſcape.*

WHEN *Athaliah*, the Daughter of *Ahab*, King of *Iſrael*, and the Widow of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*, came to underſtand what Havock *Jehu* had made in her Father's wicked Family; King *Jehoram* her Brother aſſaſſinated; her Son *Ahaziah* dead of his Wound, and the whole Stock upon the Point of being utterly rooted out; ſhe took up a Reſolution of going the ſame Way to Work with the Houſe of *David*, and not to leave ſo much as one Man alive of the Family, to pretend afterward to the Kingdom of *Judah*. This was her Determination, and it was none of her Fault that it was not executed. For of all the Sons of *Ahaziah*, there was only one that 'ſcap'd; and the Manner of his Deliverance was this. *Jehoſhabeth*, the Siſter of *Ahaziah*, and the Wife of *Jehoiada* the *High-Prieſt*, coming into the Palace, ſhe found a Male Child of about a Year old, whoſe Name was *Joaſh*, among the dead Bodies of the Sons of *Ahaziah*; which the Nurſe, it ſeems, had hid there. She convey'd it away by Stealth to her own Lodgings, and ſo into the Temple, where ſhe concealed, and took Care of it, thorough the whole ſix Years of [a] *Athaliah*'s Reign over *Jeruſalem* and the *two Tribes*; and no Mortal of her Council all this while privy to the Secret, but her own Husband.

Jehoiada *joyns with five Captains to depoſe* Athaliah, *and ſet up* Joaſh *the right Heir.*

The High-Prieſt ſummons the Prieſts, Levites, *and the principals of the People up to* Jeruſalem.

In the ſeventh Year, *Jehoiada* enter'd into an Aſſociation with five Captains, to force the Government out of *Athaliah*'s Hand, and transfer it to the right Heir; ſhewing them the Child that was then preſent. So that their Buſineſs was now only to enterchange an Oath of Faith and Secrecy, and ſo apply themſelves to the Execution of the Deſign; which they did immediately, and not without great Hope and Confidence of Succeſs. The Captains that *Jehoiada* had engaged in this Enterprize, travell'd all over the Country, with Summons to the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and ſeveral of the principal Men in their Tribes, in the High-Prieſt's Name to go up to *Jeruſalem*; where *Jehoiada* told them, that they were now call'd up for Advice, about the common Good of the publick; and that he would lay the whole Matter before them; but it muſt be kept private however; beſide that the Caſe re-

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[a] Al. *Gotholiah.*

Joaſh *is preſented to them as their* King.

Orders given for the Security of the Temple, *and of the Perſon of* Joaſh.

Joaſh *is produced, crowned, anointed, and pronounced King, with an univerſal Joy and Acclamation.*

quir'd not only Secrecy, but Help. Upon this he gave them their Oath of Secrecy, and then told them the whole Story without any further Scruple, ſhewing them the Child likewiſe that he had taken into his Care and preſerv'd. *This Child,* ſays he, *is your* King, *and a Branch of that Family, which God hath both promiſed and foretold (as you know very well) ſhall never be wanting to ſupply the Throne of* David. *Now it is my Advice, that you divide your ſelves into three Bodies; one third to be upon the Guard of the King in the Temple; a ſecond third to ſecure the Paſſes and Avenues that lead to it; and the Remainder to guard the open Gate that leads to the Palace. As for thoſe that have no Arms, let them be in the Temple if they think fit; but no armed Man to be admitted there, if he be not a Prieſt.* Jehoiada gave Order alſo for a ſelect Number of *Prieſts* and *Levites* to ſtand with their Swords drawn, as a Guard about the King's Perſon, and to kill any Man whatſoever, that ſhould preſs into the Temple with a Weapon about him; and to ſecure the Life and Safety of the King, at what Rate ſoever. They were all pleas'd with the Advice and Contrivance of the High-Prieſt. So that the next Thing to be done, was the putting of the Project in Execution. *Jehoiada,* upon this, open'd a Magazine of military Proviſions that *David* had long ſince ſtor'd up in the Temple, delivering out Lances, Arrows, and what other Arms were there depoſited, to the Centurions, Prieſts and Levites; who planted themſelves as a Guard upon the Temple quite around it; and ſo ſtrictly beſet the Doors, that not a Creature was let in that had no Buſineſs there. The Child was now produc'd with a *Royal Crown* upon his Head, and being anointed with holy Oyl according to Form, the High-Prieſt pronounc'd him King: Which Solemnity was accompany'd with a thouſand Acclamations, and Wiſhes of happy Life, and Victory over all his Enemies, by the Univerſality of the People.

Athaliah *in a Rage.*

Athaliah *put to Death by the command of* Jehoiada.

The People take an Oath of Fidelity to God and the King.

The Multitude demoliſh one of Baal's *Temples.*

God's Worſhip re-eſtabliſh'd.

Joaſh *conducted from the* Temple *to the* Palace, *and a ſecond Time proclaimed* King.

Joaſh *a pious Prince ſo long as* Jehoiada *liv'd.*

The Clamour of this Outcry and Proclamation was a terrible Surprize to *Athaliah,* who preſently hurry'd away with her Guards, from the Palace to the Temple; where ſhe her ſelf was admitted by the Prieſt, but the Soldiers that follow'd her were kept out by the Guards that were poſted there by *Jehoiada* for that very Purpoſe. So ſoon as *Athaliah* ſaw the *Child* upon the *Throne,* and with a *Royal Crown* upon his Head, ſhe tore her Garments, and call'd out with a loud Voice to kill that trayterous Uſurper. *Jehoiada,* on the other Side, commands the Officers to ſeize that Woman, and carry her away to the Brook of *Kidron,* and there to put her to Death; but the Temple was not to be polluted with the Blood of a Sorcereſs. Order was likewiſe given, that if any Man ſhould attempt a Reſcue, they ſhould put him to Death. They that had the Charge of this Commiſſion, carry'd her out of the Gate by the Paſſage of the King's Mules, and there diſpatch'd her. So ſoon as this Plot againſt *Athaliah* had taken Effect, *Jehoiada* call'd all the People, and Soldiers together, into the Temple, and gave them an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to the *King,* for the Safety and Defence of his Perſon, and the Honour and Preſervation of his Government. After this, the King himſelf took an Oath of a religious Reverence to God, and for the Obſervance of thoſe Laws that *Moſes* received from Heaven, and tranſmitted to the People. In the next Place the People ran in Shoals to the Houſe of *Baal,* a Temple that *Athaliah,* together with her Husband *Jehoram,* had erected, in Contempt of the true God, and to curry Favour with *Ahab.* This Temple the Multitude deſtroy'd from the very Foundations, and kill'd *Mattan* one of *Baal's Prieſts* that was then in waiting. But for the Care of the *holy Temple,* that was committed to the Charge of the *Prieſts* and *Levites,* according to the Inſtitution of *David, Jehoiada* appointing two ſolemn Sacrifices to be offer'd up every Day, with Incenſe, according to the Direction of the Law; appointing Porters alſo out of the Number of the *Levites,* for the keeping of the Temple, that there might not any Pollution get into it by Stealth. When all Things were thus diſpos'd of, *Joaſh* was conducted out of the Temple into the Palace, by the Captains, the Governours, and all the People; where being plac'd a ſecond Time upon the Throne, and received with repeated Acclamations, the People gave themſelves up for ſome Days to Mirth and Feaſting, and not a Man of them that was not ſatisfy'd with the Death of that wicked Woman. *Joaſh* was ſeven Years of Age when he began to reign. His Mother's Name was *Zibiah* of *Beer-ſheba.* He was a ſteady Man to the Laws and his Religion, ſo long as *Jehoiada* liv'd. When he came afterwards to Years of Maturity, he married two Wives, with the Approbation of the High-Prieſt, and had Children by them of both Sexes. Let this ſuffice for the Hiſtory of *Joaſh,* how he 'ſcaped the Snares of *Athaliah,* and afterward ſucceeded to the Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Death of Jehu. Joaſh *ſucceeds him, who orders the Temple of* Jeruſalem *to be repair'd. The Death of* Jehoiada. *The Apoſtaſy of* Joaſh. Zachary *ſton'd to Death.* Hazael *beſieges* Jeruſalem. Joaſh *delivers up all his Treaſure for the raiſing of the Siege, and is ſlain by the Friends of* Zachary.

2 Kings 10.
Hazael *makes a ſharp War upon the* Iſraelites.

HAZAEL, the King of *Syria*, made a bloody War upon the *Iſraelites* and their King; laying waſte a great Tract of Land to the *Eaſtward* beyond *Jordan*; particularly in the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſes*, and ſo in *Gilead*, and *Batanæa*. Not only burning and pillaging, but putting Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword alſo, wherever he came, without either Mercy, or Quarter. And all this was done with little or no Difficulty or Oppoſition from *Jehu* neither, being a Man that ſpent his whole Time in a ſtupid Contempt of God's Religion and holy Laws. He dy'd in the ſeven and twentieth Year of his Government over *Iſrael*, and was bury'd at *Samaria*; *Jehoaſh* his Son ſucceeding him.

2 Kings 12.
2 Chron. 24.

A Tax toward the repairing of the Temple: But nothing done in't.

The High-Prieſt finds out an Expedient for a voluntary Contribution, that does the Work.

In the Days of *Jehoram* and *Athaliah*, and of their Sons, the Temple was gone quite to Ruin for Want of Care and Repairing: So that *Joaſh* the King of *Jeruſalem* ſent for *Jehoiada* the High Prieſt to give him Order about it; which was, that he ſhould ſend *Prieſts* and *Levites* into all the Quarters of his Dominions, to charge every Man at Half a ſilver Shekel a Head, toward making good the Breaches and Decays of the Temple. But this Command notwithſtanding, there was nothing done toward it at preſent; for *Jehoiada* very well knew, that the People were not at that Time over-forward to lay out Money in building of Churches. But *Joaſh* afterward, in the three and twentieth Year of his Reign, finding the Project of ſo good and needful a Work to be totally forgotten, and laid aſide, he charged the *High-Prieſt* and the *Levites* with the Care of it once again; and not without blaming them, in ſome Degree, for the by-paſt Neglect of their Duty. This put *Jehoiada* upon bethinking himſelf how the Buſineſs might be brought about without any Grievance to the People; and in the End he pitch'd upon this Expedient. There was a wooden Cheſt provided, cloſe wrought, and lock'd, with a Slit thorough the Cover of it, to receive what Pieces of Money ſoever ſhould be put into it. This was to be placed near the Altar, and the People invited to ſhew their Good-Will upon this Occaſion toward the Work in Hand, in Proportion to the Zeal they had to the true Religion and God's Service. The whole Multitude was ſo well pleaſed with this Method and Contrivance, that they brought in Gold and Silver in a Kind of Strife who ſhould do moſt. The Cheſt was every Day open'd, the Money counted, and regiſter'd by the Clerk of the Treaſury, and then lock'd up again by the *Prieſt*, who had the keeping of the Key: And all this was done in the Preſence of the King.

Artiſts and Materials provided.

After Jehoiada's *Death.* Joaſh *falls off; the Princes and Miniſters following his Example.*

Zachariah *ſton'd to Death.*

When they had gotten Treaſure enough to begin withal, the King and the High-Prieſt hir'd Carpenters, Maſons, and other Artificers; provided the largeſt and the choiceſt Timbers that were to be gotten, and went in Hand with the Reparations; employing the Overplus (which was very conſiderable) after the finiſhing of that Work, upon Cups, Flagons, Goblets, and other Veſſels for holy Uſes, over and above the Oblation of daily Sacrifices: And this Order was exactly obſerv'd while *Jehoiada* liv'd; but in the hundred and thirtieth Year of his Age he dy'd: A Man of ſignal Probity and Juſtice; and ſo highly eſteem'd of, as a Friend to the Houſe of *David*, that his Body was depoſited in the Sepulchre of the Kings. After his Deceaſe, *Joaſh* fell off from his former Zeal and Care for Religion, and the Princes of the People quickly follow'd his Example; to the Degree of valuing themſelves upon the Contempt of holy Things and Duties. Upon this abominable Apoſtaſy, both of the King and of his Miniſters, God ſent Prophets to them to expoſtulate and reaſon the Matter with them, and to convince them of their Wickedneſs; but they were ſo reprobated and harden'd in their Iniquity, that neither the Example of their Forefathers, and their Families, that had been cut off and rooted out, for the ſame Contempt; nor the Threatnings of the Prophets wrought any Thing upon them: But the King cauſed *Zachariah*, the Son of the High-Prieſt *Jehoiada*, to be ſton'd to Death in the very Temple, without any Regard to the Merits and good Counſels of his Father. And what was his Fault, but the exhorting of both King and People to Repentance, and to the Adminiſtration of equal Juſtice; and not without a Premonition of the grievous Judgments that would befall them, if they perſiſted in their Iniquity? *Zachariah*, with his laſt Breath, appealed to God, both as his Judge, and as his Witneſs, that *the Crime he dy'd for was only the giving of good Advice, and being the Son of a Father that had deſerved ſo well from* Joaſh; *and that the Death he then ſuffer'd was*

Divine Vengeance overtakes Joaſh. Hazael *deſtroys his Country, and frights him into a Compoſition for all his Treaſure.*

but the Reward of thoſe Services. It was not long after this, that divine Vengeance overtook the King himſelf; for *Hazael*, the King of *Syria*, made an Inroad into his Country; rifled and deſtroy'd *Gath*, in the firſt Place, and from thence marched toward *Jeruſalem*, where the King himſelf had taken Sanctuary. *Joaſh* was ſo affrighted at the Approach of the *Syrians* Army, that he compounded for himſelf, and the City, and deliver'd up all the Treaſure of the Temple, as well what was dedicated to God, as the Donatives of particular Kings, as a Bribe to *Hazael* for the ſaving of his Carcaſs; which he accepted of, being a prodigious Sum of Money, and ſo rais'd the Siege upon it. *Joaſh*, after this, fell into a deſperate Fit of Sickneſs, and the Friends of *Zachariah* took their Revenge upon him by Surprize, for the Murder of the Son of the High-Prieſt. He was bury'd at *Jeruſalem*, at the Age of forty ſeven Years; but a Man of ſo exemplary a Wickedneſs, that they would not allow him the Honour of a Sepulchre among the Kings, his Predeceſſors.

Joaſh *falls ſick, and is murder'd by the Friends of* Zachariah.

CHAP. IX.

Amaziah *ſucceeds* Joaſh. Jehoahaz *implores God's Aſſiſtance againſt* Hazael, *and obtains it. Hs Son* Joaſh *ſucceeds him.* Eliſha *foretels the Ruin of the* Aſſyrians. *The Death of* Hazael, *and the Government deſcends to his Son* Adad.

2 Kings 14.
2 Chron. 25.
Amaziah *ſucceeds* Joaſh *to the Kingdom of* Judah.
Jehoahaz, *in the twenty firſt Year of* Joaſh *came to be King of* Iſrael *in* Samaria.
The worſt of Kings.
Hazael *makes good all the Ill that* Eliſha *had foretold of him.*

A*MAZIAH* ſucceeded *Joaſh* his Father in the Government of *Judah*; and in the one and twentieth Year of *Joaſh*, *Jehoahaz* the Son of *Jehu* enter'd upon the Government of *Iſrael* in *Samaria*, and reigned ſeventeen Years: Not ſo much after the Example of his Father, as after that of the worſt of his former Predeceſſors, that liv'd in an open Defiance of God and all Goodneſs. The King of *Syria*, in the mean Time, had brought down his mighty Power to the miſerable Pittance of ten thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, to truſt to; over-running ſeveral of his Cities, and killing a World of his People. This Calamity of the *Iſraelites* was foretold by *Eliſha* in his Prediction to *Hazael*, when he told him that he ſhould kill his Lord, and poſſeſs himſelf of the Government of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*. In this unhappy Juncture, *Jehoahaz* had Recourſe to God by Prayers, and Supplications, for Deliverance from the Power and Oppreſſion of *Hazael*: Upon which Humiliation of his, that gracious God, who not only cheriſhes the innocent, but pardons the penitent, and chuſes rather to correct and to reform the wicked, than to deſtroy them, was prevail'd upon to deliver him from the Burden of a ruinous War, by a timely Peace, and to reſtore his Dominions to their former State of Happineſs and Plenty.

1 Kings 13.
Joaſh *the Son of* Jehoahaz, *King of* Iſrael *and* Samaria.

Eliſha *falls into his Death-Sickneſs, and* Joaſh *makes him a very affectionate Viſit.*

After the Death of *Jehoahaz*, *Joaſh* his Son came to the Government of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*, in the ſeven and thirtieth Year of the Reign of *Joaſh*, King of *Judah*, this King and the King of *Jeruſalem* being both of a Name. He held the Government ſixteen Years: An excellent Man; and nothing in him of his Father's Way of Life and Converſation. The Prophet *Eliſha* was now far gone in Years; and being at this Time upon his laſt Bed of Sickneſs, *Joaſh* made him a Viſit in his Extremity, and out of a Tenderneſs, to ſee the good Man labouring in his Agonies, burſt out into Tears and Lamentations; treating him in the Style of the Father, the Defender and the Protector of his Country; for ſo long as he liv'd, the People were ſecure, he ſaid, againſt all their Enemies, even without any Need of Arms, through the Benefit and Bleſſing of his Prayers and Predictions; but that whenever he was taken away, they ſhould be left naked and defenceleſs, at the Mercy of their Enemies: And therefore, for his own Part, he had infinitely rather leave the World with him, than ſtay in it without him.

Eliſha *tells him of three Victories he ſhall obtain againſt the* Syrians.
Eliſha's *Death and Character.*

This compaſſionate Softneſs wrought ſo far upon the Prophet, that to comfort the King, he call'd for a Bow and Arrows, laid his Hand upon it, and bad him bend it and ſhoot. He diſcharg'd thrice, and then gave over: So *Eliſha* told him, that if he had let fly more Shafts, he ſhould have over-run the whole Kingdom of the *Syrians*; but ſince he gave it off at the *third Shot*, he muſt content himſelf with three ſeveral Victories over them: Wherein he ſhould recover the Land they had taken from his Father. The King went his Way upon theſe Words; and the Prophet departed this Life ſoon after. He was a Man celebrated for his Juſtice, and without all Diſpute highly in God's Favour, as appears by the Hiſtory of the wonderful Things he did, and the Miracles that he wrought in Abundance, as the Account of them ſtands ſacred upon the Records of the *Hebrews* to this Day. They gave him, in Fine, a pompous and an honourable Interment, anſwerable to the Dignity and Merit of ſo great a Saint. It happen'd, after this, that a Traveller was kill'd upon the Way by Thieves, and the Body thrown into the Prophet's Monument; which, upon the bare Touch of *Eliſha*, was immediately reviv'd: So that both dead and living, this Prophet wrought Miracles.

A dead Carcaſs reviv'd *by the touch of* Eliſha's *Body.*

Hazael was now dead, and the Kingdom of *Syria* fall'n by an Hereditary Right to his Son *Adad*, who was overthrown by *Joaſh* in three Battles; and all that Country recover'd to the *Iſraelites* again, which his Father had wreſted from them, according to the Prediction of *Eliſha*. Upon the Death of *Joaſh*, *Jeroboam* his Son enter'd upon the Government.

The Kingdom of Syria *deſcends from* Hazael *to his Son* Adad.

Jeroboam *ſucceeds* Joaſh.

CHAP. X.

Amaziah *defeats the* Amalekites, Idumæans *and* Gabilites. *He apoſtatizes.* Joaſh *overcomes and takes him Priſoner. He delivers up* Jeruſalem *to ſave his Life. He is kill'd by his own People, and his Son* Uzziah *ſucceeds him.*

IN the ſecond Year of *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael*, *Amaziah* came to the Government of the Tribe of *Judah*, in the City of *Jeruſalem*. His Mother's Name was *Jeboadan*, a Native of the Place. He had a wonderful Reverence for Juſtice, even in the Tenderneſs of his Youth; and began his Adminiſtration in revenging the Death of his Father upon their Heads who treacherouſly murder'd him, under a Cloak of Friendſhip. He brought the *Aſſaſſines* all to publick Juſtice; but ſpar'd their Children, according to the Opinion and Precept of *Moſes*, who thought it unreaſonable to puniſh the Children for the Iniquity of the Fathers. After this, he made a Levy in the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, of the choiceſt young Men that were to be found, of about twenty Years of Age, little over or under, which he liſted, and ſet Centurions over them. He treated with the King of the *Iſraelites* for twenty thouſand Auxiliaries; at the Rate of a hundred Talents of Silver for the Hire of them, and the Money pay'd down; being reſolv'd upon a War with the *Amalekites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Gabilites*. He was juſt upon the Point of marching againſt them, when a Man of God adviſed him by all means to diſmiſs the *Iſraelites*; for they were a wicked Generation, and would certainly be deſtroy'd, together with thoſe that joyn'd with them; beſide that he had a ſufficient Force of his own, with God's Aſſiſtance, to confound the Enemy. The King having already parted with his Money, was not a little troubled at the Thought of loſing both his Pay, and his Men; but yet upon the Prophet's Inſtance to reſign himſelf wholly to the Will of God, under whoſe Protection, he ſhould be ſure to want nothing, he diſcharg'd his Auxiliaries, with this Preface to the Farewel, that he *frankly beſtow'd that Treaſure upon them as a* Bounty, *which they had received only as a Hire.* Immediately upon parting with his Mercenaries, he advanc'd with his own proper Troops againſt the People abovementioned, whom he overcame, and cut off ten thouſand of them in one Battle, and carry'd away ten thouſand more to the Top of a great Rock, that over-looks *Arabia*, where they were all thrown down the Precipice and deſtroy'd; and ſo *Amaziah* return'd Home again with a great Booty. But in this while, the twenty thouſand Mercenaries took it ſo heinouſly to be turn'd off ſo ſcandalouſly, and without any Colour of Reaſon for it, that to revenge the Affront of that Contempt, they made an outragious Inroad into the King's Country, laying all waſte as far as *Bethſemere*; putting three thouſand People to the Sword, and carrying away a great Number of their Cattle.

Amaziah *began his Adminiſtration in the bringing the Murderers of his Father to Juſtice.*

He made vaſt Levies of his own People, and dealt with the Kings of Iſrael *for* 20000 Mercenaries, 2 Kings 14. 2 Chron. 25. *but diſmiſs'd the* Iſraelites.

Amaziah *gives the* Amalekites *a great Overthrow.*

The Mercenaries *make an outragious Inroad into the King's Country.*

Amaziah was ſo puff'd up with the Conceit of this Victory, that he had no longer any Thought of him that was the Author of it; but went over from the Worſhip of the *true* God to the *Idols* of the *Amalekites*. The Prophet, upon this, went to the King and told him, that he could not but wonder at his Dependance upon thoſe Powers, that were ſo far from being able to protect their Servants, that they could not defend themſelves; but were taken Priſoners by the *Hebrews*, and carry'd away like Slaves to *Jeruſalem*, with the reſt of the Spoil. The King cut him off ſhort in his Diſcourſe, at this Rate of Reproach, and bad him at his Peril, not to meddle any further in a Buſineſs that did not concern him. The Prophet's Anſwer was, that for the future he would be quiet; but aſſuring him withal, that the Superſtition of this Apoſtaſy would not 'ſcape a divine Vengeance.

Amaziah, *in the Pride of his Heart, goes over from the true God to* Idolatry.

Amaziah was ſo tranſported with Vanity and Inſolence upon his late Succeſs, that without any Regard to the Hand of divine Providence, he wrote an imperious Letter ſome Time after, to *Joaſh*, the King of the *Iſraelites*, commanding him and his People to pay the ſame Allegiance to him, which they had formerly render'd to his Anceſtors, *David* and *Solomon*; or in Caſe of their Refuſal, to expect a Deciſion of the Cauſe by the Sword: To which Summons, *Joaſh* returned this Anſwer.

Amaziah *writes an imperious Letter to* Joaſh.

King *Joaſh* to King *Amaziah*, Greeting.

Joaſh *anſwers it with the Fable of the* Cypreſs *and the* Thiſtle.

It happened once upon a time, betwixt a Cypreſs-Tree *and a* Thiſtle, *upon* Mount Libanus, *that the* Thiſtle *ſent to the* Cypreſs, *ſaying*, Give thy Daughter to my Son to Wife. Whereupon, *a wild Beaſt went and trod down the Thiſtle.* Make uſe of this Example for your own Inſtruction, and to moderate your Ambition, without aſpiring to Things out of your Reach. Have a Care, that this Confidence, and Pride of yours for the Overthrow of the *Amalekites*, do not betray you ſome Time or other to the Loſs of your Life and Kingdom.

Amaziah *takes the Field in a Rage; but at firſt Sight of the Enemy, his Men run ſeveral Ways without ſtriking a Blow, and leave* Amaziah *Priſoner.*

This Anſwer to *Amaziah* was but ſo much Oyl to the Flame, and made him ten Times more furious and implacable than before: God in his Juſtice giving him up, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, to ſuch a violent Impotency of Rage and Paſſion, as would certainly expoſe him to the Stroke of Divine Juſtice for his Impiety. In this Heat he took the Field; and both Armies were drawn up in Form of Battle. But no ſooner were they advanced within Sight of the Enemy, but his Men were inſtantly ſtruck with ſo judicial a Conſternation and Terror, that they turned their Backs without ſtriking a Blow, and flying ſeveral Ways, left *Amaziah* Priſoner in the Hands of his Enemies, who refuſed to give him Quarter upon any other Terms, than that the Citizens of *Jeruſalem* ſhould ſet open the Gates, and receive him and his victorious Army into the Town; which, betwixt the Pinch of Neceſſity and the Love of Life, they were prevail'd upon to do: So that *Joaſh* enter'd the Town in his triumphal Chariot thorough a Breach of three hundred Cubits of Wall that he had caus'd to be broken down, with his Priſoner *Amaziah* marching before him; and this was the Manner of his making himſelf Maſter of the Place. He made a Seizure of all the holy Plate and Treaſure, and of all the Gold and Silver likewiſe that he could find in the Palace; carrying the whole Spoil away with him; and then diſmiſſing the King, he returned to *Samaria*. This Calamity befel *Jeruſalem* in the fourteenth Year of *Amaziah*'s reign. The People of *Jeruſalem*, after this, enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt him: So that he was forced to fly for Safety to *Lachiſh*; but that would not ſerve his Turn, for the Ruffians follow'd him thither, and there they murder'd him. His Body was carry'd back to *Jeruſalem*, where it was bury'd with a Royal State. This was the miſerable End he came to, for the Neglect of God's Worſhip, and hankering after Innovations in Religion. He dy'd in the fiftieth, or one and fiftieth Year of his Life, and the twenty ninth of his Reign; leaving his Son *Uzziah* the Succeſſor to his Government.

CHAP. XI.

The Story of Jonas. *The Death of* Jeroboam. *His Son* Zachariah *ſucceeds him.* Uzziah'*s excellent Qualities, Conqueſts, and his great Care for* Jeruſalem: *But his Proſperity makes him forget God, and he is puniſh'd for it. His Son* Jotham *ſucceeds him.* Shallum *kills* Zachariah, *and uſurps the Government.* Menahem *kills* Shallum, *and reigns ten Years.* Pekahiah *his Son ſucceeds him.* Pekah *murders him and reigns in his Place.* Tiglath-Pileſer *makes War upon him. The Virtues and good Qualities of* Jotham *King of* Judah: *In his Time* Nahum *the Prophet foretels the Deſtruction of* Ninive, *and the* Aſſyrian *Empire.*

Jeroboam *the Son of* Joaſh *made King in the 15th of* Amaziah.
2 Kings 14.

The Prophet Jonas *points at him.*

and Jeroboam *values himſelf wonderfully upon the Prediction.*

IN the fifteenth Year of the Reign of *Amaziah*, *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joaſh*, was made King over *Iſrael*, and kept his Court in *Samaria*, in the Palace of his Forefathers, for the whole forty Years of his Reign. He was a Prince impious to the higheſt Degree, wholly abandon'd to *Idolatry*; and ſo licentious, that he ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo wicked, that he had a Mind to; and the Judgments that his profligate Courſe of Life brought upon the *Iſraelites*, were almoſt innumerable. It was foretold of him by *Jonas* the Prophet that he ſhould overcome the *Syrians*, and enlarge his Territories as far as the City *Hamath* on the *North*, and the Lake *Aſphaltites* on the *South*; which were formerly the Bounds of the Land of *Chanaan*, according to the Allotment of *Joſhua* the General. *Jeroboam* was ſo elevated upon this Prediction, that he took away from the *Syrians* all that Tract of Ground before ſpoken of, and annexed it to his own Dominions; and therein made good the Prediction of the Prophet. Now in Regard, that I have ſtrictly ty'd up my ſelf to write the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews* with exact Truth and good Faith, I muſt not paſs over what I find recorded of this Matter in Holy Writ.

Jonah *order'd to go to* Nineve, *to preach Deſtruction to that wicked City; but ſhips himſelf another Way, to avoid the Commiſſion. There riſes a terrible Tempeſt.*

The Word of the Lord came unto Jonah, *ſaying: Ariſe and go to* Nineve, *and there cry aloud to them, that, that great Kingdom is to be ſuddenly deſtroy'd: But* Jonah, *to avoid the Danger of being an Author of ſuch Tidings to them, thought it better to ſlip out of the Way, (as if he could hide himſelf from God) and ſo went aboard a Veſſel at* Joppa, *that was bound for* Tarſhiſh *in* Cilicia. *While they were upon the Way, there aroſe a violent Tempeſt, that put the Maſter, the Mariners, and the Pilot himſelf, all to their Wits End for Fear of being ſwallow'd up. But it was obſerved, that while the Crew were at their Prayers, and labouring to keep the Ship above Water,* Jonah *was the only Man that made no buſtle; but lay flat upon his Face in the Hold, without doing as other People did. The Wind ſtill blew harder and harder; and the Storm encreaſing, the Company took up a Conceit, that this Calamity had befall'n them for the Wickedneſs of ſome other of the People that they had aboard. And ſo they agreed among themſelves to put it to the Lot, who might be the Man. They did ſo, and the Lot fell upon the Prophet. This put the Crew upon enquiring* what he was, *and* what might be his Buſineſs. *He told them that he was an* Hebrew, *and a Prophet to the great God: But I am the Man, ſays he, that has rais'd the Storm, and you have no way left you to ſave your ſelves and the Veſſel, but by caſting me over-board. They look'd upon it at firſt, to be ſo inhumane, and ſo ill-natured an Impiety, to deliver up a Gueſt, and one that had put his Life into their Hands, to ſo certain, and inevitable a Deſtruction, that for a while they durſt not reſolve upon it: But in the End, partly by the extreme Neceſſity of the Caſe, (for the Ship was upon the very Point of ſinking) partly by the Authority of the* Prophet; *and partly by their own Fear, they were prevail'd upon, and threw him into the Sea; in which Inſtant, the Storm ceas'd. The Hiſtory ſays that he was taken up by a Whale, and after three Days, caſt up again, ſound and living, upon the Shore of the* Euxine Sea [a], *and nothing amiſs about him: From whence, after Pardon obtain'd from Almighty God for his Diſobedience, he went directly to* Nineve, *according to his Order and Commiſſion. He gets up to a Place there, where he might beſt be heard; and thence foretells them, that the Empire of* Aſia *was near an End; and ſo upon the publiſhing of this prophetical Declaration, he went his Way. This is what we find reported of him in the Records of Holy Scripture.*

Jonah *is caſt over board, and the Storm ceaſes. A Whale ſwallows him, and after three Days caſts him up again. He goes to* Nineve *after this and foretells the ruine of that Empire.*
2 Kings 14 *v.* 5.

Jeroboam's *Reign and Burial.* Zachariah *his Son ſucceeds him.* Uzziah *ſucceeds* Amaziah *in the fourteenth of* Jeroboam, *to the* two Tribes.
2 Chron. 26.
He makes Inroads upon the Philiſtins; *and after that upon the* Arabians, *and brings the* Ammonites *under Contribution.*
He rebuilds the Walls of Jeruſalem, *and repairs the Breaches, providing for the Strength and Ornament of the City.*
His Militia, *and mighty Proviſions.*

But to return now to *Jeroboam.* After a proſperous Reign of forty Years, he was bury'd at *Samaria*; *Zachariah* his Son ſucceeding him: as *Uzziah* ſucceeded *Amaziah* in the fourteenth Year of *Jeroboam*, to the Government of the *two Tribes* at *Jeruſalem.* His Mother's Name was *Achia*, a Native of *Jeruſalem.* He was a Man naturally of great Courteſy and Juſtice; brave, provident and induſtrious. He made War upon the *Philiſtins*, and took *Gath* and *Jamnia* from them by Aſſault; demoliſhing their Walls. And he made another Expedition alſo againſt the *Arabians*, upon the Borders of *Ægypt*, and built a Town near the *Red-Sea*, which he committed to the Guard of a ſtrong Garriſon. After this, he ſubdu'd the *Ammonites*, and put them under Contribution, reducing the whole Country as far as the Frontiers of *Ægypt*, under his Power; betaking himſelf in the End, to the Care of the City. Where the Walls were ruinous, or decay'd, whether by Age, or by the Neglect of former Governours, he rebuilt them anew, and repair'd that Breach alſo, which the King of the *Iſraelites* had made, when *Amaziah* was his Priſoner at his triumphant Entrance into the City. He erected alſo ſeveral Towers of one hundred and fifty Cubits in Height, and built Caſtles and ſeveral ſtrong Forts for the Security of the open Country; beſide a great many Aqueducts, Ciſterns and Baſins, for the Relief of his Herds and Cattle, whereof the Number was incredible; the Country being naturally diſpos'd for Paſture. He was himſelf alſo a great Lover of Tillage, Planting, Gardening, Nurſeries, and all ſorts of Husbandry. As to the *military* Part, he had an Army of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand ſelect Men, under the Command of two thouſand brave and experinc'd Officers: All well arm'd, with Swords, Bucklers, brazen Corſelets, Bows, Slings, and train'd up to the Exerciſe of Arms, and the drawing up of Armies, after the moſt advantagious way of Martial Diſcipline. He had ſeveral Machines and Engines alſo for Battery, and caſting of Stones and Darts; beſide Hooks, and other Inſtruments for Attaque. But his Head was ſo taken up with the Vanity of theſe Preparations and Deſigns, that the Arrogance of his Ambition for a tranſitory and an earthly Glory, took him quite off from the Thought of Bleſſings everlaſting, and from the Duties of Holineſs and Religion in the Worſhip and Service of the Almighty: Inſomuch that he falter'd in his Integrity, after the Example of his Father, out of an Impotency of Mind, that was not able to bear up againſt the Tide of a conſtant Courſe of Proſperity and Succeſs.

His Vanities and Ambition take him off from his Piety and Zeal for God's Worſhip.

The King uſurps the Prieſt's Office.

The King, upon a ſolemn Feſtival-Day, once dreſs'd up himſelf in a *Sacerdotal Habit*, and went into the Holy Temple to offer up Incenſe to the Lord upon the golden Altar; but *Azariah* the High-Prieſt, with a Train of fourſcore Prieſts more along with him, ruſh'd into the Temple to the King, exclaiming againſt the Wickedneſs of that Uſurpation, in breaking in upon an Office belonging peculiarly to the Prieſts of the Race of *Aaron*, excluſive of all others: So that *Azariah* bad him immediately be gone, and not provoke the Wrath of God with thoſe Indignities any longer. The King in a Paſſion bad them be quiet without more ado, upon the Peril of their Lives: Which Menace was follow'd with a terrible Earthquake, and the Roof of the Temple opening with the ſhock of it, there paſs'd a Beam of the Sun through the Cleft that ſtruck directly upon the Face of this ſacrilegious Prince, who in that very Moment became a *Leper*. And this Prodigy was accompany'd with another. There was a Place at ſome ſmall Diſtance *Weſtward* from the Town, that they call'd *Eroge*; where, by the ſame Earthquake, one half of a great Mountain was torn from the other; and after it had roll'd over and over, a matter of four Furlongs, it ſtopt in the Concluſion upon the *Eaſt-ſide* of a Mountain over againſt it, having choak'd up the High-way, and cover'd the King's Gardens all over with Rubbiſh. When the Prieſts found the King to be *Leprous*, and that the Lord had ſmitten him, they admoniſh'd him to depart the City, as an unclean Perſon, and not fit for common Society. The Shame of lying under ſuch a Calamity, had by this Time ſo far brought down his impious Pride and Stomach, that he ſubmitted and obey'd; and when he had liv'd for ſome time a private Life out of the City, *Jotham* his Son taking upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government, his Grief brought him at laſt to his Grave, in the ſixty eighth Year of his Age, and in the fifty ſecond of his Reign; and his Body was laid in his Gardens in a Monument by it ſelf.

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[a] Bochart *in his* Hieroz. *part* 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 19. *ſhews this to be an Error of* Joſephus.

Azariah *and the* Prieſts *force into the Temple upon him, and oppoſe him.*
A miraculous Earthquake.
Uzziah *becomes a* Leper; *and the Prieſts drive him out of the City.*

Jotham *his Son governs in the* Interim *of his Abſence, and after his Death ſucceeds him.*
2 Kings 15.

Zachariah, the King of the *Iſraelites*, and the Son of *Jeroboam*, in the ſeventh Month of his Reign, was murder'd by the Treachery of one of his own Domeſticks, *Shallum* by Name, the Son of *Jabeſh*; who upon the Slaughter of *Zachariah* took Poſſeſſion of the Government. It was ill got, and he loſt it as ill; on the thirtieth Day after the ſiezing of it. *Menahem* had at that time the Command of an Army that was at [a] *Tirzah*; and upon the News of what had befall'n *Zachariah*, he marched away preſently with his Troops to *Samaria*, where he fought and overthrew *Shallum*, put him to the Sword, and afterward by his own Authority took all the Enſigns of Royalty to himſelf, and exerciſed Sovereign Power. With this victorious Army, he marched to *Tirzah*: But the Citizens ſhut their Gates upon him, and refuſed to admit him; which put him into ſuch a Rage againſt them, as Revolters, that he lay'd waſte the whole Country thereabouts, and in the End took the Town by Aſſault; put them all to the Sword, without ſparing ſo much as a Child, to the higheſt Degree of Cruelty that ever was heard of; for he exercis'd that mercileſs Rigour and Inhumanity upon his own Couutrymen, that would have been unpardonable, even toward the worſt of *Barbarians* themſelves: And his Government was not much eaſier for the whole ten Years of his Reign over *Iſrael*. He was threaten'd, after this, with an Invaſion by *Pul*, the King of *Aſſyria*; but he durſt not run the Riſque of a Battle, and ſo came to a timely Agreement with him, for the Compoſition of a thouſand Silver Talents; which he rais'd upon the People at fifty Shekels a Head. He dy'd ſoon after, and was bury'd at *Samaria*; leaving *Pekahiah*, the next Heir to ſucceed him; who inherited the Inhumanity and ill nature of his Father, as well as the Government. But his Time was ſhort; for after two Years Reign, he was cut to pieces, with ſeveral of his Friends about him at a publick Feaſt, by the treaſonous Practice of *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, one of his Tribunes; who withal ſeized upon the Government, and reigned a matter of twenty Years; leaving it a Queſtion at laſt, Whether he was more remarkable for his Impiety to God, or for his Injuſtice towards Men?

Zachariah *murder'd by his own Domeſticks in the* 7th *Month of his reign.*
Shallum *ſeizes the Government. He is overthrown and ſlain by* Menahem, *who takes the Rule to himſelf.*

The taking of Tirzah *by* Menahem, *and his barbarous Cruelties.*

Pul *the King of* Aſſyria *threatens him with an Army; but he purchaſes his Peace.*
Menahem's *Death and Burial.*
Pekahiah *ſucceeds him.*
Pekahiah *ſlain by* Pekah, *who govern'd twenty Years.*

In the Days of this *Pekah*, *Tiglath-Pileſer*, King of the *Aſſyrians*, invaded the *Iſraelites*; and after the ſubduing of the Land of *Gilead*, and ſo the Country beyond *Jordan*, and that Part of *Gallilee* that lies next it, as alſo *Cydida* and *Aſora*, he took the Inhabitants Priſoners; and carry'd them away into his own Country; of which this is enough ſaid at preſent.

Pekah *oppreſs'd by* Tiglath-Pileſer: *and the* Iſraelites *carry'd away Captive.*

Jotham the Son of *Uzziah* reigned in *Jeruſalem* over the Tribe of *Judah*, his Mother a Native of that City, and her Name *Jeruſhah*; a Prince famous, and celebrated for all excellent Qualities and Virtues; a Man exemplary for his Reverence to God, for his Juſtice to Men, and for the Care he took of the Common-wealth; making it his Buſineſs to ſet and to keep all Things in order, and to rectify what he found amiſs He repair'd the Decays of the Porches and Galleries in the Temple; made good the City Walls, where they were falling to Ruin; erected large and ſtrong Towers: He brought the *Ammonites* under the Contribution of a hundred Talents a Year; thirty thouſand Measures of Wheat, and as many of Barley; advancing the

Jotham *a juſt and a pious Prince.*
2 Chron. 27.

He repairs the Temple and the City, and makes the Ammonites *Tributaries.*

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[a] Θαψὰ, Joſ.

Kingdom alſo to ſuch a State, that the People were both happy at Home, and formidable Abroad.

In the Reign of this Prince, there appear'd a Prophet, whoſe Name was *Nahum*; and he foretold the Deſtruction of *Nineve*, and the Subverſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, in Manner as follows. *The Condition of* Nineve, ſays he, *ſhall be like that of a* Fiſh-Pool, *in a violent Agitation of the Waters before a great Wind. The People ſhall fly away before the Storm, in Trouble and Confuſion*; calling out one to another, *Hold, ſtay a little, and take your Gold and your Silver along with you*; *and no Body ſhall mind it, for their Lives ſhall be much dearer to them than their Treaſure. They ſhall have deſperate Factions and Diviſions among themſelves*; *weeping and wailing, with the knocking of their Knees, and Death in their Faces. What will become of the Habitation of the* Lions, *and the* Dams *of the* Lion's Whelps? *Nineve*, ſays the Lord, *I will ſtrike thee out from off the Face of the Earth, and put an End to the Outrages of the wild Beaſts, that thou haſt ſent into the World.* The Prophet's Predictions about *Nineve* were more at large; but the Particulars are not neceſſary for my Purpoſe, and would appear tedious perhaps to the Reader. Let it ſuffice that the Prophecy was made good a hundred and fifteen Years after; and ſo I ſhall ſay no more of it.

The Prophet Nahum *foretels the Deſtruction of* Nineve, *and the* Aſſyrian Empire.
Nahum 2. 8. *&c.*

CHAP. XII.

The Death of Jotham. Ahaz *ſucceeds him.* Rezin *and* Pekah *make War upon him.* Ahaz *overthrown by* Pekah, *with a prodigious Slaughter.*

JOTHAM departed this Life in the one and fortieth Year of his Age, and the ſixteenth of his Reign; and *Ahaz* in the Courſe of an hereditary Right ſucceeded him. He was the moſt impious Prince of all that ever ſat upon that Throne, both for his Apoſtaſy from the Laws of his Country, and for his *Idolatry*, in Imitation of the Kings of *Iſrael*. He built *Altars* in *Jeruſalem*; ſacrific'd to *Idols* upon them; and his own Son among the Reſt for a Burnt-Offering; after the Manner of the *Chanaanites*: And a great many other Things he did too as bad as this. While *Ahaz* was in the Courſe of theſe wicked Extravagancies, *Rezin* the King of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the King of the *Iſraelites*, being joyn'd in a League of Amity and Alliance, marched together up to *Jeruſalem*, preſſing it hard with Aſſault upon Aſſault, and lying a conſiderable Time before it: But the Place was ſo well fortify'd and defended, that he was forc'd to quit it in the Concluſion. But in the mean while the King of *Syria* poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City *Elath*, by the *Red-Sea*; put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and introduced a Colony of *Syrians* into their Places. He poſſeſs'd himſelf, after this, of ſeveral Caſtles and ſtrong Holds; did terrible Execution upon the *Jews*, and ſo with a prodigious Booty marched his Army back again to *Damaſcus*.

2 Kings 16.
2 Chron. 28.
Jotham *lived one and forty Years and reigned ſixteen; his Son* Ahaz *ſucceeding him.*

An idolatrous and a bloody Prince.

Rezin *and* Pekah *lay Siege to* Jeruſalem; *but in vain.*

The King of Syria *makes terrible Havock among the* Jews, *and ſo back to* Damaſcus.

When the King of *Jeruſalem* came to underſtand that the *Syrians* were gone away, he look'd upon himſelf to be a Match for the King of *Iſrael*, and ſo drew out an Army againſt him: But his Wickedneſs was ſo great, that God in a juſt Indignation gave the Victory to his Enemy, with the Loſs of a hundred and twenty thouſand of his Men. In the ſame Battle, *Zachariah* the General of the *Iſraelites* kill'd *Amia* the Son of *Ahaz* upon a perſonal Encounter; and ſlew alſo *Azica* the Captain of the Guards; taking *Elkanah*, the General of the *Jews* Troops, *Priſoner*: Beſide a World of Captives of both Sexes of the *Benjamites*, that they carry'd away; and ſo returned with the Spoil to *Samaria*. There was at that Time a Prophet in *Samaria*, whoſe Name was *Obel*, who went out of the Town to meet the Army in their Return before the Walls; crying out to them with a loud Voice, that they were not to look upon this Victory as an Advantage gain'd by their own Virtue and Valour, but as a Judgment from Heaven upon King *Ahaz*. The Prophet therefore told them, they were to blame not to reſt ſatisfy'd with the proſperous Succeſs of their Undertaking, without making Slaves of their Kindred aud Relations of the two Tribes; adviſing them by all Means to ſet them at Liberty, and ſend them Home again, without offering any Indignity to their Perſons, upon the Peril of falling under God's Diſpleaſure if they refus'd it. The *Iſraelites*, upon this Admonition, call'd a Council to deliberate what to do upon this Occaſion. The Queſtion being put, there ſtood up one *Berechiah*, a Man of great Authority in the Aſſembly; who, with three more, declared themſelves utterly againſt the bringing any of the Priſoners into the Town, for Fear God's Vengeance ſhould fall upon all the Reſt. They had enough to anſwer for in Tranſgreſſions already paſt, that the Prophet had denounced againſt, without any Need of encreaſing the Provocation, or the Number. The Soldiers were ſo far wrought upon by this Conſideration, that they gave their Priſoners Leave and Liberty to go

A Battle betwixt the two Kings of Jeruſalem *and* Iſrael.

120000 *kill'd upon the Place; beſide Priſoners of their own Brethren, innumerable.*

The Prophet Obel *reproves the* Iſraelites *for making Slaves of their own Tribes and Relations.*

They call a Council;

whither

and diſcharge their Priſoners.

whither they would, and to take what they would along with them. Whereupon the four Perſons aforeſaid ſet them free of their Bonds; appointed Care to be taken of their Bodies; furniſh'd them with Proviſions for their Journey, and ſo diſmiſs'd them ſafe back again; bearing them Company themſelves as far as beyond *Jericho*. And when they had brought them on their Way within a Little of *Jeruſalem*, they returned to *Samaria*.

CHAP. XIII.

Tiglath-Pilezer *joyns with* Ahaz. *They ravage* Syria; *kill* Rezin *King of* Damaſcus, *and take the Place. The Wickedneſs and Death of* Ahaz. Hezekiah *ſucceeds him.* Hoſea *murders* Pekah, *and ſeizes the Kingdom.* Salmanezer *overthrows* Hoſea. Hezekiah *reſtores God's Worſhip, and overcomes the* Philiſtines.

2 Kings 16. 17.

Ahaz *gains* Tiglath Pilezer *over to him, by vaſt Promiſes and Preſents.*

He lays Syria *waſte; forces* Damaſcus; *puts* Rezin *to the Sword, and tranſplants the Inhabitants.*

Ahaz *makes him a Preſent for this Exploit, of all the Plate and Treaſure in the Temple and Palace.*

Ahaz *ſhuts up the Temple Doors in very Spite to God and his Worſhip.*

The Death, Age, and Reign of Ahaz.

Hezekiah *his Son ſucceeds.*

Hoſea *treacherouſly kills* Pekah

2 Kings 15. 30.

Salmanezer *makes* Hoſea *his* Tributary.

THIS laſt Blow from the *Iſraelites* forced *Ahaz* to bethink himſelf of calling in Aſſiſtance toward the carrying on of the War. So he ſent an Embaſſy to *Tiglath-Pilezer* the King of the *Aſſyrians*, with Promiſes of great Sums of Money, and magnificent Preſents in Hand, craving Succours from him againſt the *Iſraelites*, and thoſe of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*. This Prince no ſooner heard of the Deſire and Propoſal of *Ahaz*, but he march'd immediately to his Aid, laying the Country of *Syria* waſte, taking *Damaſcus* by Aſſault, and putting *Rezin* the King to the Sword. The People of *Damaſcus* he tranſplanted to the *Upper Media*, and ſupply'd their Places at *Damaſcus*, with Colonies of his own People. And then he depopulated a great Part of the Land of the *Iſraelites*, carrying away vaſt Numbers of them Priſoners. After the haraſſing of the *Syrians* at this Rate, *Ahaz* took all the Gold and Silver out of the King's Treaſury, and that likewiſe out of the Temple, with all the rich Donatives and Preſents, and carry'd the whole Maſs along with him to *Damaſcus*; where, according to his Agreement, he deliver'd all up to the King of *Aſſyria*, with Acknowledgments for the Favour of his Relief, and ſo went his Way back again to *Jeruſalem*. Now this King had ſo little Senſe, either of Honour or of Reaſon, that the mortal Enmity betwixt him and the *Syrians*, did not hinder him yet from worſhipping their Gods, and joining in their Ceremonies; vainly perſuading himſelf that they would be propitious to his Arms, in Favour of his impious Zeal in a *falſe Worſhip*. And then when he was overcome, on the other Hand, his Buſineſs was to make Friends of the Gods of the *Aſſyrians*: So that no Sort of *Idolatry* came amiſs to him, provided he might but keep clear of the Reverence he owed to the *true God*, and to the Religion and Traditions of his Anceſtors. This Apoſtaſy was it, that drew down the Wrath and Vengeance of God upon him. Nay the Contempt and Averſion that he had for the Honour and Service of God, was ſo extravagant, that after he had robb'd and rifled the Temple of all that was precious in it, he commanded the very Doors to be kept ſhut too, in pure Spite to God and Goodneſs, and to prevent the celebrating of any Act or Office of religious Worſhip in that holy Place. But at laſt, after a conſtant Courſe and Exerciſe of theſe outragious Impieties, he departed this Life at thirty ſix Years of Age, and in the ſixteenth of his Reign; leaving his Son *Hezekiah* his Succeſſor to the Government. About this Time *Pekah* King of *Iſrael* loſt both his Government and his Life, by the Treachery of a Court-Confident, whoſe Name was *Hoſea*; who enjoy'd the Fruit of an impious Violence and Uſurpation, for the Space of nine Years. He was one of the worſt of Men; and in his Life and Converſation, he ſhew'd not the leaſt Thought or Belief of a God. *Salmanezer* the King of the *Aſſyrians* led an Army againſt him, and being caſt off by God, whom he himſelf had rejected and deſpiſed, he was eaſily overcome, and forc'd to ſubmit to the Terms of a *Tributary*.

Hezekiah *King of* Jeruſalem *in the fourth of* Hoſea.

2 Kings 18.

2 Chron. 29. 30, 31.

Hezekiah *to the* **Prieſts** *and* **Levites** *upon the Subject of reſtoring* **God's** *Worſhip.*

In the fourth Year of *Hoſea*'s Reign, *Hezekiah* came to be King of *Jeruſalem*. He was the Son of *Ahaz*, by *Abiac*, a Native of that City: A Perſon of an excellent Underſtanding, and naturally a Lover and Practiſer of Piety and Juſtice. For the firſt Thing he did upon his coming to the Throne, was to provide for the Comfort of his People in ſettling the main Affair of Religion, and God's Worſhip: To which End, he immediately ſummon'd a Meeting of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and treated them with a Diſcourſe, as it is reported, to this Effect. *I ſhall not need to mind you of the many and the great Calamities that have befallen you for the Iniquities of my Father, in not rendring to God the Honour due to him, and for the Madneſs of your being prevail'd upon to pay a divine Adoration to his* Idols: *Wherefore being now taught by woful Experience, how dangerous a Thing it is to prevaricate with the Almighty, it is my Advice, that all paſt Miſcarriages may be forgotten; and that you purify and purge your ſelves,* *together with the* Prieſts *and* Levites, *from all your former Pollutions; and after that Preparation, that you ſet open the Doors of that holy Place: And when you ſhall have reſtor'd it to the State of its original Purity and Reverence, by* Conſecrations, expiatory Luſtrations, *and* Sacrifices *in Form, you may then promiſe your ſelves that God will pardon your Impieties, and proſper you in all your Undertakings.* The Prieſts were ſo elevated and encouraged by this Advice of the King's, that they preſently open'd the Temple, clear'd it of all prophane Impurities and Defilements, made ready their holy Veſſels, and laid their Sacrifices upon the Altar, according to the *Jewiſh* Manner. The King, in the mean Time, ſent Meſſengers through all his Dominions to ſummon the People up to *Jeruſalem*, to the *Feaſt of unleavened Bread*; which had been then a long Time intermitted, through the impious Neglect of former Kings; Exhorting, and inviting the *Iſraelites* alſo to give over the Practice of their idolatrous Superſtitions, and return to the Exerciſe of the true Religion, and to the Worſhip of the *true God*; promiſing them that they ſhould have free Leave and Liberty to come and go, and to celebrate this Feſtival in common with his own People. *Hezekiah* told them, that it was not for his own Sake, but for theirs, that he gave them this Invitation; and that they themſelves ſhould find the Comfort of it, if they follow'd his Counſel: But when the *Iſraelites* heard of the Meſſage, they were ſo far from giving any Heed to it, that they had the Meſſengers in Deriſion, and treated the Prophets as ſpitefully too, for the good Office of adviſing them to return to their Duties; and foretelling them the Miſeries that ſhould befal them, without a timely Humiliation and Repentance. And their Outrage did not ſtop here neither; for they took ſeveral of the Prophets afterward, and put them to Death. At this Rate they went on from one Wickedneſs to another, and never gave over, till God in his Wrath avenged himſelf upon them for their Impiety, by delivering them up into the Hands of their Enemies, as will be ſeen in its proper Place. But there were great Numbers yet of the Tribes of *Manaſſes*, *Zabulon*, and *Iſſachar*, that had their Hearts touc'd with this Premonition of the Prophets, and that went in Throngs up to *Hezekiah* at *Jeruſalem*, to worſhip.

The King ſummons up all his People to Jeruſalem, *to the* Feaſt of unleavened Bread.

The Iſraelites ridicule *the Meſſage*,

and put ſeveral of of the Prophets and Meſſengers to Death.

When the Multitude was there gather'd together, the King went up to the Temple, together with the Princes, and the People, where he ſacrificed, for himſelf, ſeven Bulls, ſeven Rams, and as many Goats; and when he had firſt lay'd his Hands upon the Heads of the Victims, both the King, and the Princes, left the Execution to the *Prieſts*; who cut the Throats of the Sacrifices, and burnt them whole; the *Levites* ſtanding in a Ring about them, ſinging divine Hymns, and accompanying their Voices with muſical Inſtruments, in ſuch Manner as *David* had preſcribed to them of old, the Reſt of the Prieſts joining in the Conſort. When this was over, the King and the People caſt themſelves proſtrate with their Faces upon the Ground, and worſhipped the Lord. He ſacrificed after this, ſeventy Bullocks, a hundred Rams, and two hundred Lambs; beſtowing alſo ſix hundred Bullocks, and three thouſand other Cattle as a Largeſs for the Entertainment of the People: And when the Prieſts had done their Parts according to the cuſtomary Method and Order, the King himſelf made good Cheer, and communicated with the People, joyning together in Praiſes and Thankſgivings.

Hezekiah *ſacrifices for himſelf.*

A Donative over and above,

The Feaſt of *unleavened Bread* was now coming on, and in the Time of their Preparations for the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, they offered up a Courſe of other Sacrifices, for ſeven Days ſucceſſively, and the King beſtow'd upon the People, out of his own Bounty, two thouſand Bulls, and ſeven thouſands of other Cattle, over and above their own Number; the Princes likewiſe, after *Hezekiah*'s Example, ſuperadding out of their own Liberality a thouſand Bulls, and a thouſand four hundred other Beaſts: Inſomuch, that from the Days of *Solomon* to this particular Time, there was never ſuch a Solemnity heard of.

Never ſuch a Solemnity ſince the Days of Solomon.

So ſoon as this Feſtival was over, they made it their next Work to purge the whole Country, having firſt purify'd *Jeruſalem* it ſelf from the Abomination of their *Idols*. The King then appointed daily Sacrifices according to the Law to be ſupply'd out of his own Stores, and commanded the People to preſent the *Prieſts* and *Levites* with their Tenths and firſt Fruits, that they might not be taken off by any common Buſineſs from their Attendance upon the *Altar*. By this Means they were abundantly furniſhed with all Sorts of Fruits and Proviſions. The King alſo ordered the Building of *Granaries*, and Store-houſes, for the common Uſe and Service of themſelves, their Wives and Children; to be diſtributed in Proportion to their Shares: So that by theſe Degrees, the ancient Diſcipline came in ſome Meaſure to be reſtor'd.

A thorough Reformation.

Matters being thus ſettled, the King made War upon the *Philiſtines*, and over-ran their Country, and all their Cities, from *Gath* to *Gaza*, which he added to his own Territories. But the King of *Aſſyria*, in the mean Time, ſends a Meſſage to him to

The King over-runs the Country of the Philiſtines, demand the Tribute from him, which was formerly pay'd him by his Father, with a Menace, in Caſe of Refuſal, to take his Country from him; but *Hezekiah* did ſo abſolutely depend upon the Goodneſs of God, the Conſcience of his own Innocency, and the Veracity of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, from whom he was ſure to be forewarned of the Event of Things, that he gave no Heed at all to the Menaces of the *Aſſyrians*. And ſo much for the Story of this King

CHAP. XIV.

Salmanezer *takes* Samaria; *deſtroys the Kingdom of* Iſrael; *carries away* Hoſea, *and all his People, Priſoners: And plants the Kingdom of* Iſrael *with a Colony of* Chuthites.

2 Kings 17.

UPon Intelligence given to *Salmanezer* King of *Aſſyria*, that the King of *Iſrael* was entered into a ſecret Treaty with *So*, the King of *Ægypt*, to joyn in an Alliance againſt him; the *Aſſyrian* in a furious Indignation preſently marches with his Army againſt *Samaria*: (This was in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of *Hoſea*) and the City ſtanding out againſt him; in the third Year of the Siege, and in the ninth of the preſent King, he took it by Aſſault, in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of *Hezekiah* King of *Jeruſalem*. The Loſs of this Place was the final Ruin of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*; the People were all tranſplanted into *Media*, and *Perſia*, and *Hoſea* the King taken with them alive: While the King of *Aſſyria* brought others from thence in Exchange, as far as *Chuthah*, a River of *Perſia*, to re-people the *Iſraelites*; and ſo to plant in *Samaria*, and up and down that Country.

Salmanezer *takes* Samaria *by Aſſault, in the ninth Year of* Hoſea. Hoſea *a Priſoner, and the People tranſplanted.*

The Date of the Tranſportation.

This Tranſportation of the *ten Tribes* from the Place of their Abode, fell out to be about ſome nine hundred and ſeven and forty Years, from the coming of their Forefathers out of the Land of *Ægypt*, to their taking Poſſeſſion of that Land before: Eight hundred Years from the Days of *Joſhua*; and two hundred and forty Years, ſeven Months and ſeven Days after the Revolt from *Rehoboam* the Grandchild of *David*, to *Jeroboam*; of whom we have ſpoken heretofore. This was the miſerable End of that ſtiff-necked People, that would neither be ſubject to Laws, nor hearken to the Voice and Precautions of their Prophets: Though they foretold them, that their certain Deſtruction was at Hand, unleſs they departed immediately from their evil Ways. Now the Riſe of all theſe Calamities took it's Date from that ſeditious Revolt from *Rehoboam*, in advancing a Servant over the Head of his Maſter; who in Contempt of God, and his holy Laws, drew the Indignation of Heaven upon the People, by corrupting them into the Practice of the ſame Abominations after his Example. But the Juſtice of God came Home to him in his own Perſon too in it's due Seaſon.

The Revolt *from* Rehoboam *was the Riſe of all this Miſchief.*

See Menander *in his* Annals.

The King of *Aſſyria*, in Fine, ravaged with his Army, and domineer'd every where in *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*; Mention being alſo made of his Name in the Hiſtory of the *Tyrians*: For in the Reign of *Elulæus*, as *Menander* has it in his *Annals*, (that were turned out of the *Tyrian* Language into *Greek*) he made War upon *Tyre*. His Words are to this Purpoſe. *This ſame* Elulæus *reigned thirty ſix Years; and upon a Revolt of the* Gittæans, *he ſent a Fleet thither, that reduced them to their Obedience: And the King of the* Aſſyrians *ſent out an Army alſo againſt him, and invaded the whole Country of* Phœnicia; *till upon the Concluſion of a Peace, he march'd with his Troops back again. Some ſhort Time after this Exploit, the Cities of* Sydon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, *and ſeveral other Towns went over from the* Tyrians, *to the* Aſſyrian *King: Who taking it ſo heinouſly to ſee the* Tyrians *the only People that diſputed his Authority and Power, he diſpatched a Navy againſt them of ſixty Sail, and eight hundred Rowers, under the Conduct of the* Phœnicians, *which the* Tyrians *encounter'd, with only twelve Veſſels; brake the whole Body, and took five hundred of the Rowers Priſoners. The Succeſs of this Encounter gave them a wonderful Reputation for their Skill and Ability in naval Affairs.* The King of *Aſſyria*, upon this Affront, returns, and ſets Guards along the River, and upon all Springs, and *Aquæducts* to keep the *Tyrians* from Water. The *Tyrians* were upon this Pinch for a Matter of five Years when they were forc'd to relieve themſelve from Pits of their own Digging.

Of the Chuthites, *and why ſo called.*

This is what we find written of *Salmanezer* in the Chronicles of the *Tyrians*. Now the new Comers in *Samaria* are called *Chuthites*, from a Country of *Perſia*, of that Name, and from the River *Chuthah*, from whence they had their Original. There were five Nations of them, and they brought as many of their own country Gods along with them; highly provoking the true and the great God to Indignation againſt them, for the Worſhip they paid to theſe *Idols*: So that they were viſited with ſo [a] dreadful a Plague, that the Place was well nigh unpeopled with it; and finding no

A dreadful Plague among them for their Idolatry.

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[a] See 2. *Kings* xvii. 26. and *Bochart's Hieroz.* l. 3. c. 3. part. 2.

Relief from any humane Means, they were adviſed by the Oracle to have Recourſe to the Worſhip of the great God; for their Caſe was deſperate and hopeleſs without ſuch an Application. The People immediately upon this, ſent for Commiſſioners to attend the King of *Aſſyria*, with a Petition, that he would be pleaſed to ſend them ſome of the Prieſts that were carried away Captives with the *Iſraelites*. This being granted, and the Prieſts brought, as they deſired, they had the Law of *Moſes* read, with an Explication upon the Practice, and the Reaſon of their Religion and Diſcipline which had ſo wonderful an Effect upon them, that they gave themſelves wholly up to the Study and Exerciſe of it, and ſoon after this, the Peſtilence ceaſed. Now the [a] People of that Country retain'd to this Day the Name of *Cuthites*, among the *Hebrews*: But the *Greeks* call them *Samaritans*. They are a People unfix'd, and changeable in their Opinions and Inclinations, accommodating themſelves to the preſent Time and Occaſion. So long as the *Jews* are proſperous, *we are all of a Blood*, they cry, *and of the Lineage of Joſeph*; but if they happen to fall under any Affliction, or Adverſity, *Alaſs!* ſay they; *we have nothing to do with them*, *they are Strangers to us: We came a great Way off*, they ſay, *into that Country*, and the like; but of this in its proper Place.

The Oracle *ſends them to the great God for Relief.*

They petition the King of Aſſyria *to have ſome of the* Captive Prieſts *ſent them.*

The Prieſts inſtruct them in the Law of Moſes, *and the Plague ceaſes.*

The Cuthites *ſtill ſide with the ſtrongeſt.*

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[a] See *Voſſius*'s Epiſtle to *Colvius*, p. 394.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS OF THE JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE TENTH.

From the Year of the World 3224, to 3425.

CHAP. I.

Sennacherib *enters* Juda *with a mighty Army; conditions with* Hezekiah *for a ſum of Money to withdraw; receives the Money, and breaks his Articles. He carries the War into* Ægypt, *and leaves the Siege of* Jeruſalem *to* Rabſhaketh. *The Prophet* Iſaiah *promiſes* Hezekiah *Aſſiſtance from Heaven.*

Sennacherib *makes War upon* Hezekiah. 2 Kings 18. *He over-runs* Judah *and* Benjamin; *and advances toward* Jeruſalem. Embaſſadors *meet him, with Officers of Submiſſion and* Tribute. Sennacherib *agrees to the Conditions with an* Oath *to make them good. The Compoſition-Money is paid, and the* Aſſyrian *breaks his Articles, and proſecutes the War againſt* Jeruſalem. Rabſhaketh *demands a Treaty.* Hezekiah *ſends out Deputies.* Rabſhaketh *treats them with Inſolence and Scorn.* 2 Kings 18, 19.

IN the fourteenth Year of *Hezekiah*, King of the *two Tribes*, *Sennacherib* the King of *Aſſyria* marched againſt him with a powerful, and well appointed Army; and having taken all the Cities of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, by Aſſault, he was now advancing toward *Jeruſalem*; when an Embaſſy came to him with an Offer of Submiſſion to his Power, and of paying him Tribute. *Sennacherib* gave the Embaſſadors Audience, and reſolved immediately to let fall the War, and to treat upon the King's Terms; promiſing with the Solemnity of an Oath, that upon the Receipt of three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty of Gold, he would be gone with his Army, without attempting any Act of Hoſtility againſt him. *Hezekiah*, upon this Aſſurance, empty'd all the Treaſuries, and ſent him the Money, in Confidence of the Enemy's Remove according to his Oath, and that he might reign afterward without any Difficulty or Danger. The *Aſſyrian* took the Money; but broke his Word: For he marched himſelf with his Troops againſt the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, and left *Rabſhaketh* Lieutenant General, with *Tharata* and *Anacharis*, as Fellow-Commiſſioners with him, to carry on the War againſt *Jeruſalem*. Upon the drawing-up of their Army, they pitch'd their Camp within ſight of the Walls of the Town; and by a Meſſenger, ſummon'd *Hezekiah* out to a Parley. *Hezekiah* was not willing to truſt himſelf, and therefore ſent out three of his particular Friends to ſupply his Place: That is to ſay, *Eliakim*, his Deputy-Governour; *Shebnah* and *Joah* Keepers of the Records. Upon their coming out of the Town, and preſenting themſelves before the Officers of the *Aſſyrian* Army, *Rabſhaketh*, ſtaring them in the Face, bad them carry their Maſter this Meſſage: *That the great King* Sennacherib *would fain know what Confidence it is that he values himſelf upon, that he ſhould dare to make any great Difficulty of owning that great King for his Maſter; and to refuſe Entrance to his Army into the City. What*, ſays Rabſhaketh, *does he flatter himſelf with Hope of Relief from* Ægypt, *as if the* Ægyptians *were in Condition to cope with the Army of my Maſter? Why certainly he muſt be worſe than mad, to imagine it, and to truſt to a broken Reed that will both deceive him, if he truſts to it, and run into his Hand, and wound him, if he lays any Streſs upon it: But* ſays Rabſhaketh, *you are to inform your Maſter, that this Expedition is not attempted without God's holy Will and Direction; who will as certainly give the King of* Aſſyria *Victory over* Hezekiah, *and his Subjects, as he hath already made him victorious over the Iſraelites. Rabſhaketh* deliver'd himſelf in *Hebrew*, being a Language that he was well skill'd in: But *Eliakim* fearing the Effect ſuch a Diſcourſe in a known Tongue, might have upon the Multitude, deſir'd him rather, if he pleaſed to ſpeak *Syriack*. Now *Rabſhaketh* very well underſtanding what the other was afraid of, raiſed his Voice, and continued his Diſcourſe ſtill in *Hebrew*, to this Purpoſe. *Pray*, ſays Rabſhaketh, *let your People hear, and underſtand the Commands of my Maſter; for it concerns them ſo to do, and to render themſelves in Seaſon. It is the Buſineſs, I know, both of your ſelves, and of your King, to ſeduce your*

People with vain and empty Hopes of Defending themſelves by Force: But if you have the Courage to put it to a Hazzard, or any Sort of Pretence to beat-off this Army from your Walls, I am ready to furniſh you with two thouſand Horſe, *if you will only undertake to find* Riders *to them. But alaſs! you have not wherewithall to try the Experiment. If it be ſo, Why are you then ſo long a deliberating upon a Thing you will be compell'd to do in the Concluſion? Eſpecially in a Caſe where you are ſafe, if you do it willingly; and run all the Hazzards in the World, if you ſtay to be driven to it upon Conſtraint; as the weaker muſt of Neceſſity yield at laſt to the ſtronger.*

Hezekiah *humbles himſelf in Sackcloth.* 2 Kings 19. 1. & 2.

The Prophet Iſaiah *mediates to God for* Hezekiah, *and obtains an Aſſurance of* Victory *over his Enemies.*

This was all ſpoken in the hearing, as well of the People, as of the Deputies; and no ſooner brought to the King's Ear, but he immediately ſtript himſelf of his royal Robes, and put on Sackcloth, after the Cuſtom of the Country, in Token of his Humiliation; caſt himſelf proſtrate upon the Ground, and implor'd the Aid and Favour of Almighty God, being utterly hopeleſs of any Comfort elſewhere. He ſent likewiſe ſome of his particular Friends, together with others of the Prieſthood, to the Prophet *Iſaiah*, to deſire him that he would intercede with the Lord, by Prayers and Sacrifices for the common Safety, and for the Abatement of the Pride and Power of the Enemy, in Compaſſion to his People. The Prophet comply'd with the King's Requeſt, and ſucceeded ſo far in his Mediation, that he was authorized by the *Oracle*, to bid the King and his Friends be of good Courage; for the Enemy ſhould be overcome without a Battle, and abandon his Deſign with Loſs and Diſgrace; that his Stomach ſhould be brought down; and that the Hand of God ſhould be upon him, to his Ruin: That *Sennacherib* himſelf ſhould miſcarry in his *Ægyptian* Expedition, and upon that Diſappointment go to his own Home again, where he ſhould fall by the Sword.

Sennacherib*'s menacing Summons to* Hezekiah.

Iſaiah *brings* Hezekiah *Word, that his Petition was granted, and no further Danger of* Sennacherib.

Sennacherib *draws-off his Army, upon the News of* Tirhakah*'s March to aſſiſt the* Ægyptians.

It happened upon this very Point of Time, that *Hezekiah* received Letters from the King of *Aſſyria*, with expoſtulatory Reaſonings in them, what a Fool he was to imagine any Poſſibility under his Circumſtances of maintaining his Liberty againſt the Power of a Prince that had already ſubjected ſo many warlike Nations to his Obedience; concluding with a Menace of putting Man, Woman and Child to the Sword, if they did not, without Delay, and of their own Accord, ſet open their City-Gates, and give them a free Paſſage for his Army. *Hezekiah* did ſo abſolutely depend upon the Truth and Power of God, that he laid no Streſs at all upon this huffing Letter; but folded it up again, and laid it in the *Temple*, betaking himſelf ſtill to repeated Prayers and Supplications, for the Safety of the City, till *Iſaiah* returned with this Anſwer; *That his Petition was heard, and that the Danger was over, for any Harm the* Aſſyrians *ſhould do them upon that Undertaking. He told them likewiſe that there were happier Times at Hand, wherein they ſhould live in Peace, and Security upon their own Lands and Poſſeſſions, without Fear of an Enemy.* In Proceſs of Time the King of *Aſſyria* finding all his Attempts to be fruſtrated, and nothing to ſucceed with him, he withdrew his Army, and went back again upon this Occaſion. He had ſpent a great Deal of Time before *Peluſium*; and at laſt when he had brought up his Platforms within a Little of the Top of the Walls; and was upon the very Point almoſt of giving the Aſſault, News was brought him, that [a] *Tirhakah* the King of *Æthiopia*, was upon his March with a great Enforcement to aſſiſt the *Ægyptians*; and that he took his Way thorough the *Deſert*, with a Deſign to fall upon the *Aſſyrians* by Surprize. *Sennacherib* was ſo ſtartled at this Report, that he immediately drew-off his Army. [b] *Herodotus* calls this War of *Sennacherib's* againſt the King of *Ægypt*, a War againſt the Prieſt of *Vulian*, as being both a *King*, and a Prieſt of that *falſe God. Now this was the Reaſon* (ſays he) *of* Sennacherib's *raiſing the Siege of* Peluſium. *The King of* Ægypt, *upon this Occaſion, call'd to his God for Help; which being granted him, was fatal to the* Arabian, *by a Miſtake, writing,* [Arabian] *for* [Aſſyrian.] *And*, ſays he, *in one Night there came ſuch Troops of Rats into the Camp of the* Aſſyrians, *that they gnaw'd all their Bow-Strings to Pieces, and made uſeleſs ſeveral other Pieces of their Arms, even to the diſarming of the* Aſſyrians, *who, upon this Diſappointment, drew-off from the Town.* Now *Beroſus*, a *Chaldee-Hiſtorian*, ſpeaks of this King *Sennacherib*, and how he reigned over the *Aſſyrians*, and made War upon all *Aſia* and *Ægypt*. [c] His Words are to this following Effect.

A Judgment of Rats.

Beroſus, *concerning this War.*

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[a] Θαρσικὴς *Joſ.* [b] See *Herodotus*, p. 163. *Ed. Steph.* 1592. In the Tranſlation of this Place, I follow *Gelenius*; both *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* and the *original Greek* being corrupted, as is ſhown by *Joſ. Scaliger* in his Notes upon the *Fragments* of *Beroſus*, p. 45, 46. where he ingeniouſly ſupplies what is wanting. [c] *Scaliger* fanſies this to be an Interpolation, and that the Beginning of the following Chapter is not *Beroſus*'s.

CHAP. II.

Sennacherib *beſieges* Jeruſalem: *One hundred eighty five thouſand of his Men cut-off by a judicial Plague, the firſt Night. He quits the Siege, and goes Home again; where he is murder'd by two of his Sons, in the Temple of his* Idol.

A dreadful Plague.

Sennacherib *murder'd by two of his Sons in the Temple of his* Darling Idol.

[a] *SENNACHERIB*, at his Return from the *Ægyptian* War, found his Army that he had left under the Command of [b] *Rabſhaketh* almoſt quite deſtroy'd by a judicial Peſtilence; which ſwept away, in general Officers, Tribunes, and common Soldiers, to the Number of one hundred eighty five thouſand Men, the firſt Night they ſat down before the City. This dreadful Mortality put *Sennacherib* in ſuch a Fright, partly as it was a Stroke of divine Vengeance, and partly for Fear of the Reſt of his Army, that he made all poſſible Haſte back again, by great Marches, to his Palace at *Nineve*; where, after a while, he was cut-off by his two eldeſt Sons, *Adrameleck*, and [c] *Sharezer*, in the very Temple of *Araſcus*, which was his *Darling-Idol*. They fled upon it, into *Armenia*; [d] *Eſarhaddon*, the third Son, ſucceeding to the Government: And thus ended this Expedition.

CHAP. III.

Hezekiah *falls ſick; and has fifteen Years added to his Life. A League betwixt him and* Balad *the King of* Babylon: *Whereupon the Prophet* Iſaiah *fortels the* Iſraelites *Captivity in* Babylon, *and the Calamities that were to befall* Hezekiah *and his Poſterity. The Death of* Hezekiah.

2 Kings 20.

Hezekiah *falls deſperately ſick.* 2 Kings 20. 1. *Having no Iſſue, he beſeeches God to make him the Father of a Son before he dyes.*

The Prophet Iſaiah *brings him Word that his Prayers were heard.*

The Prophet confirms his Aſſurance by a Miracle.

HEZEKIAH being now deliver'd beyond all Expectation from any farther Apprehenſion of Trouble or Danger; and being likewiſe thoroughly convinced that it was the only, and immediate Hand of God that wrought his Preſervation, as well by the *Plague* that deſtroy'd one Part of the *Aſſyrian* Army, as by the *Terror* of that Judgment that frighted away the Reſt; He betook himſelf to Vows and Thankſgivings for the Mercies he had receiv'd: And while his Thoughts were wholly taken-up with the Honour, and Worſhip of God, he was ſeized with ſo grievous a Diſtemper that his Phyſicians, and the reſt of his Friends deſpair'd of his Life. In this Diſtreſs, nothing went ſo near the King's Heart, as to conſider, that upon his dying without Iſſue, the Succeſſion of the Family would be then at an End, and the Kingdom left without a legitimate Heir. The Anxiety of this Conſideration lay ſo heavy upon him, that he addreſs'd himſelf to God with Supplications and Tears, only for the prolonging of his Life till he might have a Succeſſor out of his own Loins, and not to take him out of the Number of the living, till he might be the Father of a Son, to keep him alive in his Poſterity. God took Compaſſion of him, and the rather, becauſe he was not ſo much troubled for the Loſs of the Advantages of a Kingdom, as for the Want of an Heir of his own Body to govern it. Upon this, the Prophet *Iſaiah* was ſent to him with the comfortable Aſſurance, that in three Days his Diſeaſe ſhould leave him, and that he ſhould live fifteen Years longer yet, and the Kingdom deſcend at laſt to his own Son and Heir. When the Prophet had deliver'd this Meſſage to the King according to his Order, the Diſeaſe was ſo deſperate, and the News ſo ſurprizing, that *Hezekiah* could not bring himſelf to depend upon it without ſome Prodigy of a Token from *Iſaiah*, in Confirmation of his Authority and Commiſſion, and that he was ſent from God upon this Errand. Now this is a common Courſe, when we meet with Difficulties out of the Reach of Hope, and Reaſon, to bring about or to comprehend, to get the Truth confirm'd to us by ſome extraordinary Evidence. The Prophet ask'd what Sign or Token would give him Satisfaction. So he propounded that the Shadow upon his Dyal might go Ten Degrees backward from the Place where it then ſtood. The King, finding this Miracle wrought, upon the Prayers of the Prophet, was reſtored preſently to his Health, and went immediately up to the Temple, where he worſhipped and paid his Devotion.

The Medes diſſolve the Aſſyrian Empire.

An Embaſſy from the King of Babylon *to* Hezekiah. 2 Kings 20. 12.

It was about this Time, that the *Aſſyrian* Empire happen'd to be diſſolv'd by the *Medes* of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere. But *Balad* the King of *Babylon*, having ſent Embaſſadors with Preſents to *Hezekiah*, invited him into a League of Amity and Allyance. *Hezekiah*, received the Commiſſioners with great Courteſy; gave them a royal Entertainment, and ſo ſhew'd them his Treaſure and his Armory, and what

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[a] See *Scaliger*'s Notes upon the *Fragment* of *Beroſus* p. 46 and *Vorſtius*'s *Diſſertat. Acad.* 1.

[b] Ῥαψάκη

[c] Σελεννάρης. *Joſ.*

[d] Ἀσσαραχόδδας. *Joſ.*

ever elſe he had that was magnificent and valuable, either in Gold, or precious Stones, and in the End ſent them back again well rewarded, to their Maſter. Upon this, *Iſaiah* came to him, and ask'd him what thoſe Men were, and whence they came? He told the Prophet that they were ſent from the King of *Babylon*; and that he had ſhewed them all the Riches and Curioſities of his Palace, that they might gather from thence how great a Prince he was, and ſo poſſeſs their King upon better Grounds, with the Truth of the Matter. *Know then*, ſays the Prophet to the King, *that it will not be long before this Treaſure of yours ſhall be carry'd to* Babylon; *ſeveral of your Poſterity ſhall be unmann'd, and ſerve the Court of* Babylon, *in the Quality of* Eunuchs. *This you will find to be a Truth; for God himſelf hath foretold it.* This Prediction went to the very Soul of *Hezekiah*. Well, ſays he, though I cannot but be much troubled at the Thought of the Miſery that attends my Family, yet ſince it is God's Pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo, I have no more to beg from Heaven, than that I may enjoy the ſmall Remainder of my miſerable Life in Peace. *Beroſus* takes Notice alſo of this *Balad*, King of *Babylon*: But the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who was ſo infallibly, and miraculouſly inſpir'd in all he ſaid, and ſo certain of the Truth of his Predictions, committed all his Prophecies to Writing, and left them to Poſterity for all Men to judge of what he foretold, by the Event: And this was not his Buſineſs alone, but there were twelve more that did the ſame; and in all Caſes of Event whatſoever, Good or Evil, the Accompliſhment, and the Prophecy agree exactly together. But we ſhall treat of this more particularly upon other Occaſions. Finally, when *Hezekiah* had ſurvived in Peace, according to what we have ſaid already, he dy'd in the five and fiftieth Year of his Life, and the nine and twentieth of his Reign.

Iſaiah *foretels the Captivity of* Babylon.
2 Kings 20. 16, 17, 18.

Beroſus *takes Notice of this King of* Babylon.

Iſaiah *commits his Prophecies to Writing.*

The Death of Hezekiah.
2 Chron. 33. 1.

CHAP. IV.

Manaſſeh *the King of* Judah, *a wicked Prince. The King of* Babylon *ravages his Country, and takes him Priſoner: But upon his Converſion, he is ſet at Liberty. His Life and Death.* Amon *his Son ſucceeds him, but is ſoon after cut off; and his Son* Joſiah *came next to the Throne.*

MANASSEH the Son of *Hezekiah* by [a] *Hephzibah*, a Native of *Jeruſalem*, ſucceeded his Father in the Government; but led a Life directly contrary to the Practices of his Predeceſſor. No Impiety ſcap'd him; but he made Choice of all Sorts of Abominations that had brought ſo many heavy Judgments upon the *Iſraelies*, for his Imitation and Example. He was ſo daring a Libertine, as to prophane the Holy Temple it ſelf, and conſequently the whole City, and every Corner of his Dominions with the Tincture of the ſame Iniquity and Pollution. He began his Reign with the Contempt of God, and ſo proceeded to a barbarous and bloody Perſecution of holy and good Men, dipping his Hands in the Blood of the very Prophets themſelves: Inſomuch that hardly a Day paſs'd without putting ſome or other of them to Death, ſo that the very Streets of *Jeruſalem* ran Blood. The Cry of theſe impious inhumane Outrages called ſo loud to Heaven for Vengeance, that God was highly incens'd at this audacious Courſe of Wickedneſs; and ſent Prophet after Prophet, both to the King, and to the People, with Cautions to them, to repent in Time, of their Neglect of God's Worſhip, and to return to their Duty, upon the Peril of ſuffering the ſame Calamities for the ſame Sins that their Brethren the *Iſraelites* had ſuffer'd before them: But theſe were Diſcourſes that they gave no Credit to, till in the Concluſion they found the Menaces follow'd with Effects, when it was too late to ſtruggle with thoſe Miſeries, which by a ſeaſonable Belief and Conſideration, might have been eaſily prevented. But upon their periſhing in this Train and Habit of Wickedneſs, God ſtirr'd up the King of *Babylon* and *Chaldæa*, to make War upon them; who ſent an Army into *Judæa* that over-ran, and deſtroy'd the whole Country; ſurpris'd *Manaſſeh*, and carried him away in the Quality of a Priſoner, every Hour at Mercy. This miſerable Prince came now by dear Experience to be ſenſible of his Fault; and upon that Reflection, earneſtly beſought God, only ſo far to ſoften the Hearts of his Enemies, as might move them to treat him with ſome Sort of Tenderneſs and Humanity. And God was not yet inexorable neither; but in Pity, gave Ear to his Supplication: So that the King of *Babylon*, after ſome Time, gave *Manaſſeh* his Liberty, and reſtor'd him to his former Government. Upon his Arrival at *Jeruſalem*, by the Leave and Clemency of the Conquerour, he did all the good that was poſſible, to atone for his former Miſcarriages, even to the burying of them in Oblivion, being now quite another Man in his Inclination and Manners, and wholly intent upon the Advancement of Religion. For he purged the City, and

Manaſſeh *ſucceeds his Father* Hezekiah.
2 Kings 21. 21.
An idolatrous, and an impious Prince.
2 Kings 21. 2.

His inhumane Cruelty *toward the* Prophets.

Prophet *ſent after* Prophet *to admoniſh; but all in vain.*

Judæa *over-run by the Kings of* Babylon *and* Chaldæa.
Manaſſeh *carry'd away Priſoner to* Babylon.

Upon his Repentance and Humiliation, he is ſet at Liberty and reſtor'd.

At his Return to Jeruſalem *he does what he can to atone for what was paſt.*
2 Chron 33. 34, *&c.*

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[a] Ἀχιϐὰς. *Joſ.* Echibene. *Rufinus.*

He purges the City, and re-conſecrates the Temple.

He erects an Altar, and offers daily Sacrifices upon it.

conſecrated the Temple afreſh, making it his whole Buſineſs to expreſs his Gratitude and Reverence toward God, and to preſerve himſelf in the Bleſſing of his Favour all the Days of his Life. He took Care alſo, both by his Example, and his Authority, to inſtruct the People in their Duties; being conſcious to himſelf that his former Male-Adminiſtration went a great Way in the Miſfortunes of the Publick. He cauſed an *Altar* to be erected, after the Preſcription and Appointment of *Moſes*, and offered daily Sacrifices upon it. And when he had reſtor'd Religion, and the Diſcipline of it, to it's original State and Purity, he made it his Buſineſs to fortify *Jeruſalem*; repairing the old Walls, and encompaſſing them with new ones. He built ſeveral high and ſtrong Towers, and furniſhed all the Out-works with Proviſions of all Sorts, he was in Fine, ſo much alter'd for the better, that from the Inſtant of his Return to God, to the Day of his Death, he was look'd upon to be one of the happieſt of Princes. He dy'd at ſixty ſeven Years of Age, in the five and fiftieth of his Reign, and was bury'd in his own Gardens. His Son *Amon*, which he had by *Emalſema* of the City of *Jabat*, ſucceeded him in the Government. This Prince following the looſe Example of his Father's Youth, and indulging himſelf in the ſame wicked Liberties, was quickly call'd to an Account for his Miſcarriages, by ſome of his familiar Friends and Domeſticks; who cut him off in the four and twentieth Year of his Life, and the ſecond of his Reign. The People did him Juſtice upon his Murderers, and laid his Body in the Monument of his Father; delivering up the Government to his Son *Joſiah*, who was at that Time a Youth of but eight Years of Age.

The Death of Me-naſſah.
2 Kings 21. 18.
His Son Amon *ſucceeds him.*
A libertine Prince,
and cut off in the ſecond Year of his Reign.
Joſiah *ſucceeds him.*

CHAP. V.

Joſiah's *Zeal for the Extirpation of* Idolatry, *and the Eſtabliſhment of God's Worſhip after the Example of King* David.

Joſiah *King of* Judah *propoſeth* David *for his Example.*
2 Kings 22. 1, 2.
His Zeal for God's Worſhip.
2 Chron 34.

THE Mother of *Joſiah* was born in *Boſcath*, her Name *Jedida*, and himſelf of a gracious and an excellent Diſpoſition; propoſing the Example of *David* for the Rule and Model of his whole Life. In the twelfth Year of his Age, he gave an eminent Inſtance of an innate Piety and Juſtice, in the Reformation of the People from their erroneous Perſuaſions concerning *falſe Gods*, and in the gaining of them over to Reverence for the Religion of their Country. He repealed ſeveral of the Ordinances of his Forefathers; corrected whatever he found amiſs; and apply'd as proper Remedies where the Caſe required any ſuch Expedient, as the moſt conſummated Wiſdom and Experience could have ſupply'd. Where he found Matters well, he kept them ſo and lived in a Conformity to what he approv'd: And all this he did, partly, out of an inbred Faculty of Choice and Judgment, and partly, upon the Admonition and Advice of his Counſel; for ſo long as he kept to the Line of the Law in the Government of the Common-wealth, and in the Matter of divine Worſhip, he was ſure to be right, having ſo many Examples before his Eyes among his apoſtate Predeceſſors that had been cut off and deſtroy'd, only for breaking thoſe Meaſures. Wherefore he cauſed all the *Groves* to be cut down that were dedicated to *falſe Gods*; their Altars to be demoliſhed; and all the Donatives that had been conſecrated by their Anceſtors to the Honour of a *falſe Worſhip*, to be *taken away*, and treated with Contempt and Deriſion: And this to be done, both in the City and all over his Dominions; by which means, the People were drawn from the Vanity of their Superſtitions, to a Reverence for an Exerciſe of the true Religion and to the Uſe and Cuſtom of Burnt-offerings, and other Sacrifices upon the Altar. He appointed alſo certain Magiſtrates, and Commiſſioners, for the Regulation of Manners and the ordering of Matters in private Caſes, that no leſs Care might be taken for the diſtributing of particular Juſtice, than for the Government of Life it ſelf. He likewiſe diſpatch'd Meſſengers thorough all his Dominions, with Orders to receive Contributions of Gold and Silver toward the Reparation of the Temple, from thoſe that were willing to advance the Affair; but leaving all People at Liberty, that they might have no Cauſe of Complaint. The Money being collected and brought in, the Care of the Menage and Expence was committed to *Amaſiah*, the Governour of the City; *Shaphan*, the Scribe; *Joath*, the Recorder; and *Helkiah*, the High-Prieſt; with Orders immediately to enter upon the Work, and to provide Artificers, and all Materials neceſſary for the Reparation. This was the Riſe to the rebuilding of the Temple, and the erecting of a laſting Monument to Poſterity, of the King's Piety and Bounty.

Magiſtrates appointed for the Regulation of Manners *and* civil Juſtice.
Voluntary Contributions toward the repairing of the Temple.
Joſiah *orders the Diſpoſing of the* Collections.

Joſiah's

Joſiah in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, order'd *Hilkiah* the Prieſt to have the Surpluſage of the Gold and Silver that remain'd over and above the Charge of the Fabrick, to be caſt into Cups, Chalices, Goblets, and other Veſſels, for the Uſe and Service of the Temple; giving Order likewiſe, that all the Gold and Silver remaining ſtill in the Treaſury, ſhould be brought out, and apply'd to the ſame Purpoſes. But the High-Prieſt upon removing the Gold, happen'd to diſcover the ſacred Books of *Moſes*, as they were depoſited in the Temple, which he took out and gave to *Shaphan* the Scribe to peruſe; who, upon reading them over, went to the King, and told him, they had executed all his Commands; but withal, that they had juſt now found the Books of *Moſes*, which he read over to *Joſiah*. Upon the reading of theſe Books, the King rent his Garment, and calling ſome of his particular Friends about him, with the *Scribe* himſelf, and *Hilkiah* the *High-Prieſt*, he ſent them to the Propheteſs *Huldah* the Wife of *Shallum*, a Man of great Eminence and Fame, to deſire her Interceſſion to God on their Behalf, to implore his Mercy for him and his People: For it was much to be fear'd that ſome heavy Judgment would befall that People for their Anceſtors Neglect and Contempt of the Laws of *Moſes*; and leſt they ſhould be forced away from their native Soil, to live like Vagabonds, diſperſed over the Face of the Earth, and end their Days in Miſery, without obtaining ſuch a Reconciliation to God. The Propheteſs upon the hearing of the King's Orders and Inſtructions, bad them return him this Anſwer: *That the Sentence was already pronounc'd, and not to be recall'd, upon any Supplication or Interceſſion whatſoever: That the People were to be baniſhed their own Country, and puniſh'd for their Diſobedience, with the Loſs of all the Comforts of humane Life; and that this Judgment was irrevocable, for their Obſtinacy in their ſuperſtitious Impieties, notwithſtanding ſo many earneſt Exhortations to a timely Repentance, and the Prophet's menacing Predictions of all theſe Judgments to come upon them, if they went on in their Wickedneſs.* Now this unchangeable Decree is to convince them by the Event, that there is a juſt and an over-ruling God; and that the Predictions which he deliver'd by the Mouth of his Prophets, are infallibly true, and the certain Indications of his holy Pleaſure to Mankind: *But however, tell the King*, ſays the Propheteſs, *that out of a Piety to his Tenderneſs and Goodneſs, God would be yet ſo gracious as not to bring this Judgment upon the People in his Days; but that the Days of his Death ſhall be the Eve to their final Deſtruction.*

and the providing of holy Veſſels.

The Books of Moſes *found in the Temple,*
2 Kings 22. 8.

and read over to the King.

Joſiah *ſends to conſult the Propheteſs* Huldah.

Huldah *foretels the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

Joſiah, upon the Report of this Anſwer from *Huldah*, ſent Meſſengers up and down to all the Cities; commanding all the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and Men of all Ages and Conditions, to come up to *Jeruſalem*: And the firſt Thing he did upon the Meeting, was to read the holy Books of *Moſes* to them; after which, advancing himſelf upon a Place higher than the Reſt, in the Middle of the Throng, he gave them an Oath of Obedience to the Laws and Precepts of *Moſes*, and the Obſervance of God's holy Worſhip; which was taken by the whole Multitude, and not without great Alacrity, and an univerſal Conſent. This ſacred Oath was follow'd with Sacrifices and Prayers to God for the Grace of his Favour and Bleſſing. In the next Place, he laid a ſtrict Charge upon the High-Prieſt to take a particular Account of the Plate and Veſſels in the Temple, and to caſt out ſo many of them, as he ſhould find to have been dedicated by any of his Anceſtors, to the Worſhip of *Idols*. There were a great many Pieces of that Kind, that were all broken to Duſt, and the Powder thrown into the Air: All the Prieſts being likewiſe put to Death, that were not of the Stock of *Aaron*.

2 Kings 23.
Joſiah *calls a ſolemn* Aſſembly,

and cauſes the Law of Moſes *to be read.*

He renews the Covenant with God.

Upon the perfecting of this Reformation in *Jeruſalem*, the King took a Progreſs through his whole Dominion, where he deſtroy'd all the Relicts of *Jeroboam*'s Superſtition and Idolatry, and burnt the Bones of the *Falſe Prophets* upon the very *Altar* that *Jeroboam* had ſet up, which we have ſaid ſomething of already, and of the Prophet's intervening with a Prediction, in the Hearing of all the People, at the very Time when *Jeroboam* was offering Sacrifice, that one of the Race of *David*, *Joſiah* by Name, was to do this; whoſe Prediction hath been made good by the Event, three hundred ſixty one Years after the Thing was foretold.

Joſiah's *Care and Zeal for a* thorough Reformation.

1 Kings 30. & 2.

And *Joſiah*'s Zeal did not reſt here neither; for he ſent and went himſelf to ſeveral other *Iſraelites* that had made ſhift to ſcape the Servitude and Bondage of the *Aſſyrians*, to perſuade them at laſt to give over their ſuperſtitious Hankering after foreign Religions, and betake themſelves to the Worſhip of the great God of their Fathers, according to the Rites and Cuſtoms of their Country, and him only to ſerve. And the King reſted not here neither; but he cauſed a ſtrict Search to be made in all Towns and Villages for the Diſcovery of any Remainders of *idolatrous Practices*, that might lie conceal'd, even to the very Figures of the Horſes over the Porch of the Temple, that their Forefathers had dedicated to the Sun; and ſo for what other Monuments ſoever, to which the Ignorance of the common People had ever aſcribed

bed divine Honour, *Joſiah* cauſed them all to be taken away and deſtroy'd.

The Celebration of the Paſſover *at* Jeruſalem.
2 Chron. 35.

After the purging of the whole Nation in this Manner, he calls all the People together up to *Jeruſalem*, to celebrate the Feaſt of *unleavened Bread*, otherwiſe called the *Paſſover*, and gave the Multitude out of his own Store, thirty Goats, a thouſand Lambs, and three thouſand Oxen. The Heads of the Prieſts contributed likewiſe to the Prieſts upon the ſame Occaſion, two thouſand ſix hundred Lambs: And ſo the Chief of the *Levites* gave to their Tribe five thouſand Lambs, and five hundred Bullocks: And this prodigious Number of Victims was offer'd up in Sacrifice according to the Laws of *Moſes*. The Prieſts had the Conduct of the Solemnity; and the Precedency in their Example to the People. Now from the Time of *Samuel* the *Prophet*, to that Day, there had never been ſo ſolemn a Feſtival; and the Reaſon of it was this, that every Thing was done according to the Direction of the Law, and the Preſcriptions of ancient Cuſtom. *Joſiah*, after this bleſſed Regulation, enjoy'd his Government in Peace, Honour, and Plenty: And we are now about to give the Reader an Account how he came to his End,

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CHAP. VI.

Joſiah *oppoſes* Pharaoh-Nechoh. *An* Ægyptian *kills him with an Arrow. His wicked Son* Jehoahaz *comes after him; who is carry'd away Priſoner into* Ægypt, *where he dies: And* Pharaoh *ſets up* Eliakim *in his Place, by the Name of* Jehoiakim.

Joſiah *oppoſes* Pharaoh-Nechoh *in his March againſt the* Medes *and* Babylonians.
2 Kings 23. 29.

P*Haraoh-Nechoh*[a], the King of *Ægypt*, marched with a powerful Army toward *Euphrates*, againſt the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, that had overturn'd the *Aſſyrian Empire*; with a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of *Aſia*. When he had advanced as far as [b] *Megiddo*, a Town under the Juriſdiction of *Joſiah*, *Joſiah* abſolutely refuſed him any Paſſage againſt the *Medes* thorough his Country. *Pharaoh* upon this, ſent a *Herald*, to give *Joſiah* to underſtand, that he had no Thought of any Hoſtility toward him; nor any Deſign, but to make a running March of it toward *Euphrates*; deſiring him withal, not to put him upon any Neceſſity of making his Way by Force, which was a Thing much beſide his Intention. This Meſſage of the *Ægyptian* had ſo little Effect upon *Joſiah*, that he perſiſted in the Denial of his Paſſage: Which look'd as if he had been driven upon this inexorable Stiffneſs by the Impulſe of a Fatality that improv'd this Denial to his Ruin. For as he was in the Head of his Army, and riding up and down to give Orders from one Wing to another, an *Ægyptian*, with an Arrow, quickly put an End to the Eagerneſs he had for that War: For finding himſelf to be ſhot, and impatient of the Pain, he commanded his Army to retire; himſelf returning to *Jeruſalem*, where he dy'd of the Wound. He was bury'd with a mighty Pomp, in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors, at nine and thirty Years of Age, and in the one and thirtieth of his Reign; the People mourning for him ſeveral Days, with great Anxiety of Sorrow and Lamentation. The Prophet *Jeremiah* wrote a paſſionate Elegy upon this Occaſion, which is yet extant at this Day; the Prophet plainly foretelling the Approach of the *Babylonian Captivity*, and the Calamities alſo of our Times; committing his Predictions to Writing for the Information of Poſterity. And *Jeremiah* was not the only Prophet neither, that foretold the Miſeries of this terrible Revolution; but *Ezekiel* alſo left behind him in writing two Books of prophetical Preſages upon this Subject. Theſe two Prophets were both of the ſacerdotal Race: *Jeremiah* living at *Jeruſalem* from the thirteenth Year of the Reign of *Joſiah*, to the Time of the Deſtruction of the Temple and City: Of which we ſhall ſpeak farther in its proper Place.

The Death of Joſiah.

The Prophet Jeremiah *writes an* Elegy *upon* Joſiah, *and foretells the* Babylonian Captivity.

The Prophet Ezekiel *writes of it alſo.*

The Time wherein Jeremiah *liv'd.*

Jehoahaz *ſucceeds to the Kingdom of* Judah *after his Father* Joſiah.

Pharaoh *depoſes him, and ſets up his Brother* Eliakim, *under the Name of* Jehoiakim.

He takes Jehoahaz *away into* Ægypt, *where he dies.*

After the Death of *Joſiah* (as is ſaid already) his Son *Jehoahaz* took the Government upon him in the three and twentieth Year of his Age, and kept his Court at *Jeruſalem*. He was a Man of an impious and an immoral Converſation, and his Mother's Name was *Hamutal*. The King of *Ægypt*, upon his Return from the War, ſent for *Jehoahaz* to come to him to *Hamath*, a City of *Syria*, where he put him in Fetters, and deliver'd up the Government to *Eliakim*, his elder Brother, by the ſame Father: But changing his Name for *Jehoiakim*, and impoſing a Tax upon the Country, of a hundred Talents of Silver, and one Talent of Gold; by which Means *Jehoiakim* became his Tributary. As for *Jehoahaz*, he carry'd him along with him into *Ægypt*, where he departed this Life, after he had reign'd three Months and ten Days. *Jehoiakim*'s Mother's Name was *Zabida*[c] of *Raman*. This Prince had the Character alſo of a ſpiteful, ill-natur'd Man, without either Reverence for God, or Tenderneſs for Man.

[a] Νεχαῶς. *Joſ.* [b] Μίνδη. *Joſ.* [c] *Abuma.* *Joſ.*

CHAP. VII.

Nebuchadnezzar *defeats* Pharaoh, *and makes* Jehoiakim *his Tributary; who is foretold, by the Prophet* Jeremiah, *the Miſeries that are to befal him.*

[a] IN the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*'s Reign, [b] *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* advanced with a mighty Army to *Carchabeſa*, a Place bordering upon *Euphrates*; with a Reſolution to make War upon *Pharaoh* [c] *Nechoh*, who at that Time had all *Syria* under his Command. Now the *Ægyptian* very well underſtanding that the *Babylonian* was no contemptible Enemy, took the Field with a ſtrong and a numerous Army, and ſo march'd to the *Euphrates*, with a Reſolution to oppoſe him: where the two Armies engaging, the *Ægyptian* was forc'd to give Way with the Loſs of many thouſands of his Men. But the *Babylonians* getting over the *Euphrates*, ſubdu'd the whole Country of *Syria* as far as to *Peluſium*; *Judæa* only excepted. In the fourth Year afterward, of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the eighth of *Jehoiakim*, the *Babylonians* brake in furiouſly upon *Judæa*, threatening them with all Extremities, unleſs they would content themſelves with the Condition of *Tributaries*, as the Reſt of the Inhabitants of *Syria* were. Upon this Menace, *Jehoiakim*'s Heart fail'd him, ſo that he ſubmitted to purchaſe his Peace with a Sum of Money; and for the Space of full three Years, he made due Payment of his Contribution: but the Year following, upon the Credit of an idle Rumour, that the *Ægyptian* was advancing an Expedition againſt the King of *Babylon*, *Jehoiakim* refuſed to pay him his Tribute any longer; but quickly found himſelf miſerably diſappointed in his Expectation, for the *Ægyptians* durſt not look the *Babylonians* in the Face: which was no more than the Prophet *Jeremiah* had many a Time foretold, and warn'd him of; and that he would find the *Ægyptians* a *broken Reed* to truſt to. He preſaged likewiſe the Fate of *Jeruſalem*, and that it was ſuddenly to be deſtroy'd by the *Babylonians*, and *Jehoiakim* himſelf to be made a Priſoner. But theſe were Forebodings that no Body laid any Streſs upon, and ſo no Body was the better for them: Nay, on the contrary, from the higheſt to the loweſt, the Generality of the People look'd upon them with Contempt. Not but that there were ſome again that exhibited formal Accuſations againſt him to the King, and would have had him puniſh'd as a Mover of Sedition. The Cauſe, in Fine, was brought before the Council; and the Majority were for putting him to Death; but the Reaſon of Things, is not always determin'd by a Plurality of Voices: So that ſome that were better adviſ'd than others, were rather for diſcharging him the Court, and diverting the Blow; for *Jeremiah*, they ſaid, was not the only Man that had foretold theſe Calamities to the City, but *Micah* had ſaid as much as that came to before him; and ſo had ſeveral others, without being call'd to Account for it by the Government: Nay, they were rather had in Honour and Eſteem for their Predictions, as the Prophets of the Lord. By this ſoft Way of Reaſoning upon the Matter, the Council was wrought upon to change their Minds, and to make void the Sentence. The Prophet put all his Predictions in Writing; and upon a Day of Faſting, when the People were met together in the Temple, in the ninth Month of the fifth Year of the Reign of *Jehoiakim*, he read the Book to the Congregation; wherein was contained the whole Hiſtory of what was to befal the Temple, the City and the People. The Princes, upon the hearing of this Book, took it away from the Prophet, commanding both himſelf and his Scribe *Baruch*, to be gone immediately, without letting any Body know where to find them. They carry'd the Book then to the King, who order'd his Secretary to take and read it to him, with his Friends about him. The King was ſo tranſported upon the hearing of it, that he tore the Book, and threw it in the Fire, and order'd *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* to be immediately brought to him, and puniſh'd for it: but they were already ſlipt out of the Way.

Nebuchadnezzar *gives* Pharaoh *a great Overthrow.*
2 Kings 24.

He breaks into Judæa, *and makes* Jehoiakim *ſubmit to become a* Tributary.

Jehoiakim *ſtops his Tribute, and revolts.*

The Prophet Jeremiah's *Predictions fulfill'd.*

Jeremiah *charg'd with* Sedition.

A Sentence of Death paſſed upon him; but recall'd.

Jeremiah *writes down his Prophecies, and reads them in the Temple upon a publick Faſt.*

Jeremiah *and* Baruch *order'd to be puniſh'd; but they ſlipt out of the Way.*

CHAP. VIII.

Jehoiakim *receives* Nebuchadnezzar *into* Jeruſalem. *His Perfidy and Cruelty. He puts* Jehoiakim, *the Father, to Death; and* Jehoiakim, *the Son, is made King of* Judah *in his Stead.*

IT was not long after this, that *Jehoiakim* being affrighted with ſo many diſmal Predictions, receiv'd the King of *Babylon* with his Army into the City; for as to his own Part, he reckon'd himſelf ſecure, and ſo never troubled his Head, either for

Jehoiakim *receives* Nebuchadnezzar *into* Jeruſalem.
2 Kings 24

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[a] *Vorſtius*, in his 2d *Exercit. de LXX Annis Captivitatis*, tells us that *Joſephus*, in what follows to the End of this Book, is to be read with great Caution. See *Grotius* upon the 5th of *Daniel*, to this Purpoſe. [b] *Nebuchadonoſor*. [c] *Nechaoh*, Joſ.

keeping

The Babylonian *puts the King himſelf to the Sword, with the chief of the City.*

Ezekiel *is carry'd away Priſoner to* Babylon, *together with* 3000 *Men of Quality.* Jehoiakin *the Son of* Jehoiakim *ſucceeds his Father.*

keeping him out, or preparing for a War: But the *Babylonian,* upon his Admittance into the City, brake his Conditions, and put the Flower of the Youth of *Jeruſalem,* together with the King himſelf, to the Sword; commanding his Body to be caſt into the Fields without the Walls of the Town, and conſtituting his Son *Jehoiakin* King, both of the City and Country, in his Father's Stead. He carry'd away a Matter of three thouſand Men of Note and Quality, Captives to *Babylon*; in which Number was the Prophet *Ezekiel,* being at that Time a Youth. This was the End of King *Jehoiakim,* who lived ſix and thirty Years, and reigned eleven; and his Son *Jehoiakin* ſucceeded him. His Mother's Name was *Nehuſhta,* of *Jeruſalem*; and the Time of his Reign was three Months and ten Days.

CHAP. IX.

Nebuchadnezzar, *contrary to Faith, makes* Jehoiakin, *his Mother, and the moſt eminent of his Friends, all Priſoners.*

Nebuchadnezzar *ſends an Army to beſiege* Jeruſalem.

Jehoiakin *renders the Place upon Agreement, and gives Hoſtages for the Performance of Conditions.*

The King breaks Faith, and makes Jehoiakin *a Priſoner with* 10832 *other Perſons.*

IT was not long before the King of *Babylon,* upon ſecond Thoughts, came to repent the ſetting of *Jehoiakin* upon the Throne; for, thought he, this Young Man will never forget or forgive ſo perfidious a Practice upon the Life of his Father, and conſequently lie upon the Catch for any Occaſion of Tumult or Diſcontent, that may be improv'd to the gratifying of his Revenge. Upon this Conſideration, he ſent away an Army to beſiege *Jeruſalem.* Now *Jehoiakin,* being a juſt and an eaſy Prince, had not the Heart to ſee the City run the Riſque of being utterly deſtroy'd for his Sake; and therefore upon a Treaty, with the King's Deputies, for the delivering up of the City, upon Condition that neither the Town it ſelf, nor the Inhabitants ſhould ſuffer any Sort of Damage, the Agreement was ratify'd, and his Mother and Kindred deliver'd up as Hoſtages, to the King's Commiſſioners, for the Performance of Articles: But before a Year was out, the King of *Babylon* breaking his Faith with them, commanded his Officers to ſecure all the Youth of the City, and all Sorts of Artificers, and to bring them to him bound and fetter'd; which they did, to the Number of ten thouſand eight hundred thirty two Perſons, wherein was *Jehoiakin* himſelf, his Mother and his Kindred; who by the King's Command were all kept in Cuſtody.

CHAP. X.

Jehoiakin *made a Priſoner.* Nebuchadnezzar *ſets up* Zedekiah *in his Place, upon Condition, not to ſide with the King of* Ægypt. Zedekiah *falſifies, and* Nebuchadnezzar *beſieges* Jeruſalem. *The King of* Ægypt *marches to his Relief.* Nebuchadnezzar *riſes; gives him Battle; routs him, and then returns to the Siege.* Zedekiah's *Obſtinacy againſt all the Councels and Predictions of* Jeremiah.

Jehoiakin *is laid aſide, and* Zedekiah *advanc'd to the Government in his Place.*

2 Kings 24. 17. *Under an Oath neither to* innovate, *nor to* ſide *with the* Ægyptians.

JEHOIAKIN being now a Priſoner, the King of *Babylon* advanced *Zedekiah,* his Father's Brother, to the Government in his Place; tying him up by an Oath, neither to attempt any Innovations in that Country, nor directly, or indirectly to joyn with, or to aſſiſt the *Ægyptians.* He was one and twenty Years of Age, when he enter'd upon the Command; and he and his Brother *Jehoiakin* were Sons of the ſame Mother. He had little or no Regard, either for Honour, or for Virtue; and his Companions were altogether as impious and extravagant as himſelf: Beſide that this Looſneſs of Manners in his Days, was become *popular*; and the Corruption, *epidemical*: Inſomuch that the Prophet *Jeremiah* was often at him with earneſt Entreaties to change his Courſe of Life, and to betake himſelf to the Love and Exerciſe of Piety and Juſtice; without laying ſo much Streſs upon what his Courtiers, or his *Falſe-Prophets* told him; a lewd Sort of People, that abus'd him in their Promiſes and Predictions, when they told him the *Babylonians* ſhould never trouble *Jeruſalem* again; and that whenever they encounter'd, the *Ægyptians* ſhould have the better of them: For this was all falſe he told him, as would appear by the Event. *Zedekiah* could not for the Preſent, but acknowledge this Diſcourſe of the Prophet to be reaſonable and true, and that it was for his Intereſt ſo to believe it; but when he came afterward to be menag'd by ill Company and Councels, that could wind and turn him as they pleas'd, all that the Prophet ſaid before, went for nothing.

Flatterers *and* Falſe-Prophets *were the Ruine of* Zedekiah.

It was at the ſame Time that *Ezekiel,* being then at *Babylon,* foretold the Deſtruction of the *Temple,* and ſent the Prediction of it to *Jeruſalem.* Now the two Prophets agreed exactly in the taking of the Town by Force, and in carrying away *Zedekiah* captive; but the Thing, and the only Thing that ſtuck with *Zedekiah* in the Belief of the Prophecy, was this; *Ezekiel* foretold that *Zedekiah* ſhould not ſee *Babylon*: And *Jeremiah* affirmed that the King himſelf ſhould carry him Priſoner thither. This ſeeming Inconſiſtency, or at leaſt Diverſity of Expreſſion, gave *Zedekiah* ſome Sort of Colour to doubt the Truth of all the other Circumſtances wherein they agreed; though the following Events made good every Thing that had been foretold, as we ſhall ſhew more properly in another Place.

Ezekiel *agrees with* Jeremiah *in predicting the Downſal of* Jeruſalem, *and making* Zedekiah *a Priſoner.*

A ſeeming Contradiction betwixt the two Prophets reconcil'd.

After an Alliance of eight Years ſtanding betwixt the two Kings, *Zedekiah* ſhamefully brake his Contract, and went over to the Intereſt of the *Ægyptians*; making no Doubt at all, but thoſe two Powers in Conjunction, might be able to cruſh the King of *Babylon*: But the *Babylonian*, upon the firſt Inkling of this Treachery, marched his Army directly toward *Zedekiah*; laid his Country deſolate; forced his Caſtles and ſtrong Holds; and ſo advanced ſtreight forward to the Attack, even of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf. The *Ægyptian* being given to underſtand how hard his Friend and Ally *Zedekiah* was put to it, advanced preſently to his Relief, with a Reſolution to attempt the raiſing of the Siege. Now the *Babylonian*, upon Intelligence of his March and Deſign, did not think fit to wait his coming; but choſe rather to draw off himſelf, and give him Battle: Which he did, and ſo terrible a Rout withal, that he beat him quite out of *Syria* at that one Blow. The Siege being quitted, or rather reſpited upon this Occaſion, the *Falſe Prophets* held *Zedekiah* in Hand with twenty Deluſions; as, how fooliſh a Thing it was for him, or his Subjects, to apprehend any Danger from the *Babylonians*, or to fanſy any ſuch Thing as the *Babylonians* forcing and tranſporting the *Hebrews* from their native Habitations, and carrying them away captive to *Babylon*: Whereas it was rather to be expected, on the other Hand, that their Priſoners that were already exported, ſhould be call'd back again; and all the Plate and Treaſure that the King had carry'd away, reſtored to the Temple. But *Jeremiah*, on the contrary, told the King quite another Story, in a flat Contradiction to that of the *Falſe Prophets*; poſitively charging them with Impoſture and Deluſion, and affirming that there was no good to be expected from the *Ægyptians*; but that they ſhould firſt be overcome, and the *Babylonian* Army be then brought back again to beſiege *Jeruſalem*; and that as many of them as ſhould ſurvive the Sword and Famine, ſhould be carry'd away Captives; their Houſes pillag'd; their Goods taken away; the Temple and City plunder'd, and laid at the Mercy of Fire and Sword, without any Diſtinction of ſacred or prophane. *We are condemned*, ſays the Prophet, *to ſerve theſe People and their Poſterity for ſeventy Years; and the* Medes *and* Perſians, *at the ſeventy Years End, ſhall deliver us from that Bondage by the utter Extinction of the* Babylonian *Empire: After which Time, being ſet at Liberty by their Aſſiſtance, we ſhall return hither again, rebuild the Temple, and reſtore the City to its former State.* Theſe Words of the Prophet wrought much upon the greater Part of the People; but the leading Men, and the licentious, atheiſtical Part of the Multitude, look'd upon all the Prophet ſaid, but as the Diſcourſe of a Mad-Man, and treated him accordingly. As *Jeremiah* was going toward *Anathoth*, the Place of his Birth, and a Matter of twenty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, he had the Fortune to be met withal upon the Way by a certain Magiſtrate that laid hold of him, and took him into Cuſtody upon a Pretext that he was a Deſerter, and going over to the King of *Babylon*. The Prophet ſaid there was no ſuch Matter, and that he was only going to the Place where he was born; but the other would not believe him, and ſo carry'd him away to the Miniſters of State and Juſtice; where, after the Formality of Examination and Torture, he was ſet aſide as a Malefactor condemn'd to die: And in this Condition of Miſery, he continu'd for ſome Time.

Zedekiah *falſifies with the King of* Babylon.

2 Kings 24. 20.

Nebuchadnezzar *lays Siege to* Jeruſalem.

Pharaoh *attempts the raiſing of the Siege, and receives a fatal Overthrow.*

Zedekiah *beſet with Time-Servers and Paraſites.*

Jeremiah *oppoſes the* Falſe Prophets, *and foretels the whole Hiſtory of the Captivity.*

Jer. 25. 29. & 37.

Some were moved with his Diſcourſe:

Others take him for a Mad-Man.

Jeremiah *taken into Cuſtody, and charg'd as a Deſerter.*

Examin'd, tormented, condemn'd and committed to Priſon.

But in the ninth Year of *Zedekiah*'s Reign, the tenth Month, and the tenth Day of that Month, the King of *Babylon* came once again with his Army to *Jeruſalem*; and laying Siege to it, try'd all the Ways in the World, for a Matter of eighteen Months, to maſter it, either by Art, or by Force; but it ſtill held out againſt not only a powerful Enemy before it, but againſt a raging Peſtilence and Famine alſo in the Bowels of it: *Jeremiah* being in Priſon all this while, and crying out to the Multitude to ſet open the Gates, and receive the *Babylonians* into the City; for they had no other Way in Nature to ſave themſelves, their Families, and the Town, from a certain and an inevitable Ruin; telling them withal, that thoſe that ſtaid in the City muſt expect to periſh, either by the Sword, or by Famine; whereas thoſe that fled out to the Enemy would ſave their Lives: But the Princes, in the Depth of their Extremity, were yet ſo far from giving Ear to the Prophet's Preſage and Advice, that they repreſented him to the King, as a violent hot-headed Man, and a Mutineer; a Diſcourager of the People with his *idle Stories* of Miſery and Deſolation; ſug-

Jeruſalem *once again beſieg'd.*

2 Kings 25.

Jer. 29.

And holds out a long Time againſt Force, Peſtilence, *and* Famine.

The Prophet calls out to the People to open their Gates to the Babylonians.

The great Officers charge him as a Mutineer.

geſting that the Garriſon was hearty and reſolute enough to defend the Place to the laſt Extremity, till he came with his Forebodings of Slavery and Deſtruction, and took off the Edge of their Zeal and Courage. The King in his own Nature was not apt to be fierce, or bitter; but ſtanding upon that Pinch of Neceſſity, in ſome Awe of the great People about him, he did not think it ſafe to diſoblige ſo many Men of Power and Intereſt: And ſo rather than croſs them, he left them at Liberty to do with the Prophet, what they thought fit. So ſoon as they had gain'd that Point, they went in all Haſte to the Priſon; took out the Prophet, and let him down by a Rope into a naſty Pit, where he was up to the Neck in Mudd, with an Intent to choak him: But as he was in this Condition, a Favourite Servant of the King's, an *Æthiopian* born, went and told *Zedekiah* how they had treated the *Prophet*; and giving his own Opinion in the Caſe, that his great Men and his Friends, had not done well in the Aggravation of his Misfortune by expoſing him to a Death, ſo much more grievous than that which he was reaſonably to expect in his Chains. Upon this Diſcourſe of the Favourite, the King heartily repented his leaving the Prophet to the Diſcretion of his Enemies, and ſo order'd the *Æthiopian* to take thirty Men out of his Family; ſuch as he could truſt, with Ropes, and whatever he ſhould find neceſſary for the ſaving of him, and to joyn with them in the getting of him out of the Pit with all Speed poſſible. The Servant did as he was order'd, and ſet the Prophet at Liberty; who was ſoon after this, brought privately to the King, and had this Queſtion put to him, whether or no he could procure him from Heaven any preſent Relief under his miſerable Circumſtances? *The Prophet anſwer'd him that he could*; but that People would neither believe him, nor follow his Counſel: *For all your pretended Friends*, ſays he, *are my mortal Enemies. They look upon me as a falſe Wretch, and are at this Inſtant in a Conſpiracy to deſtroy me: And where are thoſe Impoſtors now, that fooled the People into a Belief that they were out of Danger of the* Babylonians? *So that to tell you the very Truth of Things may be as much as my Life is worth.* The King, upon this, promiſed the Prophet with an Oath, that he would neither take away his Life himſelf, nor ſuffer any of his People to do it. *Jeremiah* took his Word and Honour for it, and *adviſed him by all Means to deliver up the City into the Hands of the King of* Babylon. *This was the only Way in the World*, he told him, *to be ſafe in his own Perſon, to avoid the imminent Danger he was in; to prevent the burning of the Temple, and the laying of the City level with the Ground: And if he went any other Way to work, he was to tell him, in the Name, and by the Direction of God himſelf, that all the Calamities that ſhould enſue upon his Miſcarriages, with the utter Ruine of himſelf, his Family, and his People, ſhould be laid at his Door.* The King then told him, that he had a great Inclination to take his Counſel for the common Good; but he was afraid leſt ſome of his Friends that were already gone over to the *Babylonians*, ſhould accuſe him to the King, and put him in Danger of his Life. But for any Thing of that, the Prophet bad him ſet his Heart at Reſt; for *if he deliver'd up the City, neither he himſelf in his Perſon, nor his Wives, his Children, or the Temple it ſelf, ſhould ſuffer any Thing.* After theſe Words, the King diſmiſs'd the Prophet, with a Charge not to make any Words; no, not ſo much as to the Princes themſelves, of what had paſs'd in this Conference: But if any Body ſhould come to have a Hint that there had been ſuch a Meeting, and enquire into the Buſineſs, it might be pretended that the Prophet came to move the King for his Liberty. The Prophet did as he was order'd, and gave that Anſwer to all People that ask'd him his Buſineſs with *Zedekiah*.

The King in this Diſtreſs bids them do what they will with him.

Jeremiah *upon this, is let down into a Pit up to the Neck in Mudd.*

The King being told of it, orders him preſently to be taken out again.

The King adviſes with Jeremiah *what to do.*

The Prophet adjures the King *upon his uttermoſt Peril to deliver up the City.*

CHAP. XI.

Jeruſalem *taken. The Temple, Palace and City pillag'd and burnt.* Saraiah *put to Death.* Zedekiah's *Eyes put out, and himſelf carry'd Priſoner to* Babylon. *The Succeſſion of High-Prieſts.* Gedaliah, Nebuchadnezzar's *Deputy-Governour. The Treachery of* Iſhmael. *The* Ægyptians *overthrown, and carry'd Captives to* Babylon. *The Hiſtory of* Daniel, Shadrach, Meſhach, *and* Abednego. Daniel *highly preferr'd for expounding of Dreams. The Death of* Nebuchadnezzar.

IN the mean Time, the King of *Babylon* went on vigorouſly with the Siege; his Works were finiſh'd, and his Towers carry'd up ſo high as to command the Town, and to beat the Defendants from the Walls; and at this Rate they were provided quite around the City for a general Aſſault; and the Defence of the Place was carry'd on with as much Bravery as the Attack; having Plague and Famine to contend withal within the Town, as well as Enemies, and other Difficulties without.

They ſtood firm, in Short, againſt all Stratagems and Machines; oppoſing one Invention to another, as if the Diſpute had been Matter of Skill and Art, as well as Force; the Beſiegers Buſineſs being to take the City, and the Safety of the beſieged conſiſting in eluding or diverting the Plots and Endeavours of the Enemy. This Conteſt laſted eighteen Months; but in the End, for Want of Meat within the Town, and of Numbers to maintain it, againſt the Multitudes of Men, and of Weapons without the Town, they were brought to the laſt inevitable Neceſſity of delivering it up. It was taken in the eleventh Year, and the ninth Day of the fourth Month of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, by the Commanders to whom the Care of the Siege was committed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who at that Time was at *Reblatha*. If the Reader ſhould be curious to know the Names of the Officers; there was *Nergelear*, *Aremantus*, *Emegar*, *Nabaſaris* and *Echarampſaris*. The City was taken about Midnight. The Captains, with the Reſt of the Soldiery, went into the *Temple*; which King *Zedekiah* perceiving, he took his Wives, Children, Commanders and Friends, and they ſlipt all away together by a narrow Paſſage toward the Deſert: But the *Babylonians* getting Intelligence of this Eſcape, by ſome falſe Brethren, they made after them early the next Morning, and overtook and ſurrounded them at a Place not far from *Jericho*. *Zedekiah*'s Friends and Companions, in his Flight, ſeeing the Enemy advancing toward them, quitted their Maſter, and ran ſeveral Ways to make the beſt Shiſt they could for themſelves: The King being in a Manner quite abandon'd, with his Wives and Children, and a ſmall Remainder of his Company, fell into the Hands of the Enemy; who preſently carry'd them to the King. *Nebuchadnezzar* no ſooner had him in his Eye, but he call'd him all the faithleſs, perfidious Names that he could think of. *Did not you promiſe me*, ſays he, *to manage the Power and Authority that I put you in Poſſeſſion of, for my Advantage and Behoof; and am not I well requited, do you think, for making you a King in your Brother* Jehoiakim's *Place, by your employing of the Credit and Intereſt that I gave you to the Ruine of your Patron and Benefactor? But that God is great and juſt; who, for the Puniſhment of your Treachery and Ingratitude, hath now made you my Priſoner.* When the King had laid upon him this Load of Reproaches, he immediately cauſed his Children, and his Friends to be put to Death before his Face, and in the Sight of the reſt of the Captives; commanding *Zedekiah's* Eyes to be put out, ſo ſoon as this Execution was over, and ſo to be carry'd away in *Chains* to *Babylon*. This Way of Proceeding has verify'd the two Prophecies of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*; which *Zedekiah* made ſo little Account of, by Reaſon of ſome Semblance of a Contradiction betwixt them; the former foretelling, that he ſhould be taken *Captive*, and carry'd to *Babylon*, ſpeak with the King himſelf, and ſee him Face to Face: But *Ezekiel's* Prediction was, that he ſhould be carry'd away to *Babylon*, and ſhould not ſee him; which he could not do there, when he was brought *blind* thither.

Jeruſalem *taken after eighteen Months Siege.* 2 Kings 25.

The Babylonians *enter'd the City about Midnight.*

Zedekiah, *with his* Wives, Children *and* Commanders *ſlip away toward the Deſert.*

The Babylonians *overtake them, and carry them to the King.*

Nebuchadnezzar *reproaches* Zedekiah *with his Perfidy and Ingratitude.*

His Children *and* Friends *ſlain before his Face.*

Jeremiah *and* Ezekiel *reconcil'd.*

This may ſerve to convince, even the moſt ignorant, of the Power and Wiſdom of God, and of the Conſtancy of his Counſels, thorough all the various Ways of his Operations: And it may likewiſe ſhew us that God's Foreknowledge of Things is certain, and his Providence regular, in the ordering of Events; beſide that it holds forth a moſt exemplary Inſtance to us, of the Danger of our giving Way to the Motions of Incredulity and Folly, that take from us the Means of diſcerning the Fatalities that threaten us.

This was the End of the Race of *David*, after one and twenty Kings in Succeſſion in the Space of five hundred and fifteen Years, ſix Months and ten Days; including the twenty Years Reign of *Saul*, who was of another Tribe.

The Race of David *was now extinct.*

Nebuchadnezzar, after this great Victory obtained, ſent *Nebuzar-Adan* his Commander in Chief, to *Jeruſalem*, with Orders to pillage the *Temple*, and burn it; to do the like to the *Palace*; and after the laying of the City all level with the Ground, to carry away the People captive to *Babylon*. In the eleventh Year of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuzar-Adan* put his Inſtructions in Execution; taking away out of the Temple all the Veſſels of Gold and Silver; *Solomon's* great *Laver*, with the *Brazen Pillars*, and their Chapiters; with the *Golden Tables* and *Candleſticks*: And after this general Rifle, he firſt ſet the Temple a Fire; and after that, he laid the Palace, and the City in Aſhes. This paſs'd on the firſt Day of the fifth Month; the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, and the eighteenth Year of the Reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The Temple was burnt four hundred and ſeventy Years, ſix Months and ten Days from the Building of it; one thouſand and ſixty two Years ſix Months and ten Days from the *Iſraelites* coming out of the Land of *Ægypt*; one thouſand nine hundred fifty Years ſix Months and ten Days from the Deluge, and three thouſand five hundred and thirty Years ſix Months and ten Days from the Creation of the World. As to the Computation of Years, in what Compaſs of Time, what, and when, every Thing was done, we have already given an Account of it in Order.

Orders to rifle, and burn the Temple, Palace *and City, and carry away the People Captives to* Babylon.

The Order executed, and the Time when it was done.

Nebuzar-Adan's *Priſoners.*

Some of them put to Death;

Others kept in Chains.

Upon the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the Tranſportation of the People, *Nebuzar-Adan* took theſe Priſoners with him. There was the *High-Prieſt Seraiah*; and after him, *Sepheniah*, who was the next Prieſt in Dignity; three *Head-Keepers* of the Temple; the *firſt Eunuch* of the *Bed-Chamber*, with ſeven of the *King's Friends*, beſide the King's *Secretary*, and other Men of Note, to the Number of *ſixty*; which were brought all together to the King who was then at *Reblathis*, a City of *Syria* The King cauſed the Heads of the High-Prieſt, and the great Men, to be ſtruck off in that City; but the Multitude of the Priſoners, together with *Zedekiah* himſelf, they carry'd to *Babylon*; and *Jehozadack* the High-Prieſt to be taken and bound along with them; which *Jehozadack* was the Son of *Seraiah* that was put to Death, as is ſaid already.

The Succeſſion of the High-Prieſts *in* Jeruſalem.

Having now gone thorough the royal Line, and the Succeſſion of them from Father to Son, in Order, it will be convenient to obſerve the ſame Method with the High-Prieſt, who from Time to Time in a continu'd Succeſſion under thoſe Kings exercised the *ſacerdotal Office.* The firſt *Pontifex* after the building of *Solomon*'s *Temple* was *Zadok.* After him, came his Son *Ahimaaz*; and after *Ahimaaz*, *Azariah*; and ſo forward; *Joram*, [a] *Iſus*, *Axioramus*, *Phideas*, *Sudeas*, [b] *Julus*, *Jotham*, *Urias*, *Nerias*, *Odeas*, *Saldumus*, *Elcias*, *Saræas* and *Jehoſadoc*, who was carry'd away to *Babylon.* All theſe handed down the *Pontificate* in a continu'd Succeſſion in their Families from Generation to Generation.

Zedekiah *dies in Priſon at* Babylon.
Jer. 52. 11.
The holy Veſſels *dedicated to* Idols.
Jehozadack *at Liberty.*

Jeremiah *diſcharged, and the Care of him committed to* Gedaliah.

Jeremiah *goes to* Gedaliah *at* Mizpah. Jer. 40.
and takes Baruch *for his Companion; who by his Means is now ſet at Liberty.*

Upon the King's coming back to *Babylon*, *Zedekiah* was committed to Priſon; and in the Priſon he dy'd, and had afterward the Honour of a Royal Sepulchre. The holy Veſſels the King took out of the Temple, he dedicated to his *Idols*; allotted Habitations to the People in *Babylon*, and ſet *Jehozadack* at Liberty. Now *Nebuzar-Adan*, the General that brought away the People Priſoners, left the Multitude and the Deſerters, under the Command of *Gedaliah*, the Son of *Ahikam*, an eminent Perſon, both for Generoſity and Juſtice, who allotted his Priſoners ſuch a Proportion of Ground to improve and live upon; paying ſuch a certain Tribute to the King. The Prophet *Jeremiah* was alſo diſcharg'd of his Impriſonment; and the King having given Order to the Governour to take a particular Care of him, *Gedaliah* mov'd it to the Prophet to go along with him to *Babylon*; for it was but Reaſon the King ſhould be at the Charge of his Journey: Or if he did not like that Place, let him pitch upon any other, and he would write to the King about it. The Prophet's Anſwer was, that he had no Mind to remove at all, but rather ſtay where he was, and take his Part in the miſerable Ruins of his native Country. *Nebuzar-Adan* being inform'd how the Prophet ſtood affected, gave *Gedaliah* a ſtrict Charge to ſee him well provided for; made him ſeveral conſiderable Preſents himſelf, and ſo left him, and returned to *Babylon. Jeremiah* upon this, made *Choice* of *Mizpah* for the Place of his Abode; having firſt obtained of *Nebuzar-Adan*, *Baruch*'s Liberty, as well as his own, whom he took for his Companion. This *Baruch* was the Son of *Neriah*, a Perſon nobly born, and perfectly well skill'd in the Language of his Country.

The ſcatter'd Jews *throng thither to* Gedaliah.

Gedaliah *invites them to continue there and plant.*

The Burning, and the Sacking of *Jeruſalem*, and the Return of the *Babylonians* into their own Country, was by this Time made known to all the Deſerters that had left the City in the Time of the Siege; and ſo they gather'd together from all Places in Throngs to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpah.* The principal Men among them were *Johanan*, the Son of *Careah*, *Jaazaniah* and *Saraiah*, with ſome others: And beſide theſe, there was *Iſhmael*, a Perſon of Royal Blood; but otherwiſe falſe and malicious to the higheſt Degree. This Man, in the Time of the Siege, fled to *Bathal* the King of the *Ammonites* for Sanctuary, where he continued ever ſince. Upon the Application of theſe People to *Gedaliah*, he gave them an Invitation to continue there, and to plant; for they might live quietly and at Eaſe, without any Danger from the *Babylonians*; binding himſelf by an Oath to ſtand by them and aſſiſt them, if any Man ſhould offer to give them any Moleſtation or Trouble. Now, ſays he, do but you reſolve among your ſelves what Town or Place you would ſettle in, and you ſhall have ſome of my People along with you to aſſiſt you in preparing and fitting up Habitations for you; only you muſt take Care not to ſlip the Seaſon of providing for the next Vintage and Harveſt, that you may not want Corn, Wine, or Oyl next Winter for your Subſiſtence. When he had given them this Encouragement and Aſſurance, he left every Man at Liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf where he himſelf pleaſed.

The Report of *Gedaliah*'s generous Humanity and Tenderneſs toward the Fugitives that apply'd themſelves to him for Refuge, gain'd him ſo great a Reputation with all the neighbouring Nations, that they came trooping to him from all Parts, and quickly made up a conſiderable Plantation; for they had Land aſſign'd them in Propriety, upon Condition, only of paying a certain Acknowledgment to the King of *Babylon.*

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[a] *Iſus* and *Axioramus* are fictitious Names, as Biſhop *Mountague* has ſhewn in his *Apparatus.* [b] The ſame learned Prelate reads *Joel* and *Oſeas* for *Odeas*, and *Sallum* for *Saldum.* See *Apparat.* 6.

Johanan and the Reſt of the great Men had a very high Eſteem for the Goodneſs and Courteſy of *Gedaliah* to the Planters, and therefore advertiſ'd him in Friendſhip and Reſpect, that there was a Conſpiracy carry'd on againſt him, betwixt the King of the *Ammonites*, and *Iſhmael*; and that *Iſhmael* was to do the Execution with Secrecy and Treachery; and being a Member of the royal Family, to make himſelf Head of the *Iſraelites* by that Means. Now the ready Way to ſecure *Gedaliah* againſt this Practice, would be for them privately to diſpatch *Iſhmael*; which, with his Leave, they would undertake to do; for they were afraid, if this Miſchief were not timely prevented, it would prove the Ruin of all the *Iſraelites* in the Concluſion. *Gedaliah* told them, that he could not believe it poſſible for any Man to be ſo barbarous and ungrateful, that lay under ſo many Obligations to the contrary; neither could it enter into his Head, that a Man who was never known to do any ſuch Thing under the Provocation of his Neceſſities, ſhould now be in a Plot to deſtroy that Perſon himſelf, whom by all the Ties of Honour and Hoſpitality he was obliged to defend and preſerve, though with the Hazard of his own Life, if it ſhould have been attempted by any other Man whatſoever. But to make ſhort, he told them however, that ſuppoſing the Information to be true, he had much rather loſe his own Life than take away the Life of any Man that had committed himſelf to his Truſt. *Johanan* and his Companions finding that all they had ſaid was to no Purpoſe, upon this Declaration of *Gedaliah*'s went their Way.

They tell him of a Plot upon his Life carry'd on by the King of the Ammonites, *and* Iſhmael *to execute it.*

Gedaliah *is too generous to believe it.*

Some thirty Days after this Diſcourſe, *Iſhmael* with ten of his Friends gave a Viſit to *Gedaliah* at *Mizpaz*, where they were received and treated with all the Freedom and Reſpect imaginable. The Cups went round till *Gedaliah* and his Companions were dull and heavy-headed; and the other Party obſerving it, took the Opportunity of falling upon them, and without any Difficulty kill'd the Maſter of the Houſe, and all the Reſt of his Gueſts. It was now in the Dead of the Night; and all the People, as well Soldiers as others, careleſly ſecure, and aſleep: So that they made the ſame Havock in the Streets, and elſewhere, as they had done at *Gedaliah*'s juſt before; deſtroying and murdering all they could find, whether *Jews* or *Babylonians*, without any Diſtinction. The next Day there came up to the City a Troop of about fourſcore Men out of the Country with Preſents for *Gedaliah*, knowing nothing as yet of the *Maſſacre* of the laſt Night. So ſoon as *Iſhmael* ſaw them, he call'd them in to *Gedaliah*; ſhut the Doors upon them, and cut their Throats in the Palace, cauſing the Bodies afterward to be thrown into a Pit where they might lie conceal'd. There was not a Man of all that Number that eſcap'd, ſave only ſome few that promiſ'd to make Diſcovery of Goods, Clothes, and Corn, that were hid under Ground, if they would but reprieve them for ſo long. Some of them, I ſay, were ſpar'd upon the Hope of this Diſcovery; but for the common People of *Mizpah*, the Women and the Children, they were all carry'd away; and among the Reſt, the Daughters of *Zedekiah*, which *Nebuzar-Adan* had left, under the Care of *Gedaliah*. *Iſhmael* went away preſently with the News of this Exploit to the King of the *Ammonites*; but *Johanan*, with the Reſt of the leading Men, hearing of this bloody Execution at *Mizpah*, and the Death of *Gedaliah*, took it ſo heinouſly, that they drew every Man his Soldiers together, and join'd in the Purſuit of *Iſhmael*, whom they overtook at the Fountain of *Hebron*. The firſt Sight of the Purſuers joy'd the Hearts of the Priſoners that *Iſhmael* was carrying away with him; for they knew them preſently to be Friends, and went over immediately one and all to the Party of *Johanan*: But *Iſhmael* with only eight of his Companions fled to the King of the *Ammonites*. *Johanan*, in the mean Time, with the People he had taken from *Iſhmael*, *Eunuchs*, Women and Children marched to a Place that is called *Mandra*, and there they ſtaid one Day, bethinking themſelves of going into *Ægypt*, leſt the *Babylonians*, in a Rage for the Murder of their Governour, ſhould in Revenge fall upon them; but however, for their better Security, they took up a Reſolution to conſult *Jeremiah* what Courſe to ſteer: So they put the Queſtion to him; with an Oath to do whatever he ſhould adviſe them to. The Prophet promiſ'd them to do what he could for their Satisfaction; and upon the tenth Day after this, God appeared to him, and bad him go and tell *Johanan*, and the Reſt of the Commanders, that *if they continued where they were, he would aſſiſt and ſecure them againſt any Harm from the* Babylonians, *whom they were ſo much afraid of; but if after this Premonition, they ſhould rather go into* Ægypt, *let them look to themſelves, and expect the ſame Fate and Judgment that had befallen their Brethren before them.* This was the Meſſage the Prophet deliver'd them by God's expreſs Direction; though they could hardly believe it to be the Will of God, that they ſhould continue where they were: But took it rather for an Invention of the Prophet's in Favour of *Baruch*, his Diſciple, and to expoſe them to the Wrath of the *Babylonians*: So that *Johanan* and the Reſt of the People, in Contempt of God's Word by his Prophet,

The treacherous Murder of Gedaliah *by* Iſhmael.

A bloody Maſſacre.

All the Women and Children of Mizpah *carry'd away, and* Zedekiah's *Daughters among the Reſt.*

Johanan *and his Companions purſue* Iſhmael, *and overtake him.*

Johanan *reſcues the Priſoners; but* Iſhmael, *and eight with him, fly to the King of the* Ammonites.

They conſult Jeremiah *what to do, with an Oath to follow his Advice.*

The Prophet charges them not to go into Ægypt.

They go into Ægypt *notwithſtanding, and take* Jeremiah *and* Baruch *along with them.*
The Prophet foretels them again, that Ægypt *ſhall be taken, and themſelves kill'd, or made Priſoners.*

Prophet, went away into *Ægypt*, and carry'd *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* along with them. When they were come thither, it was revealed from Heaven to the Prophet, that the King of *Babylon* ſhould bring an Army into *Ægypt*, and he commanded *Jeremiah* to tell the People as much; and that *Ægypt* ſhould be taken, where Part of them ſhould be kill'd, and Part carry'd away Captives to *Babylon*; which came to paſs accordingly. For in the fifth Year after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, he made an Inroad into the *Cœle Syria*; and upon ſubduing it, carry'd the War forward to the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*; and when he had ſubjected them too, he made a furious Incurſion into *Ægypt*; kill'd the preſent King; ſet up another in his Place: And the *Jews* that he found there were carry'd away a ſecond Time Priſoners to *Babylon*.

The Chuthites *called* Samaritans.

This was the miſerable State of the *Hebrews*, as we have the Story, who were twice carry'd away beyond the *Euphrates*; for the *ten Tribes* were firſt tranſported by the *Aſſyrians* out of *Samaria* in the Reign of *Hoſeah*: And then the *other two*, by *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of the *Chaldæans* and the *Babylonians*, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*. Now *Salmanaſſer* tranſplanted the *Chuthites* into the Country of the *Iſraelites*, out of the Heart of *Media* and *Perſia*; and they were called *Samaritans* from the Name of the Place into which they were tranſplanted: But the King of *Babylon* carry'd away the other *two Tribes*, without introducing any other in their Stead. And this was the Reaſon that *Judæa*, with *Jeruſalem*, and the *Temple*, lay wholly abandon'd for the Space of *ſeventy Years*. The Time betwixt the Captivity of the *ten Tribes*, and the *Tranſmigration* of the *other two*, was one hundred and thirty Years, ſix Months, and ten Days.

Dan. 1.
The hopefulleſt Youths of the Jews *train'd up for the Service of* Nebuchadnezzar's Court.

The Hiſtory of Belteſhazzar, Shadrach, Meſhech, *and* Abednego.

Their Temperance *and* Moderation.

Their Improvement in the Hebrew *and* Chaldæan *Learning.*

Nebuchadnezzar appointed a very ſtrict and ſelect Choice to be made, out of the Youths of the *Jews*, both for Birth, Vigour and Beauty, and ſeveral of them, the Relations of King *Zedekiah*; appointed alſo the beſt Tutors that could be had, for their Inſtitution: Divers of them to be caſtrated according to the Practice of that Country being the handſomeſt Boys of conquer'd Nations. He ſent them their Meat from his own Table, and took great Care to have them inſtructed in the *Chaldæan Diſcipline*, and *Learning*; wherein they advanced very much in a ſhort Time. There were four of *Zedekiah*'s Relations in the Number, whoſe Names were *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Miſhael*, and *Azariah*: But the *Babylonians* changed their Names, and called *Daniel* [*Belteſhazzar*;] *Ananias*, [*Shadrach*;] *Miſhael*, [*Meſhiſh*;] and *Azariah*, [*Abednego*.] The King had a wonderful Tenderneſs for them all, both in Regard of the Sweetneſs of their Diſpoſition, and the extraordinary Pregnancy of their Underſtanding. *Daniel* look'd upon that voluptuous Way of feeding to be too delicate for People in their Condition, and therefore they went to *Aſchanes* the *Eunuch* that had them in Charge, and deſir'd him rather to make uſe of thoſe Delicacies that the King ſent them from his own Table for the Service of himſelf, and his Family; and if they had but Pulſe, or Dates, or any ordinary Food that had no Life in't, it would ſerve their Turn every Jot as well; for thoſe Delicacies went againſt their Stomachs, and a plainer Diet would pleaſe them better. The *Eunuch* told them that he would gratify them with all his Heart; but if they ſhould grow lean, and thin, upon ſuch a heartleſs Way of feeding, or look perhaps leſs *amiably* upon it, and appear in a leſs agreeable Habit of Health and of Colour, he was afraid the King might come to have ſome Suſpicion of the Matter, and take Offence at it; which might be as much as his Life was worth; eſpecially when the Reſt of their Companions, that fed better than they did, ſhould be obſerv'd to look better too. They found the *Eunuch* not ſo croſs as he might have been, and ſo preſs'd him to make the Experiment, only for ten Days; and after that Time, if he found the Change did not ſo well agree with them as their former Allowance, and that they ſhould not keep their Health, their Colour, and the ſame Habit of Body, after that Tryal, that they had before, he might bring them back again to the King's Way of Entertainment. The *Eunuch* was prevail'd upon to make Tryal of it, and when he found them ſo far from being the worſe for the Alteration, that they mended upon it, in the Diſpoſition both of their Bodies and of their Minds, he made no longer a Scruple of complying with their Deſires; but gave them what they demanded, and kept the King's Allowance to himſelf; which agreed ſo well with *Daniel*, and his *Friends*, that comparatively they ſeem'd to be better provided for than the Reſt, and all their Faculties kept in better Tune for either Study or Labour; being neither ſurcharg'd or ſurfeited with Variety, nor effeminated with the Luxury of pleaſing the Palate. By this temperate frugal Way of Menage and Diſcipline, their Spirits were kept clear and active, as appeared by their wonderful Improvement in the *Hebrew*, as well as the *Chaldæan Learning*; but of *Daniel* eſpecially, who had gotten ſuch an Inſight into their Arts, that he took upon him the expounding of Dreams, and had many Times Viſions of his own to work upon.

Dan. 2. Nebuchadnezzar *has a Dream and forgets it.*

Some two Years after the Deſtruction of *Ægypt*, *Nebuchadnezzar* had a wonderful *Viſion*, and a Revelation from God in his Sleep, of the Meaning of it. But when he came afterwards to riſe from his Bed, he had quite forgotten it. So he preſently ſent for his learned Men, as *Chaldæans*, *Magi* and *Prophets*, and told them that he had had a ſtrange Dream; but it was now utterly out of his Head, and therefore required them to tell him what it was, and what was the Signification of it. They made him Anſwer that as to the firſt Part of his Propoſition, it was a Thing not to be done; but if he would be pleas'd to tell them the *Dream*, they would be anſwerable to give him the Interpretation of it. The King in a Rage commanded them without any more a-do, to tell him his *Dream*, or they ſhould die for't; but they could not undertake it they ſaid, and ſo they were all order'd to be put to Death. When *Daniel* came to underſtand that the *wiſe-Men* were all to be put to Death, and to conſider, that no body knew whoſe Turn it might be next, he went to *Arioch* the Captain of the King's Guards, to learn what the Crime was they were condemned for: So the Captain told him, that the King had a *Dream*, which he himſelf had forgotten, and that they were to die, becauſe they could not tell him what it was. *Daniel* made Anſwer, that if he could but get them a Reprieve only for one Night, he would not deſpair of giving him the Satisfaction he requir'd; for he had ſome Hope that God would that very Night be prevail'd upon to enable him to do it. The Captain gave the King an Account of this Diſcourſe and Propoſal; and thereupon the Execution was reſpited, only to try what Good was to be done upon that Experiment. *Daniel*, with his *Companions*, went into his *Bed-Chamber*, and ſpent that whole Night in Prayers to God, for the Means of reſolving the Queſtion, and for the delivering thoſe People from Death, that were now fall'n under the King's Diſpleaſure, by laying before him the Particulars of the laſt Night's Dream, which was now ſlipt out of his Memory. God was pleaſed upon this Interceſſion of *Daniel*, both in Compaſſion to the Miſerable, and out of Tenderneſs for the Prudence of *Daniel*'s Mediation, to make known, not only the *Dream* it ſelf, but the *Signification* of it; to the End, that he might communicate the whole Matter to the King. *Daniel* was ſo tranſported with this *Revelation*, that he got up early in the Morning; gave his Brethren a Word of Comfort, being now brought to the laſt Point of Deſperation, and thinking of nothing but Death; bad them cheer up, and hope the beſt, for that all Things were now ſecure. When they had given God Thanks, together for his fatherly Care and Piety over them, *Daniel* went to *Arioch* by Peep of Day, to carry him to the King, with Aſſurance that he ſhould now have all the Particulars laid before him, of his late *Dream*.

He commands his Wiſe Men *to tell him what the Dream was, upon Peril of their Lives.*

They are all order'd to be put to Death.

Daniel *gets them a Reprieve for one Night.*

God reveals to Daniel *the* Dream, *and the* Signification *of it.*

Upon Daniel's *Admittance to the King, he firſt told him, that it was not any over-weening of his own Wiſdom, as if he knew more than the* Chaldæans, *and the* Magi; *or any Deſign of a Reproach upon them, for not being able to reſolve a Queſtion which he could unriddle. It was not any Thing of this,* ſays he, *that made me engage in this Matter; for I am not a Perſon to pretend to more Skill and Underſtanding than my Neighbours: But it is purely the Work of God in Pity to the miſerable, and in Mercy to my Prayers, for the Lives, and Safety of my ſelf and my Friends, that hath now laid open this* Dream *to me, and explain'd the Meaning of it. I have not been ſo ſolicitous for the Safety of my ſelf, and my Companions under your Diſpleaſure, as for your Honour and Glory; in Caſe of putting ſo many good and worthy Men to Death, contrary to Right and Juſtice, and only for not being able to do a Thing, which it is utterly impoſſible for Fleſh and Blood to do; or for any but a ſupernatural Power to accompliſh.*

You were bethinking your ſelf what would become of the Empire of the World when you were gone, and who ſhould ſucceed to it. Now the Dream *you had, was a Kind of a Reſolution upon that Enquiry; for God ſhew'd you in your Sleep thoſe that were to rule after you. You* dreamt *you ſaw a* large Image, *or Statue, ſtanding upright; the* Head *was* Gold; *the* Shoulders *and* Arms, Silver; *the* Belly *and the* Thighs, Braſs; *the* Legs *and the* Feet, Iron. *You ſaw then a* Stone *broken off from a Mountain, that fell upon this* Image; *overthrew it, and brake it ſo ſmall, that the Duſt of the* Gold, Silver, Braſs *and* Iron, *was as light as* Chaff, *and carry'd away by a Blaſt of Wind to the farthermoſt Parts of the Earth; the* Stone *growing ſo great all this while, that it lay like a Mountain upon the Face of the Earth.* This was your *Dream*, and I come now to the Interpretation of it. *By the* Golden *Head is ſignify'd* your ſelf, *and other* Kings *of* Babylon *before you: the* two Hands *and* Shoulders *portend that* two Kings *ſhall deſtroy* your Empire; *and afterward, their Empire will be ſubverted by* another King *coming from the* Weſt *in Armour of* Braſs; *and he is to be ſubdued afterward by another in* Iron; *which, in the Nature of it, is ſtronger than* Gold, Silver, *or* Braſs, *and not to be reſiſted.* *Daniel* gave an Interpretation alſo of the Stone, which I ſhall paſs over in this Place; for it is my Buſineſs to write of Things paſt, and not of Things

Daniel *tells the King his Dream,*

and the Expoſition of it.

Things to come. But for the Satisfaction of the inquiſitive into the dark Events of Things, I ſhall only recommend unto them the Book of *Daniel*, as we have it in ſacred Writ.

The King adores Daniel *for his* Wiſdom, *and gives him the* Name *of his God* Belteſhazzar.

Nebuchadnezzar, in great Admiration, acknowledg'd this to be his *Dream*, and falling upon his Face, ador'd *Daniel* like a God, and appointed *Divine Honours* to be done him: And this would not ſerve neither, without giving him the *Name* of his God, [*Belteſhazzar*;] and ſo he made him Ruler of the whole Province, joyning ſeveral of his Kindred with him in the ſame Commiſſion; this Promotion, was followed with ſuch an Envy upon *Daniel* and his *Relations*, that it had like to have coſt them all their Lives, by a Diſguſt the King took upon this following Occaſion.

He ſets up a Golden Image. Dan. 3.

All People to fall down and worſhip it, upon the Sound of the Trumpet, *or to be caſt into the* fiery Furnace. Daniel, *and his* Companions *refuſe.*

Nebuchadnezzar the King made an *Image* of *Gold*, ſixty Cubits in Height, and ſix in Breadth, and placed it in the great Plain of *Babylon*. He call'd together, upon the Dedication of it, the Princes, the great Men and Officers, out of all his Dominions; making *Proclamation*, that immediately upon hearing the ſound of a *Trumpet*, they ſhould all fall down and worſhip this *Image*; and that whoever refuſed it, ſhould be caſt into the *fiery Furnace*. Upon the ſounding of this Trumpet, accordingly, all the People fell down and worſhipped; ſave only *Daniel* and his Relations; who refuſing to do it, out of a Reverence to the Laws of their Country, were inform'd againſt, and caſt into the Fire; but by a merciful Providence, and beyond all humane Imagination, their Lives were preſerv'd: As if the Flame it ſelf had been conſcious of the Injuſtice of the Sentence, and ſuſpended the very *Nature* of it's conſuming Quality in Favour of the Innocent; for they were not ſo much as ſcorch'd with it; as if God, in his gracious Providence, had made their Bodies Proof againſt the Flames. But the Thing that moſt recommended them to the King's Tenderneſs and Eſteem, was the miraculous Proof of God's Love and Goodneſs to them in their Juſtification; for upon this Ground the King had a great Honour for them ever after.

This Providence gave the King a greater Reverence for them. Dan. 4.

Nebuchadnezzar's ſecond Viſion.

Daniel's *Interpretation of it.*

It was not long before *Nebuchadnezzar* had *another Dream*, as ſurprizing as the former; which was, that *being driven away from his Kingdom he lived* ſeven Years *among the* Beaſts *of the Foreſt, and was afterward* reſtored *to his former Dignity and State.* The King put the Queſtion once again to the *Magi* upon this Viſion alſo; but *Daniel* was the only Perſon, again, to expound the *Meaning* of it: And according to his Prediction, it ſucceeded in the Event; for *after ſeven Years of his Life ſpent in an inſociable Solitude, and no Creature all this Time, daring to make any Attempt upon his Government, God was prevail'd upon to* re-inſtate *him in the Exerciſe of his* kingly Power. Let no Body blame me for delivering the ſame Reports in my Writings, that I find in ancient Hiſtory; for I have anticipated all thoſe Cavils in the very Beginning of this Work, by making a publick Profeſſion, to do the Part only of a faithful Tranſlator of the Story out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and to deliver every Thing honeſtly as I find it, without making it more or leſs than in Truth it is.

Beroſus *writes of this* Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar, in Fine, was a Prince very induſtrious, and much more fortunate than any of his Anceſtors. He departed this Life in the three and fortieth Year of his Age. *Beroſus*, in the *third Book* of his *Chaldæan Hiſtory*, makes Mention of it in theſe Words: [a] Nabuchodonoſor *the Father*, ſays he, *underſtanding that a certain great Officer of his, to whom he had committed the Government of* Ægypt, Cœle-Syria, *and* Phœnicia, *was fall'n off from his Allegiance, and not being in a Condition of Body himſelf to bear the Fatigues of the War in his own Perſon, he ſent his Son* Nabuchodonoſor, *with Part of his Army, to reduce him to his Obedience. He found him out; fought, and overcame him, and ſo brought back the revolted Provinces to their Duty. The Father in the mean Time, was taken away by a Sickneſs at* Babylon, *in the* [b] *one and twentieth Year of his Reign. The young Man was no ſooner informed of the Death of his Father, but he took immediate Care for the ſettling of his Affairs in* Ægypt, *and the reſt of the Provinces; recommending to ſome particular Friends the Charge of conveying his Priſoners,* Jews, Syrians, Phœnicians *and* Ægyptians *to* Babylon, *with the Army and Baggage; while he himſelf, with a ſmall Retinue took his Way thither over the* Deſert. *The Government was reſerv'd for him in the mean while, by the* Chaldæans; *and by the great Men, among them, in his Abſence, ſecured till his Return. So that when he came to enter upon the Adminiſtration, he was eſtabliſh'd in the full Poſſeſſion of his* Paternal Empire. *The firſt Thing he did was to make a commodious Diſtribution of his Captives into Colonies, and after that, to adorn and illuſtrate the* Temple *of* Belus, *and other religious Places with Spoils of War. He repaired and enlarged the ancient Edifices of the City; and raiſed Works upon the Banks of the River to prevent all Approaches*

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[a] In *Joſephus* he's call'd Ναβουχοδονόσορος; but *Joſ. Scaliger* (in his Notes upon this *Fragment* at the End of his Book *de Emend. Temp.*) ſhews from *Ptolemey* and *Euſebius*, that the Name ſhould be Ναβοπολλάσαρος. See *Vorſtius's Exercit.* 2. *de* lxx. *annis Captivitatis*, &c

[b] It ſhould be the *nine and twentieth*, as *Scaliger* has inform'd us in his Commentary upon this Piece. See *Vorſtius*'s *Exercit* 2, *de* lxx *annis Captivitatis*.

that Way. He erected three Walls or Retrenchments, within the Bounds of the City, and as many without; All brick Work: *And when he had fortify'd the Town after this remarkable Manner, he beautify'd the Gates with a Curioſity of Frontiſpiece like the Finiſhing of the* Temple-Work: *And advanc'd another Palace contiguous to that of his Father's, with all poſſible Art and Magnificence; but the Particulars are too many, and would be too long for this Place. There is only one Thing that I cannot but take Notice of; which is, that this ſpacious and ſtately Fabrick was finiſhed in fifteen Days.* [a] *In this Building, there were vaſt Stones ſupported upon Arches, that look'd like Mountains hanging in the Air; and they were planted on the Top, with ſeveral Sorts of Trees, in a Complement to the Queen, who being a* Median *had a paſſionate Deſire to ſee ſome artificial Reſemblance of the Gardens and Rarities of their own Country. Megaſthenes*, in the *Fourth Volume* of his Hiſtory of *India*, ſpeaks of theſe *garden* Works, and ſets forth this King, both for his Enterprize and for his Performances, to have been much ſuperior to *Hercules* himſelf; having ſubdu'd the [b] greateſt Part of *Libya*, and likewiſe *Iberia*. *Diocles* makes Mention of this King in the *ſecond Book* of his *Perſian Hiſtory*; and ſo does *Philoſtratus*, in the Account he gives of the *Phœnicians* and the *Indians*; telling how this Prince, in the Days of *Ithobal* King of *Tyre*, maintain'd a Siege of thirteen *Years* againſt that Town. And this is all I can find among the Hiſtorians concerning him.

Megaſthenes.

Diocles. *and* Philoſtratus.

CHAP. XII.

Evil-Merodach *ſucceeds* Nebuchadnezzar *and diſcharges* Jehoiakin. *The royal Line of* Babylon *down to* Belſhazzar. Cyrus *and* Darius *beſiege him in* Babylon. Daniel *expounds a Viſion to him.* Babylon *taken, and* Belſhazzar *in it.* Darius *makes* Daniel *his particular Favourite.* Daniel's *wonderful Deliverances, Viſions, and Predictions.*

AFter the Death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, [c] *Evil-Merodach* his Son ſucceeds him; who ſet *Jeconiah*, (or *Jehoiakin*) the King of *Jeruſalem*, at Liberty; honour'd him with many Preſents; took him into a particular Truſt and Confidence, and made him the chief Governour of his Palace at *Babylon*. His Father indeed had broken his Faith ſhamefully with this *Jeconiah*, in making him a Priſoner after he had ſo frankly deliver'd up himſelf, his Wife, Children, and all his Relations upon Honour, only, for the ſaving of his Country from utter Ruine, as is ſaid already.

Evil Merodach *ſucceeds* Nebuchadnezzar. Jehoiakin *ſet at Liberty and preferr'd.* 2 Kings 25. 27. & Jer. 52. 31.

Evil-Merodach dy'd in the eighteenth Year of his Reign. His Son [d] *Nigliſar* ſucceeded him; and when he had reigned forty Years, the Kingdom fell by Succeſſion to his Son *Laboſardochus*, who kept it only nine Months; and after his Death, it went to *Belſhazzar*, by the *Babylonians* called *Naboandel*.

Evil Merodach *dies and his Son* Nigliſar *ſucceeds him. The Kingdom goes from him to* Laboſardochus, *and ſo to* Beltaſhazzar.

[e] *Cyrus* the King of the *Perſians*, and *Darius* the King of the *Medes*, made War upon this Prince; and while they lay before *Babylon* there appear'd to *Belſhazzar* a wonderful and a prodigious *Viſion*. As he was at Supper in a large *eating-Room*, with his Courtiers and his Concubines about him, and a magnificent Oſtentation of *ſilver Veſſels* and Plate for the Service of his Table, he call'd, in a Frolick, for the *ſacred Veſſels* alſo out of his own *Temple*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* depoſited there, upon rifling the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*; though he never had the Confidence to put them to any prophane or private Uſe. *Belſhazzar* was now warm in his Cups; and entertaining himſelf, and his Company, with prophane Extravagancies of Speech againſt the Majeſty of the *true God*; when in the Height of his Jollity there appeared *a Hand, writing certain Syllabes upon the Wall*, which put the King into ſuch an Agony of Terror, that he preſently call'd a Counſel of his *cunning Men* and *Chaldæans* (a Sort of *quack Fortune-tellers* among thoſe *Barbarians*, that value themſelves upon a Faculty of reſolving *cramp Queſtions*, and unriddling *Dreams)* to find out the Meaning of the *Words* that were there mark'd upon the Plaiſter. They laid their Heads together and upon Advice and Conſideration, frankly declared that they underſtood nothing of the Matter. Upon this, the King, in an Anxiety of Thought and Surprize, caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd all over his Dominions, with Promiſe of a *golden Chain*; the Privilege of a *royal purple Robe*, and the *third Place of Rule in his Kingdom*, to any Man that ſhould give him the Interpretation of that *Writing*. Upon this *Proclamation*, the *wiſe Men*, gather'd together more and more, in a Strife, who ſhould unfold this Myſtery; and all to no Manner of Purpoſe in the Concluſion:

Cyrus *and* Darius *make War upon* Belſhazzar, *and beſiege* Babylon.

Belſhazzar *at a magnificent Feaſt in the Height of his Cups, calls in a Frolick for the* holy Veſſels, *that were carry'd away from* Jeruſalem *to revel in.*

In the Middle of his Jollity, there appears a Hand Writing upon the Wall. *Dan.* 5.

The King conſults his Magi *about it.*

Great Honours *and* Rewards *promis'd to him that ſhall* expound that Writing.

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[a] See *Scaliger's* Notes upon the *Fragment of* Beroſus, and *Cunæus de Rep. Hebræorum*, l. 1. c. 15.

[b] The Tranſlation follows *Scaliger's* Correction of the Place.

[c] Ἀβιλαμαρώδαχος. *Joſ.*

[d] Νιγλίσαρος, *Joſ.* See *Scaliger's* Notes upon the *Fragment of* Beroſus, pag. 14, 15, &c. and *Vorſtius's Exercit.* 4. *de Voce* Seſack

[e] How *Joſephus* confounds the laſt Kings of *Babylon*, may be ſeen in *Vorſtius's* 4. *Exercit. de Voce* Seſack

While the King was labouring in a Torment of Mind and Aſtoniſhment, under theſe Diſappointments, his Grandmother went to him and told him; that for his Comfort, there was a certain *Jew* among the Priſoners that *Nebuchadnezzar* brought away with him upon the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, who was look'd upon to be a Man of great Wiſdom and Foreſight, and ſo wonderfully skill'd in the ſolving of nice Difficulties and Queſtions, as if he ſpake by the Direction of a divine Spirit. She told him alſo that *Nebuchadnezzar* made Uſe of him for his Interpreter in the like Caſes, when no Body elſe was able to reſolve him: Wherefore ſhe deſir'd the King by any Means to ſend for *Daniel*, and to examine him about that *Writing*, and give him Encouragement to ſpeak the Truth, let it be never ſo much againſt him; if it were but to daſh the Ignorance of other Pretenders. Upon this Advice, *Belſhazzar* called *Daniel* to be ſent for; profeſſing indeed that he had heard of the Sagacity and Underſtanding of that Man; and that he took him to be the moſt likely Perſon in the World to *divine* the Truth of a Matter, which no Body elſe could gueſs at. So upon *Daniel's* being brought, the King put him the Queſtion, with an Aſſurance that all the Promiſes in his *Proclamation* ſhould be made good to him, upon his Solution of it; which would make him famous all over the World, wherever it ſhould come to be known, that he had theſe Honours done him for his Wiſdom.

Daniel *is recommended for the* Interpreter.

Daniel *is brought to the King.*

Daniel *expounds the Writing.* Dan. 5.

Daniel excus'd himſelf from the receiving of any Gifts or Honours; for *Wiſdom*, ſays he, *is a divine Faculty*, and not to be corrupted or prophan'd with *Bribes*; but to be ever ready to ſerve thoſe that ſtand in Need of it. *This Writing*, ſays he, *is a foretelling to you that your Death is at Hand; for you ſhould have taken Warning by the Judgments that befel your great Anceſtor for his Contempt of God, and have apply'd your ſelf to a Courſe of Life within the Compaſs of Religion, Modeſty, and Moderation. You know very well that* Nebuchadnezzar *was baniſh'd the Society of Mankind, and condemn'd to the Life and Condition of a Beaſt; but that afterward it pleaſed* God, *upon his earneſt Prayers and Repentance, to reſtore him to the Converſation of Men, and to the Exerciſe of his former Government; which infinite Mercy and Providence of God he adored and celebrated afterward all the Days of his Life: But for your Part,* ſays Daniel, *you are ſo far from being wrought upon by this Example in your Family, that you blaſpheme God to his Face, and take a Pride to lie prophaning the Veſſels of his holy Altar, in your Debauches with your Harlots. By this lewd Courſe of Impiety, you have drawn the Wrath of God upon your Head; and the Intent of this Writing is only to ſhew what End you are to come to. MENE, which is as much as* Number, *ſignifies that the Days both of your* Life *and of your* Reign *are* number'd; and that you have but a very ſhort Time to live. *TEKEL, (or* Weight) *gives to underſtand* that your Reign is weighed in the Balance, and drawing to a Concluſion. *PERES, or a* Fragment, *portends* that your Kingdom ſhall be divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. The King could not but be mortally caſt down with this Interpretation; and yet was ſo juſt and generous as to make good to *Daniel*, all that he had promis'd him, though the Foreteller of his Ruine; conſidering with himſelf, that it was not the Prophet's Fault, but his own unhappy Fatality, that he could tell him no better Tidings. Neither would he deny but *Daniel* had done the Part of a juſt and a good Man, in letting him know the Truth of Things, though never ſo deplorable in the Event.

Cyrus *takes* Babylon

Belſhazzar *the last King of* Nebuchadnezzar's *Family.*

Dan. 6.

Daniel's *Advancement under* Cyrus;

It was not long after this, when both himſelf and the City fell into the Power and Poſſeſſion of *Cyrus*; for *Babylon* was taken in the ſeventeenth Year of the Reign of *Belſhazzar*, who is ſaid to have been the laſt King of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Family. Now *Darius* was ſixty two Years of Age at the Subverſion of the Empire of *Babylon*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Cyrus* his *Kinſman*; which *Cyrus* was the Son of *Aſtyages*, though known among the *Greeks* by another Name. He took the Prophet *Daniel* along with him into *Media*, and had him in great Honour and Eſtimation; for he made him one of the three chief Governours that had three hundred ſixty more under them, according to the original Conſtitution of *Darius*. Now *Darius* had ſo great a Tenderneſs and Reverence for *Daniel*, that he conſulted him upon all Occaſions as an *Oracle*, and would hardly reſolve upon any Matter of Moment without his Advice; but it fell out with *Daniel*, as we find it in the Caſe of other Princes Favourites: The Confident that is moſt in Credit never fails of drawing upon himſelf the Envy of all the reſt. Now *Daniel* was ſo well aware of theſe *Court-Tricks*, and kept ſo ſtrict a Guard upon himſelf, that there was no laying hold of him. As to the Matter of Money and Bribes, he had a Soul ſo much above any Temptation of that Kind, that he made a Conſcience of receiving even a lawful Acknowledgment for a good Office: But this did not hinder his Enemies yet from joyning in a Practice againſt his Life; and the Manner of it was this.

and the Envy he contracted by it.

Daniel's *Integrity is Proof against all Calumny.* Dan. 6.

A Snare laid to trap Daniel.

It being obſerv'd that *Daniel* pray'd to God conſtantly thrice a Day, his Adverſaries to entrap him, bethought themſelves how they might improve that Practice of his to his Ruine. So they applyed themſelves to *Darius*, in the Name of his Council and State Officers, and upon their Advice and Requeſt, that he would be pleaſed ſo far to indulge his People, as to paſs an Edict, only for thirty Days, that whoſoever ſhould preſume to ask any Thing of God or Man within that Compaſs of Time, ſhould be caſt into the *Lions Den*. The King was ſo ſhort ſighted, as not to ſee thorough the Malice of this Contrivance, and that the very Propoſal ſtruck at the Life of *Daniel*; ſo that *Darius* aſſented to the Motion; promis'd a Confirmation of it, and order'd the Publication of the Decree, as the Act of himſelf, and his Council. The Dread of this Decree, put all People into a general Damp and Silence, for Fear of being ſurpriz'd into a Tranſgreſſion: Saving only *Daniel* himſelf, who went on ſtill in his daily Courſe of worſhipping God, in the publick View of the World, as it was his Cuſtom to do; without ever heeding the Decree. This Way of Proceeding furniſhed his Enemies with the Opportunity of a Pretence that they had long waited for: Which immediately they laid hold of; for giving the King to underſtand, that *Daniel* was the only Man, that in Contempt of his Royal *Proclamation*, worſhipped contrary to the Tenor and Direction of the Decree: And that *he did not do this, out of Piety neither, but out of a Spirit of Contradiction and Defiance to the Authority of the Edict*. The Envy of *Daniel*'s Enemies was the more outragious, upon the Apprehenſion they had, that the King's perſonal Indulgence for him, might incline him to paſs over the Affront: So that they preſs'd him with Clamours and Outcries not to be reſiſted, for Juſtice upon the Malefactor; and nothing would ſerve them, but *Daniel* muſt be immediately thrown into the *Lions Den*. *Darius* was forc'd to yield to the Violence of theſe Importunities; but told *Daniel* for his Comfort in this Extremity, that rather than ſo good a Man ſhould periſh, God would yet work ſome Miracle for his Relief: So *Daniel* was caſt into the *Lions Den*, and a great Stone laid at the Mouth of the Den, which the King *ſeal'd* with his own *Signet*, and ſo went his Way to his Palace. He paſs'd that Night, faſting and waking; for the Trouble of his Mind for *Daniel*, would not ſuffer him either to eat or ſleep: But early in the Morning he got up, and went to the *Den*, where he found every Thing as he left it, and the *Seal* untouch'd. He call'd upon *Daniel* then by his Name, at a Grate that look'd down into the *Den*, to know if he were living or not; to which, *Daniel* made this Anſwer, that he was *ſafe* and *well*: In which Inſtant, the King order'd him to be taken out again; but *Daniel's* Enemies would not allow this Deliverance however to be the Work of a peculiar Providence, and would needs face the King down, that the *Lion's* Bellies were full, and ſo they let him alone for Want of Appetite. The King was ſo incenſed at the Spite and Malignity of theſe People, that he order'd as much Meat to be given the *Lions* as they could get down, and when they would eat no longer, to turn *Daniel*'s *Accuſers in* among them. If they do not worry them, ſays the King, 'tis becauſe their Bellies are full; but if they do, it muſt be allow'd to be a Divine Providence that preſerv'd *Daniel*. In Short, the *Lions* tore them to pieces, every one of them, as if it had been in a ſtarving Hunger: Or rather, as if the Brutes themſelves were become the Miniſters of God's Juſtice upon the Workers of Iniquity.

Daniel *caſt into the* Lion's Den.

The Lions *do him no Hurt*;

but afterwards tear his Enemies *to Pieces*.

After this Execution done upon the treacherous Complottors againſt *Daniel*, *Darius* publiſhed a Decree thorough his whole Empire; commanding his People to acknowledge the *God* of *Daniel* to be the *only true* and *Almighty God*; and at the ſame Time multiply'd Honours upon the Prophet himſelf, in Preference to all the reſt of his Friends and Favourites. Now *Daniel*, by this Way of Conduct, having gained the univerſal Eſteem of a Perſon highly in Favour both with God and Man, he erected a ſtately Fabrick at *Echbatan*, the *Capital* of *Media*; a Work every Way wonderful, as well for the Structure and Strength of it, as for the Beauty. The Building is ſtill to be ſeen, and looks as freſh and as firm at this Inſtant, as if it had been finiſhed but the Day you firſt ſaw it; without any Decays of Time or Age to be ſeen upon it: Whereas it fares with other Edifices, as with humane Bodies; Time wears them out, and disfigures them. This *Tower* is famous for being the *Royal Monument* of the Kings of the *Medes*, *Perſians* and *Parthians*, to which Uſe it is ſtill apply'd; and the Place likewiſe committed to the Cuſtody of a *Jewiſh Prieſt* to this very Day. There are ſome other Paſſages in the Hiſtory of *Daniel*, which are yet more admirable, and particular, and not to be paſſed over in Silence. He had this ſingular Bleſſing attending him, over and above his excellent Gift of *Prophecy*, that he liv'd in a high Degree of Reputation, both with King and People; and at his Death, left an immortal Memory behind him, to his everlaſting Honour. For we find by his Writings that are yet extant, and in daily Uſe and Reading, that beyond all Queſtion, God admitted him into expreſs Colloquies, and revealed to him not only the Sum and Subſtance of Things to come (as was uſual to other Prophets) but the

Darius *declares* Daniel's God *to be the* true God, Dan 6.

Daniel *erects a magnificent* Tower *at* Ecbatan *the* Capital *of* Media.

very Time, when ſuch, or ſuch an Event ſhould come to paſs. And whereas other Prophets were more exerciſed in the foreboding of Calamities, and conſequently drew upon themſelves Envy and Ill Will, both from Princes and People; *Daniel*, on the contrary, made Friends of both, by the good Things he told them, which they took Delight to hear. And then for the Certainty of the Event, all Mortals are agreed upon it, that he ſpake from the Dictate of an infallible Spirit; as may be abundantly gather'd alſo, from the Writings which this great Prophet hath left behind him.

Daniel's *Viſion* at Suſa, *of the* Ram *and the* Goat. Dan. 7.

It fell out, ſays he, *as I was taking the Air one Day, with ſome of my Companions at* Suſa, *the* Metropolis *of* Perſia, *that we were ſurpriz'd all on a ſudden with an* Earthquake. *My Friends ran away in a Fright, and left me alone, groveling upon the Ground, in a Conſternation upon that Accident. While I was in that Poſture, ſomebody, methought, came and jogg'd me, and bad me riſe, and take good Notice of Things; for I ſhould ſee wonderful Revolutions that would befall my Country men, ſeveral Ages to come. Upon my ariſing, I ſaw a large* Ram, *with ſeveral* Horns, *and the laſt taller than the reſt: Turning my Face then toward the* Weſt, *I ſaw a* Goat *that paſs'd thorough the Air, and encounter'd the* Ram; *ſtruck him down twice, and trampled him under his Feet. After this, there aroſe a* large Horn *out of the* Forehead *of the* Goat; *and when that came to be broken, there ſprang up* four more *inſtead of it; pointing toward the* four Quarters of the Heavens. Daniel *writes alſo, that from one of them came forth a* little Horn, *which, upon growing up, ſhould wage War with the Nation of the* Jews, *and deſtroy* Jeruſalem *it ſelf; ſuppreſs the* Ceremonies *of the* Temple, *and all* Sacrifices, *for the Space of 1296 Days.* This was the Viſion that, as *Daniel* writes, he ſaw at *Suſa*, which was firſt ſhewed by a Revelation from God; and then interpreted after this following Manner.

The Viſion *de-cypher'd.*

By the Ram, *was deſigned the Kingdoms of the* Medes *and* Perſians: *By the* Horns, *the ſucceeding* Kings *there; and the* laſt *of their* Kings, *by the* laſt Horn, *as tranſcending all the reſt for* Wealth *and* Power. *By the* Goat *was ſignify'd ſome King of* Greece, *that ſhould give* two Overthrows *to the* Perſians, *and ſubdue that Empire. By the* great Horn *upon the* Forehead *of the* Goat, *was meant the* firſt *of their* Kings; *and by the budding out of* four Horns *more, pointing to the* four Winds, *was to be underſtood the* Succeſſors *to* thoſe Kings, *and the* Partition *of their* Dominions, *after the Death of the* firſt, *though Strangers to the Blood; but that however they ſhould reign for ſeveral Years: And in Proceſs of Time, out of theſe ſhould come a* King *that would make War upon the* Jewiſh Nation, *and their* Laws, *and utterly extinguiſh the Form of the* Commonwealth; *pillage the* Temple; *and prohibit any* Sacrifices *or* Worſhip *in it for three Years.* Which Calamity came to paſs under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, as the Prophet had foretold ſo many Years before.

Daniel's *wonderful Predictions concerning the* Roman Empire.

He wrote ſeveral wonderful Things alſo about the *Roman Empire*, and what a Deſolation they ſhould make of our People; all which he received by *Divine Revelation*, and tranſmitted in Writing to Poſterity, to ſtand as a Teſtimony upon Record, of the Agreement betwixt the *Preſage* and the *Event*. This may ſerve to eſtabliſh a Veneration for that Man's Memory, whom God was pleas'd to honour in ſo particular a Manner: And likewiſe to confound the impious Doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that will not allow of any ordering or over-ruling Providence to interpoſe in the Government, or Preſervation of the Univerſe; but will have the whole Courſe of ſublunary Affairs to be only a Huddle of Contingencies, without either Care or Counſel. Now if it were as they vainly imagine; the World without a Supreme *Governour* or *Moderator*, would be ſuch another Fancy, as that of a *Ship*, at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves, without a Pilot; which muſt of Neceſſity miſcarry: Or, as a *Chariot* among Crags and Precipices, without a Driver, that periſhes under its own Weight. So that when I conſider the Predictions of *Daniel*, I cannot forgive the Ignorance and Irreverence of thoſe People that make it their Profeſſion to decry *Providence*, as if God took no Care of us; for how is it poſſible there ſhould be ſuch a Correſpondence betwixt a Thing foretold at one Time, and fulfilled ſo many Ages after; if, according to their Opinion, every Thing were left to Hap-hazzard? But what I have found in Writing, I do here deliver in Writing, juſt as I found it; leaving every Man ſtill to the Liberty of his own Opinion.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE ELEVENTH.

From the Year of the World 3425, to 3635.

CHAP. I.

Cyrus *gives the* Jews *Leave to return, and to rebuild* Jeruſalem *and the* Temple, *with Letters recommendatory to his Officers and Governours, to be aiding and aſſiſting to them.*

IN the firſt Year of *Cyrus* and the ſeventieth of our *Babylonian Captivity*, God took Pity of a miſerable People, according to what he had foretold them by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, before the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; That is to ſay, *that after* ſeventy Years Bondage *under* Nebuchadnezzar, *and his* Succeſſors, *they ſhould be* reſtored *to their own Country, ſee the* Temple rebuilt, *and return to the State of their former Glory.* This was all made good to them accordingly: For God put it into the Heart of *Cyrus*, to ſend his Circular Letters over all *Aſia* to this Effect; ſigning them Cyrus *the King. I do fully perſuade my ſelf that the* great God, *of whoſe Gift and Bounty I hold my* Empire, *is the very* God *that the Children of* Iſrael *adore*; *for I find honourable Mention made of my Name by his Prophets of ancient Date, as a Perſon that in Time to come ſhould* rebuild Jeruſalem, *and* reinſtate *the* People. *Cyrus*, it ſeems, had ſeen and read the Prophecies of *Iſaiah*, which bore date two hundred and ten Years before he was born; wherein he gives an Account of a Revelation he had from God, *that he would raiſe up one* Cyrus, *to be a King of many, and of powerful Nations, who ſhould re-eſtabliſh the* Hebrews *in their native Country.* This was foretold by the Prophet a hundred and forty Years before the Temple was deſtroy'd. The King was ſo tranſported upon the reading of theſe divine Inſpirations and Predictions concerning himſelf, that he fell preſently to Work upon making good his Part of the Prophecy. The firſt Thing he did was to call together all the leading Men of the *Jews* to *Babylon*; where he told them, that ſo many of them as had a Mind to go back into their Country, ſhould have free Paſs-Ports, and Permiſſion to rebuild the *Temple* and the City of *Jeruſalem*, if they thought fit; making no doubt, he ſaid, but that God would bleſs them in the Undertaking: Promiſing over and above, that he would ſend his Orders to all his Officers and Governours bordering upon *Judæa*, to furniſh them with Gold and Silver for the Fabrick, and Beaſts for Sacrifices. The moſt eminent of the *two Tribes of Judah* and *Benjamin* together with the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, immediately upon this Declaration, haſten'd away toward *Jeruſalem:* But there were a great many however, that choſe rather to ſtay in *Babylon*, than to quit their Poſſeſſions. Upon their Arrival at *Jeruſalem*, all the King's Friends and Officers contributed largely, and unanimouſly toward the great Works, ſome in Gold, others in Silver; and ſome again again in Cattle, and Horſes; others attended the Diſcharge of their Vows, and the Solemnity of Oblations, as if they were already enter'd upon the Buſineſs of re-erecting the City, and in the Exerciſe of their ancient Diſcipline: For *Cyrus* had then ſent them from *Babylon*, the *Holy Veſſels* and *Utenſils* that *Nabuchadnazzar* had taken away from the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*; which were deliver'd to [a] *Mithridates* the King's Treaſurer, and by him to be depoſited with *Abaſſar*, till the Temple ſhould be finiſh'd; and then immediately to be put into the Hands of the *Prieſts*, and *Magiſtrates* of the People, for the Uſe and Service of the *Temple*. *Cyrus*, after this, wrote another Letter to the Governours of *Syria*, in manner following.

1 Eſdras 1.
3 Eſdras 3.

The Jews *reſtored after* ſeventy Years Captivity, *as the Prophet* Jeremiah *foretold.*

Cyrus *makes* Proclamation *that the* God *of the* Jews *is the* true God.
Ezra 1.

Cyrus *reſolves to make good what* Iſaiah *predicted of him.*
Iſaiah 44, 45.

Cyrus *gives the* Jews *Liberty to go back and* rebuild *their* Temple *and* City.

Liberal Contribution, *toward the Work.*

Cyrus *reſtores the* Holy Veſſels *and* Utenſils *that had been taken out of the* Temple.

Cyrus *writes to the Governours of* Syria.

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[a] According to ancient Coins it ſhould be *Mithradates*, as Mr. *Spanheim* has obſerv'd.

Cyrus the King, to *Syſina* and *Sarabaſan* ſendeth *greeting.*

Cyrus, *in Favour of the* Jews, *gives leave for the* Temple *and* capital City *to be rebuilt.*

Be it known unto you, that I have given Leave to all the Jews *that are in my Dominions, to return into their own Country, and there to* rebuild *their* capital City, *with the* Holy Temple *at* Jeruſalem, *in the ſame Place where it ſtood before. I have likewiſe ſent my Treaſurer* Mithridates, *and* Zerubbabel *the Governour of* Judæa, *to ſuperintend the Building, and to ſee it raiſed* ſixty Cubits upward *from the Ground, and as many over; the Walls to be three Rows of poliſhed Stone, and one of the Wood of the Country, together with an* Altar *for the* Sacrifices; *and all this to be done at my own Charge. I have alſo appointed my Treaſurer* Mithridates *and* Zerubbabel *the Prince of* Judah, *to cauſe all* Utenſils *and* Veſſels *that* Nebuchadnezzar *carry'd away from the Temple at* Jeruſalem, *to be ſent back and* reſtor'd: *That is to ſay;* fifty golden Ewers, *aud* four hundred ſilver ones; fifty golden Veſſels *all* thericlean *Cups*, and four hundred ſilver ones; fifty golden Water-Bailes, *and* five hundred ſilver ones; thirty golden *Chalices*, and three hundred ſilver ones; thirty golden *Phials*, two thouſand four hundred ſilver ones; *beſide a* thouſand, *promiſcuouſly, of other* large Veſſels.

All Utenſils, *and* holy Veſſels *that* Nebuchadnezzar *carry'd away, to be* reſtor'd.

Maintenance.

It is my further Pleaſure alſo, that they receive entire to themſelves all the **Profits** *and Revenues that were formerly enjoy'd by their Predeceſſors, and that they* **have an Allowance** *paid them of* two hundred and five thouſand five hundred Drachma's, *in Conſideration of* Beaſts *for* Sacrifices, Wine, *and* Oyl, *and* two thouſand five hundred *Meaſures of* Wheat *in lieu of the* fine Flour; *and all this to be rais'd upon the* **Tribute** *of* Samaria. *The* Prieſts alone *to offer up the* Sacrifices *according to the* Laws *and* Ceremonies *of* Moſes, *and to pray daily for the* King *and the* royal Family, *and for the Welfare and Happineſs of the* Perſian Empire. *And let no Man preſume to do any Thing contrary to the Tenor of this my royal Will and* Proclamation, *upon Pain of forfeiting Life and Eſtate.*

The Number of thoſe that return'd to Jeruſalem. Ezra 2.

This was the Subſtance of the King's Letter; and the Number of thoſe that returned out of Captivity to *Jeruſalem*, upon this Encouragement and Invitation, was *forty two thouſand four hundred Sixty two Perſons.*

CHAP. II.

The Jews *fall to Work upon the rebuilding the City and the Temple; but* Cyrus *dying in the mean Time, his Son* Cambyſes *is prevail'd upon to countermand the Deſign.*

1 Eſdr. 4.

THE *Jews* were no ſooner at Work upon the Foundations of the *Temple*, their Hearts being wholly ſet upon the Advancement of the Undertaking, but the bordering Nations, and eſpecially the *Chuthites*, which *Salmanaſſar*, the King of *Aſſyria*, had formerly tranſplanted from *Perſia* and *Media* into *Samaria*, after he had remov'd the *Iſraelites* into *other Habitations:* Theſe People, I ſay apply'd themſelves to the Princes and Governours, to whom the Care of this Enterpriſe was committed; preſſing them with earneſt Importunities, not to ſuffer the *Jews*, upon any Terms to proceed upon the Project of *rebuilding* the *City* and the *Temple.* Theſe Commiſſioners were prevail'd upon, by the Force of Bribes and fair Words, to ſlacken their Diligence in the Diſpatch and Proſecution of their Orders; and during the Courſe of this Negligence and Delay, *Cyrus* was ſo taken up in a War with the *Maſſagetes* (where he loſt his Life) that he knew nothing at all of the Matter.

The Chuthites *oppoſe the* rebuilding *of the* City *and* Temple. Ezra 4 2. *The Work is delay'd and* Cyrus *in the* Interim *dies in the War with the* Maſſagetes. Cambyſes *ſucceed to* Cyrus. *A malicious Addreſs to* Cambyſes *againſt the* Jews.

Upon the Death of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes* in Courſe ſucceeded to the *Empire*, and had an *Addreſs* preſented him out of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and from the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, ſigned *Rathymus*, *Hiſtory-Secretary*; *Semelius*, *Scribe*; and the *Magiſtrates* of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. The Tenor of it to the Purpoſe following. *This is to give you*, great Sir, *to underſtand that the* Jews *that were carry'd away to* Babylon, *are now returned to their former* Seats, *and into our Country where they are buſy upon the* rebuilding *of a City that was moſt deſervedly deſtroy'd for ſeditious Practices. They are ſetting up* Markets, *and Places of* Commerce; *repairing the* Walls, *and renewing the* Temple: *And if they go on at this rate, you may aſſure your ſelf, that they will neither pay Taxes, nor due Allegiance much longer; for they are profeſt Enemies to Kings, and will never ſubmit to* ſerve, *if they once get it into their Power to* command. *We account it our Duty,* Sir, *in this Heat and Zeal, for the rebuilding of the Temple, to poſſeſs you before it too late, with a true State of the Matter. Be pleaſed only to look back into the Hiſtory of your Predeceſſors, and you ſhall there find the* Jews, *from Generation to Generation, to be the Enemies of all crowned Heads; and that this very City was juſtly laid waſte and deſolate, for the Crime of* Rebellion: *And we are further to preſent this to your Conſideration, that if ever they go thorough with the re-edifying of this City, and the finiſhing the* Walls, *you will find your Communication cut off with* Phœnicia, *and* Cœle-Syria.

CHAP. III.

Cambyſes *puts a Stop to the rebuilding of the* City *and* Temple. *He dies ſoon after, and the Adminiſtration of the Government is for one Year lodg'd in the* Magi. Darius *is choſen King.*

THE King was ill-natur'd, and croſs-grain'd enough of himſelf; but this Remonſtrance put him out of all Patience, as will appear by his following Anſwer.

King *Cambyſes* to *Rathymus* his Hiſtoriographer; *Belſemus*; and *Semelius* the Scribe, and the reſt of the Inhabitants of *Samaria* and *Phœnicia*, Greeting. *Upon the reading of your Letter of Addreſs, I have cauſed a diligent Search to be made into the Hiſtory of former Times, according to your Requeſt, and I find your Remarks upon the City of* Jeruſalem *to be true; and that they have ever been a* rebellious, *and, as you ſay, an* anti-monarchical Sort of People; *turbulent and reſtleſs, and naturally addicted to Innovations. I find likewiſe that their Kings have been ever fierce and violent, and vexatious in their Taxes and Impoſitions, to the higheſt Degree of Oppreſſion, as* Phœnicia *and* Cœle-Syria *may bear Witneſs againſt them: Wherefore I do command you to oppoſe them with all your Might, in the* rebuilding *of the City; for as they grow in Power, they will certainly encreaſe in Malice, and behave themſelves as ſeditiouſly to the preſent Governours, as they have done in Time paſt to former Kings.*

Cambyſes *puts a Stop to the* re-building *of the* Temple.

Rathymus and *Semelius* had no ſooner read this *Mandate*, but away they went with their Companions, and took Horſe immediately for *Jeruſalem*, and a vaſt Multitude of People along with them, where they put an abſolute Stop to the *Jews* in the Work of the *City* and the *Temple*. So that it was reſpited for a Matter of nine Years; that is to ſay, to the ſecond Year of *Darius* the King of *Perſia*. *Cambyſes*, after he had reigned ſix Years, and ſubdu'd *Ægypt*, dy'd at *Damaſcus*, in his Return from that Expedition. The Government reſting in the Hands of the *Magi* for a full Year after his Death; and it was afterwards tranſlated by the *ſeven Satrapæ*, or *eminent Families* of the *Perſians*, and by common Conſent, to *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*.

The Work was laid aſide for nine Years.

Cambyſes reign'd *ſix Years, and* Darius *the Son of* Hyſtaſpes *ſucceeded him.*

CHAP. IV.

Darius *gives* Zerubbabel *Leave to* rebuild *the* City *and* Temple. *The* Samaritans *oppoſe it: But* Darius, *on the contrary, promotes the Deſign.*

DARIUS, while he was yet a private Man, made a Vow to God, that if ever he came to the Throne, he would ſend all the *holy Veſſels* that were at *Babylon* back again to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; and it happened about that Time, that *Zerubbabel*, who was declar'd the Prince or Captain of the *Jewiſh Captives*, came from *Jeruſalem* to *Darius*. He was an ancient Friend and Confident of the King's, and taken into a particular Truſt, with two other great Officers, which was an Honour that anſwer'd the uttermoſt of his Ambition

1 Eſdr. 5. 6. Darius's *Vow in Favour of the* Jews.

Zerubbabel *the King's ancient Friend.*

Darius, in the firſt Year of his Reign, gave a ſplendid and a moſt magnificent Treat; not only to his own Domeſticks, but to the Princes and Nobility of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; the General Officers of all *India* and *Æthiopia*; and the Commanders, in Fine, of a *hundred and twenty ſeven Provinces*. Upon the breaking up of the Company, when the Entertainment was over, they retir'd, every Man to his Quarter. *Darius*, in the mean while, finding after a ſhort Slumber, that he could not lay himſelf to Reſt again, fell into Diſcourſes from one Thing to another with his three *favourite Officers*; telling them in the End, that *he had ſome Queſtions to ask them; and for their Encouragement, he that ſhould give him the moſt reaſonable and ſatisfactory Anſwer, ſhould have the Privileges to be cloathed in Purple, drink in a golden Cup, ſleep upon Gold, ride in a Chariot with Harneſs of Gold, wear a ſilken* Tiara, *and a gold Chain, have the next Place to* Darius *himſelf in the* Council, *and be accounted as one of the* royal Blood. After this, he put his Queſtions to them in Order: To the *firſt, If there was any Thing ſtronger than Wine?* To the *ſecond*, the ſame Queſtion again, of the *Strength of Kings*; and to the *third*, what he thought of the *Strength of Women*; or finally, of *Truth*, perhaps above all the reſt. Upon the putting of theſe *Quæries*, he made an End of ſpeaking, and left his Guards to conſider of the Matter. In the Morning early, he call'd together all the Princes of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with the chief Officers and Governours; placed himſelf upon the Seat of Juſtice, and cauſed the three Guards of his Body to be ſent for immediately to give their Opinions ſeverally and publickly upon what he had propos'd.

Several Queſtions put by Darius *to his* Officers, *with mighty Promiſes to him that ſhould beſt reſolve them.*

The Queſtions were, whether Wine, Women, *or* Truth, *was the* ſtronger. Eſdr. 1. 3, & 4.

The Power of Wine.

The *firſt* began upon the Subject of the Strength of Wine; *Which* (ſays he) *with Favour of this illuſtrious Aſſembly, I may take upon me to pronounce ſuperior to all other Powers whatſoever: For it overthrows the* Minds *and the* Underſtandings *of all that will be trying Maſteries with it. It puts the* greateſt Prince *into the Condition of a* Child *in his* Wardſhip, *that has not Wit enough to look to himſelf. It ſets the* Slave *at* Liberty, *even to the* forgetting *of his* Chains, *and makes the* Beggar *as* rich *and as* high *as an* Emperour. *It changes and elevates the* Spirits, *wherever it takes Poſſeſſion. It* enlivens *the* heavy Hearts *of the* miſerable; *pays all* Debts, *and relieves Men in all Manner of* Neceſſities. *It makes the* Scoundrel *ſtrut, and brag like a* Lord; *look and talk big, without any Fancy or Fear of either* Kings *or* Captains. *It makes Men forget their moſt intimate Familiars and Friends, and draw upon their neareſt Relations, as if they were the moſt hateful of Strangers: And then when a Man has ſlept out his* Debauch, *he no more remembers what he did in the Heat of his Wine, than as if no ſuch Thing had ever been. Now for theſe Reaſons, I cannot but look upon the Force and Operation of* Wine *to be the* ſtrongeſt *and the moſt* violent *of all others.*

The Power of Kings.

When the *firſt* had done dilating upon the Topick of *Wine*, the *ſecond* ſtood up for the Power of *Kings*, in Preference to all other whatſoever: Which he endeavour'd to prove after this Manner. *It is beyond Diſpute*, ſays he, *that God has made Man the Maſter of all Things under the Sun, ſo far as to command them, to make Uſe of them, and apply them to the Service of Mankind as he pleaſes: But whereas Men have only a Dominion over all other ſublunary Creatures,* Kings *have an Authority even over* Men themſelves, *and a Right of* ruling *them by Will and Pleaſure. Now he that is* Maſter *of* thoſe *that are* Maſters *of* all Things elſe, *hath a juſt Title to an Advantage over all the reſt, and to be accounted inſuperable, having no earthly Thing above him. When Princes find it for their Convenience to expoſe the Perſons of their Subjects to Wars and Dangers, they obey them, you ſee, without any Reluctancy or Diſpute, let the Hazzard be what it will; either Bodies to Bodies, or in the Attack of Walls or Works; forcing of Paſſes; or, as it many Times falls out, in contending with Nature it ſelf: We ſee how frankly they offer themſelves either to kill, or to be kill'd, in the Execution of their Prince's Orders. And then in Caſe of a Victory at laſt, the Honour and Profit of the whole goes to the* King. *This for the military Part; and the ſame Reaſon holds in the common Buſineſs of* Husbandry *and* Tillage; *where the Countryman ploughs, ſows, digs, and ſweats, in the firſt Place, to ſupply the King's Stores out of his Toil and Labour; and whatſoever he commands muſt be obey'd, without any Expoſtulation or Delay. The* King *all this Time, while the People are working for him, takes his Fill of all Delicacies and Pleaſures; ſleeps in Security and at Eaſe, with his Guards about him under the Slavery of an indiſpenſable Attendance, and not a Man of them dares cloſe his Eyes while his Maſter is at Reſt; for the King's Buſineſs is theirs without any Sort of Liberty to attend any other. So that nothing certainly can be* ſtronger *than the Force of that Power that the whole Multitude obeys to all Intents.*

Zerubbabel *upon the Power of* Women.

After this Declamation upon the Power of *Kings*, *Zerubbabel* took his Turn upon the Argument of *Women*, and of *Truth:* And his Diſcourſe was to this following Effect. *The Force of Wine*, ſays he, *is not to be deny'd; neither is that of* Kings, *that ties up ſo many Millions of Men in one common Bond of Allegiance: But the the Super-Eminency of* Women *is yet above all this. For the* Mother *of the* King *was before the* King himſelf; *and* Kings *are but the* Gifts *of the* Women *that brought them into the World: And* Women *were likewiſe the Mothers and Nurſes of thoſe that cultivate our* Vineyards, *and dreſs our* Vines. *There is not any Thing we can pretend to, but either directly or indirectly we have it from them. They have a Hand in the Government of all our domeſtick Affairs; nay, in the Dreſs* and *Ornament of our Bodies: And, in Fine, God hath made them ſo neceſſary to us, that there's no living, and in Truth, no being without them. Let a Man have never ſo much Gold and Silver, or what is more precious, before him, the Sight of a* beautiful Woman *puts all theſe Vanities out of his Head and Thought, any farther than parting with them to purchaſe the Poſſeſſion of a beloved Beauty. Women have the Power to make us abandon our very Country and Relations, and many Times to forget the beſt Friends we have in the World, and forſaking all other Comforts, to live and die with them. And it may yet be added, that when we have compaſſed Sea and Land for all Things that are rich and curious in Nature, what does it all come to at laſt, but a more valuable Preſent to a Miſtreſs? How have I ſeen the* King *himſelf, in the Bluſter of all his Glory and Titles, ſubmit to the taking of a Box on the Ear at the Hand of his Concubine* Apame, *the Daughter of* Rabepſaces Themaſinus! *And this was not all neither; for ſhe would take the Crown off from the King's Head, and ſet it upon her own: And he good Man ſo complaiſant all the while, as to put himſelf into all Shapes and Humours to pleaſe her, and to be pleaſant or ſad with her for Company, for Fear of giving her any Occaſion of Offence.*

Upon this, the Princes and the Nobility look'd upon one another, not without ſome Admiration at the Freedom of the Diſcourſe; and ſo *Zerubbabel* proceeded to the laſt

And finally of Truth.
A Preference given to Truth.

Point, upon the Argument of *Truth. I have ſpoken*, ſays he, *what I had to ſay upon the Subject of* Women; *but when all is done, neither* they, *nor* Kings, *are comparable to the almighty Force of* Truth: *For allowing the vaſt Magnitude of the Earth; the Height of the Heavens, and the unſpeakable Swiftneſs of the Motion of the Sun; and that all this is order'd by a divine Providence, it muſt be granted withal that* God *is* juſt *and* true; *and conſequently that* Truth *is of all Things imaginable, the moſt* powerful, *ſince neither* Error *nor* Juſtice *can prevail againſt it. As for all other Things that paſs for Great in the World, they are mortal and ſhort-liv'd; but* Truth alone *is* unchangeable *and* everlaſting: *The Benefits we receive from it are ſubject to no Variations or Viciſſitudes of Time and Fortune; but righteous and warrantable, and without any Stain of Iniquity, or Reproach.*

Darius *is ſo well pleas'd with the* Sentence *that he bids him ask what he would;* prefers *him and* adopts *him into the* royal Family.

Zerubbabel had the univerſal Acclamation of the whole Auditory, for the excellent Things he deliver'd; and they all agreed with him; that *Truth* was incorruptible, and the only Bleſſing under the Sun that was not liable to Alteration and Decay: So that the King, as an Inſtance of his full Satisfaction in this Anſwer to the Queſtion, bad him take his Choice out of what he had promis'd him, and with all his Heart he ſhould have it; *for*, ſays he, *you ſhall have a Preference in my Eſteem above all other Men, in Proportion to the Superiority of your Wiſdom and Underſtanding, above that of your Companions: And from this Time forward you ſhall have the firſt Place of Honour next to my own Perſon, and ſtand adopted into my Affinity and Blood.*

Zerubbabel *minds him of his* Vow *of* Reſtitution, *and deſires him to be as good as his Word.*
Darius *writes to his* Governours *to be aſſiſtant to the* Jews *to all Manner of Purpoſes.*

Zerubbabel could not but lay hold of ſo fair an Occaſion for the putting of the King in Mind of a former Vow he had made; which was, that if ever he came to the Crown, he would immediately fall to work upon the *rebuilding* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *holy Temple* there, and order a Reſtitution to be made of all the *ſacred Veſſels* and *Utenſils* that *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken away from thence, and carry'd to *Babylon. Now*, ſays he, *ſince your Majeſty has done me the Honour of reputing me a wiſe Man, and allowing me the Liberty of this Election, my humble Requeſt muſt be this; that you will now diſcharge your Vow, and be as good as your Word.* The King, upon this Challenge, raiſed himſelf chearfully from his Throne; embraced his Adviſer, and kiſs'd him, and ſent away *Mandates* ſoon after to his Governours and great Officers, to conduct *Zerubbabel* and thoſe that were to go along with him, to their Journey's End, and to aſſiſt him in the *re-edifying* of the *Temple*. He wrote *Letters* alſo to the Magiſtrates of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, to provide Carriages for the tranſporting of the *Cedar* to *Jeruſalem* that was cut down in *Libanus*, and to help them all they could, in their main Undertaking. The King gave them likewiſe in Charge, to exempt all the *Jews* that ſhould now return out of this Captivity, from the Burden of any *publick Tax* or *Duty*; and to leave them at Liberty in their *Perſons*, as well as in their *Eſtates*, without either *Reſtraint* or *Tribute*: Commanding alſo the *Edomites*, *Samaritans*, and the People of *Cœle-Syria*, to reſtore all thoſe Lands to the *Jews* again, that had been formerly in their Poſſeſſion, and to contribute *fifty Talents* over and above, toward the erecting of the *Temple*, after their own Way, and aſſign'd them out of his own proper *Bounty*, whatever ſhould be found neceſſary, either in *ſacerdotal Habits*, or otherwiſe, for the right Adminiſtration of every Thing in Form. He aſſigned them *Organs* alſo to accompany the *Voices* of the *Levites*, and order'd a certain Proportion of *Land* for the Entertainment of the *Officers* and *Keepers*, both of the City and the Temple, in the Way of an *annual Penſion*: Confirming every Thing, in Fine, what *Cyrus* had formerly reſolv'd upon about the reſtoring of the *Jews*, and their *holy Veſſels*.

When *Zerubbabel* had obtained this Grace from the King, the firſt Thing he did after his going out from the Place, was, with his Eyes up to Heaven, to give God Thanks for the Honour he had received from the King, in the Reputation of his Wiſdom, beyond the Reſt of his Competitors, which he acknowledg'd to be only the diſtinguiſhing Effect of his divine Goodneſs; concluding his Thankſgiving, with a Prayer for the Succeſs of his Undertaking; and ſo went his Way to his Countrymen at *Babylon*, with the joyful News of their Deliverance. Upon the Report of theſe Tydings, they joyn'd immediately in an univerſal Thankſgiving for the Promiſe of this Reſtoration to their native Country; and after the Solemnity of that Duty was over, they fell to feaſting, drinking, and making good Cheer, for a Matter of ſeven Days together; in ſuch a Tranſport of Joy and Jollity, as if the Day of their Redemption and Return had been the firſt Day of a new Life to them. The Heads of the *Tribes* made a Choice of thoſe that were to go upon this Expedition, providing Horſes, and other Beaſts of Burden, and Carriages, for their Wives and Children; and taking thoſe Troops along with them, which *Darius* had appointed for a Convoy. In this Manner and Company they paſs'd their Time merrily upon the Way, with Pipes and Cymbals play-

Zerubbabel *carries the* Jews *at* Babylon, *the Tydings of their Deliverance.*

Darius *aſſigns them a Convoy, and ſo they depart. The Order of their* Proceſſion.

ing before them, and the whole Multitude dancing and rejoycing, after the Muſick. There was a ſelect Number cull'd out from all and every of the *Tribes*; but the naming of them in particular, would be tireſome to the Reader, and interrupt the Order of my Diſcourſe: So that I ſhall only run them over in Generals. There were of the Tribe of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, from twelve Years old and upward, *four Millions ſix hundred twenty and eight thouſand* Perſons. After theſe, came *four thouſand and ſeventy* Levites: And a promiſcuous Multitude of *Women* and *Children*, to the Number of *forty thouſand ſeven hundred and forty two.* Of the Stock of the *Levites*, there were *a hundred twenty eight Singers: A hundred and ten Porters:* And of others that ſerv'd and aſſiſted in the *Sanctuary*, *three hundred twenty two.* There were alſo *ſix hundred fifty two* that call'd themſelves *Iſraelites*; but could not prove their Extraction. There were others alſo, that had taken *Wives*, whoſe *Genealogy* could not be *made out*, either from the *Levitical* or *ſacerdotal Records*; and theſe were accounted unqualified for the holy Function, to the Number of *five hundred twenty five.* The Train of Servants that attended them, was reckon'd at *ſeven thouſand three hundred thirty ſeven.* *Singing-Men* and *Women*, *two hundred forty five*; *Camels*, *four hundred*; and other *Beaſts* of Carriage, *five hundred twenty five.* The Leader of this Multitude was *Zerubbabel*, the Son of *Salathiel*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, and the Race of *David*; and with him was *Jeſus* the Son of *Joſedec*; and *Mardochæus*, and *Serebæus*, which two were choſen to the Command, by the Suffrage of the *Tribes*, and contributed at their own Charge, *a hundred Pound of Gold*, and *five thouſand Pound of Silver*, toward the Expence of this Expedition. This was the Order and the Manner of the *March* of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and that Part of the People that went along with them in their Return from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*; the Reſt following afterward by little and little, till in the End they all went back to their own Habitations.

Their Number, Tribes *and* Qualities.

Zerubbabel *their Leader, and* Jeſus *their* High-Prieſt.

In the ſeventh Month after their Departure from *Babylon*, *Jeſus* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Zerubbabel* their Prince, ſent Meſſengers expreſs all over the Land to ſummon the People to a *general Meeting* at *Jeruſalem*, who gather'd together, with great Chearfulneſs according to the Order. Upon this Meeting, there was erected an *Altar* to *ſacrifice* upon, according to the Appointment of God by his Servant *Moſes*, and it was raiſed upon the ſame Place where it ſtood before. This Proceeding gave a mighty Offence to the neighbouring Nations, who had effectually an Averſion, both to the People, and to whatever they did. This happened juſt upon the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, according to the *Moſaical* Inſtitution; and after that, came the *daily Oblations*, and the *Sacrifice* of the *Sabbaoths*, and of the *new Moons*, and of all *holy Feaſts*; and all thoſe that had made any *Vow* came likewiſe to perform it, from the firſt Day of the ſeventh Month.

A General Aſſembly *indicted at* Jeruſalem. *An* Altar *erected.*

The Feaſt of Tabernacles, *and other* Feſtivals.

They enter'd then upon the Building of the *Temple*, and expended vaſt Sums of Money upon the Workmen, and Builders of all Sorts: And upon Meat and Drink for thoſe that aſſiſted in the Carriage of *Materials.* The *Sidonians* were frank and liberal toward this Work, bringing down *Cedar-Planks* in Abundance from *Libanus*; and after that, framing thoſe Timbers into *Boats*, which they brought into the Port of *Joppa*, as they had been order'd; firſt by *Cyrus*, and after him by *Darius*.

Money, Workmen, *and* Materials *for the* Temple *provided.*

It was now the ſecond Month of the ſecond Year after the Return of the *Jews*, when the *Foundations* of the *Temple* being already laid, they began on the *firſt Day* of *December* with the *Superſtructure*; committing the Care of the Building to the whole Family of the *Levites*, of twenty Years of Age and upward, and likewiſe to *Jeſus*, with his Sons and Brothers; and to *Zolimiel*, the Brother of *Juda*, and the Son of *Aminadab*, and to his Sons; who were all ſo diligent and induſtrious in the Diſcharge of their Commiſſions, that the Fabrick went forward beyond Expectation. When they were advanced thus far, the *Prieſts* came and officiated in their *Habits*, with *muſical Inſtruments:* And the *Levites*, and the Sons of *Aſaph*, ſung ſome of the holy Hymns of *David* to the Honour of God, according to the *firſt Inſtitution.* But the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and the Elders of their Families, who had ſeen the Glory and Magnificence of the former Houſe, and computing how little this was in Compariſon of the other, brake out into Tears and Lamentations at the Thought of it. The common People however that had never ſeen the former, and conſequently could not be troubled at the Diſproportion; they contented themſelves well enough with the preſent State of Things, though the Paſſion of the *Prieſts* and *Elders* was ſo great at the ſame Time, that their very Cries and Groans were almoſt as loud as the Muſick.

Truſtees *appointed for the Care of the Work.*

The Building advanced beyond Expectation.

The Report of this Noiſe of *Trumpets*, with a confuſed Clamour and Mixture of Joy and Sorrow being brought to the *Samaritans*, they came running together in

Troops to learn the Meaning of it; and finding that it was occaſion'd by the Return of the *Jews* from their Captivity at *Babylon*, and that they were now at work upon the re-erecting of their *Temple*, they went immediately to *Zerubbabel*, and *Jeſus*, with the Chief of the *Tribes*, and deſir'd that they themſelves might likewiſe be admitted into the Undertaking, upon Terms in common with the Reſt; *for*, ſay they, *we worſhip the ſame God*, *value our ſelves upon the Glory of the ſame Profeſſion, and upon the Love and Practice of the ſame Religion, from the very Days of* Salmanaſar, *the King of* Aſſyria, *who tranſplanted us out of* Chuthia *and* Media, *into this Land.* The Anſwer to the Requeſt was with one Voice, that they could not take them into a Partnerſhip of the Building; becauſe formerly *Cyrus*, and after him *Darius*, had aſſign'd the building of it to their particular Care: But that they ſhould have Liberty, if they thought fit to worſhip there without Exception to any Man, and that it ſhould be open to all People indifferently, that had a Mind to ſerve God in't.

The Samaritans *propoſe to join in the* Underta-king; *but cannot be admitted.*

The *Chuthites*, (for ſo we call the *Samaritans*) took this Refuſal ſo heinouſly, that they ſtirr'd up the *Syrians* to apply themſelves to the great Men as they did at firſt, under *Cyrus*, and afterward under *Cambyſes*, that a Stop might be put to the Progreſs of this Building, by ſlackening the Diligence of thoſe that were intruſted with the Diſpatch of the Work.

The Chuthites *obſtruct the Work all they can.* Ezra 5.

There went up to *Jeruſalem* at this Time, *Siſinnes*, the Governour of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Sarabazanes*, with ſome others, and asked ſome of the principal Men among them, by what Authority this *Temple* was to be built? For it look'd liker a *Caſtle* than a Temple; and to what End the *Walls* of the City were made ſo *thick* and *ſtrong*; and the *Gates* ſo *fortify'd*; *Zerubbabel* and *Jeſus* made Anſwer, that they were the Servants of the great God, to whoſe Honour this *Temple* was built; and to his Service dedicated by the greateſt, the happieſt, and the wiſeſt Prince that ever ſat upon that Throne; and that it had ſtood firm for many Ages: Till in the End, for the Wickedneſs of their Forefathers, the City by God's Permiſſion was taken, and deſtroy'd by *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* and *Chaldæa*; the *Temple* pillag'd, and laid in *Aſhes*, and the People carry'd away *Captives* into *Babylon*: But that when *Cyrus* came to the Government of *Perſia* and *Babylon*, he order'd by his *royal Proclamation* the *rebuilding* of the *Temple*, and the *reſtoring* of all the *Donatives*, and *Veſſels*, that had been taken away by *Nebuchadnezzar*; which were deliver'd to *Zerubbabel*, and his Treaſurer *Mithridates*, to be tranſported to *Jeruſalem*, and laid up again in the *Temple* there: That by the Command of the ſame King, *Abaſſar* was ſent to that City to endeavour the finiſhing of the Work out of Hand: That upon Receipt of the King's Letters, he came in all Haſte, and immediately laid the *Foundation*: And that from that Time forward their Enemies had been ſtill at Work to caſt ſome Rubb or other in the Way, to obſtruct, or to delay the Deſign. Now if they pleaſed they might write to *Darius*; to the End that upon inſpecting *Papers*, and *Records*, they might find the whole Story to be *true* as they had told it. *Siſinnes* and his Companions did not think it reaſonable to interrupt the Proceeding without the Privity of *Darius* himſelf; and therefore they agreed among themſelves to write to him immediately about this Matter. The *Jews* were not a little ſolicitous and apprehenſive, for Fear the King upon this Application, ſhould countermand the Orders he had given; till *Aggæus*, and *Zacharias*, two Prophets among them at that Time, bad them be of good Chear, and Fear nothing from the *Perſians*; for they were certainly inform'd of God's holy Will and Pleaſure touching that Affair. The People did ſo abſolutely depend upon this Encouragement, that they wrought harder and harder, without the Intermiſſion ſo much as of one ſingle Day.

Siſinnes *and* Sarabazanes *queſtion the* Authority *of the Proceeding.*

The Prophet Haggai *and* Zacharias *ſet the People in Heart.*

When the *Samaritans* had written a complaining Accuſation againſt the *Jews* to *Darius*; objecting againſt them the *fortifying* of the *City*, and the *erecting* of a ſtrong Place that look'd liker a *Citadel* than a *Temple*; ſetting forth that this was not at all for the King's Service; and ſhewing alſo the Epiſtle of *Cambyſes*, by which he had forbidden, and hinder'd it before, as a Practice that was neither profitable nor ſafe for the Publick: When they had repreſented all this, I ſay, and that the King had received and conſider'd of theſe Letters, he order'd the royal Memorials to be conſulted upon this Subject; and upon the Search, there was found at *Ecbatana*, a *Caſtle* in *Media*, a certain Book, wherein was written to this Effect.

The Samaritans *calumniate the* Jews *to* Darius.

It was ordained by King Cyrus, *in the firſt Year of his Reign, that the* Temple of God ſhould *be* rebuilt *at* Jeruſalem, *ſixty Cubits in Height, and as many in Breadth, and the* Altar *in it: That there ſhould be in the Walls three Rows of poliſh'd Marble, and one of Wood, of the Growth of the Country; and the Charge of it to be defray'd out of the King's Treaſury: That the holy Veſſels, which* Nebuchadnezzar *had taken out of the Temple, ſhould be carry'd back to* Jeruſalem, *and* reſtor'd: *That the Seperintendency of*

The Decree of Cyrus *in Favour of the* Jews *and their Pretenſions.*

this Work ſhould be committed to Abaſſar *(the Governour of* Syria *and* Phœnicia) *and to his Companions; with Orders, not to appear at* Jeruſalem *themſelves, but to quit the Place, and leave the* Building *of the* Temple *to the* Jews, *the Servants of God, and to the* Chief *of their* Tribes; *but yet to ſupply them however out of the Taxes upon the Province, and to furniſh them for their Sacrifices, with Bulls, Rams, Lambs, Kids, Meal, Wine, Oyl, and whatever elſe the Prieſts ſhould deſire; who were to pray to God for the Welfare and Happineſs of the King, and of his People. And whoever ſhould preſume to act contrary to this* Mandate, *to be forthwith taken and hang'd up, and his Goods confiſcate; with the Addition of a Curſe, over and above, that whoever ſhould dare to oppoſe or forbid the Progreſs of this Work, God would ſtrike him with a Vengeance, as a Judgment upon him for his Iniquity.*

When *Darius*, upon a Search into the Tranſactions of *Cyrus*, had inform'd himſelf upon the Matter of Fact in Queſtion, he wrote back to *Siſinnes* and his *Fellow-Colleagues*, to this Effect.

King *Darius* to *Siſinnes*, the Maſter of his Horſe; and to *Sarabazanes*, and the other *Magiſtrates* with him, *Greeting*.

Darius *reinforces the Care of the Work.*

I ſend you a Copy of Cyrus's *Letter, tranſcribed out of his Records; and it is my Will and Pleaſure, that all Things may be done according to the Direction of that Appointment. Fare you well.* This Letter gave them to underſtand how the King ſtood inclin'd; ſo that *Siſinnes*, and the Reſt, agreed among themſelves to comply in all Points with the King's Order, and Command; and undertaking the Care of the Fabrick, they aſſiſted the *Jews*, and their *Magiſtrates* and *leading Men*, and carry'd on the Work ſo unanimouſly, that the Building was *erected* according to the Command of *Cyrus*, and *Darius*, and finiſhed within the Compaſs of ſeven Years; the Prophets, *Aggeus*, and *Zacharias*, in the mean Time propheſying. In the ninth Year of *Darius*, and the three and twentieth Day of the eleventh Month, which we call *Adar*; and the *Macedonians*, *Dyſtrus*, the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, with the People of *Iſrael*, offer'd in Sacrifice, a hundred Bulls, two hundred Rams, four hundred Lambs, and twelve Goats, as Sin-Offerings for the *twelve Tribes*, in Acknowledgment of the Bleſſing of their Deliverance from *Captivity* into the Condition of their former State, and to his *holy Worſhip* again in a *new Temple*. The *Prieſts* and *Levites* had their Porters at every Gate, according to the Law, the *Jews* having built Galleries round about the Temple.

The Temple *is finiſh'd in* ſeven Years.

The Dedication *of the* Temple.

The *Feaſt of unleavened Bread* was now drawing on; and in the firſt Month, which the *Macedonians* call *Xanthicus*, and we, *Niſan*, the People flock'd up from all Places to the City, where they celebrated that Feſtival, together with their Wives and Children, after the Practice of their Forefathers, with all Purity, and Sobriety anſwerable to the Occaſion. Upon the fourteenth Day of the firſt Month, they held the *Paſſover*, and kept together rejoycing for ſeven Days after; offering up Sacrifices and Thankſgiving to God for reſtoring them to the Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of their native Country, and their ancient Laws and Religion, and for diſpoſing the Heart and Inclination of the King of *Perſia* ſo favourably toward them. They ſpared for no Coſt in the Celebration of this *Feſtival*, and ſo replanted themſelves at *Jeruſalem*, where they erected an *Ariſtocraſy*; for the *ſovereign Power* was lodg'd in the *High-Prieſt*; till the *Aſmonæan Family*, upon a Turn of Affairs, enter'd upon the Government, and turn'd it into a *Monarchy*. Now before the Captivity, and for the Space of five hundred thirty two Years ſix Months and ten Days, from the Time of *Saul* and *David*, they were govern'd by *Kings*; and ſo they were likewiſe before, though under the *Name* of *Judges*, and that Form of Government continu'd upwards of five hundred Years, after the Adminiſtration of *Moſes* and *Joſhua*. This was the State of the *Jews* in the Reſtoration under *Cyrus* and *Darius*.

The Paſſover *is kept.*

An Ariſtocraſy *erected.*

The Samaritans *ſpiteful and envious to the* Jews.

But the *Samaritans*, that were an envious ſpiteful Sort of People, put them to a great Deal of vexatious Trouble, for they were powerful and wealthy; and claiming Kindred with the *Perſians*, they valu'd themſelves upon the Credit of their Original. They grumbled at the Taxes that were laid upon them by Way of Contribution to the *Sacrifices*; made an Intereſt to the Superintendent of the Works; and in Short, either by themſelves, or by others, they improv'd all Opportunities of doing us Miſchief. This Diſorder, in Fine, went ſo far, that the *Senate* and the *People* of *Jeruſalem* drew up a Complaint againſt the *Samaritans*, and ſent *Zerubbabel* with four more of his Colleagues upon the Embaſſy with it to *Darius*. When the King came to conſider the Crimes that were charg'd upon the *Samaritans*, he gave them a Letter back with them for the *Officers* and *Lieutenants* of *that Province*, and the *Senate* of *Samaria*, in Words to this Purpoſe.

Zerubbabel, *and four more ſent with a Complaint to* Darius *againſt the* Samaritans.

King *Darius* to *Tangar*, and *Sambaba*, the Maſters of our Horſe at *Samaria*; and to *Sadrack Bobelon*, and the reſt of their *Fellow-Subjects* there, ſendeth Greeting.

Whereas I am given to underſtand by Zerubbabel, Ananias *and* Mardochæus, *on the Part of the* Jews, *that you ſtand accuſed of interrupting and diſcouraging the* Rebuilding *of the* Temple, *and of refuſing to bear your Part in the* Charge *of the* Sacrifices, *which by my Order and Command, you ought to have done: This is to will and require you upon the Sight of this Letter, forthwith to ſupply them out of my Treaſury in* Samaria, *with whatſoever they ſhall want for the Uſe of their* Sacrifices *and Worſhip; to the End that they may offer up Daily Prayers and Oblations, both for my Self, and for my People.*

Darius *reproves them for being ſo croſs to the* Jews.

CHAP. V.

Xerxes *ſucceeds* Darius, *and grants to* Eſdras *whatever he deſires in Favour of the* Jews. *The Character, and Death of* Eſdras. Nehemiah *gets Permiſſion of* Xerxes *to rebuild the Walls of* Jeruſalem.

AFter the Death of *Darius*, his Son [a] *Xerxes* ſucceeded to the Government; the Heir of his Father's Piety, as well as of his Kingdom; for he made good all that his Predeceſſor had done in Favour of the *Jews* and their *Religion*, having a great Tenderneſs for both. *Joachim* the Son of *Jehu* was at this Time *High-Prieſt*; but the Name of the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*, that liv'd at *Babylon*, was *Eſdras*; a Man of a moſt exemplary Piety and Juſtice; and no Man had a fairer Reputation among the People. He was ſo well vers'd and skill'd in the *Moſaick Law*, that the King had a particular Eſteem for him on that Account. Upon a Reſolution taken to go to *Jeruſalem*, and to carry ſeveral of the *Babylonian Jews* along with him, he deſir'd ſuch a Letter from the King, as might recommend him to the *Governours* and *Lieutenants* of *Syria*, which he obtained; and the Purport of it was this.

Xerxes *ſucceeds his Father* Darius.

1 Eſdr. 7.

Eſdras *deſigns for* Jeruſalem, *with as many of the* Babylonian Jews *as he can get along with him.*

Xerxes, *the King of Kings, to* Eſdras *the* Prieſt, *and* Reader of the holy Law of God, *Greeting. Whereas it is decreed by me and my ſeven Counſellors, that what* Iſraelites *ſoever within my Dominions, with their* Prieſts *and* Levites, *ſhall think fit to bear you Company to* Jeruſalem; *I have, out of my Royal Clemency, granted them free Leave to go to* Judæa, *to worſhip according to the Laws of their Country: And likewiſe to take along with them all the* Gold *and* Silver, *be it never ſo much, that your People all over* Babylon *ſhall willingly contribute toward that Service, for the buying of* Sacrifices, *to offer upon the* Altar *to your God; and for making ſuch Veſſels of* Gold *and* Silver, *as you and your Brethren ſhall judge meet. It is alſo my Will, that what is thus given you, be dedicated to your God. And if you ſhall have Occaſion for any Thing elſe, uſe your own Diſcretion, and ſupply your ſelf out of the* publick Treaſure: *To which End, I have already written to the Officers that have the Menage of it in* Syria *and* Phœnicia; *expreſly commanding them to furniſh whatſoever* Eſdras *the* Prieſt, *and the* Reader of the Law of God *ſhall deſire, without any Delay: And to the End that God may proſper both me and mine, I will have a* hundred Meaſures of Wheat *dedicated to* God *according to the Proviſion of the* Law. *And for the* Magiſtrates, *I do ſtrictly charge and require of them, that they exact nothing from the* Prieſts, Levites, holy Singers, Porters, *or other* Officers *of the* Temple; *and that they lay no Burdens upon them. And for your ſelf,* Eſdras, *I do hereby give you full Authority, according to the Wiſdom you have received from above, to conſtitute Judges, that may ſee Juſtice done to all People thorough* Syria *and* Phœnicia, *that underſtand the* Law, *and are conſcientious in their Duty; and at the ſame Time do you inſtruct the ignorant, to the End that all Tranſgreſſors againſt the Law of God, and of the King, may be puniſh'd according to their Demerit; ſome with* Pecuniary Fines; *others with* Death, *according to the Quality of the Offence, where it ſhall be found, either Contumacy or Weakneſs.* Farewel.

Xerxes *gives him Letters of Licence, Recommendation, Credit and Authority.*

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, *Eſdras* worſhipped God, and gave Thanks; aſcribing to his bleſſed Providence, all the Benefits and Grace they had received from the King; who ſerv'd but as the Inſtrument of that divine and original Goodneſs. The *Jews* of that Country were upon this Occaſion ſummon'd to a general Meeting at *Babylon*, where the Letter was read, and the Copy of it tranſcrib'd and ſent away to be communicated to all the *Jews* in *Media*; but *Eſdras* kept the Original to himſelf. This Account of the King's wonderful Piety towards God, and of the Reſpect and Kindneſs he had for *Eſdras*, was a Surprize of wonderful Satisfaction to the People;

A Meeting of the Jews *at* Babylon: Eſdras's Credentials *read, and Copies of them diſpers'd.*

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[a] *Vorſtius*, in his v. *Exercit.* upon *Daniel*, ſhews that *Joſephus* errs, in making *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius Hyſtaſpes* to be the ſame with *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe Permiſſion the Jews return'd to *Palæſtine*, as we have it in the Book of *Nehemiah*.

ple; for great Numbers of them pack'd up their Goods and Effects, and haſten'd away to *Babylon*, with a Purpoſe to return to *Jeruſalem*: But there were then another Sort of *Iſraelites*, that being wonted to the Place, and ſettled in their Habitations, choſe rather to continue where they were. And this is the Reaſon that there are only *two Tribes* to be found in *Aſia* and *Europe*, under the *Roman Emperor*: As for the other *ten Tribes*, they are all planted beyond the *Euphrates*; and ſo prodigiouſly increas'd in Number, that they are hardly to be computed. The Publication of this recommendatory Teſtimonial, brought over Abundance of People to *Eſdras*; and not only *Prieſts* and *Levites*, but *Temple-Porters*, *Singers*, and other Officers and Servants appertaining thereunto. As for thoſe that had a Mind to go back again out of Captivity into their own Country, he appointed them a *Rendezvous* at the *Euphrates*; where, after a *three Days Faſt*, and the Solemnity of Vows and Prayers for a ſafe and a proſperous Voyage, (*Eſdras* excuſing himſelf from the Guard of Horſe that was offer'd him, as being already under the Protection of the Almighty) they enter'd upon their Journey on the twelfth Day of the firſt Month, in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*, and got to *Jeruſalem* in the fifth Month of the ſame Year, where *Eſdras* immediately deliver'd out the Money he brought, to the *Prieſts* that had the Cuſtody of the *holy Treaſure*; *ſix hundred and fifty Talents of Silver*; *a hundred Talents of Silver Veſſels*; *twenty Talents of Veſſels of Gold*, and *twelve Talents of fine Braſs*, that was even more precious than *Gold* it ſelf. Theſe were the Bounties of the King and his Friends, and of the *Iſraelites* that continu'd in *Babylon*. When *Eſdras* had acquitted himſelf of this Truſt, he offered unto God Burnt-Offerings, according to the Direction of the Law; *Twelve Bulls* for the whole People of *Iſrael*, *ſeventy two Sheep* and *Lambs*, and *twelve Goats* for a Sin-Offering. He communicated alſo the King's Letter to the *Stewards*, and Governours of *Phœnicia* and *Cœle-Syria*, who had the *Iſraelites* in great Honour, and readily ſupply'd them with whatever they wanted, when they ſaw they could do no other. This was all done by the Advice of *Eſdras*: And I do verily perſuade my ſelf, that God's Bleſſing went along with it, for the very Piety and Virtue of the Man.

Upon the Credit of this Commiſſion Eſdras *draws a mighty Train of* People *after him.*

His Arrival at Jeruſalem, *where he delivers up his Truſt of* Preſents *into the* Treaſury.

By this Time they had been a little compos'd, and ſettled in their Affairs, it came to the Ears of *Eſdras*, that ſome of the *Prieſts* and *Levites* had departed from the Rule of the *Law*, and their *Duty* in marrying into foreign Families, and ſo confounding the *Sacerdotal Race*. Hereupon, there was Application made to him, that he would ſtand by and ſupport the Laws, for Fear God in his Wrath, for the Iniquity of ſome few, ſhould avenge himſelf upon the whole Body of the People. *Eſdras*, upon this Complaint, rent his Cloaths in a Paſſion of Sorrow, tearing the Hair of his Head, and of his Beard, and caſting himſelf upon the Ground, in a Deſpair of doing any good in this Matter: For there were ſo many great Men concern'd in this Abomination, that he thought it would be to no Purpoſe, to lay any Injunction upon them to part with their Wives and Children; ſo that he continu'd ſtill deſponding, with his Face upon the Earth. All People that had any Senſe of Goodneſs or Humanity, gather'd together about him, to condole with him; and in pure Pity and Compaſſion, took Part with him in his Afflictions. *Eſdras* in the mean Time, holding up his Hands; *Good God!* ſays he, *I am aſhamed to lift up my Eyes to Heaven on the Behalf of theſe People, when I conſider that, after all thy dreadful Judgments upon their Anceſtors for their Diſobedience, they will yet go on in the Steps of their Forefathers*; *but, Lord, thy Mercy is infinite: Wherefore have Pity, I beſeech thee, upon this miſerable Remnant of thy diſtreſſed Servants*; *and as thou haſt been graciouſly pleas'd to bring them Home again, perfect the Work of thy Redemption, in the Pardon of their preſent Tranſgreſſion. It is confeſs'd, that they deſerve to die for their Iniquity*; *but their Truſt is in thy Goodneſs.*

A Complaint to Eſdras *againſt* Levites *that had marry'd* ſtrange Women.

Eſdras's *Lamentation*, Ezra 10.5.

and Interceſſion *for the Offenders.*

While the holy Man was in the Agony of his pious Affliction, with a Multitude of Men, Women and Children gather'd about him, there came to him one [a] *Jechonias*, a Man of Quality in *Jeruſalem*, with a publick Confeſſion and Declaration of the Sin they were all guilty of, that contrary to the Law had marry'd themſelves to *ſtrange Women*; adviſing him to impoſe an Oath upon all that had ſo done, to turn away all the Wives and Children they had by them; and whoever ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to that Law, to be ſeverely puniſhed for it. *Eſdras* lik'd the Counſel, and took an *Oath* of the chief of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and of all *Iſrael*, to do as was propounded. So ſoon as this was over, he went from the Temple to the Chamber of *Joanan*, the Son of *Eliaſib*, where he ſpent that whole Day, without eating any Thing, for the Trouble that was upon him. The next Thing he did, was to command by Proclamation, all thoſe People that were now return'd out of Captivity, to meet at *Jeruſalem* in two or three Days; and in Caſe of any Failure, either by Neglect, or Contempt, the Penalty to be Excommunication, and Confiſ-

A Reſolution taken to turn away their ſtrange Wives *and Children by them.*

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[a] Ἀχάνιος *Joſ.*

cation

A Meeting at Jeruſalem *upon't* 1 Eſdr. 10.

A Commiſſion of Enquiry *for innocent Men to take an Account of the guilty.*

An Abdication agreed upon.

cation of Goods to the *holy Treaſury.* Within three Days the *two Tribes* of *Judah* and *Benjamin* gather'd together, on the twentieth Day of the ninth Month, which the *Hebrews* call *Thebeth*; and the *Macedonians*, *Apellæus*; and when they had plac'd themſelves in the upper Part of the *Temple*, the *Elders* being there preſent, *Eſdras* ſtood up and told them, that *whereas they were all guilty of a grievous Sin, that in Contempt of their* Countrey's Laws *had enter'd into Marriage with* Strangers, *they had no Way to recover God's Favour, and to ſecure themſelves, but by utterly caſting-off the Women they had ſo taken:* Whereupon they all cry'd out with one Voice, that they were ready to do it; but the Number being very great, the Seaſon extremely cold, and the Buſineſs a Matter of Importance, they look'd upon it as a Thing that requir'd Time, and Conſideration, to go thorough with it: So that, upon this Reflection, it was propoſed that a Commiſſion of Enquiry might be iſſu'd out to a ſelect Number of eminent Men and Elders, that were innocent themſelves of the Fact in Queſtion. This Motion was receiv'd and approv'd, without any Demur or Contradiction; and upon the firſt Day of the Tenth Month, they enter'd upon the *Inquiſition*, which held them Work till the firſt Day of the Month following; and upon the Scrutiny, they found great Numbers of the Relations of *Jeſus* the *high-Prieſt*, as well as of other *Prieſts* and *Levites*, and the reſt of the *Iſraelites*, that being involv'd in the ſame common Tranſgreſſion, joyned immediately in the diſowning of their *Wives* and *Children:* So much did they prefer the Reſpect they had for the Obſervance of their *Laws*, before any other Tenderneſs of Love and Inclination, how powerful ſoever. After the Solemnity of this Diſclaimour, they offer'd up *Rams* according to Cuſtom, for Peace-offerings: which is enough ſaid, without naming the Perſons. *Eſdras*, by this Means, ſet them right again in the Reſtraint of their Marriages; and ſettled ſuch a Reformation in that particular, as was upon that Foundation to ſtand firm for ever after.

The Feaſt of Tabernacles.

Eſdras *reads the Law of* Moſes *to the People.* Nehemiah 8.

The Death of Eſdras.

The Death of Jehoiakim *the* High-Prieſt, *and* Eliaſim *his Son ſucceeds him.*

In the ſeventh, was the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*; and well nigh the whole Multitude of the *Iſraelites* were now gotten together upon that Occaſion, into that Part of the Temple, that looks toward the Eaſt; where *Eſdras* at their Requeſt, *read the Law of God unto them, as he ſtood in the Middle of the Croud:* And this Lecture continu'd from Morning to Mid-Day, to the very great Edification of all the Hearers; for they were thereby not only given to underſtand the Rules and Meaſures of Truth and Righteouſneſs, preſent, and to come; but their Thoughts were alſo carry'd back to Reflexions upon Things paſt, in the Hiſtory of the Calamities that their Forefathers had endured, only for the Violation of thoſe Laws, in the Obſervance whereof they might have been ſafe and happy. This Conſideration drew Tears from their Eyes; and *Eſdras* taking Notice how this compaſſionate Softneſs wrought upon them, bad them go Home, and ſet their Hearts at Reſt; for it was a Kind of prophaning of the holy Solemnity, to weep upon a Feſtival: Wherefore he adviſed them to be rather as free and merry as they could, and to eat, drink and rejoyce, in Honour of the Day; exhorting them not to make their Repentance a Mortification to them, any further than to ſecure them for the Future from a Relapſe into the ſame Miſtakes. The People were willing enough to follow his Counſel, and ſo celebrated the Feaſt as they ought to do; and after eight Days ſpent in good Chear and in good Company, they return'd every Man to his own Habitation; but not without thankful Acknowledgments to *Eſdras* for the Reformation he had wrought in the Government. By this meritorious Service of his, he gain'd infinitely upon the Hearts and Affections of the People; ſo that he liv'd with Honour, and dy'd at *Jeruſalem*, full of Years; where he had alſo a moſt magnificent Burial. *Joachim* the *High-Prieſt*, dy'd alſo about the ſame Time, and *Eliaſim* his Son ſucceeded him.

2 Eſdr. 1. Nehemiah Cup-bearer *to* Xerxes.

His Lamentation *for the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem.

There was among the *Jewiſh Captives*, a certain Perſon whoſe Name was *Nehemiah*, the *Butler*, or the *Cup-bearer* to *Xerxes*. He was walking one Day before *Suſa*, the Capital of *Perſia*, and happened to hear ſome Travellers that had come a long Journy together into the City, talking *Hebrew* one to another. Upon this Occaſion, he ask'd them from what Quarter they came. They told him from *Judæa*. So he asked them further from one Thing to another, how it far'd with the People there, and what News from *Jeruſalem*; *why truly*, they made Anſwer, *that Matters went very ill with them*; *their Walls all pull'd down, and their Country laid open to the Outrages and Incurſions of their ſpiteful Neighbours*; *themſelves carry'd away into Captivity, and the High-ways ſtrew'd every where up and down with dead Bodies.* *Nehemiah* could not forbear Weeping at this deplorable Calamity of his Countrymen and Kindred, and in this Paſſion, with his Eyes erected toward Heaven: *Lord*, ſays he, *how long! how long Lord wilt thou ſuffer thy People to be trampled upon, and expoſed for a Prey to Mankind!* While *Nehemiah* was at the Gate, and in the Middle of his Lamentations, one brought him Word, that the King was ready to go to Supper; ſo he preſently haſten'd away, all in Confuſion and Diſorder to his waiting. The King, after Supper, being ſomewhat more chearful than before, and taking Notice, of ſome Sort of Heavineſs, in the Countenance of *Nehemiah*, asked him what he ail'd. *Alaſs! Sir*, ſays *Nehemiah*, after a ſhort ejaculatory Prayer that God would put the Words into his Mouth he was to ſay, *how is it poſſible for me to be other than ſad and heavy at Heart, when the Place of my Nativity is laid waſt and deſtroy'd*; Jeruſalem *made an Heap of* Rubbiſh; *the* Gates burnt; *the* Sepulchres *and* Monuments *of my Anceſtors* broken up, *and the* Aſhes *of the* dead ſacrilegiouſly prophan'd*! Now after all this, Sir, I have but one Boon to beg of you, which is, that I may have your royal Leave to take a Journey thither to help forward the rebuilding of the Walls, and erecting of what remains toward the finiſhing of the* Temple. The King granted his Petition, and promis'd him Letters recommendatory to the Governours where he was to paſs, with Orders to treat him with all Manner of Reſpect; and to ſupply him with whatever he wanted toward the Work he was about: Wherefore ſays the King, ſet your Thoughts at Reſt, and go on chearfully in my Service. Upon this Aſſurance, *Nehemiah* clear'd up, and came to himſelf again; bleſſed God and the King upon finding ſo gracious a Diſpoſition in his Favour. On the Day following the King ſent for *Nehemiah*, and gave him Letters of Credit to *Sadæus*, the Governour of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Samaria*; with Orders and Inſtructions to receive and aſſiſt him, as he had promis'd it. He went firſt to *Babylon*; and from thence, with as many of his Friends and Companions as voluntarily offer'd themſelves to bear him Company, he went away to *Jeruſalem*, where he arriv'd in the twenty fifth Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*; and having firſt given his Friends the Sight of his *Credentials*, he deliver'd them to *Sadæus*, and his *Collegues*, according to the Addreſs. He preſently after this, ſummon'd a general Meeting of the People up to *Jeruſalem*, and *harangu'd* them in the Temple with a Speech to this Effect.

He gets Leave of Xerxes *to aſſiſt in the repairing of the* City *and* Temple.

Xerxes *gives him Letters of* Recommendation *and* Commiſſion.

He calls an Aſſembly at Jeruſalem.

You cannot ſays he, *but ſee and underſtand, you Men of* Judæa, *that we our ſelves are at this Day under the Power and Providence of the ſame almighty and merciful God that did ſo many great Things for our Forefathers* Abraham, Iſaac, *and* Jacob, *out of a gracious Regard to their Piety and Juſtice: And it is by the Favour of that God that I have now obtained Leave from the King to enter upon the rebuilding of your Walls, and the putting of an End to the Work of the Temple, that is yet unfiniſh'd. But taking this for granted by the Way, that you live among a Sort of malicious ſpiteful Neighbours, that will do All that is to be done in Nature, for the croſſing of your Deſign, when they come once to ſee you heartily intent upon the Undertaking; I ſhall therefore recommend it to you in the firſt Place, reſolutely, and fearleſly, to caſt your ſelves upon God, who will moſt certainly defeat all the Practices of your Enemies; and ſecondly that you ply your Buſineſs Day and Night without any Intermiſſion, either of Care or of Labour; this being the proper Seaſon for it.* Upon this Advice and Exhortation, *Nehemiah* immediately order'd the Magiſtrates to ſurvey the Ground, and take Meaſure of the Walls; and according to that Computation, to make an equal Diſtribution of the Work among the People, at ſo much a Town, or a Village, as it falls out in Proportion; promiſing at the ſame Time the Aſſiſtance of himſelf, and of all that belonged to him, to joyn in the Service: And with theſe Words he diſcharged the Meeting. The Authority of *Nehemiah* made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the *Jews*, that they immediately apply'd themſelves to their Buſineſs. This was the firſt Time that the People were ever call'd *Jews*, or their Country *Judæa*; and it was ſo called, from the *Tribe of Judah*, that were formerly poſſeſs'd of that Quarter.

Nehemiah *animates the People to go on couragiouſly in the Work.*

He gives the neceſſary Orders,

and diſcharges the Meeting.

The firſt Time theſe People were call'd Jews.

The Rumour of this Enterpriſe was no ſooner brought to the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Samaritans*, and the *Cœle-Syrians*, but they were all raging mad at it, and left nothing unattempted, either by Force or by Treachery, to diſappoint it. They lay in wait for the *Jews* up and down in *Ambuſhes*, and deſtroy'd a great many of them by Surpriſe. They kept *Bravos* in Pay, to attempt upon the Perſon of *Nehemiah* himſelf; plying the People alſo with ſo many *Falſe Alarums*, and Sham-ſtories of Menace and Invaſion, that the Multitude were within a little of quitting the Undertaking upon the very Fright: But *Nehemiah* ſtood as firm as a Rock all this while, and under the Security of a ſlender Guard, wrought on without any Senſe of Wearineſs, or Apprehenſion of Danger: And it was not for the Sake of his own Safety neither, or for the Fear of Death, that he made this Proviſion; but he was very well aſſur'd, that if he himſelf ſhould be cut-off, his Men would never go thorough with the Building: So he gave Orders for the Future, that all the Carpenters, Maſons, and other Labourers, ſhould work with their Swords by their Sides, and their Bucklers within Diſtance of having them ready upon Occaſion. He appointed Trumpeters alſo to be poſted within five hundred Paces one of another, and upon any Diſcovery of an Enemy to give the Alarum, that the People might have

Eſther 1. *The* Neighbouring Nations *do all they can by Force and Treachery to diſappoint the Enterpriſe.*

The Workmen *wrought with their* Arms *about them to prevent a Surprize.*

Time enough to ſtand to their Arms, without any Danger of a Surprize. He went every Night the Round of the City; and his Body was ſo inur'd to hard Work, hard Fare, and Watching, that it was Proof againſt all thoſe Difficulties; for he never eat or ſlept more than juſt to ſupport Nature. This was his Courſe of Life for two Years, and three Months: For juſt ſo long were the Walls a finiſhing: And this was in the eight and twentieth Year, and the ninth Month of the Reign of *Xerxes*. Upon the perfecting of the Fortifications, *Nehemiah* and the *People* offer'd up their Sacrifice, and continu'd together for eight Days in feaſting and rejoycing, which was very unwelcome News to the *Syrians*, when they came to underſtand it. *Nehemiah* reflecting upon it, that the City at that Time was under-peopled, he perſuaded all the *Prieſts* and *Levites* thereabouts to take up their Habitations in the Town, and he would be at the Charge of providing them Houſes. He order'd likewiſe the People in the Country that follow'd Husbandry, to carry their *Tenths* into the City for the Maintenance of the *Prieſts* and *Levites*; and that they might not be diverted by any worldly Cares from attending the Duty of their Office. This was readily agreed to on all Hands; and by this Means it came by Degrees to be better peopled. After this, and a great many other glorious Actions, worthy of eternal Honour, *Nehemiah*, now in Years, departed this Life: A Man naturally addicted to Virtue and Juſtice; a Perſon of eminent Bounty and Charity to his Countrymen, as may appear by this everlaſting Monument of his Generoſity and Goodneſs, in the Walls of *Jeruſalem*: And this is the ſhort Hiſtory of what was done under the Reign of *Xerxes*.

Nehemiah *himſelf all the while upon* conſtant Duty.

Upon the perfecting of the Work,

Nehemiah *provided for the* peopling *and the* Maintenance *of the* City.

The Death of Nehemiah.

CHAP. VI.

Artaxerxes *ſucceeds* Xerxes. *He puts away his Wife* Vaſhti, *and marries* Eſther, *the Niece of* Mordecai. Haman *preſſes the rooting out of the* Jews, *and the putting of* Mordecai *to Death*; *but he is hanged himſelf upon the very Gibbet he provided for* Mordecai, *and* Mordecai *promoted*.

AFTER the Death of *Xerxes*, the Government deſcended to his Son *Cyrus*, whom the *Greeks* call *Artaxerxes*; in whoſe Reign over the *Perſians*, the whole Nation of the *Jews*, with their Wives and Children, were in great Danger to be utterly deſtroy'd, as ſhall be ſhew'd in due Time and Place. But ſomewhat ſhould be previouſly ſaid of the King himſelf; and how it came to paſs that he marry'd a Wife of the royal Blood of the *Jews*, and as the Hiſtory delivers it, the *Protectreſs* of our Nation. When *Artaxerxes* had taken the Crown upon him, and ſettled the Governours of a hundred and twenty ſeven Provinces betwixt *India* and *Æthiopia*, he made a moſt magnificent and ſumptuous Feaſt at *Suſa* in the third Year of his Reign; where he treated his Friends and Officers, as became the Dignity of ſo great a Prince; and the Solemnity laſted a hundred and fourſcore Days. There were ſeveral other Nations alſo, and their Embaſſadors, that aſſiſted at the Ceremony of the Entertainment ſeven whole Days ſucceſſively; and it was order'd after this Manner. There was a Tent erected upon golden and ſilver Pillars, cover'd with fine Linen and Purple; and of a Capacity to receive ſome thouſands of People. The Wine was ſerv'd up in Cups of Gold and precious Stones, that were made both for Curioſity and Delight. There was Order given to the Waiters, after the *Perſian* Manner, that no Man ſhould be forced to drink any more than he had a Mind to; and *Proclamation* made all over his Dominions, that they ſhould ſet ſome certain Number of Days apart for the Celebration of a Feſtival for the Proſperity and Safety of the Kingdom. Queen *Vaſhti* had her Apartment alſo in the Palace for the Entertainment of the Women. She was ſo wonderfully handſome, that the King had a Mind to oblige his Gueſts with the Sight of her, and ſo ſent for her to come to him; but the Laws of *Perſia*, it ſeems, will not allow Wives to be ſeen by any beſide their Domeſticks: So that out of a Reverence to that Prohibition, ſhe refuſed to go to the King, and not only once, but upon ſeveral Orders brought her by the *Eunuchs* to the ſame Purpoſe, ſhe perſiſted ſtill in the Denial. The King took this Obſtinacy ſo ill, that after the Feſtival was over, he call'd for the *ſeven Commiſſioners* that were expreſly appointed for the Interpretation of the *Perſian Laws*, to adviſe with, what was to be done in this Caſe of his Wife's Contumacy, and Diſobedience; complaining that it was not only once, but over and over that ſhe refuſed to come to him; and ſo he deſired to know what the Law directed in that Caſe. One of them whoſe Name was *Muchæus*, gave his Opinion, that *it was not only an Affront to himſelf in the Matter of Fact*; *but a Preſident of dangerous Conſequence to all his Subjects, in general, whoſe Wives would be apt to deſpiſe their Husbands too, and by that Contempt provoke* *them*

Cyrus (*otherwiſe* Artaxerxes) *ſucceeds to* Xerxes, *his Father*.
The Bible *calls him* Ahaſuerus.

The King *makes a* magnificent Feaſt.
Eſther I.

The Pomp *and* Order *of it*.

Vaſhti *the Queen invited to him*.

She refuſes to come, though ſent for over and over.

The King adviſes with his Council what to do in the Caſe.

them to lewd Courſes, if this exemplary Contumacy of the Queen's againſt ſo mighty a King ſhould paſs unpuniſh'd: Concluding, that as it was a heinous Offence, ſo it ought to be encounter'd with an anſwerable Severity; and that nothing leſs would ſatisfy, than the baniſhing of Vaſhti *from the King's Court and Preſence for ever: And this to be done alſo by* Proclamation, *and another taken into her Place.* The King was ſo divided betwixt the Love he had for the *Queen*, and the Reſpect he had for the *Law*; the one being againſt their parting, and the other againſt their living together, that he was miſerably diſtracted what to do in this Difficulty of acting againſt his Inclination. While he was in this Anxiety of Thought, his Friends ply'd him with good Offices and Counſels, to divert him from the Weakneſs of making himſelf miſerable for the unprofitable Love of *one Woman*, when he might have the greateſt Beauties upon the Face of the Earth at his Devotion, if he thought fit to command them: So that he had no more to do, but to get a Sight of her, and take her for his Wife, that he had moſt a Mind to, out of the whole Sex: Variety and a new Love would quickly wear out the Fondneſs of a former; and a little Cuſtom and Converſation would bring him to himſelf again.

Muchæus *adviſes him to baniſh her, and turn her off,* Eſther 2.

The King yields.

The King, upon ſecond Thoughts, was well enough pleas'd with the Advice, and ſent Commiſſioners immediately over all his Dominions to take a View of the moſt celebrated Beauties they could find, and bring them up to him. They were very punctual and diligent in the Execution of their Charge; and among others, they found a Maid in *Babylon*, whoſe Name was *Eſther*. Her Father and Mother were both dead, and ſhe brought up in the Houſe of her Uncle *Mordecai*, who was of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and a principal Man among the *Jews*. This Virgin was ſo much beyond all the Reſt, for the Graces of her Beauty and Perſon, that every Bodies Eye was ſtill upon her. She was committed to the Care of one of the *Eunuchs*, where ſhe was treated with all poſſible Delicacy and Reſpect: That is to ſay, with the richeſt of Eſſences and Perfumes, and all other ornamental Curioſities that are made Uſe of in Courts by great Ladies, to make them more agreeable and charming. At this Rate was *Eſther* treated for the Space of ſix Months, in Company with four hundred Virgins; after which Time, being thus prepared for the King's Bed, he had every Day one of them brought him, whom he received into his Arms, and then ſent back again to the ſame *Eunuch*. But when it came to *Eſther*'s Turn, he was ſo tranſported with the Love of her Company and Converſation, that he took her to himſelf for his lawful Wife, and celebrated the Nuptials in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, and the twelfth Month, which is called *Adar*; ſending his Meſſengers every where up and down to proclaim the Solemnity of a *Marriage-Feſtival*. As for the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and the great Men of other Nations, the King himſelf entertain'd them at the *Wedding-Feaſt*, for the Space of one whole Month; and upon his Wife's entring into the Palace, he placed the Crown upon her Head, and ſo liv'd with her without ever enquiring after her Country, or her Extraction. Her Uncle remov'd from *Babylon* to *Suſa*, where he would be often waiting at the *King's Gate*, and ſtill inquiſitive what News of *Eſther*, who was every Jot as dear to him as if ſhe had been his own Child.

Eſther *is brought in to ſupply the Place of* Vaſhti: *An* Orphan, *and under the Care of her Uncle* Mordecai, *a* Benjamite.

The King *falls in Love with* Eſther *and takes her to Wife.*
Eſther 2.

Mordecai *often at the* King's Gate *enquiring after* Eſther.

None to approach the King upon his Throne uncall'd, *upon Pain of Death.*

The King, at this Time, paſs'd an Ordinance, that none of his Domeſticks ſhould preſume while he was ſitting upon his royal Throne, to come to him, unleſs they were call'd or ſent for, upon Pain of loſing their Heads for't; and there were Officers with their Axes ſtill at Hand to do the Execution. The King, in the mean Time, had a golden Scepter in his Hand; and whenſoever he had a Mind to ſave any of thoſe that came uncall'd, he held that Scepter forth, and upon their touching it, they were exempted from the Penalty; and ſo much for that at preſent.

A Conſpiracy againſt Artaxerxes *diſcover'd to* Mordecai; *and by him to the* King, *by* Eſther.
Eſther 2. 22.

There brake out, a little after this, a Conſpiracy betwixt *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two of the *Chamberlains*, or *Eunuchs*, againſt the Perſon of the *King*. *Barnabazus*, a Servant of one of them, and a *Jew*, by Extraction, diſcover'd this Treachery to *Mordecai*, the King's Uncle; and he, by the Hands of *Eſther*, to the King himſelf; who had ſuch an Apprehenſion of the Thing, that he put the Criminals to the Queſtion, and upon Conviction, they were both deliver'd up to Juſtice. The King gave *Mordecai* no other Reward for this Diſcovery, than by appointing the *Service* and the *Deliverance* to be regiſter'd upon the *Reeord*, and the allowing him Admittance into the Palace, with the ſame Freedom and Privilege as one of his Domeſticks.

The Service *recorded.*
Eſther 10.

Eſther 3.

Haman, the Son of *Ammedatha*, an *Amalekite*, being now advanced by the King, and coming frequently to Court, the *Perſians* as well as Strangers paid him the greateſt Reverence imaginable ſtill in his Paſſage; and it was alſo the King's Pleaſure and Command, that it ſhould be ſo. *Mordecai* was the only Perſon that did not

Haman *ſlighted by* Mordecai.

bow to him, being a Ceremony contrary to the Practice of his Country, which did not allow of that manner of Reſpect. *Haman taking* Notice of this Singularity in *Mordecai, asked him what Countryman he was? And finding him to be a* [a] Jew, *brake out into a violent Exclamation, at the Inſolence of ſuch a Scoundrel; that when all the* Natives *and the* Free-born Perſians *made no Difficulty of doing him that Honour, this Slave of a* Jew *ſhould preſume to affront him.* In this Rage, he took up a deſperate Reſolution to be reveng'd upon *Mordecai*; and the Hatred he had for the *Jews* was ſo mortal, that it was not enough, he thought, to wreak a Vengeance upon the Perſon of *Mordecai*, without deſtroying the whole Race of the *Jews* for Company; not forgetting at the ſame Time, that the *Amalekites* his Countrymen, had been formerly beaten out of their Land, and utterly extirminated by the *Jews*. In the Heat of this outragious Indignation, away goes *Haman* to the King, with a Complaint in his Mouth againſt the *Jews*, as a vile Generation of People to all Purpoſes; inſociable in their Humours; ſingular in their Manners; given up to ſuperſtitious Laws and Ceremonies; lurking up and down in all Quarters of his Dominions, and Men that ſhew themſelves in their Practices and Converſations, the common Enemies of Mankind. *Now Sir*, ſays *Haman, if you will lay the greateſt Obligation in the World upon your Subjects, you muſt order this ſort of Men to be rooted out from among your People, without ſparing ſo much as one Captive, or one Servant, in the whole Party. And for your Security, that you ſhall not ſuffer by it in your Revenue, I will be anſwerable for* forty thouſand Talents of Silver, *to your Treaſury, out of my own Eſtate; for I ſhall not value any Diminution of my own particular Fortune, provided that your Dominions may be clear'd of this lewd ſort of People.* The King told *Haman*, upon this Propoſal, that he would leave the *Jews* to be dealt with according to his Diſcretion, and remit the Money over and above. *Haman*, immediately upon this, publiſh'd an Edict in the King's Name, and ſent it abroad thorough all his Dominions, to this Effect.

and finding Mordecai *to be a* Jew,

meditates a Revenge *upon the* whole Nation.

Haman *calumniates the* Jews *to the* King;

and moves to have all the Jews *extirpated out of his Dominions.*

The King leaves it to Haman.

Haman *iſſues out* a Proclamation *in the* King's Name, *to have them all put to the* Sword *Man, Woman, and Child.*

The great King *Artaxerxes*, to the *hundred and ſeven and twenty Governours* of the Provinces betwixt *India* and *Æthiopia*, Greeting.

Whereas it has pleaſed God to give me the Command of ſo many Nations, and a Dominion over the reſt of the World, as large as I my ſelf deſire, I being reſolved to do Nothing that may be either tyrannical or grievous toward my People, and to bear a gentle and an eaſy Hand over them, with an Eye to the preſerving of their Peace and their Liberties, in the firſt Place, and to ſettle them in a State of Tranquillity and Happineſs not to be ſhaken. All this I have taken into mature Conſideration; and being given to underſtand, by my truſty and well beloved Friend and Counſellor, Haman, *a Perſon of a try'd Faith, Prudence and Juſtice, and whom I eſteem above all others, that there is a Mixture of a ſort of inhumane People among my Subjects, that take upon them to govern by their own Laws, and to preſcribe Ways to themſelves in Contempt of publick Order and Government; Men deprav'd, both in their Cuſtoms, and in their Manners; and Enemies, not only to* Monarchy, *but to the* Methods *of our* Royal Adminiſtration: *This is therefore to will and require, that, upon Notice given unto you by* Haman *(who is to me as a Father) of the Perſons intended by this my* Proclamation, *you put all the ſaid Perſons, Men, Women and Children to the Sword, without any Commiſeration or Favour, in a ſtrict Purſuance of my* Decree: *And it is my farther Command, that you put this in Execution upon the thirteenth Day of the twelfth Month of this preſent Year; to make but one Day's Work of the Deſtruction of all mine and your Enemies, in order to a future Peace and Security all our Lives after.*

This *Edict* was quickly ſpread from Town to Town thorough the whole Empire, and the People made themſelves ready accordingly to do Execution upon the *Jews* at the Day appointed; and there was the ſame Diſpoſition to Miſchief at *Suſa*, the King's Place of Reſidence, as elſewhere. The *King* and *Haman*, all this while paſs'd their Time in *Drinking, Junketting* and *making Merry:* But the People of the Town were at their Wits end, at the Thought of ſo barbarous a Maſſacre at hand.

So ſoon as *Mordecai* came to be informed of the Tenor and Intent of this *Proclamation*, he tore his Garments, put on Sackcloth, and went up and down the Town with Aſhes on his Head, exclaiming againſt the horrid Iniquities of that murderous and bloody Deſign upon the *Jews*. At this Rate he went raving from one Place to another, till he came at laſt to ſtop before the Gate of the *King's Palace*; for there was no Entrance allow'd to any Man in that Habit. The Reſentment and Behaviour of the *Jews*, was the ſame in all other Places, as well as here, upon the Communication of the King's Orders: That is to ſay, they were every where overwhelmed with Lamentations and Deſpair. When it came to the Queen's Ear, that *Mordecai* was before the Gate of the *Palace* in that forlorn Habit, ſhe was troubled at the Report, and ſent one out to him to change his Garment;

Eſther 4.

Mordecai *places himſelf at the* King's Gate *in* Sackcloth *and* Aſhes.

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[a] See *Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. l. 3. c. 4.*

Eſther *ſends* Hatach *to* Mordecai *to know the Meaning of it.*

Mordecai *tells the Meſſenger the whole Story of the* Edict.

Mordecai *begs* Eſther's Interceſſion.

Eſther *lays before him the* Danger *of attempting it.* Mordecai *preſſes it again.*

The Queen *adviſes the indicting of a* three Days Faſt;

Which was done, and obſerv'd accordingly.

but his Anſwer was, that he could not do it, till the Cauſe were firſt remov'd that made him take it up. It fell out that *Hatach*, one of the King's *Eunuchs*, was at that Time in the *Queen's Preſence*; ſo ſhe call'd him to her, and preſently ſent him out to inform himſelf what had befall'n *Mordecai*, that he ſhould put himſelf into ſuch a Dreſs, and then refuſe to quit it again at her Requeſt. The *Eunuch* put theſe Queſtions to *Mordecai*, who gave him the whole Story of the Buſineſs at Length, and in Order, how the King, at the Inſtigation of *Haman*, had iſſu'd out his *Royal* Proclamation thorough all his Dominions, for the extirpating of the *Jews*, and how vaſt a Sum of Money *Haman* had offer'd by Way of Compoſition, for leave to do it. *Mordecai* gave him a true Copy of the *Edict* from the *Original*, to be deliver'd to the Queen; deſiring further, that ſhe would be pleas'd to make an humble Application to the King upon this Matter, and to intercede with him on their Behalf; for the Lives of the whole Nation were now in Queſtion, and this was not a Time to ſtand upon *Punctilio's*, or Niceties of State; for *Haman*, that was as the King's right Hand, would never leave calumniating the *Jews*, and exaſperating the King againſt them, till he had gain'd his Point. Upon the *Eunuch's* giving the Queen this Account of the Matter, ſhe ſent *Mordecai* Word back again, *that it was a capital Crime to break in upon the King when he was upon his Throne of State, without being call'd to attend him, unleſs he ſhould vouchſafe to hold forth his golden Scepter in Token of his Pardon.* When *Mordecai* heard this, he preſs'd the Queen once again by the ſame Meſſenger as before, telling her, that it was not her own perſonal Safety that was now the Queſtion, but the Security of the whole Race; adviſing her likewiſe to have a Care how ſhe ſlipt that Opportunity of doing ſo neceſſary and charitable an Office; and to aſſure her that God himſelf would relieve them, even if ſhe ſhould neglect to do it: And that ſhe and her Family might live to be at the Mercy of thoſe that ſhe now deſpiſed. *Eſther* then made Uſe of the ſame Meſſenger back again to her Uncle, to call an Aſſembly of the *Jews* together at *Suſa*, and to indict a *three Days Faſt* for the Safety of the *Queen*; that ſhe and her Servants would do the like; and that after that Preparation, ſhe was reſolved to go to the King, in Deſpite of all Prohibition and Danger: And that if die ſhe muſt, ſhe would frankly expoſe her Life in that Service. *Mordecai* did as the Queen order'd him; appointed a publick *Faſt*, and humbled himſelf in Supplications to Almighty God, to defeat the Malice of their Enemies; and according to his wonted Goodneſs, to extend his Mercy to penitent Offenders; and finally to deliver them from the Deſtruction denounced againſt them: Repreſenting that *it was not for any Fault of their own, that they were expoſed to this Extremity; but it was the Pride of* Haman's *Stomach, that thought it an Indignity offer'd to himſelf, in the Refuſal of that Adoration to him, that was only due to God:* And that a whole Nation was now to be rooted out, becauſe they would not be corrupted into a Violation and Contempt of the divine Laws. The Devotions of the whole Multitude were all upon the ſame Subject too; deſiring God to vouchſafe them his Protection, and to avert that dreadful Judgment from the *Iſraelites*, that now hung over their Heads. The Queen her ſelf worſhipped likewiſe with her Face proſtrate upon the Ground, after the Manner of her Country, in a *mourning Weed*, and impoſing upon her ſelf a three Days Abſtinence from either Meat or Drink, or any other ſenſual Satiſfaction, beſeeching God to move the King's Heart, in Favour of her Mediation for a miſerable and a perſecuted People, by rendering both her Words, and her Perſon more acceptable than ever, upon this fatal Extremity, to the Confuſion of their Enemies, and of all their malicious Deſigns upon her poor Countrymen.

After three Days Humiliation, *the* Queen *puts her ſelf in the* Kings *Eye, and* Eſther s.

falls down in a Swoon.

The King *takes her into his* Arms, *and comforts her.*

After three Days ſpent in a fervent, and pious Importunity for Mercy and Compaſſion from above, the Queen put on her *Royal Apparel*; and with her *two Handmaids*, leaning gently upon the one, and the other bearing up her Train, ſhe advanced toward the King; her Face being cover'd with ſuch a Bluſh as expreſs'd both Grace and Majeſty together, but at the ſame Time not without ſome Mixture alſo of doubtful Apprehenſion; for upon the Sight of the *King* mounted on his Throne, and the ſparkling Glory of his Robes, that were all over embroider'd with Gold, Pearl and precious Stones, ſhe was taken all of a ſudden with a Trembling at ſo ſurprizing a Spectacle: And upon fanſying over and above, that the King look'd upon her as if he were a little uneaſy, and out of Humour, ſhe fell into the Arms of one of her Maids in a direct Swoon. This *Accident*, by the Intervention of *God's holy Will* and *Providence*, put the King into a Fright, for Fear ſhe might not come to her ſelf again; ſo that making what Haſte he could from his Throne, he took her into his Arms, and with the kindeſt Words that could be, gave her this Comfort, that no Advantage ſhould be made of the Law to her Prejudice, though ſhe came *without calling*; for that was a Decree that extended only to Subjects; wherein ſhe was not at all concern'd, whom he look'd upon as his Companion and Partner in the Empire. With theſe Words he put his *golden Scepter* into her Hands; and laying it gently upon her Neck, ſecur'd her from any farther Fear or Danger. Upon this Tenderneſs both of Love and Aſſurance, coming to the Uſe of her Speech and Reaſon again, *Sir*, ſays ſhe, *it is impoſſible for me to expreſs the Manner of this ſudden Seiſure: But I had no ſooner the awful Appearance of your ſacred Perſon and Majeſty in my Eye, but my Heart fail'd me.* The Queen accompany'd theſe Words with ſo languiſhing an Accent, and ſo weak a Voice, that the lively Repreſentation of what ſhe felt, made the King ſtill more ſolicitous to comfort her; which he did in Terms ſo explicit, that he bad her ask him any Thing to the one Half of his Kingdom, and it ſhould be given her. *Eſther* told him that her Requeſt was only this, that he would be pleaſed to take Part of a Treat with her that Day; which ſhe had provided for him; and permit *Haman* to come along with him. Her Suit was granted, and they both came; and when the King was in his Cups, and in good Humour, he call'd upon his Wiſe as before, to ask what ſhe pleaſed within that Compaſs, and it ſhould be granted her. The Queen begg'd the King's Favour for the ſame Honour again the Day following at another Entertainment, bringing *Haman* along with him once again; and ſhe would then take the Freedom, ſhe ſaid to preſent him her Petition. The King was very well pleas'd with the Propoſition; but *Haman*, overjoy'd at it, to find himſelf the only Man that was ſingled out upon ſo honourable an Occaſion, to bear the King Company at a Treat: But in his Paſſage homeward it was his Fortune to ſee *Mordecai* the *Jew* in the *King*'s *Palace*; and taking Notice that he paid him no Sort of Reverence, he went to his Wife *Zereſh* with a Knot of his Friends about him, and there told them the whole Story, how much he was in the good Graces of the King and the Queen; how he had ſupt with them that Day, upon a particular Invitation, and was to be with them to morrow again upon the ſame Account: *But ſtill after all this*, ſays he, *the ſawcy Stiffneſs of the* Jew Mordecai *ſticks in my Stomach.* Why then ſays *Zereſh*, let me adviſe you what to do. Order a *Gallows* of *fifty cubits High* to be immediately ſet up, and get the King's Leave to Morrow Morning to hang up *Mordecai* upon it. *Haman* took his Wife's Counſel, and commanded his People to erect ſuch a *Gallows* in his own Palace, which he deſigned for the Execution of the *Jew*; and the *Gibbet* was ſet up accordingly. But God that foreſees and orders all Events, diſappointed wicked *Haman* in all his impious Hopes and Purpoſes; for that very Night, the King finding that he could not ſleep, and accounting it Time loſt to lye idle and waking, choſe rather to employ his Thoughts upon ſomewhat that might turn to the Advantage of his Government, and ſo commanded his *Secretary* to bring him his *Memorials* and *Papers of State*, as well *modern* as *ancient*, and to read the Contents of them. The King found upon the Reading of them, the Name of a Perſon that had great Honours and Poſſeſſions given him, as a Reward for a glorious and a remarkable Action: And ſo likewiſe of another, that made his Fortune by the Bounties of his Prince for his Fidelity; coming at laſt to the particular Story of the Conſpiracy of the *two Eunuchs*, *Bigthana* and *Tereſh* againſt the Perſon of the King; and of the Diſcovery of this Treaſon by *Mordecai*. The Secretary read it over, and was paſſing forward to the next; but the King bad him hold, and ask'd him if that Perſon had any Reward given him for his Service. The other made anſwer, that there was no Reward mention'd in the Relation, and ſo the King bad him ſtop there; and inquire of the Waiters what Time of Night it was: And Anſwer being brought that it was Break of Day, he bad his Secretary go ſee if any of his Friends were at the *Palace-Gate*, and bring him Word; and whom ſhould he find there but *Haman*, who was earlier up than ordinary, for Fear of being too late with his Petition to the King againſt the Life of *Mordecai*. Word being brought to the King that *Haman* was at the Gate, he ordered him to be call'd in; and upon his Entrance into the Lodging, the King ſpake to him after this Manner: *I know*, ſays he, *that you are the kindeſt Friend to me in the World; and therefore I would ask your Counſel, what Mark of Honour you would adviſe me to beſtow upon the Perſon that I have the greateſt Obligation to, imaginable; and I would do it with a Reſpect to my own royal Dignity, as well as to my Affection.* *Haman* made no Doubt of finding his own Intereſt in his Reſolution to this Queſtion, preſuming that this Character could not be intended of any other than of *himſelf*: So *Haman* gave his Opinion, that the King ſhould cloath the Man whom he deſired to *honour*, with his own *royal Apparel*; *mount* him upon his *own Horſe*; make him a Preſent of a *golden Chain*, and then cauſe ſome one or other of his particular Confidents and Friends to march before him, as a *Herald*, and make *Proclamation* all over the City: That *thus ſhall it be done to the Man that the King vouchſafes to Honour.*

He gives her his Golden Scepter.

The King *bids her ask any Thing of him*.

Eſther's *Requeſt is only the King's Company and* Haman *with him.*

The King *grants her Suit, and bids her ask again.*

She begs the ſame Honour for next Day.

Haman *goes home with the Story overjoy'd, to his Friends: Only the Stiffneſs of the* Jew Mordecai *ſticks in his Stomach.*

Zereſh *adviſes the ſetting up of a* Gibbet, *and getting Leave to hang up* Mordecai.

Eſter 6.

A Gallows *is ſet up.*

The King lay waking that Night, and orders his Secretary *to read over ſome* Memorials *to him.*

Being upon the Subject of Services and Rewards, he comes at laſt to Mordecai'*s Diſcovery: And finds no Mention of any Advantage to him for the Service.*

The King puts the Caſe to Haman, *what he ſhould do for the Man he had the greateſt Obligation for in the World.*

Haman *gave his Opinion highly in his Favour.*

Now

Not doubting but the Queſtion point-ed at himſelf, Haman *is ordered to do Honour to* Mordecai;

and in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, he executes his Orders.

Now *Haman* took all this to himſelf, and the King was highly pleas'd with the Motion: *Wherefore go*, ſays he, *and take the Horſe, the Apparel and the Chain, and find me out* Mordecai *the* Jew; *dreſs him up in theſe Accoutrements; and when he is mounted, do you march before him, in the Quality of an Officer, to make the Proclamation; for you, being my particular Friend, are the fitteſt Man both to adviſe withal, and to execute your own Counſel. I will do this Honour to* Mordecai *becauſe I am indebted to him for my Life.* This Order ſtruck *Haman* like a *Tunder-bolt*, and it was as little expected: But in this Confuſion, however, he was fain to go upon the Errand; and away he went with the *Horſe*, *Habit*, and the *gold Chain* to look for *Mordecai*; and finding him at the *Palace Gate* in his *Rags* of *Humiliation*, he bad him *ſtrip* himſelf of his *Sackcloth*, and put on that *Purple*. Now the *Jew*, knowing nothing of the Matter, took the whole Ceremony for a *Mock*, and treated *Haman* in plain Terms, as a *mean inſolent Wretch*, to inſult at that Rate over the miſerable: But upon a farther reaſoning of the Matter, *Haman* convinced him at laſt, that the King had order'd this Honour to be done him in Recompence of the Service he had render'd him in the ſaving of his Life from the Conſpiracy of the *two Eunuchs:* And being thus convinced, he put on the *royal Purple*, and the *golden Chain*; mounted the *King*'s *Horſe*, and took the *Tour* of the City; *Haman* making *Proclamation* before him, *Thus ſhall it be done unto him that the King honours. Mordecai*, after this, went to the *King*; *Haman* ſneaking away ſhamefully to his own Houſe, where he entertain'd his ſorrowful Wife and Friends, with the lamentable Account of what had paſs'd. Upon the hearing of Circumſtances, they found that there was no revenging themſelves upon *Mordecai*, for God had taken him into his Protection.

As the King and Haman *were at* Supper *with* Eſther, *the* King *bids her* ask once again, *as before.* Eſther. 7.

The Queen's Suit *was only for a Stop to the Deſtruction of the* Jews,

which Haman *had deſign'd.*

The King *highly offended with* Haman.

An Eunuch *tells the King of a* Gallows *ſet up by* Haman *for the Execution of* Mordecai. Eſther 7. Haman *ordered to be hang'd immediately upon the ſame* Gibbet.

As they were in the middle of the Diſcourſe, came the King's *Eunuchs* from *Eſther*, to call away *Haman* preſently to Supper. One of them whoſe Name was *Sabuchadas*, taking Notice of a *Gibbet* that was erected there in the *Court*, ask'd one of the Servants the meaning of it; and underſtanding that it was prepared for *Mordecai*, the *Queen's Uncle*, whom *Haman* had deſigned to beg of the King for *Execution*, he made no more Words of it. As they were at Supper, and all Parties pleas'd with the Entertainment, the King put the former Day's Propoſal over again to the *Queen*, with an Aſſurance, that *let her ask what ſhe pleas'd, it ſhould not be deny'd her.* Upon that Occaſion, ſhe fell into a deploring, ſad Diſcourſe upon the miſerable State and Danger of the *Jewiſh Nation*; and how ſhe herſelf, and her Countrymen were all deſign'd for Deſtruction, giving the King to underſtand that this was the Subject ſhe deſir'd Leave to ſpeak upon. She did not deſire, ſhe ſaid, to give any Interruption to his Affairs of State; or if it had been ſo order'd that her Countrymen might have only been ſold for *Slaves, this Calamity* might have paſs'd yet for *tolerable:* So that ſhe had only this Suit to move him in, that he would be pleas'd to put a Stop to the imminent Deſtruction that was otherwiſe to be executed upon the whole Race. The King call'd out preſently to know who it was that had any ſuch Deſign a foot. The Queen made Anſwer, without mincing the Matter, that *Haman* was the Author of that Advice; and that he did it out of an Impulſe of pure Malice to the People. This Diſcourſe put the King out of Humour, and ſo he withdrew from the Treat into the Garden. *Haman* by this Time found the Storm a coming, and began to apply himſelf to the Queen, with Acknowledgments of his Miſtakes, and Deſire of Pardon; and caſting himſelf upon the Bed by her as in a Way of Humiliation and Reſpect. The King returning at the ſame Time, and ſeeing *Haman* in that Poſture upon the *Bed*, was more irritated by that Circumſtance than by all the reſt; calling him the baſeſt and the wickedeſt of Men, for ſo inſolent an Attempt upon the Honour of his Wife. Theſe Words were accompanied with ſuch a Fierceneſs of Tone and Action, that *Haman* was directly out of his Wits at the hearing of them, and not one Syllable to ſay for himſelf. Upon this, the *Eunuch* before mentioned, told the King of a *Gibbet* of *fifty Cubits in Height* that *Haman* had ſet up for *Mordecai* in his own Court, as he underſtood by one of his Servants, when he was there to give him an Invitation to Supper. The King immediately took up a Reſolution of inflicting the ſame Puniſhment upon *Haman*, that he had prepar'd for *Mordecai*; and ſo order'd *him immediately to be hang'd upon the ſame Gibbet.* I cannot paſs over this wonderful Harmony of Providences, without a Remark upon the Almighty Power and the admirable Juſtice and Wiſdom of God; not only in bringing *Haman* to his deſerved Puniſhment, but entrapping him in the very Snare he had laid for another; and turning a malicious Invention upon the Head of the Inventer.

Mordecai *is now made known, and* **preferr'd.** Eſther 8.

This was the End of *Haman*, the wicked Abuſer of the King's Goodneſs and Bounty. His *Body* was deliver'd up to *Juſtice*, and his Eſtate given to the *Queen*. The Queen had by this Time made it known to the King that *Mordecai* was her Kinſman: So that he ſent for him, and deliver'd him the ſame Ring that *Haman* had been entruſted with before. The Poſſeſſions of *Haman*, that the King had granted to the Queen, ſhe beſtow'd upon *Mordecai*: And then made it her Requeſt to his Majeſty, that he would deliver the *Jews* out of that Apprehenſion for their *Lives*, that was yet upon them; minding him of the Letters that *Haman*, the Son of *Ammedatha*, had diſperſed in his Name all over the Empire; making Declaration that her own Life depended upon the Safety of her Country and her Relations. The King gave her his royal Word, that nothing ſhould be done to the *Jews* without her Privity and good Will; and he gave her farther Liberty to write what ſhe thought fit, concerning the *Jews*, in *his Name*, and the Letters ſhould be *ſign'd*, and *ſeal'd*, and *diſpers'd* by his *Order* throughout all his *Dominions*: And when they ſhould once come to be confirm'd by the *royal Signature*, their Authority would paſs without any Diſpute or Contradiction; wherefore the King appointed his *Scribes* and *Secretaries* to attend him; commanding them to write Letters on the Behalf of the *Jews* to the Magiſtrates of all the Nations that lie betwixt *India*, and *Æthiopia*, *under the Command of a hundred and ſeven and twenty Governours.* Of which Letters, this is a true Copy.

Artaxerxes, *the great King, to* our truſty Magiſtrates, greeting.

The King vacates his Letters againſt the Jews. Eſther 8.

Whereas it is a common Practice in the World for Men that are advanced, rather upon Favour, than Merit, not only to inſult over their Inferiours, but to fly in the Faces even of their Benefactors themſelves; and as much as in them lies, to extinguiſh all Senſe of Gratitude, or good Nature, in humane Society; perverting alſo out of a Pride, and Impotency of Mind, the Power and Credit that was given them, to the Diſhonour of their Patrons, from whom they receiv'd it: And all this under ſuch an Appearance too, as if they thought God himſelf could not ſee thorough the Diſguiſe: Beſide that, it is no new Thing neither, for State-Minions *to gratify their own private Paſſions to the Prejudice of their Maſters, by miſrepreſenting Things, and Men, and calumniating the innocent; and by theſe ill Offices with the Prince, to put honeſt Men in Danger of their Lives. I do not ſpeak this upon Hiſtory or Hear-ſay; but upon the Certainty of what I have ſeen with my own Eyes, and upon Proof, not Rumour: Wherefore let no Heed be given for the Future to bare Accuſations, or, in Truth, Slanders rather; but let the Fact be ſtrictly examin'd, and the Perſon accuſed be either acquitted or puniſh'd, as he ſhall be found innocent, or guilty.*

It is well known that Haman, *the Son of* Ammedatha, *was by Extraction an* Amalekite, *and not a* Perſian, *and with what Tenderneſs of Affection and Hoſpitality I receiv'd him; what Honours I conferr'd upon him, even to the Degree of calling, and eſteeming him as my Father; commanding all my Subjects to pay a Reverence, next in Order to what they ought to my own Perſon. Now this Man was ſo intoxicated with the Fumes of his Vanity and Weakneſs, that paſſing all the Meaſures of Sobriety and Duty, he improved the Power I gave him, ſo far as in him lay, toward the ſupplanting of me in my Kingdom; and the deſtroying of that Perſon by treacherous Practices, to whom I ſtand indebted for my Life, and Govenrment. I ſpeak of* Mordecai, *my Benefactor and Preſerver; and of my deareſt Wiſe the Queen likewiſe, whom I tender as the one Half of my own Soul, and my Partner in the Empire: His Plot being in the firſt Place perfidiouſly to attempt upon the Lives of my moſt neceſſary Friends, and then to ſeize my royal Authority to his own Uſe.*

Now for ſo much as the lewd Deſigns of this wicked Man are unqueſtionably notorious, and particularly his bloody and barbarous Contrivance for the total Extirpation of the Jews; this is to notify and declare, that I find theſe People ſo far from troubleſome or ſeditious as he repreſents them, that on the contrary, I do highly approve of their Inſtitutions, Ways and Manners, as a People worſhipping the ſame God; to whoſe Bounty and Protection our Family ſtands indebted both for the Poſſeſſion and Preſervation of our Empire. It is therefore our royal Pleaſure, by theſe Preſents, not only to diſcharge the ſame People of all the Pains and Penalties to which they were made lyable by our Letters communicated to you by the Hand of Haman; *but likewiſe, the ſaid* Mandate *notwithſtanding, that you treat them with all Manner of Gentleneſs and Reſpect; having cauſed the Author of this malicious Perſecution, with his whole Family to be put to Death upon a* Gibbet *before the Gates of* Suſa, *as a moſt neceſſary Sacrifice to divine Juſtice.*

This is alſo farther to will and require you, that you forthwith diſpatch Copies of theſe our Letters thorough all our Dominions; permitting the Jews *to live in a peaceable Enjoyment of their own Laws; and that you give them your Aid and Aſſiſtance toward the vindicating of themſelves upon thoſe that ſpitefully and injurouſly oppreſs'd them in their Adverſity: And whereas the preciſe Time appointed for the utter Extermination and Deſtruction of theſe People was to have been upon the thirteenth Day of the twelfth Month, or the Month of* Adar; *it is our Pleaſure, that you pitch upon the ſame Month and Day, for the Work of their Deliverance, as a Circumſtance the moſt agreeable to the Methods of*

God's Power and Juſtice: Not doubting but that this Way of Proceeding will be much to the Satisfaction of all our Friends, and the Example of it ſtand upon Record to Poſterity for a monumental Caution to all Traytors in Time to come. And be it likewiſe known to all our Cities, Towns and People herein concerned, that what Perſon ſoever ſhall preſume either by Disobedience, or Neglect, to act in any Thing contrary to the Tenour of this our imperial Command, he ſhall be liable to military Execution by Fire and Sword, whereof all our Subjects are to take Warning; and the Jews *to be in Readineſs at the Time aſſigned, to do themſelves Right upon their Enemies.*

There were *Couriers* immediately ſent expreſs with theſe Letters to all Quarters. *Mordecai* in the mean while coming forth out of the Palace in the State of his *royal Robe*; his *Crown*, and *golden Chain*, the *Jews* preſently interpreted his Appearance in that Pomp and Magnificence, as a common Bleſſing to them all; and their Joy was ſo great in all other Places upon the Publication of the King's Letters, that far and near it wrought upon them, as if every Man were animated with a new Soul. Nay, and this Grace of the King's had ſo powerful an Influence and Effect, even upon other Nations, that many of them circumciſed themſelves, in Hope they might ſcape better under the Diſguiſe of *Jews*, who were highly elevated by the King's aſſigning them the ſame Day for their Revenge, that had been deſigned for their Execution; that is to ſay, the thirteenth Day of the twelfth Month, which the *Hebrews* call *Adar*, and the *Macedonians*, *Dyſtrus*. Upon the obtaining of this *Mandate*, the Princes, Governours, Magiſtrates, and Lieutenancies did all pay a more than ordinary Reverence to the *Jews*, for Fear of the Power of *Mordecai*.

The ſame Day aſſign'd to the Jews *for their* Revenge, *that was appointed for their* Deſtruction.

Upon the publiſhing of this Edict, the *Jews* put five hundred of their Enemies to the Sword at *Suſa*, and the King ſhew'd the Queen the Number of them; but there was no Account taken as yet, of thoſe that were ſlain elſewhere. So he put it to her if ſhe would require any Thing more, for he was reſolved to deny her nothing. Her Requeſt was then, that the *Jews* might have one Days *Revenge* more upon their Enemies, and that the *ten Sons of Haman* might be *hang'd* upon the *Gallows*, which the King granted alſo for the Day following, without any Contradiction, or Delay. So that they gather'd in Troops together upon the fourteenth, and killed near three hundred more of their Adverſaries, without ſo much as touching any of their Goods; but upon the ſame Heat in other Places up and down the Empire, they deſtroy'd ſeventy five thouſand of thoſe that they accounted their Enemies. This Slaughter was made upon the thirteenth: And on the Day following they feaſted; and ſo at *Suſa* alſo, they celebrated the fourteenth of the following Month as a Feſtival: and theſe Days are ſtill obſerved by the *Jews* with the ſame Solemnity, regaling one another, by Way of Complement, with ſome Preſent, or Portion of the Entertainment. *Mordecai*, upon this, ſent his Orders to all the *Jews* under the Dominion of *Artaxerxes*, requiring them to obſerve thoſe Days for *Feſtivals*, and to tranſmit the *Obſervance* of them to *Poſterity* and ſo to make it everlaſting, for the perpetual Memory of the Thing; for it was but reaſonable to celebrate their Deliverance by a Solemnity of rejoycing upon the ſame Day that was by the Treachery of *Haman*, appointed for the *Maſſacre*, and to make it a Day of *Thankſgiving*, in Memory, as well of their being freed from the Danger, as of having their Enemies given up into their Hands. Upon this Account it is, that thoſe Days are obſerv'd which they call *Phruræa*, or *Purim*; that is to ſay, *Feaſts of Conſervation*. *Mordecai*, all this while, was a Man of great Power with the King, both in reſpect of his Adminiſtration, being near his Perſon, and as an Aſſiſtant and Companion to the Queen. The Affairs of the *Jews* proſper'd under their Direction and Favour, beyond all Expectation: And let this ſuffice for the Hiſtory of our People under *Artaxerxes*.

The ten Sons of Haman *hang'd* Eſter 9.

The Jews *kill'd about* 75000 *of their Enemies in ſeveral Places upon the ſame Day.*

The Day of the Jews *Solemnity celebrated by an* anniverſary Feſtival.

The Feaſt of Purim.

Mordecai *in great Credit.*

CHAP. VII.

John, *the* High-Prieſt, *kills his Brother* Jeſus *in the Temple.* Manaſſes, *the Brother of* Jaddus *the* High-Prieſt, *marries the Daughter of* Sanballat.

AFter the Death of *Eliaſib* the *High-Prieſt*, his Son *Judas*, by an hereditary Right, ſucceeded to the Office; and after his Deceaſe, came on in Courſe his Son *John*, who was the Occaſion of the Violation, and the Prophanation of the Temple afterward by *Bagoſes*, the Commander in Chief of the Troops of *Artaxerxes*; impoſing a Tribute alſo upon the *Jews*, obliging them to allow out of the publick Treaſure, *fifty Drachma's* a Day for every *Lamb* they *ſacrificed*, before they enter'd upon their *Daily-Offerings*; which Impoſition came thus to be brought-on. *John* had a Brother

Judas *ſucceeds* Eliaſib *in the* Pontificat; *and his Son* John *ſucceeds him.*

whoſe Name was *Jeſus* and *Bagoſes* being very much his Friend, took upon him the advancing of *Jeſus* to the *Pontificat*. *Jeſus* depended ſo much upon this Aſſurance, that he took the Liberty to enter into a Wrangle with his Brother in the *Temple* it ſelf, upon this Subject; and the Conteſt went ſo far, that his Brother, in a Rage, ſet upon him and kill'd him: The greateſt Affront to Religion certainly that ever was committed; eſpecially by a Prieſt: And for the farther Aggravation of the Scandal, it was beyond all Preſident, either among the *Greeks*, or *Barbarians*; but God would not ſuffer ſo audacious an Affront to ſcape unpuniſh'd. Now the *People* loſt their *Liberty* for it, and the *Perſians* prophaned the *Temple*; for ſo ſoon as the News of it came to *Bagoſes*, that the *High Prieſt* had ſpilt the Blood of his Brother in the very *Temple*, he call'd out to the *Jews* in Contempt and Indignation. *Impudent Wretches!* ſays he, *to make a Shambles of the Place of your Worſhip!* At the ſame Time preſſing to get into the *Temple*; but being oppos'd in his Paſſage: *What!* ſays he *do you look upon my living Body to be fouler than the Carcaſs that lies here within?* And with theſe Words forced his Way. Upon this Occaſion, he kept a ſevere Hand over the *Jews* for *ſeven Years:* But after the Death of *John*, his Son *Jaddus* came to the Prieſthood. This *Jaddus* had a Brother, whoſe Name was *Manaſſes*, to whom *Sanballat*, underſtanding *Jeruſalem* to be a *famous City*, and that the *Kings* of it had put the *Syrians* and *Aſſyrians* to many Difficulties, frankly gave his Daughter [a] *Nicaſa* in Marriage as a Teſt and Earneſt of the Amity he propounded to himſelf with the *Jews*. This was that *Sanballat* that govern'd *Samaria*, under the laſt *Darius*, a *Chuthite born*, from whence the *Samaritans* had their *Original*.

Bagoſes *advances* Jeſus *to the* Pontificat, *in the Place of his Brother* John.

John *kills* Jeſus *upon a Quarrel in the* Temple.

Jaddus *ſucceeds* John *and* Manaſſes *ſucceeds* Jaddus.

The Samaritans *derive from the* Chuthites.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander the Great *carries the War out of* Europe *into* Aſia: *Breaks the Perſian* Empire; *and when it was expected he ſhould have deſtroy'd* Jeruſalem, *he treated the* Jews *with all Tenderneſs and Reſpect.*

IT was about this Time, that *Philip* the King of *Macedon* was treacherouſly murder'd in the City of *Ægæa*, by *Pauſanias*, the Son of *Ceraſtes*, of the Family of *Oreſtes*. *Alexander* the Son ſucceeded the Father; and croſſing the *Helleſpont*, gave *Darius* a notable Overthrow at the River *Granicus*. After which, he ſubdu'd *Lydia*, and *Ionia*; and paſſing his Army thorough *Caria*, he enter'd into *Pamphylia*, as is ſaid elſewhere.

Philip *of* Macedon *murder'd. His Son* Alexander *ſucceeds him.*

The *Elders* of *Jeruſalem* were at this Time very much unſatisfy'd with the Brother of *Jaddus* the *High-Prieſt*, for taking to Wife a *ſtrange Woman:* Inſomuch, that the Diſguſt they had, ſtopt little ſhort of a *Tumult*; for it look'd like a Step toward the *antiquating* of their Country's *Laws* about *Marriages*; and that if they ſuffer'd it to go on, it would come by little and little, to a *Cuſtom*. Neither had they forgotten that this very Thing was the Cauſe of their *former Captivity*; and of all the Calamities that enſued upon it: That is to ſay; the Tranſgreſſion that drew thoſe Judgments upon them, was the marrying of Women that were not of their own Extraction; and therefore they poſitively required, that *Manaſſes* ſhould either diſmiſs his *Wife*, or ſerve no more at the *Altar*. But the [b] *High-Prieſt* and the People, being mov'd with Indignation, after this would not ſuffer *Manaſſes* to officiate at the *Altar*; whereupon he went to *Sanballat*, his Father in-Law, with a Profeſſion of the infinite Love he had for his Daughter; but at the ſame Time he could not ſubmit to loſe his *Prieſthood* and Honour that was annexed to his Family, and the higheſt of all others in Eſteem among the *Jews*, for the Sake of a Wife, though never ſo excellent. *Sanballat* told him, upon this, that he would undertake not only to ſecure him the Exerciſe of the Function; but advance him to the *Pontificat*, and eſtabliſh him Prince of the whole Country, upon Condition of owning his Daughter for his Wife; and that he would build a *Temple* for him, upon Mount *Garizin* that overlooks *Samaria*, and the reſt of the Mountains thereabouts, not inferior to that at *Jeruſalem*. And this he took upon him to ſee effected by the Conſent of *Darius himſelf*. *Manaſſes* depended ſo abſolutely upon this Aſſurance, that he made no Doubt at all of the Performance, and ſo he continu'd with his Father. *Sanballat* was now in Years; and finding a great many *Prieſts* and *Iſraelites* hamper'd in ſuch *Matches*, the State of *Jeruſalem* was not a little troubled at it; for all thoſe irregular People went over to *Manaſſes*; *Sanballat* furniſhing them with Mony, Houſes, Land and Stock; and all to ſupport the Ambition of his Son-in Law.

Manaſſes *gives a Scandal by* marrying a Strange Woman.

He is order'd either to put away his Wife, *or to lay down his Office.*

Manaſſes *lays his Care before* Sanballat.

Sanballat *undertakes to ſecure him to all Purpoſes; make him Prince of the whole Country; build him a Temple at* Garizin, *equal to that at* Jeruſalem, *with* Darius's *Leave and Conſent: which* Manaſſes *depends upon and continues with his Father.*

Divers Prieſts and Iſraelites *concern'd in ſuch* Matches *go over to* Manaſſes

Alexander's *Victory over* Darius *at* Granicus.

Upon the News of *Alexander's* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, and the famous Victory he had obtained at the River *Granicus*; *Darius*, to prevent his farther Progreſs, drew together all the Force he could make, both Horſe, and Foot, to oppoſe his Paſſage; with a Reſolution to give the *Macedonians* Battle before they ſhould over-run the whole of *Aſia*, which they propounded to do. So that having paſs'd the *Euphrates* with his Army, and likewiſe *Taurus* a Mountain in *Cilicia*; he put himſelf there in Order, with a Reſolution to fight the Enemy in that Province. *Sanballat* was not a little comforted with this Advance of *Darius*; and in a full Confidence of Succeſs, told *Manaſſes* that every Thing ſhould be made good that he had promis'd him, ſo ſoon as the King ſhould return: For he was fully perſuaded, and all the *Aſiaticks* were of his Opinion too, that the *Macedonians* with their Handful of Men would never ſtand the firſt Shock. But in the Event they found their Miſtake; for upon the Armies joyning, *Darius* was totally routed; a great Part of his Army loſt; his Mother, Wife and Children Priſoners, and himſelf forced to fly into *Perſia*. *Alexander*, in the mean Time marched into *Syria*; took *Damaſcus* and *Sidon*, and laid Siege to *Tyre*; writing alſo to the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*, that he expected the ſame Aſſiſtances from them, which they had before allow'd to *Darius*, and that they ſhould provide a Market for the Supply of his Army, where he might have Neceſſaries for his Mony; aſſuring them that they ſhould have no Reaſon to repent the Reſpect. The Anſwer the *High-Prieſt* return'd, was briefly this; that they had bound themſelves by an *Oath* to *Darius*, never to bear Arms againſt him, and that they were ty'd-up by that Obligation during his Life. *Alexander* was highly incenſed at this Return; but went on with the Siege of *Tyre*, making no Doubt but to be ſuddenly Maſter of it; with terrible Menaces, that upon the reducing of that Place he would march againſt the *High-Prieſt himſelf*, and give all People to underſtand, how far Oaths were to be *broken*, or *kept*. *Alexander*, that was indefatigable, took *Tyre* by *Aſſault*, and went thence to beſiege *Gaza*, a *Perſian Garriſon*, and one *Babemeſes* the Governour of it.

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[a] Iſacha, Ruſin.

[b] See Biſhop Montague's 4th Apparat.

Darius *totally routed.* Alexander *marches into* Syria; *takes* Damaſcus, *and* Sidon *and lays Siege to* Tyre. *The* High-Prieſt *excuſes it, that they were under an* Oath *to* Darius.

Alexander *takes* Tyre *by Aſſault, and beſieges* Gaza.

But to return now to the Buſineſs of *Sanballat*: When he found that *Alexander* was before *Tyre*, he took that Opportunity of going over to him with eight thouſand of his own Men, and ſo betook himſelf to the Enemy's Camp; delivering up his Truſt, and transferring his Allegiance from *Darius* to *Alexander*, who received him with open Arms, and bad him ſpeak freely whatever he had to ſay. So *Sanballat* told him, that he had a Son-in-Law whoſe Name was *Manaſſes*, the Brother of *Jaddus* the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*; and great Numbers of that People following him, that deſired nothing more than Leave to build a Temple in that Province: ſetting forth alſo, that it would be *Alexander's Intereſt* to permit it if it were but to divide the Power of the *Jews*, and to prevent Commotions: For they are vaſtly numerous, and as likely to be troubleſome to *other Kings*, as they were formerly to the *Syrians*. This Boon was no ſooner granted, but they were immediately, all Hands at Work, upon the building of the *Temple*; *Manaſſes* to be the *High-Prieſt*, and the Honour to deſcend to the Poſterity of *Sanballat*'s *Daughter*, as he projected to himſelf; but after ſeven Months Time ſpent before *Tyre*, and two more at *Gaza*, *Sanballat* dy'd, and *Alexander* preſently upon the taking of *Gaza*, advanced to *Jeruſalem*; which put *Jaddus* the *High-Prieſt* to his Wits End, how to behave himſelf in an Addreſs to a Prince whom he had ſo highly provoked by a Refuſal to comply with his Orders: Wherefore he appointed publick Prayers and Sacrifices to be offer'd up to God for his Aſſiſtance and Protection, and for the common Welfare of the People. On the Night following God appear'd to the *High-Prieſt* in a Dream, bidding him be of a good Courage, dreſs-up the City with Flowers and Garlands, and without more ado, to open the Gates; the People to march out in white Garments to meet *Alexander*; and himſelf with the Reſt of the Prieſts, in the Habits of their Order; depending upon Providence for the reſt. *Jaddus*, upon waking, told the Citizens with great Joy the Subſtance of this *Revelation*; and ſo put every Thing in Order to attend the Approach of the King. Upon Intelligence a little while after, that he was drawing near toward the Town, *Jaddus* advanced, together with his Prieſts, and the Citizens, in a new, and a venerable Way of Pomp and Solemnity, to a Place that is called *Sapha*; that is to ſay, *a Place of Proſpect*, becauſe it commands the View of both City and Temple. The *Phœnicians* and *Chaldæans* promis'd themſelves all the Licence of Blood and Pillage upon the *High-Prieſt himſelf*, as well as upon the *Citizens*, that Rage or Revenge could draw from a victorious Prince under the Senſe and Provocation of the Affront he had received. But in the Event, they found the clear Contrary; for when *Alexander* ſaw from a Diſtance the Order of the *Proceſſion*; the People all in *white*, with the Prieſts in the Head of them in their *ſilken Robes*; and the *High-Prieſt* himſelf in his *purple Stole, embroider'd with Gold*; his *Mitre* upon his *Head*; and a *golden Plate* upon his Forehead, with the Name of *God* engraven upon it; the Majeſty of this Spectacle ſtruck him

with

Sanballat *goes over with* 8000 *Men from* Darius *to* Alexander,

and gets Leave to build a Temple *in that Province.*

Manaſſes *to be the* High-Prieſt, *and the Honour of it to go to the Iſſue of* Sanballat's Daughter. Sanballat *dies, and* Alexander *advances againſt* Jeruſalem. Jaddus *the* High Prieſt *is order'd in a Dream to open the* Gates, *and march out to meet* Alexander. *The* People *in* white Garments, *and the* Prieſts *in their* Habits. *The* Prieſts *and the* Citizens *march out accordingly.*

with ſo reverend an Awe, that he advanced to him in his own ſingle Perſon; ador'd the ſacred Inſcription, and ſaluted the *High-Prieſt* himſelf: All the *Jews*, at the ſame Time, with one Heart and Voice, ſhouting out Acclamations to *Alexander*, and gathering in Multitudes about him. The Kings of *Syria*, and the Reſt that were there preſent, were ſo amazed at the King's Behaviour, that they could hardly take him to be in his right Senſes; but only *Parmenio* took the Freedom to aſk him, in a familiar Way, how it came to paſs that he that was ador'd by the whole Earth ſhould now deſcend to bow to a *Jewiſh Prieſt?* No, ſays *Alexander*, I do not adore the *Man*, but the *God* that he ſerves; for ſome Time paſt, when I was at *Dion* in *Macedonia*, I ſaw this Man I remember, and in this very Habit. I was then deliberating what Courſe I ſhould take to conquer *Aſia*; and this very Perſon bad me paſs my Army over the *River*; and be confident that if I would take his Counſel, I ſhould make my ſelf Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*. Now upon the View of this Man, and in this Habit, I call to Mind my Dream at *Dion*; and that this is the lively Figure of what I ſaw there in a Viſion, and of the Perſon that encourag'd me to this Expedition: So that it is not without a divine Impulſe that I undertake this War; and I make no Doubt at all of gaining my Point upon the *Perſians*, and ſucceeding in all Things to my Wiſh. After this Diſcourſe to *Parmenio*, the King embrac'd *Jaddus*, and was conducted into the City by the Reſt of the Prieſts, where he went up to the Temple, and ſacrificed in Form, according to Order, paying alſo a ſingular Veneration to the *High Prieſt* himſelf; who ſhew'd the King, when the Ceremony was over, the Book of the Prophet *Daniel*; and in it, the Prediction of a certain *Greek* in Time to come, that ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*; which *Alexander* interpreted of himſelf: And ſo with great Satisfaction in all Reſpects, he diſcharg'd the Multitude till the Day following; at which Time, he call'd them together again, to know what Requeſt they had to make him. The *High-Prieſt* made Anſwer, that they only deſir'd his Leave to enjoy the Freedom of their own Country-Laws, and that they might be exempted from the *ſeventh Years Tribute*; which was all granted them. They beſought him farther alſo, to allow the ſame Freedom to the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media*; which he granted likewiſe: Offering them moreover, that if any of them had a Mind to take up Arms in his Service, they ſhould be received into his Army, and enjoy the Liberty of exerciſing their Religion, as before; which Generoſity brought great Numbers of the *Jews* over to him.

Alexander *with a reſpectful Reverence ſalutes the High-Prieſt in Perſon.*

Alexander *call's to Mind the Figure of* Jaddus *in a Viſion he had at* Dion.

The Prieſts conduct Alexander *into the* Temple, *where he ſacrifices in Form.*

Jaddus *ſhews* Alexander *the Predictions of* Daniel *concerning him ſelf.*

Alexander's *Bounty and Conceſſions of Grace toward the* Jews.

Matters being thus ſettled at *Jeruſalem*, *Alexander* marched with his Army from Place to Place among the neighbouring Cities, and wherever he came he was well received. The *Samaritans*, whoſe *Capital* at that Time was *Sichem*, near the Mountain *Garizin*, and peopled by *Jewiſh Deſerters*, taking Notice how honourably *Alexander* treated the *Jews*, began now to bethink themſelves of tacking about again, and returning to their former Profeſſion; for theſe People are of a Humour, as we have ſaid already; when the *Jews* are in Affliction, *They are Strangers to us*, they cry, *We have nothing to do with them:* And they ſpeak the Truth too. But now, ſo ſoon as ever they come into Credit again, they are all of a *Fraternity* preſently, and value themſelves upon the very *Heraldry* of their Deſcent from *Joſeph*, and his Sons, *Manaſſeh* and *Ephraim*. *Alexander* was hardly out of the City, when the *Sichemites*, in great Pomp and Parade, and with wonderful Joy in their Looks, preſented themſelves before him in Company with the Troops that *Sanballat* had ſent over to him; making Suit to the King, that he would vouchſafe to honour their *City* and *Temple* with his Preſence; who ſpake them all fair, and promiſed to give them a Viſit at his Return; but upon their deſiring an Immunity of the *ſeventh Year's Tribute*, as the other, in Regard that they did not ſow in that Year, *Alexander* asked what Country-men the *Petitioners were?* They told him they were *Hebrews*; but that they were called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*. The Queſtion was put to them again, whether they were *Jews or not?* They ſaid, no: *Whereupon*, ſays *Alexander*, *I have granted this to the* Jews: *But however, when I come back again, I ſhall do what I think reaſonable, upon a fuller Information of the Matter:* And ſo the *Sichemites* were diſmiſs'd; but he took *Sanballat*'s Men along with him into *Ægypt*, allotting them a Diſtribution of Lands to live upon there; which they had afterwards in *Thebes*, where they were put in Gariſon.

The Samaritans *change Parties with their Intereſt.*

They demand the Immunity of the ſeventh Year's Tribute, *but it is not granted them.*

After the Death of *Alexander*, the Empire was parted among his Succeſſors, only the *Temple* by *Garizin* remained *untouch'd:* And if at any Time the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem* were found guilty of the Violation of their Laws, as in *eating forbidden Meats*, the *Breach of the Sabbath*, or the like; they took *Sanctuary* with the *Sichemites*, upon a Pretence that they were unjuſtly accus'd. About this Time the High-Prieſt *Jaddus* dy'd; and *Onias*, his Son, ſucceeded him in the Dignity. This is all we ſhall ſay of the State of *Jeruſalem* at that Time.

The irregular Jews *at* Jeruſalem *take Sanctuary with the* Sichemites.

Onias, *the Son of* Jaddus, *ſucceeds his Father.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE TWELFTH.

From the Year of the World 3635, to 3804.

CHAP. I.

After the Death of Alexander, *his* Generals *ſhare the Empire.* Ptolemy *ſurprizes* Jeruſalem; *tranſplants divers Colonies of* Jews *into* Ægypt, *and employs them in Places of great Truſt. The* Jews *of* Jeruſalem, *and the* Samaritans, *are perpetually in War.*

The Perſian Empire *canton'd out into* Principalities *after the Death of* Alexander. *The ſeveral* Princes *are Competitors for the Sovereignty of the Whole.* Ptolemy *otherwiſe call'd* the Saviour. *He ſurprizes* Jeruſalem *by Treachery, under a Cloak of* Religion. Agatharchides *imputes the Loſs of it to a* Jewiſh Superſtition.

WHEN *Alexander* King of *Macedon* had made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*, and ſettled the Affairs of the *Jews*, as we have ſhew'd already, he departed this Life, and left the Empire broken, and parcell'd out into ſo many *Principalities*. *Aſia* fell to *Antigonus*, *Babylon*, with the Countries bordering upon it, to *Seleucus*. The *Helleſpont* to *Lyſimachus*; *Macedon* to [a] *Caſſander*; and *Ægypt* to *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*. Upon this Diviſion, there enſued a long War betwixt theſe ſeveral Princes, who were all Competitors for the ſovereign Command of the Whole, to the Ruin of ſeveral conſiderable Cities and the Loſs of a great many Lives. The whole Tract of *Syria* was abundantly ſenſible of this Miſery, under the Government of *Ptolemy*, otherwiſe call'd *the Saviour*, (though never any Man had leſs Pretence to that Title, than himſelf.) This was he that got into *Jeruſalem* by a Trick; that is to ſay, upon a *Sabbath-Day*, under a Colour of Devotion, and then treacherouſly poſſeſs'd himſelf of the City without any Oppoſition, Difficulty, or ſo much as the leaſt Apprehenſion of any Danger from him: This being a Day of Reſt, over and above; which made his Entrance as eaſie as his Adminiſtration afterwards was tyrannical and barbarous. *Agatharchides* the *Cnidian*, ſays much the ſame Thing in his Hiſtory of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, when he imputes the Loſs of our Country and Liberties to the Vanity of our Superſtition. His Words are theſe.

There are a People, ſays he, *that are known by the Name of* Jews, *and have their Habitation in a ſtrong and populous City, called* Jeruſalem. *Theſe Men fell into the Hands of* Ptolemy, *and ſubjected themſelves to a cruel Slavery upon a fantaſtical Scruple of Conſcience, that would not ſuffer them to take up Arms againſt an Oppreſſor in their own Defence upon that Day.* This is what *Agatharchides* delivers concerning our Brethren. But *Ptolemy* carry'd away a great many Captives out of the mountainous Part of *Judæa*, from about *Jeruſalem*, *Samaria*, and the Mountain *Garizin*, which he tranſported into *Ægypt*: And then reflecting upon the Sacredneſs of an Oath among the *Jews*, by their Fidelity to *Darius*, even after his Overthrow; notwithſtanding the Summons, and the Invitation of *Alexander* to come over to him: He diſpoſed of them into ſtrong Holds, Garriſons, and Places of Truſt upon their Oath of Fidelity to be true to him and his Succeſſors; granting them alſo Immunities and Privileges in *Alexandria*, in common with the *Macedonians* themſelves. So that betwixt the Temptation of *Ptolemy*'s Liberality on the one Hand, and the Pleaſure and Convenience of a fruitful Country on the other; there came over great Numbers of *Jews* into *Ægypt* from other Parts alſo. But the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* could never be reconcil'd yet upon the Subject of their ancient Laws and Conſtitutions: The one inſiſting upon it, that the Temple at *Jeruſalem* was the *only holy Place*, and the *Jews* not allowed to ſend their Sacrifices any whither elſe; the other ſaying as much for the *Temple* at *Garizin*: Inſomuch that there was a great Deal of Blood ſpilt upon this Queſtion.

The Jews *and the* Samaritans *are divided: One for the Temple at* Jeruſalem, *t'other for that at* Garizin.

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[a] In the Copies of *Joſephus* 'tis *Caſander*. But the true reading is *Caſſander*; as Mr. *Spanheim* has ſhewn.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Ptolemy Philadelphus *ſets a hundred and twenty thouſand* Jews *at Liberty. He ſends for ſeventy two choſen Perſons out of* Judæa, *to turn the* Jewiſh *Laws into* Greek. *He makes a Preſent of rich Donatives to the* Temple, *and treats the Deputies with a Magnificence ſuitable to his Greatneſs.*

[a] AFter the Death of *Ptolemy (the Saviour*, as they call'd him) *Philadelphus* the Son ſucceeded in Courſe to the Kingdom of *Ægypt*. He reigned nine and thirty Years, and gave Orders for the tranſlating of the *Law* into the *Greek* Tongue. There were at that Time *Captives* in *Ægypt*, to the Number of a hundred and twenty thouſand *Jews*, which this *Philadelphus* commanded to be ſet at Liberty upon this following Occaſion. *Demetrius Phalereus* having under his Care and Cuſtody the Truſt of the King's *Library*, took up a Curioſity to try if he could get a Collection of all Books that were any where extant at what Rate ſoever. This Fancy was his particular Inclination: So that he bought up all the choice Books that he could hear of, which he thought might be worthy of a Place in the King's *Study* and *good Opinion*. *Philadelphus* asking one Time how many *thouſand Volumes* he thought he had got? He told him, ſome *two hundred thouſand*; but that he hop'd in a ſhort Time to make them *five hundred thouſand*: For he was certainly inform'd that there were a World of choice *Manuſcripts* among the *Jews*, concerning their Laws, Cuſtoms and Ceremonies, that are very well worth the Reading, and the Honour of a Place alſo in the *Royal Library*; but being written in their own *Language* and *Characters*, it would be a Matter of great Difficulty and Trouble to turn them into *Greek*. For though there may ſeem to be ſome Reſemblance and Affinity betwixt the Language and the Writing of the one and of the other, there are yet ſeveral Niceties peculiar to each, and diſtinct from the other. Not, ſays he, that this is to diſcourage the turning of them out of the *Hebrew*, and the Depoſiting of them in the *Royal Collection*, ſo long as there is wherewithal to anſwer the Expence. The King highly commended this Project of *Demetrius* upon ſuch a Collection of Books, and wrote to the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews* to give him his Aſſiſtance in the providing of theſe Copies. There was one *Ariſtæus*, a particular Confident of the King's, a Man of great Modeſty; and upon that Account he had his Maſter's Ear with the more Freedom. This ſame *Ariſtæus* had it a long Time in his Heart to get the *Jews* ſet at *Liberty*; and laying hold of this Occaſion, as the moſt decent Opportunity of moving the King about it, he went in the firſt Place to *Soſibius*, *Tarantinus* and *Andreas*, three *Captains* of the *Guards*, to feel how they ſtood affected; and upon finding them well diſpos'd, he beſought them earneſtly to aſſiſt him with their Intereſt, toward the doing of ſo good an Office; upon which Aſſurance he addreſs'd himſelf to the King after this Manner.

Philadelphus Ptolemy *ſucceeds* Ptolemy the Saviour.

He orders Moſes's Law *to be tranſlated into* Greek.

120000 *captive* Jews *ſet at Liberty.*

A Collection of 200000 *Volumes in* Ptolemy's *Library.*

Demetrius *propoſes to make them* 500000.

Philadelphus *approves of* Demetrius's *Deſign; and writes to the* High-Prieſt *for* Jewiſh *Manuſcripts.*

Ariſtæus *a Friend to the* Jews.

Soſibius, Tarantinus *and* Andreas, *three Captains of the Guards, well affected to them.*

Ariſtæus *moves the King on the Behalf of the* Jews.

Sir, ſays he, *If I may preſume to lay my Thoughts at your Feet, in all Simplicity, and without Diſguiſe: Since it is your Royal Pleaſure that the Laws of the* Jews *be not only tranſcribed, but tranſlated, to anſwer your preſent Purpoſe; I do not well ſee how it can be fairly done, while ſo many of that Nation are in Bondage under your Government, from whom you require, and expect ſo neceſſary an Aſſiſtance and Service. It ſeems to me, to be an Act worthy of your Magnificence and Goodneſs, to ſet theſe poor People at Liberty from their preſent Miſery; for by all that ever I could underſtand of the Matter, the ſame God that orders and over-rules your Government, is the Author of their Laws: And both we and they worſhip the ſame Creator and Almighty Power, only under the Name of* Jupiter, *or* Jove, *à* Juvando, *from helping; being the Life of us all. Wherefore you may be pleaſed, out of a Reverence to that God whom they love and worſhip with a Zeal and Affection beyond all other Mortals, to reſtore theſe wretched* Exiles *to their own Country, that they may end their Days where they receiv'd their Birth, as in the Place that Providence had aſſigned them. I do not preſume, Sir, to interpoſe on their Behalf out of any Partiality, upon the Account of* Tribe *or* Extraction; *but in a Contemplation, that the ſame God is the Creator of us all, and that ſo illuſtrious a Clemency would be acceptable even to that God himſelf.* The King ask'd him then, how many thouſands he thought there were that would ſtand in Need of this Indulgence? *Andreas* being preſent, made Anſwer, that he believ'd there might be a Matter of a *hundred and twenty thouſand Souls*. Well, ſays the King to *Ariſtæus*, and doſt thou take this for ſo moderate a Requeſt? *Soſibius*, and the Reſt that were by, ſaid, that it would be an Action becoming the Dignity of ſo great a Prince, to be merciful to others, in Acknowledgment of the Honour that he himſelf had received from above. The King was ſo well pleas'd with this Motion and Advice, that he order'd an Allowance of a *hundred and twenty Drachma's to the Soldiers for every* Jew *they had in Cuſtody; to be made good to them on the next Pay-day, over and above their Stipend, with a further Promiſe to anſwer the Deſire of* Ariſtæus, (or in Truth, the Appointment of Providence) *in all Points*, *and to ratify the whole by*

The King ſo well pleas'd with Ariſtæus's *Motion, that he* grants *more than his* Asking.

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[a] See *Vorſtius*'s Pref. to his *Append.* to the Book *De Septuagint. Interpret.*

by a publick Edict; wherein ſhould be comprehended not only thoſe which his Father, or his Army had carry'd away, but thoſe alſo that either before, or ſince that Time, had been taken into Captivity. His Friends told him, that at this Rate, the Deliverance of theſe People would ſtand him in at leaſt *forty Talents; but the King would not ſtick at that,* he ſaid, *for the Thing ſhould be done.* Now for the greater Honour of this illuſtrious King, I ſhall here inſert a Copy of the *Proclamation* it ſelf.

The King's Charter to the Jews by Proclamation.

It is our royal Will and Pleaſure, that all the Jews *whatſoever, that have been ſubdu'd, and taken by any of my Father's Forces, upon their Incurſions into* Syria *and* Phœnicia; *and thoſe brought away or ſold, into any of my Dominions; and all thoſe likewiſe that either before, or ſince that Time, have been ſo ſold and enſlav'd, be all ſet free, upon the Payment* of one hundred and twenty Drachma's for every ſuch Slave: *The Soldiers to receive this* Redemption-Money, *together with their Pay, and the Reſt out of the Treaſury. For the forcing of ſo many People away into Captivity, and the ravaging of their Country by the Outrage and Licence of the Soldiers, for the Sake purely of the Pillage and Booty, was a Courſe that my Father undoubtedly neither intended nor approv'd; and a Thing as contrary to common Equity and Reaſon. Wherefore out of a Reverence to the Memory of my Father, and a Commiſeration of the poor and weak that ſuffer under the Power of Oppreſſion and Violence, I do hereby expreſly charge and command, that all the* Jews *that are at this Time in* Servitude, *be immediately* diſmiſs'd *upon the Payment of the Sum aforeſaid to their reſpective Maſters, in Obedience to this our* Mandate, *without* Fraud *or* Colluſion. *And farther, that this our* Proclamation *be made publick for three Days ſucceſſively after the Receipt of it; and in the mean Time, that the aforeſaid Maſters bring in a Liſt of their Priſoners to ſuch Officers, and in ſuch Manner, as we ſhall judge moſt for our Service. And all this to be done upon the Peril of Confiſcation, if any Man ſhall be found acting contrary to the Tenor hereof.*

An Allowance of Redemption Money.

Upon the firſt Sight of this Draught, the King took Notice, that the Proviſion for the Liberty of thoſe that were taken either before, or after, was not ſo cautiouſly expreſs'd, but there was Room left to evade it: So that the King, of his own proper Generoſity and Motion, ſuperadded a Latitude of Indulgence in thoſe Caſes, and gave poſitive Orders to the Collectors of his Tribute, and the Officers of his Treaſury, to have the Money in Readineſs for the *Ranſom* of the *Jews.* So within ſeven Days the whole Work was diſpatch'd at the *King's Charge,* to the Value of *four hundred and ſixty Talents;* the Maſters inſiſting upon the ſame Rate for the Children, that they had for the reſt, though the King's Edict extended no farther then to thoſe that were brought away Priſoners, without comprehending ſuch as were born there.

The King enlarges his Grant.

When every Thing was advanced thus far, with great Honour and Juſtice, according to the King's Mind, he commanded *Demetrius* to publiſh his Purpoſe about the *Tranſcribing* of the *Jewiſh Books* and *Records,* proceeding from one Thing to another in Order and with Conſideration. So that there was entered upon a *Regiſter,* a Copy of *Demetrius's Petition,* and likewiſe of the Letters that were written upon that Occaſion; with an Account of the *Preſents* that were made toward the Work, and what they were, and by whom: So that at firſt Sight, the Excellency both of the Authors, and the Contrivers, might appear from the very Work it ſelf. Now the *Petition* aforeſaid ran in Terms much to this Purpoſe.

Demetrius *to the* great King.

The Petition of Demetrius about Jewish Books and Records.

Since it is your royal Will and Command, that I ſhould do my Endeavour to ſupply what may be yet further added toward the Perfection of your Library, *and to find out what curious and uſeful Books and Copies may have hitherto eſcaped my Search and Enquiry; this is humbly to inform your Majeſty, that after much Study and Thought upon this Matter, I do not find any Thing ſo much conducing to your preſent Purpoſe, as the* Hiſtory *of the* Jewiſh Laws; *for being written in* Hebrew Characters, *and in an* Hebrew Idiom, *it will be hard for us to underſtand them aright: Beſide, that the Verſion we have already of them, is not ſo correct as it ſhould be, for Want of a royal Authority and Encouragement toward the making of them known. So that it will be neceſſary to have them accurately and carefully tranſlated, as being a* Body *of the* wiſeſt *and* perfecteſt Laws *that are any where Extant;* God himſelf *having been the* Author *of them. For this Reaſon, ſays* Hecatæus *the* Abderite, *we find in none of the* Poets *or* Hiſtorians, *any Mention made of theſe* Laws, *or of the* Adminiſtrators *of them; the* Original *and* Inſtitution *of them being* ſacred, *and not to be prophaned by unhallow'd Lips. Wherefore your Majeſty may be pleaſed, if you ſhall judge it meet, to write to the* High-Prieſt *of the* Jews, *only to ſend you out of every Tribe,* ſix Elders, *whom he ſhall make Choice of, as Men the beſt ſkill'd in the Knowledge of their* Conſtitutions *and* Cuſtoms; *and by their Aſſiſtance, in the interpreting and expounding of their Writings, we may be able to gather ſomething from them to your Majeſty's Satisfaction.*

The History of the Jewish Laws.

Hecatæus observes upon these Laws.

Six Elders propos'd out of every Tribe, to assist in the Interpretation of the Writings.

The King, upon this Motion, gave Directions for Letters to be written to *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt*, according to the Propoſal of *Demetrius*; taking Notice alſo of the *general Releaſe* of all the *Jews* that were Priſoners in *Ægypt*. The King ſent a Preſent alſo of *fifty Talents of Gold*, for Cups, and Bowls, and to a great Value in *precious Stones*; ordering thoſe that had Care of the *Coffers*, wherein they were depoſited, to let the *Lapidaries* take and chuſe as they thought fit: And beſide all this, the King aſſign'd a hundred Talents more for *Sacrifices*, and other *Services* of the *Temple*. I muſt not paſs over the Particulars of the *Magnificence*, and the *Curioſity* of the whole Work: But in the firſt Place, I ſhall give the Reader the Copy of the Letter that was written to *Eleazar*, together with an Account how he came to this Dignity.

Letters order'd to Eleazar the High-Prieſt according to the Propoſal.

The King's magnificent Preſents.

Upon the Death of the *High Prieſt Onias*, his Son *Simon* ſucceeded to the Office, a Perſon of ſingular Piety towards God, and of an exemplary Tenderneſs and Good Nature toward Mankind; from which Character he was ſurnamed *the Juſt*. *Simon* liv'd not long; and leaving behind him *only one Son*, a Child, whoſe Name was *Onias*, his Brother *Eleazar* of whom we are now ſpeaking, enter'd upon the *Pontificate*: And it was to this *Eleazar* that *Ptolemy* wrote the Letter following.

Onias the High-Prieſt dies, and his Son Simon ſucceeds him. Simon dies, and leaving only one Son Onias, a Child, Eleazar his Brother enters upon the Pontificate.

King *Ptolemy* to *Eleazar* the *High-Prieſt*, ſendeth, *Greeting*.

Whereas there were great Numbers of Jews *in my Dominions that were brought Captives hither by the* Perſians *while they were in Power: And whereas my Father had ſo great a Value for them, that he entruſted ſeveral of them in his Armies; others in his ſtrong Holds and Garriſons, for a Check upon the* Ægyptians, *with the Allowance of large Penſions for their* Service: *Be it known unto you, that I my ſelf alſo, as I have been eaſy and gentle to all, ſince my coming to this Government, ſo I have had a more peculiar Tenderneſs to your People, having ſet above a* hundred thouſand *of them at* Liberty, *and paid the Charge of their Ranſoms out of my* own Coffers. *Some of them I have made Uſe of in my* Army, *others, as I found them diſcreet and truſty, I have entertain'd about my Perſon, and in the Court, reckoning upon it, that I can do nothing more acceptable to God, than good Offices to others for his Sake, to whom I owe my Government and Being: Wherefore out of a Deſire to oblige the* Jews *all over the World, to the uttermoſt of my Power; I have propoſed to my ſelf the turning the Books of your Law into* Greek, *and to give the* Tranſlation *a proper Place in my own* Library. *In Order to the compaſſing of this Deſign, it will be kindly done to make a Cull out of your ſeveral* Tribes, *of* ſix Elders *out of* each Tribe, *the beſt skill'd Men in the* Laws *you can pitch upon; and ſend them to aſſiſt me in this Tranſlation; for I promiſe my ſelf, if I ſucceed in this* Undertaking, *to gain immortal Honour by it. The Perſons I employ to treat with you about this Affair, are* Andreas, *a* Captain *of my* Guards, *and* Ariſteus; *two of my truſty and well-beloved Friends, whom I have charged alſo with a Preſent of* a hundred Talents of Silver *for you, which I ſend as an Obligation of my* Firſt-Fruits, *towards your* Sacrifices *and your* Temple. *Write me back what you pleaſe, it ſhall be welcome to me.*

Ptolemy's Letter to Eleazar.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, *Eleazar*, with all the Deference and Reſpect imaginable, returned this following Anſwer.

The King's Munificence toward the Service of the Holy Temple and Altar.

Eleazar the *High-Prieſt* to *King Ptolemy*, Greeting.

If it be well with your moſt excellent Majeſty; *with your* Queen Arſinoe, *and with your* illuſtrious Family, *it is ſo likewiſe with your Servants the* Jews. *Your moſt gracious Letter is come to our Hands, and we have read it in a full Congregation with infinite Joy and Affection: As an Inſtance, not only of your Clemency and Good-Will towards a diſtreſſed People; but as a Token alſo of your ſingular Reverence and Piety for the Worſhip of the* great God. *We have received alſo by the ſame Hands; that is to ſay, by the Hands of* Andreas *and* Ariſtæus *(your well-beloved and learned Friends, and Perſons highly worthy to be eſteem'd)* twenty golden Cups, thirty ſilver ones, five Goblets, *and a* Table *to be conſecrated for the Service of the* Altar; *together with a* hundred Talents *toward the Charge of* Sacrifices, *and other* Services *for the* Temple: *All which we have ſhewed and repreſented unto our Brethren, in the moſt affectionate Terms of* Gratitude *and* Reſpect; *and we are all ſo ſenſible of the generous Obligations you have been pleaſed to lay upon us, that you may depend upon our Readineſs to ſerve and obey you in all Things without Reſerve, to the uttermoſt of our Power, in a juſt Acknowledgment of your Grace and Goodneſs. In Purſuance of this Senſe and Conſcience of our Duty, we have recommended unto God in our publick Prayers the Protection of your royal* Perſon, Siſter, *and* Children, *together with all that love and are dear to you; wiſhing Peace and Proſperity to your ſelf and People: And beſeeching God, that the Work you have*

Eleazar's Anſwer to Ptolemy's Letter.

The Particulars of Ptolemy's Donatives.

have now in Hand, of compiling a Collection and Hiſtory of our Laws and Antiquities, may be of as much Satisfaction and Advantage to you as your own Heart can deſire. In Order to this End, I have ſent you ſix Elders *out of* every Tribe, *with the* Law, *to attend your Pleaſure, remitting our ſelves upon the whole Matter to your Piety and Juſtice, that after the* tranſcribing *of them, they may be remitted to us back again by the ſame Bearers: Recommending your Majeſty to the Providence of the Almighty.*

Six Elders *out of* every Tribe *ſent to attend the* King *with the* Books *of the* Jewiſh Laws.

This was the *High-Prieſt's* Anſwer to the King's Letter, together with the Names ſubjoin'd of the *ſeventy Elders* that were ſent by *Eleazar*, upon this Occaſion; which Names I ſhall not need to enumerate over again in this Place. But for the Magnificence and Curioſity of the *Donatives*, and *Preſents*, for the Service of *God*, that Part of the Account cannot be paſs'd over in Silence, without great Injuſtice to the King's *Honour*, *Piety*, and *Bounty*: Conſidering with what *Liberality* and *Expence* he promoted the Work; the Countenance and Encouragement that he gave to the Proſecution of it; and the Aſſiduity of his Care and Watchfulneſs in overlooking the Workmen, to ſee that they ſhould neither be heedleſs nor idle. Now in theſe Caſes, I am obliged to be more particular; not as a Branch of the *Hiſtory*, but as a *Memorial* of the *King's Greatneſs of Mind*, that ſhall ſtand upon Record to his everlaſting Fame. And I ſhall begin with the Deſcription of the *Table*.

The golden Table.

As to the *Dimenſions*, the King ſent his *Artificers* to learn out the Meaſure of the *former Table* at *Jeruſalem*, and to ſee whether the Place would not bear a *bigger*. They brought him Word that he might make it as big as he pleas'd: Whereupon he propounded to himſelf to make this *five Times larger than the other*. But conſidering, upon ſecond Thoughts, that ſo great a Bulk might poſſibly make it too cumberſome and unweildy for daily Uſe, and look liker a Work for Oſtentation, than for Service, he came to a Reſolution upon the firſt Scantling; and to ſupply the Expence he ſav'd in Weight and Mettle, in a Charge upon extraordinary Workmanſhip and Beauty. Now the King had a wonderful Inſight into the Nature and Reaſon of Things, and ſuch a Preſence of Thought, for the finding out of Expedients and new Inventions, that it was a common Practice with him to form his own Deſigns, and preſcribe to the very Workmen themſelves, their preciſe Rules and Meaſures. So that for the Proportions of this *Table*, he order'd it to be *two Cubits and a Half long*; *one over*; and *one and a Half in Height*; all of *ſolid Gold*, and round about it a *Border* of a *Hands Breadth*: Set out on three Sides with curious Carving of *Flower Works*, *twiſted Strings*, and other agreeable *Figures*; which, being *triangular*, were likewiſe ſo equal and juſt, that turn it which Way you would (as it was eaſily tranſpos'd) the Proſpect would be ſtill the ſame. This *Table*, in Fine, was delicately wrought all over; but that Part of it eſpecially that was moſt in Sight: With an Intermixture of *precious Stones* loopt together by golden Buckles, to the *String Work* before-mentioned, at equal Diſtances one from another. The Out-ſide of it was ſet with other rich Stones of an oval Cut; and an emboſs'd Work of *Twigs* and *Branches* creeping round the *Table*. There were alſo ſeveral Sorts of Fruits wrought together under the Figure of a Crown; as Bunches of Grapes, Ears of Corn, Pomegranates, *&c.* all in their proper and natural Poſition, and expreſs'd by Stones ſet in Gold, bearing the native Colour of what they repreſented. Under this Crown was another Row of Ovals; which, for the Matter, the Order, and Ornament, was ſo like the former; and ſo exactly uniform from Top to Bottom, that there was no diſtinguiſhing one Part from the other. Under the Table from Side to Side, there paſs'd a golden Plate of four Fingers Breadth; and into this Plate the Feet were faſten'd with Springs, and Hooks to keep them firm and ſteady, by binding the Cover and the Frame together. There was drawn alſo upon this Table the Reſemblance of a *Mæander*; the Courſe of it mark'd out with Stones of Luſtre and Value, ſparkling like ſo many Stars: As *Rubies*, *Emeralds*, and whatever elſe was moſt precious, or excellent in the Kind. Along this *Mæander*, there were divers Pieces of Sculpture in Boughs and Knots, that had ſomewhat in them of the Figure of a *Lozenge*: And they were ſo embelliſh'd by an orderly Diſpoſition of *Cryſtal*, and *Amber*, for the Advantage of the View, that it made, all together, one of the moſt agreeable Spectacles imaginable. The Corniſhes of the Feet had the Reſemblance of a *Lilly-Work*: The *Stem* upright, with the Leaves and *Tendrils* winding under the Table. The *Baſis* was a Hand's Breadth over, garniſh'd with Rubies, and a Border round about it, and two Hands Diſtance betwixt the Feet that reſted upon it. The *graving Work* of theſe Feet was incomparable; being the Fancy of a *Foliage* of the *Vine* and the *Ivy*, render'd ſo exquiſitely to the Life, (with *Grapes*, *Berries* and all) that it was hard to ſay, which was which: But upon the leaſt Breath of Air, the Leaves would move and play; as if it had been the Work of Nature rather than of Art. This Table conſiſted of three Parts which were ſo artificially put together, that there were no Joints to be diſcern'd, or ſo much as to be imagin'd where they met; and the Thickneſs of it was Half a Cubit. This great Prince gave to underſtand by the Magnificence of his Preſent, in the ineſtimable Value of the Materials, and the exquiſite Curioſity and Perfection of the whole Work, that what he bated of his firſt Project in Size and Proportion, was abundantly ſupply'd by a moſt munificent Expence in Art and Ornament.

There was alſo a Pair of large golden Cups, wrought half Way up the Bowl *Scallop-wiſe*, and inlaid with all Sorts of precious Stones orderly ranged into the Reſemblance of a *Mæander* of a Cubit over, with delicate Figures of *Twigs*, and *Creepers*, branching out into a Kind of Net-work up to the Brim, and interlaced with ſeveral Compartiments in Form of a *Lozenge*, ſome four Fingers broad, and garniſh'd with Stones of Value, as before: The Borders alſo ſet out with an Intermixture of *Lillies*, *Flowers*, *Vines*, *Grapes*, and the like, around the Lips of the Veſſel. This was the Form of finiſhing of theſe Goblets; and for the Contents, they held a Matter of three or four Gallons a-piece. And then for the ſilver Pieces, they were ſo glorious and radiant, that no *Cryſtal Mirror* was comparable to them.

The King's additional Bounties.

The King, after all this, furniſhed yet *thirty golden Veſſels* more, richly ſet out, and garniſhed up and down with *precious Stones*, and overſhadow'd in the Intervals, with *Vine* and *Ivy-Leaves* in curious *Sculpture*. Neither was the Excellency of theſe miraculous Pieces to be wholly aſcribed to the Deſign and Maſtery of the Artificer; but the King himſelf took a Kind of Glory in contributing every Way to the Perfection of the Work, making it a great Part of his Care and Buſineſs, to viſit the Shops, and ſuperintend the Maſters themſelves, in the Execution of their Charge and Profeſſion; which made them much more induſtrious and intent, when they ſaw the King himſelf laid the Well-doing of every Thing ſo much to Heart, than they would have been otherwiſe.

Upon the Receipt *and* Dedication *of the King's* Donatives, *his* Commiſſioners *are honourably treated and diſmiſs'd.*

Eleazar *attends the King with* Preſents, *and* Parchment Manuſcripts *of the* Jewiſh Laws *in golden Letters.*

The King's *Order and Method of entertaining the* Commiſſioners.

Upon the Delivery of theſe *Donatives*, and the *Dedication* of them to the Uſe and Service of the *holy Temple* at *Jeruſalem*, *Eleazar* treated the King's Commiſſioners with all Honour and Acknowledgment, and ſo diſmiſs'd them with good Wiſhes, and Preſents, to return to their Maſter. The King had no ſooner heard of their Arrival at *Alexandria*; and that they had brought the *ſeventy Elders* along with them, but he ſent inſtantly for his *two Embaſſadors*, *Andreas* and *Ariſtæus*, from whom he receiv'd *Eleazar*'s Letter, and particular Satisfaction to many Queſtions by the Bye. His Mind was ſo bent upon an immediate Conference with the *ſeventy Perſons* that were ſent over to him to *interpret* the *Laws*, that no Creature had Acceſs to him upon any particular Buſineſs, though contrary to his Cuſtom of giving private Audience once in five Days, and publick once a Month. Having thus ſecured himſelf from the Importunity of any of thoſe caſual Interruptions, he only waited the coming of *Eleazar's Agents*, who attended him ſoon after with *Preſents* from the *High-Prieſt*, and with certain *Manuſcripts* of the *Jewiſh Laws* written upon *Parchment*, in golden Letters. Upon the King's asking for the Books, they were produced, to his great Admiration at the Nicety of the Work; for the Leaves were ſo artificially put together, that there was no diſcerning where one Skin was joyn'd to another: His Majeſty at the ſame Time telling them, that he had a great Reſpect for the Perſons that brought him that Rarity; a greater yet for him that ſent it; but the greateſt Reverence of all for the *Author* of thoſe Laws that were now brought and ſent him. The Deputies, and their Aſſiſtants, gave the King with one Heart and Voice ſuch moving Inſtances, by their joynt Prayers and Acclamations, of the Zeal and Paſſion they had for his Service, that he could not forbear weeping at the Tenderneſs of the Reſpect; for there are Tears of Joy, as well as of Sorrow. The Writings were then put into the Hands of the Officers that were to have them in Charge; and the King taking the Deputies into his Arms, told them that he would only in the firſt Place ſpeak a Word or two to the Buſineſs they came about; and after that, take their Perſons into his particular Care: For *he looked upon the Day of their Arrival*, he ſaid, *as ſo great a Providence to him, that he reſolved to have it obſerved all the Days of his Life, as an anniverſary Feſtival in Memory of the Bleſſing*; and it fell out luckily in this too, that it happen'd to be upon the very Day of his *naval Victory* over *Antigonus*. The King, in Fine, told them that they ſhould be his Gueſts, and order'd them their Conveniencies, and Apartments in his own Palace. The Care of entertaining and providing for Strangers, was properly *Nicanor*'s *Province*; who appointed *Dorotheus* under him, in this, as in other Caſes, to ſee that nothing might be wanting. Now the King's Method was this, both for the Honour and Convenience of Strangers, that they ſhould be all treated after the Way of their own Country; and Inſtructions were accordingly given, on the Behalf of the *Elders* too, that the uncouth Novelty of Things might not diſguſt them.

The Menage of this Affair was committed to *Dorotheus*, as a Perſon well read in the *Faſhions* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Jews*. There was in the firſt Place, two Seats diſpoſed of; one on the King's Right Hand, the other on his Left, by his own Order, and with all becoming Deference to the Commiſſioners. When the Gueſts had taken their Places, the King bad *Dorotheus* ſerve them after the ſame Manner, as he had formerly ſerv'd their Countrymen upon the like Occaſion. So that the *Ægyptian Prieſts* and *Officers* that uſually did Duty at the King's eating Time, were all diſcharg'd; and one of our own *Deputies* and *Prieſts*, *Eliſa*, by Name, was called out by the King himſelf to bleſs the Table, who thereupon ſtood up to give God Thanks: And after the Solemnity of a Benediction, upon what they were about to receive, and a fervent Prayer for the Happineſs of the King and his People, to the infinite Satisfaction of all that were preſent, the Company fell cheartully to the Meat that was before them. The King took Occaſion while they were at Dinner, to ſtart ſeveral *philoſophical Queſtions*, curious and diverting enough; and ſo to put them about from one to another, by Way of Entertainment and Diſcourſe. The Senſe and Judgment of the Commiſſioners was ſo grave and pertinent to every Point, that the King took a wonderful Delight in the Converſation, and ſo they continu'd feaſting and rejoycing for the Space of twelve Days. If any Man has a Mind to know the particular Points that were here in Agitation, I ſhall only refer him to a Book of *Ariſteas*, expreſly upon this Subject. The Excellency of this Converſation had wonderful Effects, not only upon the *King*; but they brought over *Menedemus* the *Philoſopher* alſo, to acknowledge an *over-ruling Providence*, and to put a final End to that Controverſy: The King acknowledging himſelf all this while, to be ſo exceedingly edify'd by converſing with theſe People, that they had perfected and inſtructed him in the very Art of Government. So he ordered them a Gratification of *three Talents* a Man, and they were then conducted to their Lodgings. At the End of *three Days*, *Demetrius* took them along with him by a *Cauſway* of ſeven Furlongs in Length, and a Bridge of Communication betwixt the *Iſland*, and the *Continent*; and ſo advancing from thence *Northward*, ſettled them in a Houſe by the Sea-ſide, where they might be quiet, and without Noiſe; and a commodious Retreat, in Fine, for Men of Thought and Contemplation. When they were now ſo diſpos'd of, that there was nothing more to be deſir'd in Favour of the Undertaking, he made it his Requeſt, that they would immediately fall to Work upon the Interpretation, and ſo God ſpeed them in the Enterprize. They ſpared for neither Care nor Pains, but kept cloſe to their Studies from early in the Morning till three in the Afternoon, which was their dining Time; *Dorotheus* not forgetting, according to the King's Order, to ſupply them with Delicacies from his own Table; over and above a plentiful Competency of Proviſions at the King's ordinary Allowance. It was their Cuſtom to wait upon the King every Morning at his *Levee*; and thence to betake themſelves to their Taſk again, ſtill waſhing their Hands with Sea Water, before they enter'd upon their Buſineſs.

The Tranſlation *finiſh'd in* ſeventy two Days;

Read over, examin'd *and* approv'd.

Reviſed *and finally* ratify'd.

This Verſion of the *Law* was finiſhed within the Compaſs of *ſeventy two Days*; and when that was over, *Demetrius* call'd all the *Jews* together into the Place where it was *tranſlated*, and in the Preſence of the *Interpreters* read over the Book; the whole Aſſembly unanimouſly approving of the *Interpretation*, and extolling *Demetrius*, as the Occaſion of the great Advantages they had receiv'd. He deſired alſo, that it might be read by the eminent Men of the Nation; and after this, the *High-Prieſts*, the *Elders*, and the *Magiſtrates* of the People, propounded; that ſince the *Tranſlation* was ſo happily finiſh'd, the Authority of it might be ratiſy'd, and the Text remain unalterable for ever. They were all ſo perfectly of the ſame Mind, that they came to this Reſolution, that the Book might be ſubjected to a further Examination, and Reviſe; and if there ſhould be found any Thing in it of Exceſs or Defect, it might, upon mature Conſideration, be rectiſy'd: But that upon a further Approbation, it ſhould ſtand good for ever.

The King was doubly pleas'd, to the higheſt Degree: Firſt, for the gaining of his Point; and Secondly, that it ſucceeded ſo happily to the Advantage of the Publick: But when he came to hear it read to him, he was tranſported with Joy, in the Contemplation of the Wiſdom of the *Law giver*; and enter'd into a Diſcourſe with *Demetrius*, that neither any *Hiſtorian*, nor *Poet*, ſhould ever make Mention of theſe incomparable *Laws*. *Demetrius* made Anſwer, that the *Frame* of them being ſo manifeſtly *divine*, and the *Matter* of them ſo *venerable*, People were afraid of medling with them; eſpecially conſidering what Judgments had befall'n ſeveral People for the Temerity of prophaning them; as *Theopompus*, taking upon him the Part of a *Plagiary* in publiſhing Texts of Holy Writ as his *own Invention*, was ſtruck with a Fit of *Madneſs* that held him thirty Days; and in the *Intervals* of his *Phrenzy* was conſcious of the Sin, and asked God Forgiveneſs for it; having Revelations alſo in his

Theopompus *runs* mad.

his Sleep that it was his audacious Curioſity, in confounding *ſacred* Things with *prophane*, that brought this Diſtemper upon him. But, in Fine, upon his Repentance and Amendment, he was reſtored again to his right Mind. And ſo it fared likewiſe with *Theodectes* the Poet, who was taken *blind* upon the Intermixing of *divine Writ* with *Tragedy*; and upon the Acknowledgment of his Sin, reſtored to his *Sight* again.

upon confounding ſacred Things with prophane.

Theodectes *ſtruck blind for the ſame Preſumption.*

The King, upon the Receipt of theſe Books from *Demetrius*, bleſs'd God and worſhipp'd; giving a ſtrict Command for the preſerving of them ſafe and entire; deſiring the *Interpreters* alſo, that he might ſee them again as often as they could, upon a Viſit: Aſſuring them, that it ſhould turn to their Honour as well as to their Advantage. He was obliged at preſent, he ſaid, to part with them; but whenever they ſhould come hereafter upon their own Accord, they ſhould not fail of ſuch an Acknowledgment as might become wiſe Men to receive, and a great Prince to give. Upon this, the King diſmiſs'd them with a Preſent, to each of them, of three rich Suits of Raiment; two Talents of Gold; the Value of one Talent in Cups; Couches to ſit and eat upon; with Preſents alſo for the *High-Prieſt*, of ten Beds with ſilver Feet, and Suits of Furniture belonging to them; a Chalice of thirty Talents; ten purple Robes; a glorious Crown; and a hundred Pieces of fine Linen: Beſides Cups and Goblets of ſeveral Sorts; and two golden Veſſels dedicated expreſly to the Service of the Temple: Deſiring the *High-Prieſt* by Letter, that if any of theſe Commiſſioners ſhould have a Mind to come to him again at any Time hereafter, he ſhould give them Leave; for he had a high Eſteem for the Converſation of learned Men, and could not think his Favours better beſtow'd than upon ſuch Company. This is the ſhort Hiſtory of what *Philadelphus* did to the Honour of the *Jews*.

The King diſmiſſes the Interpreters *with Variety of rich* Preſents.

CHAP. III.

The Kings of Aſia *always very kind to the* Jews. Antiochus the Great *marries his Daughter* Cleopatra *to* Ptolemy *King of* Ægypt.

THE *Jews* were in great Eſteem alſo among the Kings of *Aſia*, both for their Faith, and Skill in military Matters: Inſomuch that *Seleucus*, ſirnamed *Nicanor*, gave them the Privileges of *Freemen* in all the Cities he built throughout *Aſia* and the *lower Syria*: Nay and in the *Metropolis* of *Antioch* it ſelf too, declaring it to be his Will and Pleaſure, that they ſhould enjoy the ſame Rights, and Immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*; which was no more than what they are poſſeſs'd of to this very Day. As for Example. The *Jews* being interdicted the Uſe of *foreign Oyl*, the *olympick* Officers that had the ordering of that Affair, were obliged by the Government to allow them ſo much Money in Lieu of it. The People of *Antioch* inſiſted upon the abrogating of that Cuſtom in the following War; but *Mutianus*, who was then Governour of the Province of *Syria*, would not agree to it. In the Reign afterward of *Veſpaſian*, and his Son *Titus*, the People of *Alexandria* would have had the *Jews disfranchis'd*; but ſuch was the Honour, and the Juſtice of the *Romans*, and eſpecially of thoſe two magnanimous Princes before mention'd, that they could not obtain it: Not that they wanted either Pretence or Provocation for a Revenge upon a People that had been ſuch a Thorn in their Sides, by ſo troubleſome a War, and ſo obſtinate a Rebellion: But they look'd upon their Rights and Privileges to be ſtill ſacred, and therefore refuſed to gratify either their own Paſſions, or the Importunity of two great Nations with any vindictive Act of Injuſtice. They laid more Weight upon the Senſe of their ancient Merits, than upon that of their preſent Miſdemeanour, and would not do a mean Thing, though in Favour of never ſo conſiderable an Intereſt. As for them, they ſaid, that had taken up Arms againſt the *Romans*, they had ſuffer'd enough in all Conſcience by the Calamities of the War, without any other Forfeiture; and to puniſh thoſe that had not offended, would be an Indignity againſt common Senſe and Juſtice.

The Jews *much in Favour with the Kings of* Aſia. Seleucus Nicanor *grants them great* Privileges:

Veſpaſian *and his Son* Titus *continue them, though the People of* Alexandria *preſs to have them* disfranchis'd.

We read likewiſe to the ſame Purpoſe, of *Marcus Agrippa*'s good Affection to the *Jews*; for when the *Ionians*, in a ſeditious Animoſity againſt thoſe People, went Open-mouth to them with a *Remonſtrance*, that their City being ſingly, and entirely their own, by the Gift of *Antiochus* the *Grandſon* of *Seleucus*, whom the *Grecians* ſurnamed the *God*, they deſired to be put in Poſſeſſion of it with ſole Privileges, excluſive of all other People: Demanding farther, that if the *Jews* ſhould pretend

Marcus Agrippa *ſtands by them alſo againſt the* Ionians.

Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus *pleads for the* Jews, *and obtains a* Judgment *for them.*

The Hiſtory of Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus.

The Juſtice and Generoſity of Veſpaſian *and* Titus.

to the *ſame Immunities*, it might be upon Condition of their *worſhipping* the *ſame Gods*. The *Jews* brought the Queſtion to an *Iſſue*, *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* being of their Council, who obtained Judgment for them in Favour of the Right they claim'd to the *free Exerciſe* and *Enjoyment* of their *own Laws* and *Cuſtoms: Agrippa* pronouncing upon the whole Matter, that he could not agree to any Innovation upon that Point. He that would be farther ſatisfy'd in the *Series* of this Tranſaction, may read the whole Story at large in *Nicolaus*'s Hiſtory, *lib.* 123, *&* 124. But not being at that Time in War with the *Romans*, I do not ſo much wonder at *Agrippa*'s Judgment in this Particular, as I do at the Generoſity and Candor of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, whoſe very Names are not be mention'd but with infinite Honour and Admiration: Perſons that in all the Outrages of a fierce and a bloody War, could never be tranſported beyond the ſtricteſt Bounds of Humanity and Moderation. But to go on where I left off.

During the War betwixt Antiochus *and* Philopator Ptolemy, *the* Jews *were ſtill Sufferers.*

Antiochus *makes himſelf Maſter of* Judæa.

Under the Reign of *Antiochus the Great*, *Aſia*, *Judæa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, were never at Reſt; for *Antiochus* being at that Time in *actual Hoſtility* with *Philopator Ptolemy*, and his Son *Ptolemy*, ſirnamed *Epiphanes*, whether Side ſoever had the better of it, the *Jews* betwixt the proſperous and adverſe Fortune of *Antiochus*, were ſtill ſure to be Sufferers; like a Veſſel in a Storm at Sea, that is batter'd and daſh'd betwixt two Billows, as well on the one Side as on the other: But *Antiochus*, in the End, prevail'd, and made himſelf Maſter of *Judæa*.

Scopas *breaks into* Cœle-Syria. Antiochus *beats him out again.*

Antiochus *to* Ptolemy *in Favour of the* Jews.

See Polybius Megalopolitanus.

The Jews *of* Jeruſalem *go over to* Antiochus.

In Proceſs of Time, after the Death of *Philopator*, his Son ſent a great Army into *Cœle-Syria*, under the Command of *Scopas*, who took ſeveral of their Cities, and reduced *Judæa* by Force: But *Antiochus*, a while after, obtained a notable Victory over *Scopas* at the Head of the River *Jordan*, and recover'd the Places in *Cœle-Syria* and *Samaria*, which *Scopas* had got Poſſeſſion of before. The *Jews*, upon this Succeſs, render'd themſelves upon their own Accord; received the Army into their City; provided plentifully for the *Elephants*, and valiantly aſſiſted in the Attack of the *Caſtle*, where *Scopas* had left a Body of Men in Garriſon. *Antiochus* thought it but reaſonable to gratify the *Jews* with ſome honourable Mark of the Senſe he had of their Good-Will and Services upon this Occaſion, and ſo wrote to ſuch of his Friends and Officers, as were Witneſſes of the Obligations they had laid upon him: Giving to underſtand in the ſaid Letters, what Manner of Requital he intended to make them. You ſhall have the Copy of it in its due Place; but I am firſt to tell you what *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, in the *ſixteenth Book* of his *Hiſtory*, ſays upon this Subject. *Scopas*, ſays he, *Ptolemy's General, made a Winter-War with the Jews, brake into the Heart of their Country, and wholly ſubdu'd it.* And then he goes on a little after, in the ſame Book, with the Story of *Scopas*'s being defeated by *Antiochus*, over-running *Bathamæa*, *Samaria*, *Gadara*, and *Abila*; after which the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem*, and of the glorious *Temple* there, went over to him. *I ſhould ſay a great Deal more*, ſays he, *upon this Text; but I muſt put it off to another Time.* Thus far went *Polybius*; but I ſhall now return to my Relation, taking the Letter of *Antiochus* in my Way.

King *Antiochus* to *Ptolemy*, Greeting.

Antiochus *to* Ptolemy *in Honour and Favour of the* Jews.

Whereas we have received ſeveral Inſtances of the good Diſpoſitions and Affections of the Jews *toward us and our Service, from the Time of our firſt coming into their Country, which they have expreſs'd by the Pomp and Reſpect of their* Elders *and* Magiſtrates, *in attending us in a Body upon the Way, and the ſplendid Reception of our Perſon, and our Army, into the City, and making ſo ample a Proviſion, both for our* Horſes *and* Elephants; *aſſiſting us likewiſe againſt the Garriſon of the* Ægyptians *in the* Caſtle: *Theſe good Offices being duly conſider'd, we reckon our ſelves bound, in Piety and Honour, to beſtow upon them ſome diſtinguiſhing Marks of our Acknowledgment and Eſteem; by contributing toward the repairing of their miſerable* City, *and reſtoring it to its former State of Reputation and Glory, by recalling all their Countrymen, wherever diſtreſſed, to their former Habitations: And in Order to the compaſſing of thoſe Ends, we have in the firſt Place aſſigned* twenty thouſand Pieces of Silver *toward the Charges of their* Sacrifices, Wine, Oyl, *and* Frankincenſe; *and for fine* Flower, *according to the Cuſtom of the Place* one thouſand four hundred and ſixty Meaſures of Wheat, *and* three hundred ſeventy five Meaſures of Salt. *And it is our Will and Pleaſure, that all this may be executed and made good according to my Order. And then for any Thing that may be wanting toward the repairing of the* Temple, Porch, Galleries, *or whatever elſe; it is our Will that the* Timber *be ſupply'd, whether from* Judæa, Libanus, *or elſewhere, without any Tax or Duty: And we* *do likewiſe grant the ſame Immunity for all other Materials, that ſhall be made Uſe of for the* Holy-Temple; *with Permiſſion moreover of an univerſal Liberty to live and govern themſelves according to their* Country Laws. *And we do hereby reſpectively diſcharge their* Elders, Prieſts, Scribes *and* Singing-men, *of* Poll Taxes, Royal Duties, *and of all other* Tributes *whatſoever. And for a further Encouragement, to the ſpeedy Re-peopling of this City: We do by our* Authority Royal *grant unto all the preſent Inhabitants of the ſame, and to ſuch others as ſhall come over to take up their Habitations there, at any Time betwixt this and the Month of* Hyperberetæus *next enſuing, a total Exemption from all publick Impoſitions for the Space of three Years to come; and ſo likewiſe from that Time forward, an Abatement of one third Part of all Taxes, in Conſideration of their paſt Damages and Sufferings. And finally, whereas great Numbers of theſe People have been carry'd away* Captive, *and remain to this Day in* Bondage, *we do farther command, that they be forthwith ſet at Liberty, with Reſtitution, in Satisfaction for what had been taken from them. And ſo we bid you heartily* Farewel.

This gracious Prince did not ſtop here neither; but follow'd his generous Declaration in Favour of the People, with *another Edict*, which he caus'd to be publiſhed all over his Dominions, in Subſtance as follows: That is to ſay, *That no Stranger ſhall preſume to enter into the* Temple, *but with the Conſent of the* Jews, *and without being purify'd and qualify'd beforehand for his Admittance, according to the Laws of the Country: That no Man ſhall dare to bring into the City, the Fleſh, either of Horſes or Mules, or of Aſſes, wild or tame; the Fleſh of Panthers, Foxes, Hares, or of any other Creatures that the* Jews *are not allow'd ſo much as to touch, nor the Skins of any of them; nor to bring up, or feed any of theſe, or any other Creatures in the City, but ſuch as their Forefathers, according to God's Appointment, made Uſe of for* Sacrifices, *upon the Penalty of three thouſand* Drachma's, *to be levy'd upon every Offender againſt the ſaid Orders, for the Uſe and Benefit of the Prieſts.*

A ſecond Edict of Antiochus *relating to the* Jews Religion, Laws, *and* Cuſtoms.

This King had another eminent Occaſion, alſo to give the World a ſignal Proof of the high Eſteem he had for us in the Matter of our Piety and Allegiance. Upon the breaking out of a Commotion in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, *Zeuxes* being at that Time in the Head of an Army in the upland Provinces, the King preſently order'd this General, a Perſon for whom he had a ſingular Reſpect, to ſend away from *Babylon* ſuch a Number of the *Jews* there, into *Phrygia*, giving him his Inſtructions in a Letter to this Effect.

The King *Antiochus* to *Zeuxes*, his *Friend* and *Father*, Greeting.

If you are well, all is well; for I am ſo too. Whereas I am given to underſtand, that there are ſeditious Practices afoot in Phrygia *and* Lydia, *it ſtands me upon to look well about me betimes; ſo that I am now to acquaint you that I am adviſed by my Council, and Friends, to take* two thouſand Jewiſh Families *out of* Babylon *and* Meſopotamia, *and to tranſport them into* Phrygia, *with their Goods and whatever belongs to them, and there to place them for a Guard in ſtrong Holds and Garriſons, being thoroughly ſatisfy'd in the Knowledge I have of their Zeal and Fidelity; not only from the Principles of their Religion, but from the Proof and Experience of their Allegiance to my Anceſtors. Wherefore, it is my Pleaſure (all Difficulties notwithſtanding) that they be forthwith tranſplanted; giving them all Aſſurance, that they ſhall ſtill enjoy the Freedom of their own* Laws *and* Cuſtoms. *And upon their Arrival there, you are to aſſign them* Lands *and* Poſſeſſions, *with all Sorts of Conveniencies for* Building, Planting *and* Tillage; *with an Immunity alſo from all* Taxes *and* Contributions, *out of the Profits for* ten Year to come. *And in the mean While, till they may be able to ſupport themſelves out of the Fruits of their own Induſtry, you are to allow them a competent Proviſion of Wheat, for the Maintenance of themſelves and their Families: By which kind Uſage they will be encouraged to act more chearfully in our Service. You are finally to take Care, that they be not expoſed to any Sort of Trouble or Moleſtation. And ſo we bid you* Farewel.

Antiochus *to his* General Zeuxes *much to the Reputation of the* Jews.

This is enough to ſhew what Eſteem *Antiochus the Great* had for the *Jews*: After which, there followed a League of Amity and Alliance betwixt *this King* and *Ptolemy*, upon a *Marriage* with his *Daughter Cleopatra*, who had in Lieu of a Portion, *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa* and *Samaria*. The *Revenue* was in *Partition* betwixt the *two Kings*, and let out in Farm to ſome of the principal Men in the reſpective Provinces, who took Care of the *Collections*, and ſo paid their Proportions into the King's Treaſury according to the Contract.

Antiochus *marries* Cleopatra, *the Daughter of* Ptolemy.

The *Samaritans* were at this Time *proud* and *powerful*, and moſt particularly troubleſome and vexatious in their Inroads upon the *Jews*; carrying ſeveral of them away *Captives*; and this Ravage was committed chiefly in the Time of the *High-Prieſt Onias*: For after the Death of *Eleazar*, his Uncle *Manaſſes* took the *Pontificat*; and after his

The Samaritans *bitter Enemies to the* Jews. Manaſſes *had the* Pontificat *after his Nephew* Eleazar, *and* Onias, *a weak Prince, ſucceeded* Manaſſes.

his Death, ſucceeded *Onias*, the Son of *Simon the juſt*; which *Simon* was the Brother of *Eleazar*, as we have ſaid already. This *Onias* was weak and covetous; to the Degree of refuſing the King the *cuſtomary Tribute* of *twenty Talents*, which his Anceſtors ſtill made good to him, in Acknowledgment of a Duty. This coarſe Behaviour of *Onias* incenſed *Ptolemy Euergetes* the Father of *Philopator* to ſuch a Degree, that he ſent an *Embaſſador* expreſly to *Jeruſalem*, with a Menace to demand the Payment of it, upon the Peril of having an Army quarter'd upon their Country at Diſcretion, and a new Plantation ſettled there, if they did not immediately comply. This Meſſage put the *Jews* out of their Wits: But *Onias* out-faced the Danger, his Heart being only ſet upon his Money.

Ptolemy *menaces* Onias *by his* Embaſſador Athenion, *for refuſing to pay him his* annual Tribute.

CHAP. IV.

Joſeph, *the Nephew of* Onias, *begs his Uncle's Pardon of* Ptolemy; *makes his own Fortune by it, and advances his Son* Hyrcanus. *The Death of* Joſeph.

Joſeph *the Nephew of* Onias.

THere was one *Joſeph*, the *Son* of *Tobias* by the *Siſter* of *Onias* the *High-Prieſt*. This *Joſeph* was a young Man; but for his Integrity, Prudence and Juſtice, a Perſon of great Reputation among the *Jews*. While he was one Time at *Phichola*, the Place of his Birth, his Mother ſent him an Account of the Meſſenger before ſpoken of, and of his Buſineſs, who went immediately with an Invective to *Onias* for ſo manifeſt an Expoſure of the publick Peace; reproaching him withal, that if he could but ſave his Money, he car'd not what became of the People, to whom he ſtood indebted for his Promotion, both *ſacerdotal* and *civil*. But however, if his Heart was ſo ſet upon his Pelf, that he would ſacrifice his Country, Friends and all, rather than part with it, he adviſed him at leaſt to make a dutiful Application to the King about it, and to try if he could get the whole, or at leaſt ſome Part of it remitted. *Onias* made Anſwer, that he was not ſo fond of his Place either in Church or State, but he could willingly part with both, if it were permitted him, rather than go to the King upon that Errand; and that for his Part he would not meddle in the Matter. Why then, ſays *Joſeph*, will you give me Leave to attend the King upon the ſame Commiſſion? *Onias* told him [*With all his Heart.*] So *Joſeph* went up to the *Temple*, where he called a *Congregation*, and bad them chear up their Hearts, for he was in Hope that this Failing of his Uncle would have no further ill Conſequence; telling them, that if they thought fit, he would wait upon the King himſelf in their Name, and do the beſt he could to ſet Matters right again. The whole Multitude gave him Thanks for the Propoſal, and ſo left the Buſineſs entirely to his Menage. *Joſeph*, upon this, went his Way preſently to find out the King's Commiſſioner; and when he had treated him ſplendidly for ſome certain Days, and made him rich Preſents, he diſmiſs'd him to his Maſter again, with an Aſſurance that he himſelf would follow him very ſuddenly. *Joſeph*'s Heart was now ſet more and more upon this Expedition, being not only encourag'd and invited to it by the King's Meſſenger, but ſure alſo of the beſt Service he could do him there; who made no Doubt at all neither, but that upon ſuch an Application, *Joſeph* might gain his Point. This Perſon was mightily taken with the good Graces and Addreſs of the young Man; and upon his Return into *Ægypt*, reflecting abundantly upon the Ingratitude of *Onias*, he did not forget at the ſame Time, to ſpeak the beſt Things in the World of *Joſeph*, who he ſaid would be there himſelf e're long, on the Behalf of the People; which Office he had now taken upon himſelf, to atone for the ill natur'd Laſineſs of his *Uncle*. This Miniſter, in Fine, was ſo taken up ſtill upon the Subject of *Joſeph*'s *Character* and *Commendations*, that the King and his Wife *Cleopatra* were half in Love with him before ever they ſaw him. Upon this Occaſion, *Joſeph* ſent to his Friends in *Samaria* to take up Money for his Equipage; which in Clothes, Horſes, Carriages, Plate, and other Neceſſaries, ſtood him in a Matter of twenty thouſand *Drachma's*. He had the Hap, in his Way to *Alexandria* to fall into Company with a Train of the Princes and Nobility of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, who were at that Time Trooping up to the King to treat with him about his Revenue, according to a yearly Cuſtom they had of putting it up by the Way of *Outcry* to the *faireſt Bidder*. Theſe great Men made themſelves merry at the poor pitiful Appearance of *Joſeph* and his Retinue: But he kept on his Way ſtill, directly to *Alexandria*; and being there informed that the King was ſtill at *Memphis*, he proſecuted his Journey; and had the good Hap to meet him ſitting in his *Chariot* with the *Queen*, and his particular Confident *Athenion*, in his Return to *Alexandria*. This *Athenion* was the Perſon that carry'd the Embaſſy to *Jeruſalem*, and was ſo honourably treated by *Joſeph* there. *Joſeph* was no ſooner in his

Joſeph *reaſons the Caſe of* Ptolemy *with his* Uncle, *but can do no good upon him.*

Joſeph *courts* Athenion *with* Treats *and* Preſents.
Athenion *goes back to his* Maſter, *and* Joſeph *promiſes to follow him.*

Athenion *does* Joſeph *all good Offices.*
What Joſeph *provides for his Journey.*

He falls in upon the Way with a Train of great Perſons going to treat with the King about farming his Revenue.

The King happens to meet Joſeph *upon the Way*;

his Eye, but he gave the King to underſtand that this was the *Young Man* whom he had ſpoken ſo many excellent Things of, at his coming back from *Jeruſalem*. *Ptolemy* upon this, ſtopt and ſaluted him, and took him into his *Chariot*; complaining upon the firſt Greeting, how ill he had been us'd by *Onias*. *Sir*, ſays *Joſeph*, *an old Man is the ſecond Time a Child; and I hope your Majeſty will impute nothing to* Onias *beyond that Infirmity: But for the Young Men that are in their Vigour of Strength and Underſtanding, I dare be anſwerable for it, that you ſhall not find any one of us wanting in his Duty*. The King was ſo delighted with this Taſte of *Joſeph's Diſcretion* and *Civility*, upon the firſt Encounter, that he gave Orders immediately for the Lodging of him in his own Palace, and entertaining of him at his own Table; which ſingular Reſpect went to the Hearts of the envious *Syrians*, when they came to ſee at *Alexandria* the Honour that was done to *Joſeph*.

and upon Atheni-on's *telling him who he was, the King takes him into his Chariot.* *The King blames* Onias: *and* Joſeph *imputes it to Age and Infirmity.*

The King entertains him in his own Palace.

The Day of *Auction* was now come on, when the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue were to be put up; and the Nobility of every ſeveral Province reſpectively to bid for the Purchaſe: So they came to a Contract for *eight thouſand Talents* upon the Duties out of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa* and *Samaria*. *Joſeph* blam'd the Contractors, for beating down the Compoſition ſo much below the Value, and propounded the doubling of it himſelf, over and above the *Forfeitures*, which theſe *Publicans* had reſerv'd for themſelves. The King was very well pleas'd with this Propoſal for the Improvement of his Revenue, and in Favour of the Propoſer himſelf too: But what *Security* can you give, ſays he, for the Performance of what you undertake? *Joſeph* pleaſantly enough reply'd, that he could give him the Security of Perſons beyond all Exception; and upon the King's bidding him name them, his Anſwer was, that he doubted not, but his *Majeſty* and the *Queen* would be bound one to another for his Honeſty and Juſtice. The King, in Fine, was ſo well ſatisfy'd with this ingenious Way of proceeding, that he intruſted him with his Revenue upon his Word, without any other Sureties. This ſurprizing Preference of a Stranger, put the reſt of the Undertakers exceedingly out of Humour, and out of Countenance, to think of going back again with Shame and Repulſe.

Upon the bidding for the Farm Joſeph *offers* double *to the reſt of the* Contractors.

The King agrees with him without Security.

Joſeph, upon being taken into this Truſt, deſir'd a *Guard* of *two thouſand Soldiers* to ſupport him in the collecting of the Duty, in Caſe of any Oppoſition; which Guard was granted him; and thereupon having borrow'd *five hundred Talents* of the King's Friends in *Alexandria*, he went his Way into *Syria*. Upon his coming to *Askalon*, and demanding the King's Tribute there, they did not only refuſe him the Money, but affronted him outrageouſly with foul Words; but he preſently cauſed his Soldiers to take up twenty of the Ring-leaders, and to put them to exemplary Juſtice; raiſing *a thouſand Talents* out of their *forfeited Eſtates*, and ſent the Treaſure to the King, with a particular Account of what had been done. The King was ſo wonderfully taken with the Conduct and Diſcretion of the Proceeding, that he left him to himſelf after that, to do whatever he thought fit. The freſh Example of this Severity upon the People of *Askalon*, wrought ſuch an Effect upon the reſt of the *Syrians* elſewhere, that they ſet their Gates open in all Places to *Joſeph*, and without any Difficulty, or Scruple, paid their *Taxes*. The Inhabitants of *Scythopolis* follow'd the Preſident alſo of *Askalon*, in the obſtinate Refuſal of their cuſtomary Impoſitions, and in the Contempt of the King's Officers and Authority: So that *Joſeph* was forced to deal with the Heads of the Faction there, as he had done before with thoſe at *Askalon*; *confiſcating* their *Eſtates*, and applying the Forfeitures to the King's Uſe, and the Maintenance of the Government; accounting it a Point of Wiſdom to ſecure what they had got, and to make their Country maintain it ſelf: To ſay nothing of the many rich Preſents that were made by the Bye, both to the King, and to his People; and many more to the King's Well-Willers and Favourites; by which Means *Joſeph*, both gained Friends, and kept them.

Joſeph *with a Guard of* 2000 *Soldiers, goes to* Askalon, *to collect the Duty. The People riſe againſt him, and he makes twenty of the Ringleaders* Examples.

Scythopolis *follows the Preſident of* Askalon *in the Stubbornneſs of the Faction, and* Joſeph *makes them as exemplary in their Puniſhment.*

Joſeph liv'd in this State of Proſperity, for the Space of two and twenty Year, having had ſeven Sons by one Wife, and another by the Daughter of his Brother *Solymius*, whoſe Name was *Hyrcanus*, whom he took to Wife upon this Occaſion.

How Joſeph *came to marry* Solymius's *Daughter, by whom he had* Hyrcanus.

Travelling one Time in Company with his Brother to *Alexandria*, to find out ſome *Jew* of Quality that might be a Match for a Daughter of his that he took along with him, and was at that Time marriageable: As he was at Supper with the King, he fell paſſionately in love with a beautiful Maid that he ſaw dance there for the King's Entertainment. He made his Brother his only confident of the Secret, deſiring him that ſince he could not lawfully enjoy her as his Wife, (being a Stranger) he would do him the good Office to bring them together privately. His Brother, promiſing that he would do what he could in it, dreſs'd up his own Daughter, and at Night put her to Bed to him. *Joſeph*, that had taken a Cup too much, paſs'd the

Joſeph *falls in Love with a beautiful Woman at* Alexandria. *Being a Stranger ſhe could not be his* Wife, *and therefore he gets her for his Miſtreſs.* Solymius *puts his* Daughter *to Bed to him.*

Solymius *finding him ſo much delighted with his Companion, tells* Joſeph *the whole Story.*

Joſeph *thanks him for his Friendſhip, and marries his Daughter, by whom he hath* Hyrcanus.

The early Pregnancy and Reputation of Hyrcanus, *being the youngeſt of eight Sons, makes the reſt hate him.*

The Prudence and Sagacity of Hyrcanus.

firſt Night by a Miſtake with his Brother's Daughter; and never found the Error. This Abuſe was put upon him over and over; and the oftner he enjoy'd this Converſation, the more enamour'd he grew of his Miſtreſs, till at laſt he made his Moan to his Brother, that he was afraid he ſhould never get that Love out of his Heart; beſide that he fear'd the King would never agree to make a Match of it. As for that Fancy, ſays *Solymius*, trouble your Head no farther; for you may lawfully enjoy the Woman you love, and enjoy her as your Wife too. *Solymnius* confeſſed the whole Matter to him; and that he had rather choſen to ſuffer an Affront in the Perſon of his Daughter, than to have his Brother guilty of ſo diſhonourable a Sin. *Joſeph* upon this Diſcovery, extoll'd his Brother's Tenderneſs and Friendſhip to the Skies, and marry'd his Daughter; by whom he had *Hyrcanus*, as we have ſaid already. This ſame *Hyrcanus*, at thirteen Years of Age, gave the World ſuch Hopes of him, to all the Purpoſes of Generoſity, Underſtanding, and good Nature, that the Pregnancy of this Youth (being the youngeſt of that Stock) drew a mortal Envy upon him from the reſt of his Brothers; as having the Reputation of an Advantage over all the reſt. Now *Joſeph*, out of a Deſire to make an Experiment, which of his Children was the beſt inclin'd, ſent them one by one to the moſt expert Maſters he could think of in their ſeveral Profeſſions: But betwixt Sloth and Lazyneſs, they all came home again as ignorant as they went out. *Joſeph*, after this, ſent his youngeſt Son *Hyrcanus*, upon a ſeven Days Journey into a *Deſert* with three hundred Pair of Oxen to plough and ſow there, having firſt privately taken away the Lines that ſhould couple the Yoak and the Plough together. When he came to the Place, and wanted his Tackle, he was adviſ'd by ſome Husband-Men to ſend Home to his Father for it; but he was againſt loſing ſo much Time, and therefore bethought himſelf of an Invention that look'd liker the Stratagem of an old beaten Soldier, than the Shift of a Child; that is to ſay, he cauſed ten Yoak of Oxen to be kill'd, dividing the Fleſh among his Workmen; and cutting the Skins into Thongs, he tack'd the Oxen and their Gears together; plough'd up the Ground, and ſow'd it as his Father had order'd him, and ſo went Home again. Upon his Return, his Father kiſſed and embraced him, bleſſing himſelf at his Preſence of Thought, and the Prudence of his Behaviour, and to conſider, that ſo very a Youth ſhould have the Steddineſs of Mind to put ſo extraordinary an Invention in Execution. So that *Hyrcanus* was to his Father, as if he had been his only Son; but his Brothers hated him.

Joſeph *ſends* Hyrcanus *upon a Complement to* Ptolemy *to joy him on the* Birth *of a* young Prince.

Joſeph *gives him Letters of Credit to* Arion *his Agent at* Alexandria.

Hyrcanus *haſtens away to* Arion.

Hyrcanus *demands* 1000 *Talents for* Preſents.

About this Time, there was News brought to *Joſeph* that the Queen was deliver'd of a Son, to the exceeding Joy of the Princes and great Men of *Syria*, who preſently troop'd away together in great Pomp to *Alexandria*, to gratulate the King and the Court upon this Bleſſing; only *Joſeph*, by Reaſon of his Age, was forced to ſtay behind. But he had a Mind however to feel how his Sons ſtood affected to this Expedition; and upon putting them to the Queſtion, *One did not underſtand the Ways of the Court*, he ſaid; *another made a Difficulty of ſhewing himſelf to the King*; and ſo with one Pretence after another, they put it to their Father to ſend *Hyrcanus* on the Errand; which he was very glad to hear, and had him call'd in immediately. *Son*, ſays Joſeph, *what if I ſhould ſend you now upon a Complement to the King? Could you behave your ſelf, do you think, as you ought to do?* Why Sir, ſays *Hyrcanus*, I ſhould take it for a great Honour to be ſo employ'd, and moſt readily obey you. And ſays he further, I ſhould not put you to any great Expence neither; for I would menage every Thing as well as I could, and a Matter of ten thouſand Drachma's would do my Buſineſs. The Father was much delighted with his Son's Sobriety and Moderation; and ſo the Diſcourſe ſtopt for a while, till the Son after a little Pauſe brake the Silence. *Sir*, ſays he, *if I durſt be ſo free with you, I would propoſe it to you not to ſend the King any Preſents from this Place; but rather to write to your Agent at* Alexandria, *to furniſh me wherewithal to buy the richeſt, and the moſt agreeable Curioſities for Preſents for the King, that are to be had for Money. Joſeph* reckon'd upon it, that ſome ten Talents perhaps might ſerve the Turn: So that he comply'd with his Son, and gave him Letters of Credit to *Arion* his *Caſh-Keeper* at *Alexandria*, who had ſome *three thouſand Talents* at that Time in his Hands: It being *Joſeph*'s Method ſtill to remit thither the Collections he receiv'd in *Syria*, to be there returned into the Treaſury upon the preciſe *Pay-Day*; which *Arion* was intruſted to take Care of. *Hyrcanus* was no ſooner diſpatcht, but away he went to *Arion* at *Alexandria* with his Letters; his Brothers at the ſame Time being engaged in a ſecret Practice and Deſign upon his Life. Upon the Delivery of his *Credentials*, *Arion* asked him how many Talents would ſerve his Turn; computing that about *ten Talents*, or ſomewhat over, might be ſufficient. *Hyrcanus* told him, that he ſhould have Occaſion for a *thouſand Talents*. *What? ſays* Arion, *to be ſquander'd away in Luxury and Profuſion? No no,* Sir, ſays he, *your Father made his Fortune by Induſtry and good Husbandry, and you ſhould do well to tread in his Steps. In Short, you are like to have but* ten Talents *of me, and I will ſee every Penny of the Money laid out upon the* Preſents *too.* At this Rate he went on huffing and ſwaggering ſo long, till *Hyrcanus* took him up, and laid him by the Heels for his Sawcineſs. Now the Wife of *Arion* being much in the *Queen*'s Favour, carry'd the Tydings of this Adventure preſently to her Miſtreſs; and the *Queen* handed it to the King, not without ſomewhat of Reproach upon the Raſhneſs and Intemperance of the young Man. This Complaint was ſoon follow'd by a Meſſage from the King to *Hyrcanus*, giving to underſtand, that he being ſent expreſly by his Father to attend his Majeſty, he very much wonder'd, that he ſhould never come at him: And not only at that neither, but likewiſe at his taking upon him to impriſon his Father's Agent: Wherefore it was his Majeſty's Command, that he ſhould wait upon him, and acquit himſelf if he could, of the Charge that was exhibited againſt him. *Hyrcanus* deſir'd the Meſſenger to inform the King, that by the *Jewiſh Law* no Man was permitted to eat of the Fleſh of any Thing that was *ſacrificed*, that had not been firſt in the *Temple*, and offered Sacrifice himſelf; which by a Parity of Reaſon was his very Caſe, for he durſt not wait upon his Majeſty, till he had firſt preſented the Oblations, which his Father had intruſted him withal, in Teſtimony of his Gratitude and Duty: And for the Matter of puniſhing a Servant for his Diſobedience, he thought, with Submiſſion, that he had great Right on his Side; for the Relation is ſo near betwixt great Maſters and little ones, that an ill Example in a Subject ſtretches in the Conſequence to the King himſelf: For where the Contempt of Authority paſſes with Impunity, the Precedent is contagious. The King could not but ſmile and wonder at the Hearing of this, to find ſo great a Soul in ſo young a Creature.

Arion *expoſtulates the Matter, and* Hyrcanus *lays him by the Heels.*

Ptolemy *ſends for* Hyrcanus *to chide him for what he had done.*

Hyrcanus *excuſes himſelf at preſent;*

in ſuch a Manner as gives the King great Satisfaction.

Arion perceiving by this Time that his *Court-Intereſt* fail'd him, deliver'd the *thouſand Talents* that were demanded of him, as a Compoſition for his Liberty. After three Days, *Hyrcanus* went to Court to pay his Reſpects to the King and Queen; where he had the Honour out of a ſingular Reſpect they bare to his Father, to be admitted to their Table. While this was in Agitation, he contracted privately with certain Merchants for a *hundred* of the moſt *beautiful Youths* that were to be gotten; *at a Talent a Head*, and as many lovely ingenious *Girls* at the ſame Price. Being invited after this to the King's Entertainment, together with other Perſons of the moſt eminent Quality, the Officers that had the ordering of the Ceremony in the ranging of the Gueſts, aſſigned *Hyrcanus*, being but a Youth, the loweſt Place at the Table. When the reſt of the Company had fill'd their Bellies with the Fleſh, they laid their Bones together by Conſent in a Mockery, before *Hyrcanus*; and ſet on *Tryphon*, a jeſting *Buffoon* that the King took Pleaſure to make Sport with: Who in his ſawcy Way deſir'd the King to take Notice, what a Heap of Bones *Hyrcanus* had before him. Juſt ſo, ſays he, has the Father pick'd the Bones of all *Syria*, as the Son has ſerv'd thoſe Bones that are now before him. The King could not but ſmile at the Drollery of the Conceit, and asked *Hyrcanus* how he came to have ſuch a Pile of Bones before him. Oh Sir, ſays he, there's no Wonder in it at all; for the *Dogs* devour Fleſh, and Bones and all, pointing with his Eye to thoſe that had none before them: But *Men*, ſays he, ſuch as I am, when they have done with the Fleſh, throw away the Bones as I do. The King found him ſo facetious, that he not only applauded him himſelf, but recommended him alſo to the Reſpect and Kindneſs of the Company. *Hyrcanus* made his Court upon the Day following to the King's Friends, and the great Men about him; and fell to pumping of the Servants what Preſents their Maſters intended to complement the King withal, upon the Birth of the Prince. So one ſaid *twelve Talents* perhaps; another, more or leſs, according to their Ability; ſome, in Fine, one Thing; ſome another: *Hyrcanus* ſeeming uneaſy all this while, upon a Pretence, that he could not come up to their Proportion; for *five Talents* was all that he was to advance. Theſe Servants told their Maſters what paſs'd betwixt them and *Hyrcanus*, who were not a little pleas'd to think how the Narrowneſs of the young Man's Preſent would leſſen him in the Eſteem of the King. But when it came to appear upon the Day appointed for the Solemnity of making their Oblations, that *twenty Talents* was the moſt that was given by any Man, *Hyrcanus* only excepted, whoſe Preſent was *a hundred Boys, and a hundred Girls*. The former for the *King*; the other for the *Queen*; and with every one of them a *Talent* for another Preſent over and above. This was ſo exceſſive and ſo unexpected a Munificence, that the King himſelf and all his Friends were in Admiration at it: Beſide the Gratuity of divers *Talents* more, that were diſtributed among the King's Miniſters and Officers for Fear of the worſt; *Hyrcanus*'s *Brothers* having employ'd their uttermoſt Intereſt with them to get him deſtroy'd.

Arion *at laſt ſupplies* Hyrcanus *with the* thouſand Talents: *And ſo he provides his* Preſents.

Hyrcanus *being treated ſoon after at the King's Table:*

The Gueſts ſet Tryphon, *a* Buffoon, *upon him to make Sport with him.*

Hyrcanus's *ſharp and ingenious Way of acquitting himſelf.*

The Magnificence and Curioſity of Hyrcanus's *Preſents.*

The King is ſo delighted with it, that he bids him ask what he will and he ſhall have it.

Hyrcanus *only deſires the King's recommendatory Letter back again; which the King grants, and ſo with honourable Preſents diſmiſſes him.*

The Brothers aſſault Hyrcanus, *and are worſted.* Hyrcanus *keeps on his Way to* Jeruſalem.

The Death of Joſeph: *His Character and Commiſſion.*

Onias *dies, and* Simon *ſucceeds him in the* Pontificate.

The King was ſo tenderly ſenſible of the Greatneſs of the young Man's Mind, and the graceful Way of expreſſing it, that he bad him ask what he would and he ſhould have it; of which generous Offer he made no other Uſe, than to deſire his Majeſty's Letters of Recommendation back again to his Father, and to his Brethren. So the King took an honourable Leave of him; preſented him like a Prince; and with commendatory Letters to his Father and Brothers, and to his own Officers and Governours, he gave him his Diſcharge. But when his Brothers came to underſtand how magnificently the King and Queen had receiv'd him; and the Eſteem they had of him; and that his Reputation was now much greater at his Return than it was before this Expedition, they laid their Heads together how they might meet him out of the Town under Pretence of a Complement, and deſtroy him; and this not altogether without their Father's Privity neither, who was ſo highly diſguſted at his extravagant Expence upon the late Preſents, that he did not much care what became of him, though he was forced however to diſſemble the Matter for Fear of the King. It came to this Iſſue in the Concluſion, that the Brothers met, and aſſaulted him upon the Way; and after a generous Reſiſtance on his Part, loſt a conſiderable Number of their Train; two of the Brotherhood kill'd upon the Place, and the reſt made the beſt Shift they could to get back again to their Father at *Jeruſalem*. *Hyrcanus* kept on his Way into the City; but finding that no Body own'd him there, he croſs'd the River *Jordan* for his own Security, where he ſpent the Remainder of his Life in gathering the King's Duties from the *Barbarians*. This was in the Days of *Seleucus* the King of *Aſia*, otherwiſe called *Soter*, or *the Saviour*, the Son of *Antiochus the Great*. About the ſame Time dy'd *Joſeph*, the *Father* of *Hyrcanus*; a Man of great Piety and Reſolution; and a Perſon that highly contributed to the Relief and Well-Being of the *Jews*, in all their Diſtreſſes. He executed a Commiſſion of Receiver of all publick Duties in *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Samaria*, for the Space of two and twenty Years. His *Uncle Onias* dy'd alſo about the ſame Time, and his *Son Simon* ſucceeded him to the *Prieſthood*; and he going off too, his Son *Onias* ſucceeded *him*, to whom *Arius* King of the *Lacedæmonians* ſent an Embaſſy in the Terms following.

CHAP. V.

Arius *King of* Lacedæmon *claims Kindred of the* Jews, *and writes to* Onias *the High-Prieſt, about an Alliance. The* Lacedæmonians *derive from* Abraham. Hyrcanus *builds a glorious Caſtle by the Name of* Tyre. *He lays violent Hands upon himſelf.*

Arius King of the *Lacedæmonians* to *Onias*, Health.

Arius *King of* Lacedæmon *to the* High-Prieſt Onias. 1 Mac. 12.

W*Hereas there is come to our Hand an ancient* Manuſcript, *ſetting forth the near Affinity betwixt our Anceſtors and yours, and the Relation we have to the Line of* Abraham; *it is but reaſonable for Brethren ſo nearly ally'd to do all good Offices one toward another. This is therefore to offer you the Command of any Thing within our Power to ſerve you, as we our ſelves ſhall take the ſame Freedom in looking upon your Concerns as our own, and joyning in one common Intereſt. You are to receive this Letter from our truſty Subject and Servant* Demoteles; *written in a* Quarto Page, *and ſeal'd with the* Figure *of an* Eagle *holding a* Dragon *in her* Talons. This was the Purport of the Letter.

All in Mutiny *and* Sedition *after the Death of* Joſeph.

Hyrcanus *keeps beyond* Jordan *for Fear of his Brothers.*

A Deſcription of a wonderful Caſtle that Hyrcanus *built, by the Name of* Tyre.

After the Death of *Joſeph*, the People brake out into *Mutinies* and *Seditions*, upon the Quarrel of the Sons that he had left behind him; the *elder Brothers* making War upon the *younger*: The greater Part of the People appearing alſo in Favour of the former; and among the reſt, *Simon* the *High-Prieſt*, upon the Account of his Relation. *Hyrcanus* did not think fit to return to *Jeruſalem*; but however kept himſelf ſtill beyond *Jordan*, where he was haraſs'd by a perpetual War with the *Arabians*, killing great Numbers of them, and carrying others into Captivity. He cauſed to be erected there a marvellous ſtrong Caſtle; the Walls from the Bottom to the Top all of white Stone, with Figures upon them of ſeveral Sorts of Creatures, of an extraordinary Size and Proportion. This Building was encompaſſed with a deep Ditch, or Fiſh-pool; and Vaults cut out thorough a Mountain juſt againſt it, of ſeveral Furlongs in Length, and only broad enough at the Mouth for one Man to enter at a Time, which they did both for Fear and Security. There were alſo in this Caſtle fair Eating-Rooms; and Places for Entertainment and Lodging; Variety of Fountains up and down, both for Pleaſure and for Ornament; large Courts, ſtately Buildings, lovely and ſpacious Gardens: And to this Place thus perfected he gave the Name of *Tyre*, which lies upon the Borders of *Arabia*, and *Judæa* beyond *Jordan*, and not far from the [a] Country of the *Eſſebonites*. *Hyrcanus* held this Government for the Space of ſeven Years: That is to ſay, for the whole Time that *Seleucus* reign'd in *Syria*. After his Death, his Brother *Antiochus* ſucceeded him, otherwiſe called *Epiphanes*, and then dy'd *Ptolemy* alſo, King of *Ægypt*, who was likewiſe called *Epiphanes*. This *Ptolemy* left two Sons behind him in their Minority; the Name of the *Elder* was *Philometor*, and the Name of the *other*, *Phyſcon*. *Antiochus* was at that Time very ſtrong and powerful; inſomuch that *Hyrcanus*, for Fear of being call'd to an Account for his Inroads upon the *Arabians*, laid violent Hands upon himſelf, and *Antiochus* took Poſſeſſion of all his Goods and Eſtate.

Seleucus *dies, and* Antiochus *ſucceeds him.*

Ptolemy *King of* Ægypt *dies, and leaves behind him two Sons* Philometor *and* Phyſcon.

Hyrcanus *lays violent Hands upon himſelf.*

CHAP. VI.

Onias, *otherwiſe* Menelaus, *is excluded from the* Pontificat. *He betakes himſelf to* Antiochus, *and apoſtatizes from his Religion.* Antiochus *makes a furious Inroad into* Ægypt; *but the* Romans *force him back again.*

ONIAS the *High-Prieſt* dying about this Time, *Antiochus Epiphanes* advanced to the *Pontificat* his Brother *Jeſus*, in the Minority of a Son he had then living, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This *Jeſus* fell under the King's Diſpleaſure, who depoſed him from the *Pontificat*, and transferred it afterward to *Onias* the younger Brother. Now theſe were the three Sons of *Simon*, and they all came to the Dignity, as we have already ſet forth: But *Jeſus* choſe rather to take upon himſelf the Name of *Jaſon*, as the other changed his Name for *Menelaus*. In this Confuſion of chopping and changing, one Brother advanc'd a Faction againſt the other, and the People divided upon it. The Sons of *Tobias* ſided with the *new High-Prieſt Menelaus*; but the greater Part of the Multitude joined Intereſts with *Jaſon*; and ſo much overpower'd the other, that *Menelaus*, and the Sons of *Tobias* withdrew to *Antioch*, declaring themſelves, that they would no longer be ty'd up to their Country's *Laws* and *Inſtitutions*, but go over to the Religion of their *King*, and the *Greek* Way of *Worſhip*; deſiring Liberty to erect a Kind of *Academy*, or Place for publick Exerciſes in *Jeruſalem*. Upon the obtaining of this Licence, they order'd their Bodies ſo, that even naked, there was no viſible Difference betwixt them and the *Greeks*; at the ſame Time caſting off all Regard to the *Jewiſh Laws* and *Cuſtoms*, and betaking themſelves to the Ways and Manners of other Nations.

Antiochus *upon the Death of* Onias, *advances his Brother* Jeſus *to the* High-Prieſthood, *under the Name of* Jaſon.

Jaſon *is depoſed, and the Dignity transferr'd to his younger Brother* Onias, *under the Name of* Menelaus.

Two Factions; the Sons of Tobias *ſide with* Menelaus, *and the* Multitude *with* Jaſon.

This Party of Tobias *renounces the* Jewiſh worſhip, *and goes over to the* Religion *of their* King.

Antiochus finding himſelf at this Time ſo eaſy at Home, and his People ſo well ſettled, had a great Mind to try an Expedition into *Ægypt*, partly out of an Ambition to make himſelf Maſter of the Country; and partly encourag'd by the Weakneſs and Inability of *Ptolemy*'s Sons, to menage ſuch a War. So that he advanced with a mighty Army to *Peluſium*, where he ſlily circumvented *Philometor* by Craft, and got footing in *Ægypt*; advancing from thence to *Memphis*, and other neighbouring Places, which he reduced likewiſe, and ſo to *Alexandria*, with a Deſign to reduce at once both the King and the City; but upon the peremptory Command of the *Romans*, to withdraw his Army immediately, upon his utmoſt Peril, he gave over his Deſign, and quitted what he had taken, as we have ſaid heretofore: But in Regard, that we have only touch'd upon this Subject in our former Writings, it will be now neceſſary to handle the Hiſtory of this King more at large; and in particular to report the Manner of his taking *Jeruſalem*, and the Temple.

Antiochus *breaks into* Ægypt, *takes* Memphis, *and marches againſt* Alexandria.

The Romans *command him to withdraw. Whereupon he quits what he had taken.*

CHAP. VII.

Jeruſalem *betray'd to* Antiochus. *The* Temple *rifled; the City levell'd, and the Worſhip of God forbidden upon Pain of Death and Torments. A great many* Jews *turn* Idolaters. *The* Samaritans *dedicate the Temple at* Gerizin *to* Jupiter.

ANTIOCHUS, at his Return from *Ægypt*, when he was frighted away by the Menaces of the *Romans*, marched with his Army outright to *Jeruſalem*, and enter'd the City in the hundred and forty third Year, from the Time that the Kingdom of *Syria* fell into the Family of *Seleucus*. He made himſelf Maſter of it without any Sort of Difficulty; for the Gates were ſet open to him, by the Treachery of a Party he had made in the Town; where he exerciſed great Cruelty, and put a great many People to the Sword, without Diſtinction of Friend or Foe; pillag'd the City, and carry'd the Treaſure away to *Antioch*.

Antiochus *takes* Jeruſalem *by Treachery: Sacks it and lays it waſt.*

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[a] *Ruſ.* Regio Sebonitis.

The Time when this Calamity happen'd.

The Spoil, to an incredible Value:

This Calamity happen'd in the ſecond Year after the taking of the City, in the hundred forty and fifth Year from the *firſt Seleucus*; the twenty fifth Day of the Month, which we call *Chaſleu*; the *Macedonians Apellæus*; and in the hundred fifty and third *Olympiad*. In the Licence of this Outrage, they did not ſpare ſo much as thoſe that quietly open'd the Gates to them, only for the greater Liberty of breaking in upon the *Riches* of the *Temple*; where the Spoil was ſo conſiderable, that the very *Value*, they thought, might in ſome Degree atone for the *Treachery*. The *Temple*, in Short, was wholly *ſtript* and *rifled*; all the *holy Veſſels* and *Utenſils taken away*; the *Golden Candleſticks*, the *Golden Altar*; and the *Table of Shew-Bread*, as they call'd it among the reſt. The *Curtains*, and the *Embroidery* of Silk and fine Linen; nay, the very *hiding Places*, where they conceal'd an immenſe Maſs of *Treaſure*, were all laid open and expos'd; and not ſo much as any Relicks left of this prodigious Wealth. And further, to conſummate the Miſery of theſe poor People, their *daily Sacrifices* were *forbidden*; the *City levell'd* with the Ground; the *Inhabitants* partly *kill'd*, partly carry'd away *Captives*; together with their *Wives* and *Children*, to the Number of ten *thouſand*; their *Walls demoliſh'd*; their ſtately *Edifices* conſum'd by *Fire*: They erected a *Tower* in the City that overlook'd, and commanded the Temple it ſelf; and when they had ſupply'd and fortify'd the Place, a great Garriſon of *Macedonians* put into it, but not without a Mixture of *execrable* and *apoſtate Jews*, that were as malicious as the very worſt of their Enemies: They raiſed an *Altar* in the Temple, and *ſacrific'd Hogs* upon it, in a moſt ſpiteful Contradiction to the Laws and Conſtitutions of the *Jews*. They put all People to Extremities, that would not renounce the *true God*, and *worſhip their Idols*: And ſo in all other Cities and Towns, they built *Temples* and *Altars*, for the daily Sacrifice of *Swine's Fleſh*. They made it grievouſly penal for any of the *Jews* to circumciſe their Children, keeping their Officers and Informers ſtill at Hand, either to proſecute them upon the Violation of their Edicts, or to extort from them by Terror or Force an Obedience: And ſo it was, in Fine, that the greater Part of the *Jews*, either of their own Accord, or for the Fear of Puniſhment, comply'd with the King's Orders; though there were others again ſo brave and generous, as to ſtand firm againſt all Tryals of *Torment* and *Death* it ſelf, rather than depart from the *Religion* and *Laws* of their Country: Having their *Bodies* cut and torn with *Whips*, and then *crucify'd alive* with their *Wives*, and ſo many of their *Children* as were *circumcis'd*, *hanging about their Necks according to the King's Order*. The *Holy Scriptures* to be deſtroy'd alſo wherever they were found; and it was made Death ſo much as to entertain them.

and no worſe Enemies than the Apoſtate Jews themſelves.

Unheard of Cruelties.

The Samaritans *were no longer of the Stock of* Abraham, *they ſay, but* Medes *and* Perſians.

When the *Samaritans* found the *Jews* brought to ſo miſerable a State of Diſtreſs, there was no longer any Talk of claiming Kindred with them, or crying up the *Temple* of *Gerizin* for the *Temple of God*; but they were *off and on* ſtill, as it was for their Intereſt; as we have noted of them before. *And, alas! They were of the Race of the* Medes *and* Perſians, *they ſaid*, (as in Truth they were) and nothing would ſerve them, but *they muſt waſh their Hands of having any Thing to do with ſo wretched a People*, *by a* ſolemn Embaſſy *and* Addreſs *to Antiochus*; which they diſpatched away upon this Occaſion, and in theſe Terms.

To the King *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the *illuſtrious God*, the humble Petition of the *Sidonians*, Inhabitants of *Sichem*, Sheweth,

The Sichemites *petition to* Antiochus.

They renounce the Jews *and their Cuſtoms, and deſire that the Temple of* Garizin *may be henceforth called the* Temple *of* Jupiter of Greece.

That the Forefathers of your Petitioners lying under the Affliction of many and grievous Plagues in their own Country, were partly wrought upon by that Calamity, and in Part prevail'd upon by the Superſtition of an ancient Cuſtom, to joyn in the religious Obſervance of a certain Feſtival, which the Jews *call the* Sabbath, *and in the erecting of a* Temple *upon the Mountain* Garizin, *where* Sacrifices *were offered to a* God *without a* Name. *Now ſince ſo it is, that your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to order the Puniſhment of this wicked People according to their Deſerts, and to appoint Officers, who upon a Suppoſition that we were all of the ſame Stock, are thereby induced to involve your Petitioners with the* Jews *in the ſame Crime: Whereas we derive our Original from the* Sidonians, *as we can make appear by Records extant to this Day. May it therefore pleaſe your Majeſty, out of your Clemency and Goodneſs, to grant ſuch Order to* Apollonius *our* Governour, *and to* Nicanor *his* Deputy, *in Favour of your Petitioners, that they may not be any further moleſted for the future, upon the Suſpicion of any Correſpondency or* Confederacy *with the* Jews, *to whom we are as much Strangers in our Manners, as in our* Extraction: *And we do further pray that the* Temple, *which hath ſtood hitherto without any Dedication at all, may from this Time forward be called* the Temple of Jupiter of Greece, *to the End that when we ſhall live in more Security and Freedom, as to the Government of our own private Affairs, we may the better attend thoſe Duties*

to

in the Advancement of your Service and Revenue. In Anſwer to this Requeſt of the *Samaritans*, the King wrote back as follows.

King *Antiochus* to *Nicanor*.

Having received a Petition from the Sidonians *at* Sichem, *which we have here annexed to this Letter; this is to let you underſtand, that it appeareth unto us, and to our Council, upon the Information of the Bearers thereof, that the* Sidonians *are no Way guilty of the Crimes charged upon the* Jews; *but on the contrary, that they govern themſelves according to the Way and Faſhion of the* Greeks; *wherefore it is our Will and Pleaſure that they receive no further Trouble about this Matter: And as to what concerns the* Temple, *it is our Will likewiſe, that from this Time forward, it may be known and diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of* the Temple of Jupiter of Greece. *We have written to the ſame Effect alſo to our Governour* Apollonius. *Dated in the Year* forty ſix, *and the eleventh Day of the* Month *of* Hecatombæon.

Antiochus *to* Nicanor *in Favour of the* Sidonians.

CHAP. VIII.

Matthias, *and his Sons kill the Meſſengers that would force them to a falſe Worſhip. His dying Speech.*

THere lived at this Time in *Modim* (a Village of *Judæa* one [a] *Matthias*, a Prieſt of the Family of *Joarib*, and a Native of *Jeruſalem*. This *Matthias*, was the [b] Son of *John*, the Son of *Simon*; and *Simon* the Son of *Aſmonæus*. *Matthias* had *five Sons*; *Joannan*, who was ſurnamed *Gadais*; *Simon*, otherwiſe *Thaſſi*; *Judas* who was alſo called *Maccabæus*; *Eleazar*, *alias Auran*; and *Jonathan* ſurnamed *Apphus*. This *Matthias* would be ever now and then condoling with his Sons, upon the deplorable State of the *Jewiſh Nation*; their *City* laid *deſolate*; their *Temple pillag'd* and *prophan'd*, with a thouſand other Calamities; and he would be often ſaying alſo, how much more glorious it would be to fall a *Sacrifice* to the *Laws* and Religion of their *Country*, than to *linger* out a miſerable Life at *this ſervile Rate*.

1 Maccab. 2.

The Zeal and Reſolution of Matthias *and his five* Sons, *for the Religion of their Country.*

1 Mac. 2.

Upon the coming of the King's Officers into the Village to preſs the Execution of their Maſter's Orders, they began with *Matthias*, as a Perſon of Authority, and one that might be a leading Example to all the reſt. They laid before him the Danger of diſobeying, with the Advantages and Rewards he ſhould receive upon his Compliance; and upon theſe Terms, charg'd him in the King's Name to *worſhip* as he was *commanded*; which he not only refuſed to do, but told them frankly moreover, that if every Soul within their Maſter's Dominions ſhould yield to him in that Particular, he would never either ſubmit to him himſelf, or adviſe any of his Sons to abandon the Religion of their *Country*. *Matthias* ſtopt here; and after a ſhort Silence, out ſtept a *Jew* to *ſacrifice* according to the *King's Way*; but *Matthias* and his *Sons* were ſo inflam'd at the Indignity of this Affront, that in a Fury, they not only *kill'd* the *Jew*, but the *King's Officer*, *Apelles*, with all his Guard about him, as they were forcing the People to that *abominable Worſhip*. In this Heat, they overturn'd the *Altar* alſo; *Matthias* calling out with a loud Voice to the People about him, *As many of you*, ſays he, *as have any Regard for your Honour, or for your Religion, follow me:* And ſo the Father and the Sons withdrew themſelves immediately into the Wilderneſs, leaving their Goods and their Effects behind them. Soon after this, a great Part of the reſt of the People with their Wives and Children, after ſo generous an Example, fled into the ſame Deſert, where they made a Shift to live for ſome Time in Caves. When this came to the Ear of the King's general Officers, they drew the Garriſon out of the Caſtle at *Jeruſalem*, and march'd after the *Jews* into the *Wilderneſs*. Upon coming up to them, they try'd them firſt by good Councel, and fair Words; adviſing them to bethink themſelves, and to take ſoberer Meaſures, without forcing the Soldiers upon the Neceſſity of a *Military Execution*: But all this was to no Purpoſe; and when they ſaw there was no good to be done that Way, they pitch'd upon the *Sabbath-Day* for an Attack upon them; burning and deſtroying them in their Holes, without any Sort of Reſiſtance, and without ſo much as ſtopping the Mouths of their Caves; for ſuch was the Reverence they had for the Sacredneſs of that Day, and for the Obſervance of the Laws that commanded them to keep it Holy, that they choſe rather to periſh, than prophane it. There were a Matter of a thouſand of them, Men, Women and Children that were thus ſuffocated

The King's Officers tempt Matthias *with Rewards and Threatnings to worſhip as he is commanded; but he poſitively refuſes.*

He kills an Apoſtate Jew *in the very Act of* Idolatry, *with the Officer that commanded the Party.* Matthias *and his* Sons *withdrew into the* Wilderneſs; *and Multitudes follow their Example.*

The Soldiers fall upon them in their hidden Places upon the Sabbath-Day, *and kill about* 1000 *of them without any Reſiſtance.*

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[a] Al. *Mattathias*. See *Druſius's* Commentary upon the Words of the *N. Teſt.*

[b] In the firſt Book of the *Jewiſh Wars*, c. 1. he calls him the Son of *Aſamoneus*. See *Vorſtius's Diſſertation* de *Synedriis Hebræorum*.

Matthias *cries down the Doctrine of* Non-Reſiſtance *upon that Day, and cures the Superſtition.*

under Ground; but there were great Numbers alſo that made their Eſcape, and liſted themſelves under the Command of *Matthias*. But upon this Experiment, he preached another Doctrine to them; and that in Caſe of ſuch an Extremity, they were to fight, and to defend themſelves upon the *Sabbath*, as well as upon *another Day*; for otherwiſe that Scruple would be their total Deſtruction; when their Enemies taking Advantage of that Superſtition, would be ſure ſtill to attack them at a Time when they were certain they ſhould meet with no Reſiſtance. The Reaſon of this Diſcourſe was ſo clear, that they were all convinced of the Lawfulneſs of uſing their Arms upon the *Sabbath*, in Caſe of *Neceſſity*; and the Practice of it has continu'd ever ſince. This great General was by this time Maſter of a conſiderable Force; inſomuch that he deſtroy'd their *Altars*, and put all *Apoſtates* to the *Sword* wherever he could come at them; appointing *Children* to be *circumciſ'd*, which was before *forbidden*; and driving away the King's Officers that were appointed to hinder it; having drawn all into a Body, that had diſperſed themſelves up and down into Privacies and hiding Places for Fear of the Enemy.

Matthias *deſtroys the* Idol-Altars, *and puts* Apoſtates *to the* Sword.

The dying Speech and Advice of Matthias *to his Sons.*

Matthias having now been a full Year in this Command, felt himſelf ſeized with a mortal Illneſs; and calling his Sons about him, ſpake to them to this Purpoſe. *My dear Sons*, ſays he, *my Life is drawing to an End; but I am now to charge you upon my Bleſſing, before I leave you, that you ſtand firm to the Cauſe that your Father has aſſerted before you, without any ſtaggering or ſhrinking. Remember what I have told you; and do as I have adviſ'd you. Do your uttermoſt to ſupport the Rights and the Laws of your Country, and to reſtore the Order of a Nation that wants but very little of being ſwallow'd up in Confuſion: Have nothing to do with thoſe, that either for Fear, or for Intereſt, have betray'd it. Shew your ſelves to be Sons worthy of ſuch a Father; and in Contempt of all Force and Extremity, carry your Lives in your Hands, and deliver them up with Comfort, if any Occaſion ſhould require it, in Defence of your Country; computing with your ſelves, that this is the Way to preſerve you in God's Favour; and that in Conſideration of ſo unſhaken a Virtue, he will in Time reſtore you to the Liberty of your former Life and Manners. Our Bodies 'tis true, are mortal; but great and generous Actions will make us Immortal in our Memory, and that's the Glory I would have you aſpire to: That is to ſay, the Glory of making the Hiſtory of your Life famous to after Ages by your illuſtrious Actions. Be ſure, in the firſt Place, to agree among your ſelves, and in what Caſe ſoever any one of you hath an Advantage over the reſt, give Way to every Man in the Buſineſs of his Province and Talent. As for Example; it being* Simon's *Faculty to make a right Judgment of Things, I ſhall adviſe you to make him your* Councel; Maccabæus *is a Man made for* military Conduct *and* Bravery; *wherefore chuſe him for your* General, *as the beſt qualify'd for the vindicating of your Friends, and for the cruſhing of your Enemies. Do but mind your buſineſs; and depend upon it, that all Men of Honour and Piety will joyn with you.*

CHAP. IX.

After the Death of Matthias, Judas *ſucceeds to the Command of the Army.*

The Death of Matthias. 1 Mac. 3.

His Son Judas *ſucceeds to his Command.*

M*Atthias* concluded his Diſcourſe to his Sons with Prayers to God for a Bleſſing upon their Eadeavours, toward the Redemption of their Country-men, and the Recovery of their ancient Rights and Privileges. He departed this Life ſoon after; and being bury'd at *Modim*, ſo ſoon as his funeral Obſequies, according to the Forms of Decency and Honour, were well over, *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Maccabæus* had the publick Adminiſtration put into his Hands; which was in the Year one hundred forty ſix, reckoning from *Seleucus the firſt*: And he was ſo well ſeconded by his Brothers, that he clear'd the Country of the Enemy; put all *Renegadoes* to the *Sword*, and purged the Land from all the abominable Pollutions that had been practis'd there.

CHAP. X.

Judas Maccabæus *defeats* Apollonius, *the Governour of* Samaria, *and kills him Hand.* Seron, *upon this, marches againſt* Judas. *He himſelf falls in the Action, and his Army is totally routed.*

Judas *encounters* Apollonius; *and kills him with his own Hand.*

THE News of this Turn of Affairs upon the Progreſs of *Judas*, brought *Apollonius* the Governour of *Samaria* in all Haſte up with his Army againſt *Judas*; who, without any Loſs of Time, met him half Way, fought and routed him; kill'd a great a great Number of his People upon the Place, and *Apollonius* himſelf for one; diſarming him with his own Hand, and carrying off his Sword in Triumph. He had alſo the Spoil of the Camp, a Booty of prodigious Value.

The Tydings of this Defeat, and of their vaſt Enforcements that came thronging in to *Judas*, upon the Succeſs (even to the Degree of a conſiderable Army) gave *Seron* the Governour of *Cœle-Syria* to underſtand, that it was high Time to look about him: So that he took up a Reſolution immediately to puſh it to a Battle, reckoning himſelf bound, even upon a Point of Truſt and Confidence, to chaſtiſe *Mutineers*, and bring *Rebels* to Obedience. In Order to this Expedition, with what Men he had of his own, and on the additional Force of a Rabble of *fugitive Jews*, he took his March to *Bethoron*, a Village of *Judæa*, where he pitch'd his Camp: Whereupon, *Judas* put himſelf in Poſture to encounter him; but finding his Soldiers out of Humour, if not out of Heart; whether it was for Fear of their mighty Army, or for Faintneſs upon over-faſting, he made them a ſhort *Harangue*, that brought them to their Metal again. *Fellow-Soldiers*, ſays he, *it is not the Arm of Fleſh, but God, that gives the Victory; not Multitudes of Men, but Truſt and Confidence in the Almighty. This is no more than we have found many and many a Time experimentally true in the Hiſtory of our Anceſtors; who with an inconſiderable Number of Men, in a righteous Cauſe, that is to ſay, in the Defence of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Wives and Children, have put many thouſands to Flight. Great is Truth, in Short, and the Force of Innocence is invincible.* With theſe Words, he led his Men on to the Battle, where they behaved themſelves like *Heroes*; engaged *Seron*, and kill'd him upon the Spot; defeating the whole Army of the *Aſſyrians*. For upon the Fall of their General, their Troops were preſently broken and ſcatter'd, and every Man's Buſineſs was only to ſhift the beſt he could for himſelf. *Judas* had the Chace of them as far as the Plain; ſome eight hundred of them were ſlain upon the Field of Battle, and the reſt made their Eſcape toward the Sea-ſide.

Judas *gives Battle to* Seron; *kills him upon the Spot, and routs his Army.*

CHAP. XI.

Judas Maccabæus *encounters* Antiochus *with a mighty Army, and defeats him. He cuts off five thouſand of another Army under* Lyſias; *purifies the Temple, ſets the Country right, and ſo returns to* Jeruſalem.

THESE Diſaſters, one upon the Neck of another, forced *Antiochus* upon the Neceſſity of an *extraordinary Levy*; inſomuch, that what with his own People, and with *Greek Mercenaries* that he took into Pay, he got a mighty Army together in a ſhort Time, with a Reſolution to break into *Judæa* with it early in the next Spring: But theſe Troubles had given ſuch an Interruption to the raiſing of his Taxes, over and above the Frankneſs and Generoſity of his own Nature, that upon the Payment of his Troops, he found Money fall ſhort, and that the Income of his Revenue would not anſwer the Charge of the War. Upon this Conſideration, he propoſed rather to go into *Perſia* firſt, and to ſupply himſelf with what Monies he could pick up out of that Province, leaving the Command of all the Country betwixt *Ægypt* and *Euphrates*, during his Abſence, in the Hands of one *Lyſias*, a Perſon of an approved Faith and Integrity, together with ſome Part alſo of his Troops and Elephants: Giving him further in Charge, to have a particular Care of his Son *Antiochus*, till he ſhould come back again. And moreover, that upon the reducing of *Judæa*, and the Sale of all the Inhabitants for Slaves, he ſhould utterly deſtroy the City, and extirpate the Nation. Upon the giving of theſe Orders, he marched ſtreight away from *Perſia*, in the Year one hundred and forty ſeven; and paſſing the *Euphrates*, went forward into the higher Countries.

Antiochus *makes ſtrong Preparations for the next Campaign.*

Money falling ſhort with him, he goes into Perſia *for Supplies.*

He leaves Lyſias *to manage the War of* Judæa *in his Abſence, and to take Care of his Son* Antiochus.

Lyſias took to his Aſſiſtance, in the Execution of this Commiſſion, *Ptolemy* the Son of *Dorymenes*, *Gorgias*, and *Nicanor*; three of the beſt Officers he could find among the King's beſt Friends. He put theſe Commanders in the Head of forty thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe, with Orders to march forthwith into *Judæa*. They advanced as far as *Emmaus*, and there encamped upon the Plain, where there came over to them great Numbers of Auxiliaries from *Syria*, and other neighbouring Countries, and an Abundance of *fugitive Jews*; beſide ſeveral Merchants and Traders, with a great Deal of Money about them to buy Slaves; who brought *Fetter's* alſo and *Manacles* with them of all Sorts to ſecure their Priſoners. The Enemy had gotten a formidable Army; but *Judas* however bad them caſt themſelves upon Providence, and fear nothing; and ſo they humbled themſelves in Sackcloth, Faſting and Prayer, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, in imminent Danger; imploring

Lyſias *calls in* Ptolemy, Gorgias, *and* Nicanor, *to his Aſſiſtance.*

Lyſias *gets a formidable Army; but the* Jews *caſt themſelves upon Providence.*

ing God's Mercy, Favour, and Protection. The General's next Buſineſs was to range his Men by Regiments, Troops, and Companies, into Order of Battle, according to the *Jewiſh* Cuſtom; and then to diſcharge the Army of all *new-marry'd Men*, and ſuch as had lately made *Purchaſes*, who probably might be thinking of ſomething elſe when they ſhould be fighting, in a Diſtraction betwixt the Care of their particular Intereſt, and the Service of the Publick: Animating his People alſo at the ſame Time, by his Words, as well as his Actions, to acquit themſelves like Men of Honour and Courage.

A generous Speech of Judas *to his Soldiers.*

We ſhall never have, ſays he, *my Fellow Soldiers and Companions, ſuch an Opportunity again of ſhewing our Bravery in the Defence of our Country, and the Contempt of all Dangers, as we have now before us; for upon the Iſſue of to Morrow's Combat, depends, not only our Liberty, but all the Comforts and Advantages that attend it; and, over and above the Bleſſing of ſuch a Freedom in it ſelf and in its own Nature, our very Religion lies at Stake with it too, and we cannot ſecure the one, but by preſerving the other. Bethink your ſelves well what it is that you are to contend for, and you will find it to be no leſs than the whole Sum and Subſtance of the greateſt Happineſs that ever you enjoy'd: That is to ſay, in the peaceable and bleſſed Poſſeſſion of your ancient Laws, Rites, and Diſcipline. Now whether you will rather chuſe to periſh with Infamy, and to involve the miſerable Remainder of all your Countrymen in the ſame Ruine, or to venture one generous Puſh for the Redemption of your ſelves, and your Friends, that's the ſingle Queſtion. Death is the ſame Thing to a Coward, that it is to a valiant Man, and as certain to the one as to the other: But there's a great Difference in Point of Honour, and everlaſting Fame, betwixt a gallant Man that falls in the Vindication of his Religion, Liberties, Laws and Country, and a Scoundrel that abandons all for Fear of loſing a Life which he cannot ſave at laſt. Take theſe Things into your Thoughts, and make this Uſe of the Meditation. You have nothing to truſt to but God's Providence, and your own concurring Reſolutions; and at the worſt, while we contend for Victory, we can never fail of Glory.*

Judas *has Word ſent him that* Gorgias *intended to beat up his Quarters that Night.* 2 Mac. 4. Judas *takes this Opportunity of ſurprizing the Enemy in their Camp at* Emmaus;

After this Speech of *Judas* to his Soldiers, and juſt as his Head was at Work upon the Buſineſs of the Army, there came Intelligence to him from a ſure Hand, that *Gorgias* would be with him that Night with a thouſand Horſe, and five thouſand Foot, with ſome *Renegado-Jews* for their Guide, to ſurprize him, and beat up his Quarters. This Diſcovery put *Judas* upon a Deſign of countermining him; which was at the ſame Time to make an Attempt upon the Camp of the Enemy, taking the Opportunity of their being ſo divided. In Order to this he call'd preſently for Supper; cauſed ſeveral Fires to be made in his Camp, and ſo marched all Night toward *Emmaus*, where the Enemy lay. *Gorgias*, in the mean Time, finding no Body left in the *Jews* Camp; and preſuming that they were run away for Fear, to hide themſelves in the Mountains, reckon'd that he had little more to do than to learn how he might hunt them out. But *Judas* coming by Break of Day to the Enemy's Camp, with only three thouſand Men, and thoſe ill-armed too; and finding the other Party accouter'd at all Points, and their Camp in very good Order, *Judas* told his People for their Encouragement, that they ſhould not fear to attack them even if they were all naked, ſo long as they were certain of God's Favour and Protection, that would ſupport them againſt all other Difficulties: And with theſe Words, he order'd the ſounding of the Charge; and breaking in upon them at the ſame Inſtant, put them into ſuch a Fright at the Surprize, that after the putting of thoſe to the Sword that reſiſted, the reſt betook themſelves to Flight, and they had the Purſuit of them as far as *Gadara*, and ſo to the Plains of *Idumæa*, *Azotus* and *Iamnia*. The Number of the ſlain was about three thouſand. But *Judas* would not ſuffer his People to meddle with the Spoil, in Regard that the Troops of *Gorgias* were as yet entire; but upon the routing of him, he ſaid they might take Poſſeſſion of the Booty at Leiſure. While theſe Words were between his Lips, *Gorgias*'s People diſcovering from an Eminence near Hand, the dead Bodies of his Friends; the Havock that had been made in their Tents, and their Camp all in a Smoak: They took for granted all this while that *Judas*'s Men were ſtill in a Body, and in Condition to attack them: So that they fled immediately upon it, and diſperſed themſelves ſeveral Ways; every Man conſulting his own Safety. The Victory being thus gained without a Blow, *Judas* turn'd his Men looſe to the Pillage of the Field, where they found Gold and Silver; glorious Habits of Purple and Scarlet, and other rich Booty in Abundance; which they carry'd off ſafe and triumphing, ſinging as they marched, and giving Thanks to God, the bleſſed Author of that Victory, which proved both an Earneſt and a Foundation of their future Freedom.

where he kills Part, and gives Chace to the reſt.

Gorgias*'s People finding the Ways ſtrew'd with dead Bodies, and the Camp in a Smoak, give all for loſt, and every Man ſhifts for himſelf.*

Lyſias *recruits, and falls into* Judæa *with a powerful Army again the Year following.*

Lyſias was ſo ſenſible of the Shame and Wound of this Diſgrace, that to redeem his Credit, he brought into the Field, the Year following, an Army of ſixty thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe; all try'd and choice Men; and with this Body he enter'd into *Judæa* by the Way of the Mountains, encamping at a Place called *Bethſura*. *Judas* was not at all diſcourag'd at the Odds of *Number*, but marched directly up to him with a Party only of ten thouſand Men. His Truſt was only in God: So that after a ſhort, and a fervent Prayer for a Bleſſing upon his Arms, he charged the Enemy ſo Home, that upon the firſt Shock, he forced their Line, and cut them off five thouſand Men upon the Place. This unexpected Diſaſter put their whole Army into ſuch a Confuſion, that *Lyſias* finding them obſtinately determin'd either to live or dye free, thought it his beſt Courſe to withdraw his Troops before the Conſternation was gone too far; out of an Apprehenſion, not ſo much of their Strength, as of their Deſpair: So that *Lyſias* returned to *Antioch*, where he poſted himſelf by the Help of *Mercenaries*, and other *additional Enforcements*, to be ready for the firſt Opportunity of a Revenge upon the *Jews*.

Judas *marches directly to* Jeruſalem *to purge the* Temple, *and reſtore God's Worſhip.*

Judas was ſo fluſh'd with theſe repeated Succeſſes againſt the Forces of *Antiochus*, that he prevailed upon the *Jews*, in Confidence that after ſo many Victories obtained, God would not now forſake them, to march without any more Delay to *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, and there to purge the *Temple*, and offer up their *daily Sacrifices*. But when they came thither, and found the *Temple abandon'd*; the *Gates* all *burnt*, and the Courts over-run with Weeds, *Judas*, and his People could not but ſhed Tears to ſee the uncouth Solitude and Deformity of the Place. The two great Works that he firſt enter'd upon, were the Aſſault of the *Citadel*, and the Cleanſing of the *Temple*. The former he committed to his Officers and Soldiers, and reſerved the Care of the other to himſelf. So ſoon as he had gone thorough with the purging of it in Form, he provided *new Veſſels* and *Utenſils*; a *Candleſtick*, a *Table* and an *Altar of Incenſe* all of pure Gold; put up new *Veils* and *Hangings* upon the Walls, and before the Paſſages of the Doors; and in the next Place ſupply'd the *Doors* themſelves. The *Altar* that had been prophaned with *idolatrous Sacrifices*, and *Burnt-Offerings*, was demoliſhed, and remov'd; and another of unhewn Stone, [according to the *Moſaical Precept*,] erected in the Place of it. Upon the twenty fifth Day of the Month *Caſleu*, which the *Macedonians* call *Apellæus*, they ſet lighted Tapers in the *Candleſticks*; offer'd *Incenſe* upon the *Altar*, and laid the *Shew-Bread* upon the *Table*, and ſo went on to their Oblations of *Burnt-Offerings*: And this fell out preciſely, upon the *ſame Day three Years* from the *Prophanation* of the *Temple* and *Religion* by *Antiochus*; the Temple having now been full three Years deſerted. This happened in the [a] Year one hundred forty five; the twenty fourth Day of the Month *Apellæus*, and the hundred and fifty third *Olympiad*: Which Solemnity of Purification was repeated alſo on the anniverſary Day of the Year one hundred forty eight; *Olympiad* one hundred forty and four, as the Prophet *Daniel* had expreſly foretold, four hundred and eight Years before this Diſſolution by the *Macedonians* came to paſs.

The Temple purify'd, *and God's* holy Worſhip re eſtabliſh'd

The Celebration of this Feſtivity was continued by *Judas* for eight Days, with all Solemnity of *Sacrifices* and rejoycing; as magnificent Feaſting, and the Freedom of indulging themſelves in all honeſt and lawful Satisfactions and Delights; and the Air ringing with Hymns of Acclamation, Praiſe, and Thankſgiving. The People, in Fine, were ſo tranſported at the unexpected Bleſſing of finding themſelves reſtored to the Religion and Laws of their Forefathers, that they appointed an Anniverſary of eight Days Solemnity to be ſtrictly obſerv'd by their Poſterity for ever after; which we have conſtantly celebrated from that Time to this, under the Name of the [b] *Feſtival of Lights*; alluding, I ſuppoſe, to the Comfort of that Light, which beyond all Hope ſhined down from Heaven upon us on this Occaſion. *Judas* in the mean while rebuilt the *Walls* of the City, and fortify'd them with *ſtrong Towers* to keep off an Enemy; ſettling a Garriſon in *Bethſura*, and putting the Place into a State and Poſture of Defence.

The Feſtival of Lights.

Jeruſalem fortify'd. *and put into a Poſture of Defence.*

Judas *clears the Country round about him:*

The neighbouring Nations were ſo irritated at the growing Power and Confidence of the *Jews*, that they ſet their Inſtruments at work by Fraud or Treachery to circumvent them, deſtroying many of them at unawares: *Judas*, in the mean Time, uſing the beſt Means he could, either to prevent, or to diſappoint their Incurſions. He fell at this Time upon *Acrabatan*, where he killed great Numbers of the *Edomites*, the Poſterity of *Eſau*, making himſelf Maſter alſo of a great Booty. He block'd up the Sons of *Baan* likewiſe, their Chief, in the ſtrong Places they were poſſeſſed of, and where they lay in wait to make Sallies under the *Jews*, taking the Places by Aſſault; killing the Defendents, and laying the Forts in Aſhes. After the ſubduing of

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[a] See *Vorſtius's Chronologia Sacra*, cap. 11. p. 152.

[b] See *Selden* de *Synedr. Hebr.* l. 3. c. 13. p. 130, 131.

Over-runs the Ammonites; *beats* Timotheus *their* General, *and ſo returns victorious.* Timotheus *threatens the* Jews *in the Fort of* Dathema: *And they ſend to* Judas *for Relief.* *The Galileans call for Help alſo againſt the People of* Ptolemais, Tyre, *and* Sidon.

theſe People, he carried his Arms againſt the *Ammonites*, who had at that Time a numerous Army under the Command of *Timotheus*. He fought with theſe alſo, and overcame them, and then took the City of *Jazar*; carry'd away the People's Wives and Children, Captives; and after the pillaging of the City, ſet it a Fire, and ſo went home again victorious. He was no ſooner gone, but the People thereabouts taking Advantage of his Departure, and gathering together at *Galaad*, made an Attempt upon the *Jews* that lay upon that Quarter: Who being forced to take Sanctuary in the Fortreſs of *Dathema*, gave Intimation to *Judas*, both by Word of Mouth, and Letter, that *Timotheus* had a Deſign to attack them, and ſo pray'd him earneſtly for Relief. In the very Inſtant, while *Judas* was reading his Intelligence, came in ſeveral Meſſengers from *Galilee*, with Remonſtraces and Complaints that the People of *Ptolemais*, *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and other bordering Nations, were all joyn'd in a Confederacy againſt them.

CHAP. XII.

Simon, *the Brother of* Judas *does great Things in* Galilee. Judas *and* Jonathan *get a bloody Victory over the* Ammonites. *All the* Jews, *with their Wives, Families and Effects, tranſported out of* Galaad *into* Judæa. Ephron *laid in Aſhes*; *and the Males put to the Sword.* Joſeph *and* Azarias *fight contrary to Orders*; *and are defeated by* Gorgias

Judas *ſends* Simon *to the Relief of* Galilee, *and marches himſelf with* Jonathan *to the Succour of* Galaad, *leaving the Command of the reſt to* Joſeph: *With Orders not to fight till he came back again.* Simon *relieves* Galilee, *and ſets the Priſoners at Liberty, with a great Slaughter of the Enemy.*

JUDAS, that had an Eye upon the Neceſſity of his Friends in both Places, ſent his Brother *Simon* with three hundred choice Men to the Succour of the *Jews* at *Galilee*; and with eight thouſand more marched with his other Brother *Jonathan* to *Galaad*, leaving the reſt of the Army under the Command of *Joſeph*, the Son of *Zacharias* and *Azarias*, as his *Lieutenant Generals* for the Guard of *Jeruſalem*, with Orders to keep off from fighting till his Return. *Simon*, upon his Arrival at *Galilee*, engaged the Enemy, and defeated them, giving them Chace to the very Gates of *Ptolemais*, and killing about three thouſand in the Purſuit. They ſtript them of what they had, and redeemed the Priſoners with what Goods they had taken from them, and ſo conducted them back to *Jeruſalem*.

At the ſame Time *Judas*, and his Brother *Jonathan*, after three Days march beyond *Jordan* into the *Wilderneſs*, were amicably received by the *Nabathites*, who very kindly gave them Intelligence of the extreme Diſtreſs and Danger of divers of their Friends and Countrymen, who were cloſe ſhut up in the Towns and Caſtles of *Galaad*; adviſing them withal, that they would make what Haſte they could by the Way of the *Deſert* to carry them Relief. In this Expedition, they took the Town of *Baraſa*, by the Way, putting all People to the Sword that were able to bear Arms, and burning the City to the Ground. It was now toward Night, but *Judas* ſtill proſecuted his Way to a Caſtle wherein he underſtood the *Jews* were beſieg'd; and coming thither betimes in the Morning, he found the Enemy hard at Work with their *Machines* and *Scaling-Ladders*, to force the Place; whereupon he diſtributed his Troops into three Diviſions; animated his Men to behave themſelves reſolutely for the Relief of their Countrymen and Friends; and ſo upon the Sound of the Trumpet, charged the Enemy in the Rear. So ſoon as *Timotheus* underſtood that *Judas Maccabæus* had the Command of this Action; a Perſon whoſe Valour and Conduct he knew ſo much of beforehand by woful Experience, his Men took ſuch a Fright at the very Name, that they fled immediately upon hearing of it: Eight thouſand of them fell upon the Place; the *Jews*, upon the Rout, following them at their Heels. *Judas*, upon the Purſuit, took a Town of the *Barbarians* called *Mallam*, where they put all the Males to Death, and deſtroy'd the City by Fire. They did the ſame Thing alſo at *Caſphan*, and *Boſor*, and other Places that they took in that Country.

Judas *and* Jonathan *relieve a Caſtle juſt as the Enemy was about to ſcale it.* Judas *carries all before him with* Fire *and* Sword.

Timothy, *after this, marches with another huge Army againſt* Judas;

Some ſhort Time after this, *Timotheus* got a mighty Body of an Army together; and among other Auxiliaries, he had a Band of *Arabians*. They croſs'd the River, and encamped near *Raphon*, where he encouraged his People to acquit themſelves like Men, and to be ſure to keep the *Jews* from paſſing the River; for the whole Cauſe, he ſaid, depended upon it; and that if ever they gain'd that Paſs, they would carry the Day. When *Judas* underſtood that *Timotheus* was reſolved upon, and prepared for a Battel, he paſs'd the River immediately with his Army, and gave the Onſet; and put the Army to the Rout, upon the firſt Encounter; killing thoſe that reſiſted, and ſcattering the reſt; who caſting away their Arms, and ſome running one Way, ſome another, Part of them betook themſelves for Sanctuary to the Temple

Judas *gives* Timothy *Battel*; *and breaks him all to Pieces with a terrible Slaughter.*

of *Carnaim*, in Hope that the Place might protect them. But *Judas* took the Town by Force; burnt the Temple, and deſtroy'd all the Inhabitants by Fire and Sword.

This Difficulty being over, he gather'd together all the *Iſraelites* that were in the Country of *Galaad*, with their Wives, Children and Goods, and carry'd them all into *Judæa*. The City of *Ephron* lay ſo directly in his Way, that there was no avoiding it without going a great Way about; ſo that he ſent a fair Meſſage to the Inhabitants for Leave to paſs with his Army thorough the Town: But the Ports being barricado'd, and the Avenues cut off, the Inhabitants in plain Terms deny'd him any Paſſage that Way. Upon this Repulſe, he put his Men in Heart and Poſture for the Attack of the Town; begirt it immediately, and in one Day and Night made himſelf Maſter of it; laid it in Aſhes, and marched with his Army over the Bodies of the Dead thorough the Ruins of it; putting all the Males that were found in it to the Sword. After paſſing the River *Jordan*, they advanced to a great Plain near *Bethſan*, called by the *Greeks*, *Scythopolis*; and from thence returned to *Judæa*; the People rejoycing all the Way they went with *Hymns* and *triumphal Songs*, and offering *Sacrifices* of *Thankſgiving* for the Safety of the Army; for they had not yet loſt ſo much as *one Jew* in all theſe Encounters.

Judas *tranſports all the* Jews *about* Galaad *into* Judæa.

Ephron *being in the neareſt Way, he demands a Paſſage to it; but is refus'd.*

Judas *upon this Repulſe, takes the Place by Aſſault, and marches over the Ruins.*

They return to Judæa.
Not one Jew *kill'd.*

Joſeph the Son of *Zacharias*, and *Azarias*, two great Captains, being left for a Guard to *Judæa*, in the Abſence of *Simon*, who was now marched into *Galilee* againſt the People of *Ptolemais*; and *Judas* with his Brother *Jonathan* againſt the *Galaadites*; theſe Commanders reckon'd upon it as a Point of Honour, to ſignalize themſelves by ſome glorious Adventure, as well as their Brethren. In this Fit of Emulation, to *Iamnia* they went; where *Gorgias*, the Governour of the Place, gave them a fair Battle before the Town; kill'd a Matter of two thouſand of them, and purſu'd the reſt to the very Borders of *Judæa*. This Calamity was but juſt upon them, for not obeying the Order of their General, who had poſitively commanded them *not to engage the Enemy upon any Terms, till his Return*. This Caution was much to the Reputation of the Providence and Foreſight of *Judas*, who very well underſtood, that if they departed from their Inſtructions, they would ſuffer for it.

Joſeph *fights a Battle contrary to his Orders, and is defeated.*

But *Judas* and his Brethren carry'd on the War all this while vigorouſly againſt the *Edomites*; preſſing them on all Hands: As they took *Hebron* by Force; demoliſh'd the Fortifications of it, and burnt the Towers and Caſtles down to the Ground; laid the Enemy's Country all waſte; demoliſhed *Mariſſa*, and from thence in the ſame Heat over-ran and pillag'd *Azotus*: And in this Glut of Booty and Victory, they returned all ſafe and triumphant to *Jeruſalem*.

Judas, *after many glorious Exploits, returns to* Jeruſalem.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Epiphanes *beſieges* Elymais, *but is forc'd to draw off. He acknowledges the righteous Judgment of God in it, and ſo he dies.*

AS *Antiochus Epiphanes* was about this Time in his Progreſs thorough ſome of his upland Provinces, he was told of a mighty rich City in *Perſia* called *Elymais*; and of a moſt magnificent Temple in it dedicated to *Diana*; where were depoſited precious Donatives of all Sorts, with the very Shields and Breaſt-Plates of *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* of *Macedon*. *Antiochus* was ſo mov'd with the Fame of theſe ſplendid Curioſities, that he advanced toward it with his Army to take it by Aſſault: But the Inhabitants, without any Regard either to his Power, or to his Deſign, made a very brave Reſiſtance, and diſappointed him of his Expectation: And they thought it not enough neither to beat him from the Walls, but they follow'd him ſo cloſe upon his Retreat, that they cut off a good Part of his Rear, and drove him before them like a Fugitive, for Protection into *Babylon*. While the Senſe of this Infamy and Loſs was freſh upon him, came the Tidings to him of the Defeat of his other Troops alſo to whom he had committed the Care and Conduct of the War againſt the *Jews*, and of the daily Increaſe of their Number and Power: So that with one Calamity upon the Neck of another, the inſupportable Anguiſh of his Thoughts made him *Heart-ſick* upon it; and finding himſelf to grow ſtill worſe and worſe, and his End near at Hand, he call'd his Friends about him, and told them both the Cauſe and the Quality of his Diſtemper. *I am here juſtly puniſhed*, ſays he, *for the Sake of theſe miſerable* Jews, *for the ſacrilegious rifling and profaning of their Temple, and for the Contempt of the heavenly God:* And with theſe Words he dy'd. Now I cannot but admire at *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, (a Man otherwiſe of Credit) for ſaying that this Judgment befel *Antiochus* for his Deſign of rifling the *Temple of Diana*; which was a *Sacrilege* only in his Will, but never came to Act: But if *Polybius* was of Opinion

Elymais *a City in* Perſia; *with a* Temple *dedicated to* Diana.
1 Mac. 6.

Antiochus *lays Siege to it, but is beat off, and driven to* Babylon.

Another Defeat given him by the Jews.

Antiochus *falls* ſick *upon it, acknowledges God's juſt Judgment for his* Sacrilege, *and ſo dies.*

Polybius *imputes the Judgment to a wrong Cauſe.*

nion that he deſerv'd this Puniſhment only for the *Intention*, he might much more reaſonably have imputed his Death to the Sacrilege, that he was *actually* guilty of upon the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem*. But whether the Reader be of *Polybius*'s Opinion, or of mine, it is to me indifferent.

CHAP. XIV.

Antiochus Epiphanes *leaves the Government to his Son* Antiochus Eupator. Lyſias *proclaims him King.* Judas *lays Siege to the Cittadel at* Jeruſalem. Antiochus *ſets down before* Bethſura. *They both riſe, and come to a Battle. The Bravery and Death of* Eleazar. Judas *returns to* Jeruſalem. Antiochus *takes* Bethſura *upon Conditions; but breaks his Articles. The Temple makes an obſtinate Defence.*

Antiochus *leaves the Regency to* Philip *in Truſt for his Son* Antiochus.

Lyſias *proclaims* Antiochus *King.*

WHen *Antiochus* found himſelf near his End, he ſent for *Philip*, as the moſt truſty Confident of his *Court Friends*, and committed the Regency of his Kingdom into his Hands; delivering up to him at the ſame Time, the Crown, the Royal Robes and Signet, with Order to preſerve them for his Son *Antiochus*, who was then in Minority; paſſionately adjuring him to take Care of his Education, and to ſecure the Crown to him, till he ſhould come to be capable of the Adminiſtration. *Antiochus* dy'd in the Year one hundred and forty nine. The Death of this Prince was no ſooner made known to the People, but *Lyſias* declared *Antiochus* King, under the Name of *Eupator*, having at that Time the Tuition of the young Prince.

The Jews *annoy'd from the Citadel in their Paſſage to the* Temple.

The Government had been now 150 *Years in* Seleucus's *Family.*

Judas *ſits down before the* Caſtle.

The Garriſon ſends ſecretly to Antiochus *for Relief.*

Antiochus *with a mighty Army lays Siege to* Bethſura.

Judas *upon this draws off from the Citadel to fight him.*

Antiochus *draws off from* Bethſura *to engage* Judas.

The Order *and* Manner *of the* Battle.

The *Macedonians*, in the mean while, who were then garriſon'd in the Cittadel of *Jeruſalem*, together with ſome *Jewiſh Revolters*, made ſeveral vexatious Sallies upon the *Jews*, as they went to *worſhip* at their *Temple*; which was no hard Matter to do, in Regard that the Caſtle was above, and commanded it: So that *Judas* found it of abſolute Neceſſity, to reduce that Fort for the common Security of the Nation. It was now juſt a hundred and fifty Years that this Government had been in the Family of *Seleucus*. *Judas*, in Short, was ſo bent upon his Deſign, that they fell preſently to the framing of *Machines* and *Engines* for *Battery*, and the caſting up of Works. While this was in Agitation, ſeveral Deſerters ſlipt away by Night; and joining with others as bad as themſelves, went to *Antiochus*, ſetting forth the miſerable Condition they were reduced to by Men of their own Tribe for their Obedience to the King's Command, in Oppoſition to their own Law; and that they are now in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of *Judas*, without immediate Relief. The young Prince, in a Rage, gave Orders preſently to his Friends and Commanders to make a Levy of what Auxiliaries were to be had for Money, over and above the uttermoſt Force of choice Men that they could raiſe out of his own Subjects. They ply'd their Buſineſs ſo hard, that in a ſhort Time they muſter'd a *hundred thouſand Foot*, *twenty thouſand Horſe*, and *two and thirty Elephants*. With this formidable Body of an Army under the Command of *Lyſias* as General, the King march'd out of *Antioch*, and ſo advanced to *Idumæa*, and from thence to *Bethſura*, a Place well fortify'd, beſide the Strength of the Situation. This Fort he aſſaulted, and loſt a great Deal of Time before it; for, betwixt Sallies and Stratagems, they found a Way to burn or diſappoint all Engines of Battery and Danger that were brought againſt it. *Judas* being inform'd of the Approach of *Antiochus*, rais'd the Siege from before the Cittadel, and march'd the ready Way to meet the Enemy; pitching his Tents upon the very Entrance into the Streights of *Bethzachariah*, about ſeventy Furlongs from the Adverſary. *Antiochus*, upon this, quitted the *Bethſurites*, and encamped within Diſtance of engaging *Judas*; appointing his Army by Peep of Day, to put themſelves upon their March in Order of Battle; but the Place being too narrow for the *Elephants* to march in Front, they were forced into a *Defilee*, with a thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, upon the Guard of every *Elephant*; and ſo to advance one after another with a Kind of Tower, or Caſtle upon their Backs, charged with Archers: While the reſt of the Troops mounted the Hills on both Sides, under the Command of ſuch Officers and Friends as the King could beſt confide in. From this Aſcent, they gave the Attack; and with ſo horrid a Shout and Clamour, that the Vallies all rang with the *Echo*; ſo that what with the hideous Outcry, and the dazling Flaſhes of their gold and brazen Bucklers, nothing could be more ſurprizing. But all this was to *Judas*, no more than ſo much empty Pomp and Noiſe; for he received them ſo bravely, and without any Sort of Daunt or Apprehenſion, that he kill'd a Matter of ſix hundred of them upon the firſt Encounter. While they were thus engaged, *Eleazar*, otherwiſe call'd *Auranes*, the Brother of *Judas*, taking Notice of one Elephant that was capariſon'd with richer Trappings than the reſt, he made his Way with a generous Reſolution thorough all the Guards, to that Beaſt; taking for granted that the King himſelf was upon her. When he had cut Part of his Oppoſers to Pieces on each Hand, and forced the reſt to clear his Paſſage, he crept under the Belly of the *Elephant*, and wounded him to Death; himſelf alſo periſhing under the Weight of the Beaſt upon his Fall. He had the Honour and the Comfort however to die in the Proſpect and Attempt of a glorious Action, and encompaſſed with the dead Bodies of his Enemies round about him.

Eleazar *kills an Elephant, and is cruſh'd to Death under the Fall of him.*

Judas finding himſelf ſo mightily over-number'd, drew off to the Siege of the Fortreſs at *Jeruſalem* again; when *Antiochus* ſent one Part of his Army to ſit down before *Bethſura*, and with the Remainder of it went to *Jeruſalem*. The *Bethſurites* were ſo diſanimated upon the Appearance of theſe Troops, and ſo much more diſhearten'd by their Want of Proviſions, that they found themſelves under a Neceſſity of delivering up the Place; which they did upon Conditions, with ſolemn Articles that there ſhould be no Violence or Moleſtation offer'd them whatſoever. But the King kept his Faith no farther than to the bare ſaving of their Lives; for the Inhabitants were all turn'd naked out of the Town, and a Garriſon of his own ſettled in their Stead. But the Siege of the *Temple* held them Work yet a long Time after, by a moſt obſtinate Defence: For all their Machines and Approaches were ſtill eluded with Counter-Workings and Deſigns. Their only Diſtreſs was Want of Bread; for having already ſpent their *laſt Year's Store*, and this happening to fall out upon the ſeventh Year, when by the *Jewiſh Law* they could neither plow nor ſow, great Numbers of the *Jews* ſlipt out of the Town for the pure Want of Proviſion, inſomuch that there were hardly Hands enough left to defend the Place.

Judas *returns to the Siege of* Jeruſalem.
Antiochus *divides his Army.*

Bethſura *renders upon Terms.*
The King breaks his Articles.
The Temple makes a very brave Defence.

There came at this Time Intelligence to the King and his General *Lyſias*, that *Philip* [had uſurp'd the Government, and] was marching toward them in the Head of an Army out of *Perſia*: So that they came to a ſecret Reſolution betwixt themſelves, to quit the Siege; ſeek him out, and give him Battle; but to carry the Deſign ſo private, that neither Officer nor Soldier, ſhould ſo much as gueſs at the Meaning of it: Wherefore the King order'd *Lyſias*, without mentioning the Name of *Philip*, to enter into a Diſcourſe with the Commanders and Soldiers about this Siege; the Strength of the Place; and that it would be a Work of Time to take it; beſide that being brought to a Pinch now for Want of Corn, and the King's Buſineſs alſo requiring his Preſence elſewhere, they could not do better than to come to ſome Sort of Agreement with them, though upon the Condition of allowing them the free Exerciſe of their particular Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms: And this being granted, which had been the only Ground of all their Rebellions, the King might go back again when he pleas'd, without any further Trouble. This was it that *Lyſias* had in Charge to communicate to the Army; and the Soldiers were all highly pleas'd with the Propoſal.

Word brought that Philip *had poſſeſs'd the* Government, *and was marching with an Army toward them.*
Lyſias's *Diſcourſe with the* Officers *and* Soldiers, *according to the King's Order.*

CHAP. XV.

Antiochus *takes the Temple upon Terms, but breaks his Covenants.* Onias *put to Death at* Berrhœa: Alcimus, *or* Jacimus, *though not of the ſacerdotal Race, promoted in his Stead.* Antiochus *gives* Philip *Battle, and overcomes him.* Onias *flies to Ægypt, and gets Leave to build a* Temple *in* Heliopolis, *anſwerable to that at* Jeruſalem.

Matters being thus concerted, *Antiochus* diſpatch'd a *Herald* away to *Judas* and the beſieged, with an Offer of Peace, and a free Enjoyment and Exerciſe of their Laws and Conſciences; which they very readily agreed to, and upon the Security of Oath and Honour for the Performance of Articles, they deliver'd up the *Temple*: But upon *Antiochus*'s taking Poſſeſſion of it, he found the Place ſo very ſtrong, that without any Regard to his *Oath* and Promiſe, he order'd his Soldiers to demoliſh the Walls, and lay them level with the Ground, which was executed accordingly; and ſo he returned to *Antioch*, carrying the *High-Prieſt Onias*, otherwiſe called *Menelaus*, along with him. This was upon the Advice of *Lyſias*, who told him that if ever he liv'd to ſee the *Jews* quiet, or himſelf at Eaſe, that Man muſt be made out of the Way; for it was at his Inſtigation, that his Father forced the *Jews* to a Religion againſt their Laws and Judgments; and that *Onias* was conſequently the Author and Promoter of all the Evils that had befall'n him. The King, upon this, ſent away *Menelaus* to *Berrhœa* in *Syria*, where he cauſed him to be put to Death, after ten Years Enjoyment of the *Pontificat*: A wicked Man, that to ſecure the Dignity to himſelf, cauſed a general Defection among the *Jews*, from the Laws and Worſhip of their Country. His next Succeſſor's Name was *Alcimus*, who was alſo called *Jacimus*.

Antiochus *offers the* Jews *Peace.*
They deliver up the Temple *upon Conditions.*

Antiochus *demoliſhes the Walls contrary to* Articles.

Onias *the* High-Prieſt, *alias* Menelaus, *is put to Death at* Berrhœa.
Alcimus, *or* Jacimus, *ſubſtituted in his Stead.*

When

Philip *over-thrown by* Antiochus.

Onias *withdraws into* Ægypt *for Protection.*

He builds a Temple *in* Heliopolis.

When *Antiochus* found that *Philip* had now uſurped upon the Government, he fought with him, and overcame him; took him Priſoner, and order'd him to be put to Death. But the Son of the *High-Prieſt Onias* being left an Infant (as we have ſaid) by the Death of *Menelaus*, finding that thereupon, the King had given away the Dignity to *Alcimus*, who had no Relation at all to the *ſacerdotal Family*, and was only over-rul'd by *Lyſias* in the transferring of it; he went his Way, and made his Application to *Ptolemy* the King of *Ægypt*, where he was ſo graciouſly receiv'd, both by *himſelf*, and the Queen *Cleopatra*, that they beſtow'd a Place of Truſt upon him in *Heliopolis*, where he erected a *Temple* after the Model of that at *Jeruſalem*, which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of more ſeaſonably in another Place.

CHAP. XVI.

Demetrius *ſeizes* Tripolis; *takes the Government upon him*; *and puts* Antiochus *and* Lyſias *to Death.* Alcimus *complains of* Judas *to* Demetrius. Demetrius *ſends an Army to deſtroy him, and ſettles* Alcimus *in the* Pontificat. *His barbarous Cruelties. But he flies at laſt to* Demetrius *for Succour.*

Demetrius *the Son of* Seleucus *ſeizes upon* Tripolis.

1 Mac. 7.

Antiochus *and* Lyſias *put to Death.*

A formal Complaint of Alcimus *and certain* apoſtate Jews *againſt* Judas *and his Followers.*

They demand Juſtice of Demetrius *upon him.*

DEmetrius the Son of *Seleucus*, being fled away from *Rome*, poſſeſs'd himſelf about this Time of *Tripolis* in *Syria*; took the Crown upon him, and with as many Mercenaries as he could get together, invaded the Country; where the People did not only come over to him in Shoals, with open Arms to receive him; but as a farther Inſtance of an Affection to his Intereſt, ſeized upon the Perſons of *Antiochus* and *Lyſias*, and brought them in Cuſtody, Priſoners to him. Whereupon they were immediately both put to Death by the Command of *Demetrius*; *Antiochus* having now reigned two Years, as we have ſaid elſewhere. He had in his Party a great Number of *profligate Jews*, that had been baniſh'd for notorious Crimes, together with *Alcimus* the *High-Prieſt* in the Head of them, who all joined in one common Accuſation and Complaint againſt the whole People of the *Jews*, but eſpecially *Judas Maccabæus* and his Brethren, whom they charged, not only with the Deſtruction of as many of the King's Friends as fell into their Hands, but with the very Ejection of themſelves out of the Land too. Wherefore they made it their Requeſt to *Demetrius*, only to ſend ſome particular Perſon that he could confide in to examine Matters in *Judæa*, and to ſee what Havock *Judas* had made there.

Bacchides *marches with an Army toward* Judas *and his Brethren.*

Bacchides *pretends Friendſhip; but* Judas *ſtands upon his Guard.*

Some credulous People went over.

Bacchides *and* Alcimus *put ſixty of them to the Sword.*

Bacchides *puts all ſuſpected Perſons to Death.*

He returns to Demetrius.

Demetrius preſently, in a Heat, ſent away *Bacchides* upon this Errand, a Friend formerly to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; a reſolute Man, and at that Time Governour of *Meſopotamia*: Putting *Alcimus* likewiſe into the ſame Commiſſion; whom he diſpatch'd away with an Army, and Orders to fall upon *Judas* and his Followers. With theſe Troops *Bacchides* left *Antioch*, and marched directly into *Judæa*, where he gave *Judas* and his Brethren a ſpecious and a ſolemn Invitation to come to a better Underſtanding with him. Now the Deſign was only under the Colour of a peaceable and friendly Diſpoſition, to draw them into a Toil, and ſo to ſurprize them. But upon his coming attended with ſuch an Army, and in the Poſture of an Enemy rather than a Friend, *Judas* kept himſelf upon his Guard, without giving any Credit to his Pretenſions; but ſome credulous People there were yet that went over to them, in Confidence that their *Countryman* and their *Tribeſman Alcimus* would do them no wrong; eſpecially under the Caution of a ſolemn Oath from both, that no Violence ſhould be offer'd, either to themſelves, or any of their Party: But this Confidence deceiv'd them, it ſeems; for *Bacchides*, without any Regard to the Conſcience of an Oath, cauſed ſixty of them to be cut to Pieces upon the Place: Which barbarous Perfidy ſerv'd for a Warning to the reſt not to come near him. *Bacchides*, after this, removed his Army from *Jeruſalem*, and went to *Bethzeth*, where he found ſeveral Deſerters, and other diſaffected People thereabouts, which he put all to the Sword. This being done, he commanded all the *Jews* in his Abſence to obey *Alcimus*; and leaving Part of his Army with him for the Security of the Province, he himſelf returned with the reſt to King *Demetrius* at *Antioch*.

Alcimus *doubles the Number of his Followers.*

He puts the Friends of Judas *to Death.*

Alcimus had in his Head all this while, the ſettling himſelf in the Dignity of the *Pontificat*; and reflecting upon it, that it was an Honour hardly to be compaſs'd but by the Favour and Good-Will of the People, he preſently betook himſelf to the popular Arts of fair Words, Humility, and Addreſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the Multitude: So that by the Flatteries of obliging Speech and Behaviour, he quickly doubled the Number of the Forces that were left him; but it was with a Band of impious Fugitives that liſted themſelves in his Service: And with theſe he ravaged the Country up and down, putting all the *Jews* to Death wherever he came, that were Friends to *Maccabæus*. *Judas*, upon this, laying it to Heart to ſee what a Rabble of an Army *Alcimus* had gotten together, and the Havock they made of all the Men of Honour and Conſcience they could lay their Hands on; he himſelf took up a Reſolution alſo of going the ſame way to work with the Faction of *Alcimus*; who finding that he was not ſtrong enough to hold it out, betook himſelf to *Demetrius* at *Antioch* for Support and Succour, where he did all that was poſſible, to irritate that Prince againſt *Judas*, with Tales and Stories of the Indignities he had put upon him already, and of the Danger of greater yet to come, unleſs he ſent a powerful Army in Time to call that bold and wicked Man to an Account for his Miſdemeanors.

Judas *takes the ſame Courſe with the Party of* Alcimus.

Alcimus *complains of* Judas *to* Demetrius.

CHAP. XVII.

Demetrius *grows jealous of* Judas. Alcimus *adviſes him to ſend* Nicanor *with an Army againſt him. A treacherous Practice to ſurprize him.* Judas *fights* Nicanor; *kills him, and deſtroys his Army.* Alcimus *cut off by a* judicial Vengeance. Judas *ſucceeds him in the* Pontificate, *and enters into an Alliance with the* Romans.

JUDAS was now become ſo formidable, that *Demetrius* was very uneaſy himſelf to think what might come of it in the End, if he ſuffer'd him to go on increaſing at this Rate in Strength and Credit: So that he call'd *Nicanor*, to him, formerly his Companion in his departure from *Rome*, and his particular Confident and Friend over and above: Aſſigning him the Command of ſuch a Body of an Army as he reckon'd ſufficient for the reducing of *Judas*, with poſitive Orders to make War upon the whole Nation, and give no Quarter. Upon his ſetting out for *Jeruſalem*, he propounded to himſelf to carry the Buſineſs fair, and to try if he could inveigle *Judas* under a Countenance of peaceable Purpoſes and Inclinations, into a Credulity that would certainly be his Ruine. So *Nicanor* ſuggeſted the Matter to him by way of Expoſtulation. *Why ſhould we*, ſays he, *expoſe the Sum of our Well-being and Happineſs to the uncertain Chance of* War, *and not rather* treat *the Points in Controverſy into a better State? Or if you apprehend any Danger in it, I am ready to give you the moſt ſacred Oath for Security, that one Man can give to another; for Peace and nothing elſe is my Buſineſs: As you may judge by the Friends I have brought along with me, only to poſſeſs you with the Knowledge of my Maſter's Mind and Pleaſure, and of his hearty Love and good Will to the whole Nation of the* Jews. This Declaration wrought ſo far upon the Brothers, that without any further Thought, or Jealouſy of Treaſon, or foul Play, they interchangeably paſs'd their Oaths, and with great Frankneſs received *Nicanor* with his whole Army. After the firſt Greeting betwixt *Judas* and *Nicanor*, the latter gave a Signal to his People to lay hold of *Judas*; but the Plot being diſcovered in Time, he made his Eſcape immediately to his own People: And after the detecting of this Treachery, it came to open Force on both Sides, without any more Talk of a Treaty. The Armies drew out, and it came to a Battle near *Capharſalama*, where *Judas* was worſted, and forced into the Caſtle of *Jeruſalem*.

1 Mac. 8.

Demetrius *grows jealous of* Judas.

He gives Nicanor *an Army, to make War upon* Judas.

Nicanor *endeavours by Treachery to inveigle* Judas.

Judas *ventures himſelf upon* Nicanor's Oath *and* Honour;

and very narrowly 'ſcapes the Snare.

It happen'd one Day, as *Nicanor* was paſſing by the Temple, that ſeveral of the *Prieſts* and *Elders* met him upon the Way, and ſhew'd him the Sacrifices that they were about to offer to God, for the Proſperity and Welfare of *Demetrius*. But *Nicanor* threaten'd them, and not without blaſphemous Revilings even againſt God himſelf, that if the People did not deliver up *Judas* to him, he would be back with them before they were aware; deſtroy their Temple it ſelf, and leave it in *Rubbiſh*. And with theſe Menaces he went his Way; but the *Prieſts* were ſo caſt down at this Declaration, that they forthwith addreſſed themſelves to God with Prayers and Tears, to protect his own Houſe, and his Miniſters that belong to it, againſt the Outrages of the Enemy. *Nicanor* went his Way from *Jeruſalem*, and pitch'd his Tents in *Bethoron*, where he was join'd with a great Enforcement out of *Syria*. *Judas* at the ſame Time encamped at *Adaſa*, within thirty Furlongs of the Enemy, and with a Body only of a thouſand Men. He told them that the Enemy indeed was numerous, but that the Cauſe was God's, whoſe Power was above that of a Multitude, exhorting them not to trouble themſelves how many they were to encounter; but to conſider the Bravery of thoſe that were to encounter them, with the Honours or Rewards that would moſt certainly attend them: Wherefore *fall on*, ſays he, *like valiant Men, and commit the Iſſue to God*. It came, in Fine, to a Battle; and the firſt Encounter was vigorous and ſharp; but upon the Fall of great Numbers of the Enemy, and of *Nicanor* himſelf too, who did all that could be done by a great Commander and a brave Man, the whole Army ſcatter'd immediately; and upon the Loſs of their General, caſt away their Arms to make them lighter for their Flight,

Nicanor *threatens the* Prieſts *and the* Elders *to deſtroy their Temple, if they do not deliver up* Judas.

Nicanor *encamps at* Bethoron *with a mighty Army.*

Judas, *at* Adaſa, *with only* 1000 *Men.*

Judas *encourages his Men; brings it to a Battle;*

Kills Nicanor;

Routs his Army.

and cut them all off to a Man.

Flight. *Judas*, in the mean Time, purſuing the Fugitives without Mercy or Quarter; making Proclamation by Sound of Trumpet through all the Towns and Cities where he paſs'd, of the Victory he had obtain'd. Upon this Signal, the Country-People gather'd together every where, and fell ſo bloodily upon the Soldiers in their Flight, that of nine thouſand Men, which was the preciſe Number of their Army, there was not one Creature 'ſcap'd. This was upon the thirteenth of the Month, which the *Jews* call *Adar*, the *Macedonians*, *Dyſtrus*; and in Memory of this Mercy we celebrate an *anniverſary Thankſgiving* upon it, to this very Day. The *Jews* after this Victory, had a little Breathing. While from the reſtleſs Importunities of their former War and Troubles, and ſome hopeful Glimmerings of a comfortable Peace too; but it laſted not long neither.

An exemplary Judgment upon Alcimus *the* High-Prieſt.

The People unanimouſly chuſe Judas *for his Succeſſor.* 1 Mac. 8.

Alcimus the *High-Prieſt* had a Mind to have the old Wall of the *Sanctuary* pull'd down, and the Works of the ancient Prophets demoliſhed; but in the very Inſtant of his ordering it to be done, God ſtruck him with ſo judicial a Diſtemper, that he fell down upon the Ground ſpeechleſs, where he lay languiſhing a while in miſerable Torments, and then dy'd; after four Years in the Office of the *Pontificate*. The People, upon his Deceaſe, chuſing *Maccabæus*, with one Voice for his Succeſſor. This new *High-Prieſt* had heard ſo much of the Fame and Power of the *Romans*, and of the Overthrows they had given to the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Carthaginians*; nay to *Greece* it ſelf, and King *Perſeus*, *Philip* and *Antiochus*, that he had a mighty Mind to enter into a League with them. So that he ſent *Eupolemus*, the Son of *John*, and *Jaſon* the Son of *Eleazar*; two ſingular Friends of his to *Rome* upon that Embaſſy, with a Deſire to be received into the Number of their *Allies*; and that they would write to *Demetrius*, not to be any longer troubleſome to the *Jews* for the future. The *Senate* was ſo well pleaſed with the Propoſals and the Terms, that they conſented to the League, and paſs'd an Order ſoon after in Favour of it, which was written in Tables of Braſs; the Copy of it ſent to *Jeruſalem*, and the Original depoſited in the *Capitol*. The *Articles* were in Subſtance to this Effect: *That no People whatſoever, under the Juriſdiction of the* Romans, *ſhould preſume to make War upon the* Jews, *or to be comforting, or aſſiſting to any of their Enemies with Corn, Shipping, Money or the like; and the ſame Obligation to lye reciprocally upon the* Jews, *in Caſe of any War made upon the* Romans. *If there ſhould be any Thing after this, which the* Jews *would have to be added or taken away, that it be firſt ratiſy'd by the Conſent of the People.* This Reſolution of the *Senate* was written by *Eupolemus* the Son of *John*, and *Jaſon* the Son of *Eleazar*; *Judas* the *High-Prieſt*, and his Brother *Simon* General of the *Army*. This was the firſt Alliance that ever was made betwixt the *Jews* and the *Romans*.

Judas *ſends* Eupolemus *and* Jaſon *to* Rome, *to treat upon an Alliance with them;* 1 Mac. 8. *and to deſire that* Demetrius *might be eaſy to the* Jews.

The Reſolution of the Senate *in Favour of the* Jews.

The firſt Alliance of the Jews *and the* Romans.

CHAP. XVIII.

Bacchides *makes an Inroad into* Judæa, *with twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe.* Judas *reſolves to encounter him with bare eight hundred Men. The generous Bravery of* Judas, *and his Companions.*

After Nicanor's *Death and Defeat,* Demetrius *ſends* Bacchides *into* Judæa *with an Army.* 1 Mac. 9.

Judas *at* Bethſeth *with* 800 *Men only, and the Enemy* 20000 *Foot, and* 2000 *Horſe.*

UPON the Tidings of *Nicanor's* Death, and the Defeat of the Army, *Demetrius* ſent *Bacchides* a ſecond Time into *Judæa*, who advanced with freſh Troops to *Arbela*, a Town of *Galilee*, and there encamped, forcing a great many *Jews* out of the Caves there where they had hid themſelves. From thence he haſten'd away to *Jeruſalem*; and upon Intelligence that *Judas* and his People were at *Bethſeth*, he poſted away immediately with *twenty thouſand Foot* and *two thouſand Horſe*, to encounter him, who had at that Time but one poor thouſand of Men about him, and but eight hundred of thoſe to ſtand by him neither; for two hundred of them gave him the Slip for Fear of being overpower'd. In this Streight for Want of Men, and neither Time nor Place for Recruiting, *Judas* kept up his Heart ſtill to a Reſolution, in Deſpite of all Difficulties, of putting it to the Fate of a Battle; only deſiring his Men to ſtand by him, and follow his Example. They told him how vain and raſh a Thing it would be to contend with ſuch inſuperable Odds; adviſing him rather to attempt an honourable Retreat, by which Means poſſibly he might reinforce himſelf. *No no*, ſays he, *it ſhall never be ſaid, that the Sun ever ſaw* Judas *turn his Back upon an Enemy. If it ſhould be our Lot now to die, God's Will be done, provided that we do not blaſt the Reputation of a glorious Life, with an ignominious Death.* With theſe Words he raiſed the Courage of his Soldiers up to his own Pitch, and fortify'd them for the Combat.

The glorious Reſolution of Judas.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Judas *encounters* Bacchides, *and gets the better of him at firſt; but oppreſs'd afterward by Numbers, and ſlain, having behaved himſelf to his immortal Honour.*

BACCHIDES having ranged his Army; the Horſe upon the *two Wings*, whereof he himſelf commanded the Right; his light-arm'd Men, and Archers in the Front, ſupported by a *Macedonian Phalanx* in the *Body:* In this Order of Battle, he marched up to the Enemy, ſounded a Charge; and with a military Shout, according to Cuſtom, gave the Onſet: *Judas* encountring him on the other Hand after the ſame Manner. It was hard fought on both Sides from Morning till toward Sun-ſet; when *Judas*, taking Notice of the Danger his Men were in to be over-laid by the Enemy's Right Wing, where *Bacchides*, with the very Flower of the Army preſs'd upon them, came in with a Band of hearty courageous Youths to their Relief; and breaking their Line, pierc'd into the very Body of them; routed, and gave them Chace as far as *Aza*. The Enemy's Left Wing, upon this, follow'd *Judas* ſo cloſe upon the Heel, that he was now on all Hands beſet, and out of all Poſſibility of eſcaping; ſo that he and his People ſtood their Ground, and fought it out, to ſell their Lives as dear as they could; till in the Concluſion, after a great Slaughter of their Enemies, *Judas* and his Companions were ſo ſpent and weary'd out, that they ſeem'd at laſt to be rather *tir'd* than *overcome:* Nor did they fall unrevenged. And thus did this glorious *Hero* finiſh the Character of a great Man, by making his Life and Death all of a Piece. It could not be expected that the Soldiers, after the Loſs of ſo brave a General, ſhould diſpute the Point any further without a Leader: So that they preſently diſpers'd and fled; while the two Brothers, *Simon* and *Jonathan*, treated with the Enemy for the Body of their Brother, which they carry'd away, and laid it at *Modin* in the Sepulchre of his Fathers, with all Funeral Magnificence, and with the Solemnity of a publick Mourning for ſeveral Days, in Honour of his Memory, according to the Cuſtom of the Place upon ſo extraordinary an Occaſion. This was the End of *Judas Maccabæus*, a generous and a valiant Man; the true Son of the Virtue, as well as of the Blood of of *Mattathias*; for he never forgot the Precepts of his dying Father; who enjoyn'd him upon his Bleſſing never to decline any Labour or Hazzard for the Liberty and Welfare of his Countrymen. In Purſuance of this Charge, he got himſelf everlaſting Honour by the Reſcue of his Friends out of the Hands of the *Macedonians*; and by his three Years Adminiſtration in the Office of *High-Prieſt*.

Bacchides's *Order of Battle.*

Judas *receives the Charge in the ſame Form.*

A bloody Fight.

The Bravery and Death of Judas *and his Companions.*

Simon *and* Jonathan *treat for their Brother's Body.*

Judas, *the true Son of the valiant* Mattathias.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3804, to 3898.

CHAP. I.

The Spite of the revolted Jews. Jonathan *ſucceeds* Judas. *He and* Simon *withdraw into the Wilderneſs, and* Bacchides *follows them.* John *and his Company cut off by the Sons of* Amaræus. Bacchides *aſſaults* Jonathan *on the Sabbath-Day, and loſes two thouſand of his Men.* Jonathan's *Retreat.* Bacchides *fortifies at* Jeruſalem, *and elſewhere. The Death of* John *reveng'd upon the Sons of* Amaræus. Bacchides *puts fifty of the* Jewiſh Deſerters *to Death. The Brothers fortify themſelves in* Bethalaga: Bacchides *lays Siege to't, and is beaten off.*

WE have ſufficiently ſet forth in the former Book, how the *Jews* came to be deliver'd from their Slavery under the *Macedonians*; and how *Judas*, their great Captain and Patron, after ſeveral bloody Battles fought in that righteous Cauſe, loſt his Life at laſt in a magnanimous Action and Conteſt for their Vindication and Defence. This illuſtrious Perſon was no ſooner taken away, but the whole Party of the *profligate Jews*, that contrary to Conſcience, Faith, and Honour, had abandon'd the Religion, Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation, reſumed their former Animoſities, and perſecuted their honeſt Countrymen afreſh, more ſpitefully than ever. There happened alſo at the ſame Time a general *Famine* over the Land; which, in Conjunction, doubled the other Calamity: For betwixt Want of Bread for their Livelyhood, on the one Side, and Want of Power to defend themſelves againſt their Enemies, on the other, the Miſery lay ſo heavy upon them, that a great many of the *Jews* found themſelves under ſome Sort of Neceſſity to comply with the Faction of the *Macedonians*. Upon this Juncture, *Bacchides* ſent a Summons to all the *apoſtate Jews* that were gone over to *ſtrange Gods*, and committed the Care of the Government principally into their Hands; who made it their Buſineſs in the firſt Place to take up all the Friends and late Partizans of *Judas*, and ſo to deliver them up to *Bacchides*, to torture them at Pleaſure, and in the End to put every Man of them to Death. The Condition of the *Jews* was never ſo deplorable ſince their Captivity in *Babylon*, as it was at this Time: Inſomuch that all thoſe who had wiſh'd well to *Judas*, joyn'd in a Requeſt to *Jonathan*, not only to follow his Brother's Example, who had ſo frankly ſacrificed his Blood for the Liberties of his Country, but to take upon himſelf his Command alſo; the whole Nation lying under ſuch deſperate Circumſtances, that they muſt be all inevitably loſt without a Leader. *Jonathan*'s Anſwer was, that he was ready to do or to ſuffer any Thing for the publick Good: Whereupon, with the unanimous Conſent of the People, he was declared their General.

The Renegado Jews *more ſpiteful againſt their Countrymen than ever.* 1 Mac. 9.

The Jews *miſerable betwixt* Famine *and* Perſecution.

Bacchides *commits the Government to the* Apoſtates; *who expoſe their Countrymen to Torments and Death.*

The loyal Part of the Jews *mind* Jonathan *of his Brother's Example,*

and with one Voice chuſe him their General.

When *Bacchides* came to be inform'd of this Election, and to reflect upon it, that *Jonathan* was a Man as likely to give Trouble to the King and to the *Macedonians*, as ever his Brother *Judas* was before him, he fell to bethinking himſelf of ſome Way to take him off by a Plot, or a Trick: But he himſelf and his Brother *Simon* were both ſo well aware of ſuch a Deſign in Hand, that they provided for themſelves betimes, by withdrawing immediately into the neighbouring Deſert, with what Strength they were able to get together upon that Warning, and pitched their Tents by the Pool of *Aſphar*. *Bacchides* look'd upon this Retreat of theirs into the *Wilderneſs*,

Jonathan *and* Simon *retire into the Wilderneſs for Fear of Treachery.*

Bacchides *marches after them.*

to be no other than a direct Flight from the Face of an Enemy; march'd away preſently toward them with all his Troops; and encamping beyond *Jordan*, made Choice of that Place for his *Rendezvous.* When *Jonathan* came to hear of this Motion, he ſent his Brother *John* (otherwiſe *Gaddis*) to the *Arabian Nabathites*, being in Friendſhip with them, for Leave only to depoſite their Baggage in their Cuſtody, till the Battle with *Bacchides* ſhould be over. But as *John* was upon the Way, the Sons of *Amaræus* made a Sally out of *Medaba* upon the Convoy; took all their Carriages, and whatever elſe they had about them; kill'd *John* himſelf upon the Place, and all his People: But the Brothers had their Revenge upon them not long after, as will be ſhew'd in it's due Place.

John *and all his Companions kill'd in a Sally out of* Medaba.

Bacchides *attacks* Jonathan *upon the* Sabbath-Day. Jonathan *reaſons his Men out of their Superſtition, and cuts off 2000 of the Enemy.*

Bacchides having Intelligence how *Jonathan* lay encamped in the fenny Grounds near the River *Jordan*, pitch'd upon the *Sabbath-Day* for the Attack, in Confidence of the *ſuperſtitious Reverence* they had for that *Feſtival*: But *Jonathan* laying before them the abſolute Neceſſity of fighting; for the Enemy being before them, and the River behind them, there was no ſaving their Lives without it: So that [what with the Effects of good Counſel,] and of Deſpair, they call'd upon God for Victory, and in the ſame Inſtant made a reſolute Charge upon the Enemy; killing great Numbers of them upon the Place. While this was a doing, *Bacchides* preſs'd furiouſly upon the Perſon of *Jonathan*, who at the ſame Time made a Blow at him; but the other diverting it, *Jonathan* and his Company took the River, and the Enemy not daring to follow them, they got ſafe to the other Side. *Bacchides*, after this, withdrew into the Citadel of *Jeruſalem*, with the Loſs of near two thouſand of his Men, where he fortify'd ſeveral ſtrong Cities and Places that had been demoliſhed before; as *Jericho*, *Emmaus*, *Bethoron* and *Bethel*, *Thamnatha*, *Pharathon*, *Techoa* and *Gazara*: And theſe Places he ſtrengthen'd with Walls and Towers, and with ſtrong Garriſons, to be ready for Excurſions to fall upon the *Jews*: But Care was taken above all the reſt, to make the *Citadel* of *Jeruſalem* impregnable. In which Place the chief Men's Sons of the Country were ſecur'd for Hoſtages.

Jonathan *and his People ſecure themſelves by croſſing the River* Jordan.

Bacchides *fortifies the Citadel at* Jeruſalem.

Word is brought the Brothers, of a famous Wedding; *and which Way the* Bride *was to paſs.*

The Brothers way-lay the Wedding People,

There was brought Intelligence about this Time, to the two Brothers, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, that there was a famous Wedding in Hand, betwixt one of the Sons of *Amaræus*, and the Daughter of an illuſtrious *Arabian*. The Sons of *Amaræus* to be at the Wedding, and the Bride to be conducted in a ſplendid Pomp from the City of *Gabatha.* The Brothers laid hold of this Opportunity to revenge themſelves for the Death of their Brother, and ſo haſten'd away towards *Medaba* to way-lay the People that were to aſſiſt at this Wedding, by an Ambuſh that they had planted in the Mountains. Upon the coming up of the Bridegroom with his Bride, and a long Train of their Friends, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, the Party ſally'd out upon them, and cut them all off, without ſaving one Creature, together with their Wives, Children and Friends, to the Number of four hundred; carry'd off the Booty entire, and did Juſtice at the ſame Time to the Memory of their Brother: After which Exploit, they returned to their Quarters at *Jordan*.

and put 400 Perſons to the Sword; Bride, Bridegroom and all, in Revenge of their Brother John.

The apoſtate Jews *preſs* Demetrius *to the Reducing of* Jonathan; *pretending by the Help of* Bacchides, *to make but one Nights Work of it.*

The King ſends Bacchides *accordingly.*

Several Plots failing, Bacchides *fanſies himſelf betray'd by the* apoſtates, *and puts fifty of their leading Men to Death upon that Jealouſy.*

The Brothers retire to Bethalaga, *and fortify it.*

Bacchides *lays Siege to it.*

When *Bacchides* had ſettled Garriſons in *Judæa*, he went back to his Maſter; and ſo for a Matter of two Years, the *Jews* were in ſome tolerable State of Quiet: But the Apoſtates, and the Dregs of the People were gall'd at the very Souls of them, to ſee *Jonathan*, and his People ſo much at Eaſe in *Judæa*, by Reaſon of the Tranquillity of the Times. So that they fell to plying and ſoliciting *Demetrius* by their Proxies, that *Bacchides* might be order'd to reduce *Jonathan* abſolutely into his Power; which was a Thing eaſily done, they ſaid, and but one Night's Work to rid themſelves, by a Surprize, both of him, and all his Soldiers. The King yielded immediately to the Propoſition, and diſpatch'd *Bacchides* away into *Judæa* upon the Commiſſion, where he ſent his Letters up and down to all the King's Friends and Officers in the Country, to give their Aſſiſtance toward the ſeizing of *Jonathan*. So they laid their Heads together, how to entrap him; and finding, upon ſeveral Trials one after another, that all fail'd; (for the Man was cautious, and forewarn'd) the *Macedonian*, in a Tranſport of Rage, imputed the whole Miſcarriage to the Treachery of the *Apoſtate Jews*; who, he ſaid, did but make Sport with the King's Orders, and in that Freak, put fifty of their chief Men to Death. *Jonathan* and his *Brother*, finding themſelves too weak for *Bacchides*, withdrew into the Wilderneſs, to a Village called *Bethalaga*, and fortify'd it with Works and Walls, to ſerve them in Caſe of Need for a Retreat. Upon this Intelligence, *Bacchides* marched away to them with all the Power he was able to make, upon the Conjunction of his own Troops, with the auxiliary Faction of the *Jews.* He open'd his Trenches immediately againſt the Place, and for ſome Days carry'd on his Approaches. *Jonathan*, on the other Side, making a very ſtout Reſiſtance. While Matters were in this Poſture, he left the Defence of the Place to his Brother *Simon*; and with ſuch a Body of Men as he was able to draw together out

Jonathan *ſteals out by Night, and beats up* Bacchides's *Quarters.* Simon *at the ſame Time makes a Sally, and deſtroys the Enemy's* Machines, *with a great Slaughter of their Men.* Bacchides *quits the Siege, with a ſaving to the King's Honour and his own.*

of the Neighbourhood, he himſelf ſtole away by Night, and fell upon *Bacchides* in his Quarters; kill'd a great many of his Men; and by the Havock and Confuſion that enſu'd upon it, *Simon* came quickly to underſtand that it was his Brother's doing: Upon which Diſcovery, he made a Sally; burnt their *Machines*; cut off a great many of their People, and ſo return'd. *Bacchides* was ſo amaz'd at this Aſſault upon him Front and Rear, and the Miſcarriage of an Attempt he thought himſelf ſo ſure of, that it put him quite beſide his Reaſon; but all was laid ſtill at the Door of the *Jewiſh Impoſtors*, that had prevail'd with the King, he ſaid, for this Expedition. It remained now only to conſider how the Siege might be rais'd without Loſs of Honour, both to the King, and to himſelf; and how the Army might be drawn off without Ignominy.

CHAP. II.

An Alliance betwixt Jonathan *and* Bacchides. Bacchides *leaves* Judæa *in Peace.* Jonathan *takes up his Reſidence at* Machmas.

Jonathan *propoſes to* Bacchides *an everlaſting Peace upon honourable Terms.* 1 Mac. 9. *They ſtrike a* League; *exchange* Oaths *and* Articles; *and* Bacchides *goes back to his Maſter with Reputation.* Judæa *re-eſtabliſhed in* Peace. Jonathan *clears the Country of* falſe Worſhip *and* falſe Brethren.

WHile *Bacchides* had this Difficulty under Deliberation, *Jonathan* took the Opportunity of falling in with him upon that neceſſary Point, having gotten an Inkling of what he had in his Thought at that Time. So he ſent him an honourable Meſſage, with Propoſals of a mutual *League* and *Friendſhip*, upon Condition of releaſing all Priſoners on both Sides. This was a Motion ſo reaſonable for *Bacchides* to agree to, and ſo fair an Occaſion given him to quit the Siege without Loſs of Reputation, that he immediately ſtruck up an Alliance with *Jonathan*; with a mutual Exchange of Oaths to deliver up, and reſtore all Priſoners on both Sides, and not to do any Act of Hoſtility one to the other. This being ratify'd, *Bacchides* returned to the King at *Antioch*, without ever coming back again with his Army to *Judæa*. *Jonathan* being now ſettled in a Condition of Peace and Safety, took up his Abode in *Machmas*, where he gave himſelf up to the Buſineſs of the Government, in the Adminiſtration of Law and Juſtice. He was a bitter Enemy to all *Deſerters*; a zealous Aſſerter of the Laws, and he purged the Land from all *foreign Abominations*.

CHAP. III.

Ptolemais *deliver'd up to* Alexander *(call'd* Ballez) *out of an Averſion to* Demetrius; *who upon the News of this Seiſure, draws his Troops together to give him Battle.*

Alexander *the Son of* Antiochus *ſeizes* Ptolemais *in* Syria. *The Soldiers hatred to* Demetrius.

Upon Alexander's *taking* Ptolemais, Demetrius *marches againſt him with an Army.*

IN the Year one hundred and ſixty, *Alexander*, the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, took Poſſeſſion of *Ptolemais* in *Syria*, by the Confederacy of the Soldiers that were there in Garriſon, out of an Averſion they had to *Demetrius*, as a Man over proud and haughty; for he had a Humour of mewing himſelf up in a certain fortify'd Caſtle that he had, not far from *Antioch*, where no Body was admitted to come at him; but there he dron'd away his Time, and left the Government to ſhift for it ſelf; which ſtirr'd up a great many Male-Contents againſt him, as we have ſaid elſewhere. But now upon the News of *Alexander*'s poſſeſſing himſelf of *Ptolemais*, he preſently drew his Troops together, and march'd with an Army againſt him.

CHAP. IV.

An Alliance betwixt Demetrius *and* Jonathan. *The Articles of the Treaty.* Jonathan *puts* Jeruſalem *into a State of Defence. The* Macedonians *remove to* Antioch; *but the revolted* Jews *in* Bethſura, *and the Tower of* Jeruſalem, *keep to their ſtrong Holds.*

Demetrius *writes to* Jonathan, *and propounds an* Alliance *with him.* 1 Mac. 10. *The Conditions of the Treaty.* Jonathan *reads the Letter publickly at* Jeruſalem, *to both Soldiers and People.*

DEmetrius, upon this Occaſion, ſent an Embaſſy to *Jonathan*, with Propoſals of a League and Alliance betwixt them; and this he did, to prevent *Alexander* in the Propoſal, for Fear he might otherwiſe pre-engage him, though but in Revenge for Injuries and Indignities formerly receiv'd. The Purport of the Meſſage was, in Short, an Authority to levy Men; to provide Arms, and to ſet the Hoſtages at Liberty, that *Bacchides* had committed Priſoners to the Caſtle. Upon the Receipt of this Letter from *Demetrius*, *Jonathan* went away preſently to *Jeruſalem*, where he read it publickly, in the Hearing both of the Garriſon, and of the People. The

Profligates and *Fugitives* in the Citadel were extremely ſtartled to ſee *Jonathan* all on a Sudden ſo much in Favour. But he went on however with his Levies, ſet the Hoſtages at Liberty, and remanded them ſafe back again to their own Parents. He made *Jeruſalem*, for the Preſent, the Place of his Reſidence; where he fortify'd, alter'd and repair'd at Pleaſure; rebuilding and ſtrength'ning the Walls with ſquare Stones of a mighty Bigneſs for the better Defence of the Place. Now the *Macedonians* that were diſperſed up and down in ſeveral Garriſons, quitted their Stations upon this Change at *Jeruſalem*, and went away to *Antioch*; but for thoſe that were in *Bethſura* and the *Tower* at *Jeruſalem*, the greater Part of them being *Jewiſh Deſerters*, it was not ſafe for them to ſtir out of their Holds.

He takes up his Reſidence in Jeruſalem; *where he fortifies, repairs and rebuilds, at Pleaſure.*

The Jewiſh Deſerters *in* Bethſura *keep themſelves in their Garriſons.*

CHAP. V.

Alexander Ballez *endeavours to make* Jonathan *his Friend*; *creates him* High-Prieſt *and Succeſſor to his Brother* Judas; *preſents, and adopts him into his Family*; *obliges the* Jews. *A bloody Battel betwixt* Alexander *and* Demetrius. *The Death of* Demetrius *by the Fall of his Horſe.*

ALEXANDER was no Stranger to the Character of *Jonathan*, or to the Hiſtory of his Courage and Exploits; particularly againſt the *Macedonians*; nor to the Indignities that had been put upon him, both by *Demetrius* and *Bacchides*; ſo that being told of the fair Promiſes and Pretenſions of *Demetrius*, he diſcours'd the Matter with his Friends, and brought it to this Point, that he could not at that Time do better than to enter into an *Aſſociation*, and *Allyance* with *Jonathan*; a Perſon of eminent Valour, and a mortal Enemy to *Demetrius*, and lying under the higheſt Provocations of old Grudges and Wrongs imaginable. Wherefore, ſaid he, this ſeems to me the critical Minute of an Opportunity for the making of this Man my Friend; but pray let me have your Opinion along with me. His Council were all of the ſame Mind, and a Letter immediately diſpatch'd away upon that Subject in the Terms following.

King *Alexander* to his Brother *Jonathan*, ſendeth *Greeting*.

Whereas we have been long ſince given to underſtand that thou art a Man of Honour, Faith and Courage, and in all Reſpects worthy of our Friendſhip, we have now ſent our Ambaſſadors to make thee a Tender of our Amity, and Alliance, and to treat in our Name about it; and we do by theſe Preſents, and by our royal Authority ordain and pronounce thee to be the High-Prieſt *of the* Jews, *and adopt thee into the Roll of the* King's Friends; *ſending thee for a Preſent likewiſe, a* Purple Robe, *and a* Crown of Gold; *not doubting but that our Affection and Eſteem will be anſwered on thy Part with a ſuitable Return.*

Alexander's *Letter to* Jonathan.

Jonathan *advanced to the* High-Prieſthood; *adopted, and preſented.*

Jonathan, immediately upon the coming of this Meſſage to his Hand, put on his *ſacerdotal Robe* upon the Day of the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*. This was four Years after the Death of his Brother *Judas*; the *pontifical Seat* having been ſo long Vacant: And from thence forward he apply'd himſelf to the advancing of Troops, and making a large Proviſion of Arms. *Demetrius* was by this Time ſenſible of the Error of his Delay, in ſlipping the Opportunity of being beforehand with his Competitor for an Allyance with *Jonathan*. But this Anticipation of *Alexander*'s did not yet hinder him from carrying it as far as it would go, in this following Letter.

Jonathan *enters upon the* Pontificate, *after a Vacancy of four Years.*

King *Demetrius* to *Jonathan*, and to the People of the *Jews*, *Greeting*.

Whereas we have hitherto ever found you true and faithful to your Duty, and to our Service, in Deſpite of all the Arts and Practices of our Enemies to ſeduce you from your Allegiance, we cannot but give you ſome Inſtance of the Eſteem we have for your unſhaken Fidelity, in Times paſt; and likewiſe of our princely Diſpoſition to give you all Encouragement to a Perſeverance in the ſame Conſtancy for the Time to come. It is our Pleaſure therefore, to remit upon you the greateſt Part of your Tributes; *and by theſe Preſents to eaſe you of all the* Taxes *that you formerly paid to my* Predeceſſors; *or to* my ſelf; *over and above the Cuſtom of* Salt, *and* Crown-Taxes; *the thirds of your* Corn, *and of your Fruits; which Duties I do diſcharge you of for ever, together with the* Poll Tax *upon the Inhabitants of* Judæa, *and the three Governments of* Samaria, Galilee, *and* Peræa. *I will have the City of* Jeruſalem *to be accounted* Holy, *and to have the Privileges of a* Sanctuary, *or a* City of Refuge, *with an*

A moſt magnificent Grant to Jonathan *and the* People.
1 Mac. 10.

An Abatement of Taxes.

The Citadel *to be garriſon'd by the* Jews.

Priſoners to be ſet at Liberty, and their Sabbaths *and* Feſtivals *to be obſerv'd.*

30000 *of them taken into* Pay.

Others admitted into the royal Family.

A free Exerciſe of Laws *and* Religion.

Allowances towards the Charge of Sacrifices.

The Temple *made a Place of* Refuge.

The Temple *and* Walls *to be repair'd and fortify'd at* Demetrius*'s Charge.*

an Exemption both to its ſelf, and its Dependencies, from all Tenths *and* Tributes. *The* Citadel *ſhall be deliver'd up to the* High-Prieſt Jonathan, *with Liberty to put into it, for a Garriſon, ſuch of his Friends and Confidents as he ſhall make Choice of. It is our farther Pleaſure likewiſe, that all the* Jews *that were carried away* Priſoners *into any Part of our Dominions, be forthwith ſet at Liberty, without impoſing any Hardſhips, after this Decree, ſo much as upon their Cattle, either by Preſs-Maſters, or otherwiſe. That all their* Sabbaths, *and* ſolemn Feſtivals, *and* three Days before them, *ſhall be Days of Immunity and Freedom to all the* Jews *in our Dominions; and that they may live quietly, without any Sort of Moleſtation. And for ſo many of the* Jews *within the Compaſs of* thirty thouſand Men, *as ſhall deſire to bear* Arms *in* our Service, *they ſhall be entertained at the ſame Rate of Pay with our own* Guards; *and inſtructed alſo in our Garriſons, and about our Perſon; and the better Sort of them ſhall be received as the* Domeſticks *of our* royal Family. *They ſhall moreover have the free Exerciſe of* their own Laws, *both in* Jeruſalem, *and in the* three dependent Provinces; *committing it to the* High-Prieſt's *Care, to ſee that no* Jew *be ſuffer'd to* worſhip *in any* other Temple, *but that of* Jeruſalem. *We do hereby grant them likewiſe the yearly Allowance of* ſifteen thouſand Shekels of Silver *toward the Charge of their* Sacrifices *out of our own Coffers, and diſcharging the Prieſts and Officers attending the Service of the Temple, of the* ten thouſand Drachma's *that were formerly paid to our Predeceſſors, as in Reaſon and Conſcience we ought to do. It is our farther Will alſo, that whoever ſhall fly to the Temple of* Jeruſalem, *or to the Liberties thereof, for any Debt whatſoever, whether to the King or otherwiſe, he ſhall be protected, both in his Perſon and Goods, from any Trouble or Moleſtation. We do likewiſe give Leave, and require, that the Temple be repair'd, ſtrong Walls and Turrets erected, and Garriſons to be put into ſuch Places of Strength as the* Jews *ſhall think fit to raiſe, and fortify: And all this to be done at our own proper Charge.* Theſe were the gracious Promiſes of *Demetrius*, who wrote to the *Jews accordingly*.

A Battel betwixt Alexander *and* Demetrius.

The unfortunate Death of Demetrius.

Upon this Juncture of Time King *Alexander* drew out a mighty Army, partly of his own Mercenaries, and partly of thoſe that went over to him from *Demetrius* in *Syria*, and marched with them againſt the Enemy. They brought it to a Battel, and the left Wing of *Demetrius* being too hard for the right Wing of *Alexander*, they purſu'd their Advantage ſo far, that they got the Pillage of the Camp, but the right Wing at the ſame Time, where the King himſelf fought in Perſon, was forc'd to give Way, and fell preſently into a direct Rout. *Demetrius* behaving himſelf to a Miracle all this while; killing ſome; purſuing others, and defending himſelf, till at laſt his Horſe plunging into an impaſſible Bogg, he was overborn by the Multitudes that preſs'd in upon him, and conſequently loſt, beyond all Hope or Poſſibility of Relief. He fought it out however, on Foot, to the laſt Extremity, till his Body was cover'd all over with Arrows and Darts. *Demetrius* had now reigned eleven Years, and this was his End, as we have ſet it forth elſewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Onias *propoſes a Temple in* Ægypt *like that of* Jeruſalem. *This ſtarts a Queſtion betwixt the* Jews *and* Samaritans, which is the true Temple, Garizin *or* Jeruſalem. *The Matter is referr'd to the King and the Party that ſhall be caſt, to ſuffer Death. The King gives it for* Jeruſalem.

The Petition of Onias *to* Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra.

ONias, the Son of *Onias* the High-Prieſt, liv'd in a Kind of Exile from his own Country, with *Ptolemy Philometor*, at *Alexandria*, as we have ſaid heretofore: This ſame *Onias*, finding *Judæa* ſo terribly ravag'd by the *Macedonians* and their Kings; and out of an Ambition to get himſelf immortal Fame, reſolv'd to try if he could obtain Leave from King *Ptolemy*, and his Queen *Cleopatra*, to build another Temple in *Ægypt*, after the Project and *Model* of that of *Jeruſalem*, and ſo to ſupply it with *Prieſts* and *Levites* of his own Family. The Thing that put this Thought in his Head, was a Prediction of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, of at leaſt ſix hundred Years before: Preſaging that in Time to come there ſhould be a Temple erected in *Ægypt*, to the Honour of the great God, and that it ſhould be the Work of a *Jew*. *Onias* was ſo poſſeſſed with the Impulſe of this Revelation, that he wrote a Letter to *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, to this following Effect. *At the Time when I had the Honour to ſerve your Majeſties in the Field, I paſſed thorough ſeveral Countries, and obſerved, that in the Provinces of* Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, *and* Leontopolis, *in the Land of* Heliopolis, *and in ſeveral other Places, the* Jews *had no Uniformity in their Temples, and therefore could not agree among themſelves about it: And it is the ſame Thing with the* Ægyptians *too, by Reaſon of the Multitude and Variety of Temples, and the Diverſity of Religions. Now for ſo much as I have found out a certain Place near the Caſtle of* Bubaſtes *upon the Plain,* *where there are great Store of Materials for Building, near at Hand, and Plenty of Beaſts appointed for Sacrifice, it is my humble Requeſt, that you will give me Leave to purge and to demoliſh a ruinous Temple there, that was never conſecrated to any Deity; and in the Place of it to erect another, after the Model of that of* Jeruſalem, *with a Dedication of it,* [To the moſt high God] *upon Condition, that Prayers be there offer'd up for the Safety and Proſperity of your royal Perſons and Family: To the End that all the* Jews *in your Dominions may by this Means, be more united among themſelves, and better enabled to do your Majeſty's Service. This is no more than what the Prophet* Iſaiah *had foretold; that God would have a holy Place in* Ægypt, *and ſeveral other Things upon that Subject.*

Onias *begs leave to build a* Temple *in* Ægypt *after the Model of that of* Jeruſalem.

Grounding his Petition upon the Propheſy of Iſaiah.

It was very remarkable, the Piety that the King and his Queen *Cleopatra* (his Wife and Siſter both in one) expreſſed upon the Receipt of this Letter, as will appear by their Anſwer thereunto, wherein they diſcharged themſelves of having any Hand in the impious Violation of the *Law*; and caſt the whole Blame of it upon *Onias* in theſe Terms.

King *Ptolemy* and Queen *Cleopatra* to *Onias*, Joy and Health.

We have read and conſider'd of your Letters of Requeſt, wherein you deſire to cleanſe and purify an old ruinous Temple at Leontopolis *near* Bubaſtes *upon the* Plain, *within the Juriſdiction of* Heliopolis, *and can hardly conceive how a* Temple *in a Place ſo unclean, and haunted with ſuch Varieties of deteſtable Animals, ſhould be in any Meaſure acceptable to God. But yet for ſo much as you refer your ſelf for your Juſtification, to the Predictions of the Prophet* Iſaiah, *we do hereby grant unto you full Licenſe and Permiſſion, ſo far as in us lies ſo to do; provided it be done without giving Offence to God in the Breach of his Laws.*

The King and Queen grants his Requeſt.

Onias had no ſooner obtained this Conceſſion of the Place, but he fell preſently to Work upon the raiſing of the *Temple*, and the *Altar*, according to the Draught of that at *Jeruſalem*, though much ſhort of it, both for Bulk and State. As to the *Dimenſions* of the Fabrick, and the *holy Veſſels* thereunto belonging, having ſpoken ſufficiently of it in my *ſeventh Book* of the Hiſtory and Captivity of the *Jews*, a Repetition of it in this Place would be needleſs. This being done, *Onias* did not want *Prieſts* and *Levites* of his own Fancy and Perſuaſion to aſſiſt him in the Offices of divine Worſhip, and in the Services of the Temple: To ſay no more of it in this Place.

Onias *falls to Work immediately upon the* Temple,

and employs Prieſts *and* Levites *in it of his own Fancy.*

There happened at *Alexandria*, ſo fierce and ſo ſeditious a Diſpute, betwixt the *Jews* and the *Samaritans*, that erected the Temple at *Garizin*, in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, about the *Temple* it ſelf, and the *Manner* of *worſhipping*, that the King was forced, upon an Appeal, to take the Matter into his own Cognizance, and ſo to paſs Judgment upon the Merits of the Cauſe. The Point was this. The *Jews* inſiſted upon it that the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem* was the *only Temple extant* that was warranted and authoriz'd by the Laws of *Moſes*. The *Samaritans* ſtood up for the *Temple* of *Garizin*; and both Parties by Conſent remitted themſelves to the Judgment and Arbitration of the *King*, with his Miniſters and Friends; deſiring only that Counſel might be heard on both Sides, and that Sentence of Death might paſs upon the Party that ſhould be found Guilty. *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* were for the *Samaritans*, and *Andronicus* the Son of *Meſſalan*, for the *Jews*: Binding themſelves in an *Oath* on both Sides, in the Preſence of God and the King, to offer nothing in Proof, but what was according to the Law; and deſiring that the Breach of that Oath might be made Death to the Violator of it. The *King* called his *Friends* and Counſellors about him to try the Cauſe. The *Jews* of *Alexandria* were mightily troubled, for Fear of their Advocate, and took it extremely to Heart, to find the ſacred Authority of the *Temple* at *Jeruſalem*, the moſt ancient and noble Frame and Inſtitution in the whole World, brought into Queſtion. Upon a Debate who ſhould ſpeak firſt, *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* gave the Precedence to *Andronicus*; who opened the Cauſe, and made a Deduction of the Sanctity, Practice and venerable Antiquity of the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem*, even from the very Original, according to the Law; ſetting forth the *uninterrupted* Succeſſion of the *Prieſthood* thorough all Ages, with the Honour and Majeſty of the Place, as it was celebrated from Time to Time, with the Magnificence and Bounty of all the Kings of *Aſia*: Whereas the *Temple* of *Garizin*, then in Queſtion, was ſo obſcure in all Reſpects, that little more Notice was taken of it than if there had been no ſuch Thing. With theſe and the like Reaſonings, the King was prevail'd upon to give Sentence in Favour of *Jeruſalem*, and to adjudge *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* to Death, according to the Conditions of the Propoſal. This was the State of Affairs with the *Alexandrian Jews* in the Days of *Ptolemy Philometor*.

A Quarrel at Alexandria, *betwixt the* Jews *and* Samaritans, *about their* Temple *and* Worſhip.

The Jews *ſtand up for* Jeruſalem; *the* other *for* Garizin.

They refer the Judgment to the King, and Counſel to be heard on both Sides.

Sabbæus *and* Theodoſius *for the* Samaritans; *and* Andronicus, *for the* Jews: *And the guilty to ſuffer Death.*

The King gives it for Jeruſalem, *and* Sabbæus *and* Theodoſius *condemn'd to abide the Penalty.*

CHAP. VII.

After the Death of Demetrius, Alexander *marries* Cleopatra *the King of Ægypt's Daughter, and does all Things highly to the Honour of* Jonathan.

1 *Mac.* 11.

AFTER the Death of *Demetrius*, (as we have ſaid already) *Alexander* took upon himſelf the Government of *Syria*; and by a Letter to *Ptolemy Philometor*, ſent him a Propoſal of a Match with his Daughter, ſuggeſting by the Bye, that it would be no diſhonourable or unreaſonable Thing, after the Overthrow of *Demetrius*, and through God's Favour, the Recovery of a Kingdom that belonged to him in the Right of his Father, to receive him into his Alliance. *Ptolemy* was ſo well pleaſed with this Overture, that he immediately wrote him a Letter back again to joy him of all his Victories and Succeſſes, and likewiſe to promiſe him his Daughter in Marriage, appointing *Ptolemais* for the Place of Meeting; where he would wait upon him with his Daughter *Cleopatra*, and there conſummate the *Wedding*. *Ptolemy* ſtaid not long after his own Letter, but went directly to the Place with his Daughter, where he found *Alexander*, and diſpatch'd the Marriage, with ſuch a Treaſure of Gold and Silver for her Portion as might become the Magnificence of ſo great a Prince. *Jonathan* the *High-Prieſt* was invited by *Alexander* to the Wedding, where both the Kings bad him Welcome, with great Honour and Preſents on both Sides; *Alexander* appointing him to change his Habit, and put on a purple Robe, and to take his Place next to himſelf upon the Throne; commanding alſo the Chief of the Officers to attend him into the Heart of the City, and to make publick Proclamation, that no Man ſhould preſume, upon his uttermoſt Peril, either to calumniate or accuſe him, or otherwiſe to give him any Manner of Trouble. Upon this gracious Demonſtration of Eſteem the King had for him, his malicious Enemies that were come thither on Purpoſe to do him ill Offices by defaming him, ſneak'd out of the Way for Fear the Miſchief they meant him, ſhould fall upon their own Heads. So particular, in Fine, was the Kindneſs and Reſpect that *Alexander* had for *Jonathan*, that he reckon'd him among the choiceſt of his Friends.

Alexander *marries* Cleopatra *the Daughter of* Ptolemy, *at* Ptolemais.

Great Honour done to Jonathan *the* High Prieſt; *and a Proclamation publiſh'd in his Favour.*

CHAP. VIII.

Demetrius Nicanor *carries an Army into* Cilicia. Alexander *makes* Apollonius *his General.* Jonathan *the* High-Prieſt *gives him an Overthrow; takes* Azotus, *and ſets Fire to the* Temple *of* Dagon. Alexander *pretends to blame* Apollonius *for it, and complements* Jonathan. Ptolemy *marches to* Alexander's *Relief. A Plot upon the Life of* Ptolemy; *who thereupon takes his Daughter from* Alexander, *and gives her to* Demetrius, *who is received by the* Antiochians *for their King.* Ptolemy *and* Demetrius *give* Alexander *an Overthrow.* Ptolemy *dangerouſly wounded.* Alexander's *Head ſent him for a Preſent.* Jonathan *lays Siege to the Tower of* Jeruſalem. *He preſents* Demetrius, *and obtains large Privileges of him for the* Jews. Demetrius *diſcharges his Army without Pay, and they fall off from him.*

Demetrius *the Son of* Demetrius *with a powerful Army, falls into* Cilicia. 1 Mac. 11.

IN the Year one hundred and ſixty five, *Demetrius* the Son of *Demetrius*, embark'd himſelf with a Body of Mercenaries that *Laſthenes* had brought him, and paſs'd with them out of *Crete* into *Cilicia*. *Alexander* was not a little ſtartled at the Tydings of this Expedition; ſo that he preſently haſten'd away from *Phœnicia* to *Antioch*, to put his Affairs in a Poſture of Security before *Demetrius* could get thither; committing the Government of *Cœle-Syria*, in the mean Time, to the Care of *Apollonius*, who march'd with an Army to *Jamnia*, and thence ſent *Jonathan* the *High-Prieſt* a ſchooling and expoſtulatory Meſſage, to know *what Privilege he had to live at Eaſe and Liberty, and to withdraw himſelf from the Service of the Publick: And the Scandal,* ſays he, *is laid at my Door for ſuffering this Affront without reducing you to your Duty. If you are ſo brave as you would be thought to be, come down for Shame out of your Hiding-Holes in the Mountains, and meet me like a Man in the* plain Field, *with your Sword in your Hand, and caſt the Iſſue of the Cauſe upon that Tryal. This let me tell you, by the Way, that I am now in the Head of a Body of the choiceſt Men in the Empire, and Men that in Feats of Arms have ever had the Aſcendant of your Anceſtors. Wherefore I dare you once again to give me a Meeting in ſome indifferent Place, where Swords, and Stones, ſhall decide the Controverſy, and leave the vanquiſh'd Party no Poſſibility of ſaving themſelves by Flight.*

Apollonius *the Governour of* Syria *ſends* Jonathan *a contemptuous Challenge.*

Jonathan *and his* Brother Simon *with* 10000 *choice Men advance to* Joppa. *The Inhabitants delivered it up,*

Jonathan was ſo nettled with the Inſolence of this Challenge, that he marched away out of *Jeruſalem* with a ſelect Band of ten thouſand pick'd Men, and his Brother *Simon* along with him; and coming up to *Joppa*, he encamped there: But *Apollonius* having a Garriſon in the Town, they ſhut their Gates againſt him: So that *Jonathan* put himſelf in a Poſture for an Aſſault; whereupon the Inhabitans, for Fear of a Storm, deliver'd up the Place. So ſoon as *Apollonius* underſtood that *Jonathan* was poſſeſs'd of *Joppa*, he betook himſelf with *three thouſand Horſe* and *eight thouſand Foot*, to *Azotus*, and thence by eaſy Marches to *Joppa*; where he drew off a little to engage *Jonathan* in the open Plain; depending upon his Odds of Horſe to over-power him. *Jonathan*, upon this, advanc'd and follow'd *Apollonius* towards *Azotus*; who, when he found the Enemy in a plain Field, turn'd back upon him, and gave him Battel. *Apollonius* had planted a *thouſand Horſe* in an *Ambuſh* near a Brook, there, to fall upon the Enemy's *Rear*, which *Jonathan* was well aware of, and without any Difficulty provided againſt it; for caſting his Men into a ſquare Figure that fronted every Way, they were ready on all Hands to receive the Charge, Front, Flank, and Rear. They fought it out till toward Evening, when *Jonathan* order'd his Brother *Simon* with Part of his Army to take his Time, and charge in upon the Enemy's Body; having given Orders to his own Men only to receive the Darts and Arrows of the Horſe upon their Bucklers, without any other Reſiſtance. They kept themſelves upon their Guard, till the Enemy had ſpent all their offenſive Arms without doing any Execution; for they ſtood ſo thick and cloſe, that their Darts fell all upon their Bucklers, and there was no piercing them thorough. The Enemy was ſo ſpent, and tir'd out, with this Way of Fighting, to no Purpoſe, from Morning till the Afternoon, that *Simon* took that Opportunity of attacking their main Body; and was ſo bravely ſeconded by his Soldiers, that he brake and put them to Flight. The Horſe, upon this Rout, betwixt the Fatigue of the Day, and the hopeleſs Condition of the Army, now the Foot were broken, fled and diſperſed themſelves in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable: *Jonathan* following them upon the Heel as far as *Azotus*, killing great Numbers of them upon the Chace, and forcing the reſt into the Temple of *Dagon* there, for Sanctuary; but he took the City in the ſame Heat, ſet Fire to it, and to ſeveral neighbouring Villages; and burnt them all to the Ground, together with the *Temple* of *Dagon* it ſelf, and all the People that fled to it for Protection, without any Regard to the Religion of the *Idol* or of the Place. The Number of thoſe that were either burnt, or fell by the Sword, was computed to be a Matter of eight thouſand Men. After the Defeat of this Army, *Jonathan* advanced with his Troops to *Askalon*, and pitch'd his Tents before the City; the Inhabitants coming out to him, and treating him with Preſents and other Tokens of Hoſpitality and Reſpect; which was all taken very kindly, and as an Inſtance of their good Will and Affection to him. After this, he returned to *Jeruſalem*, laden with Booty and victorious. Upon this Defeat of *Apollonius*, *Alexander* pretended to be wonderfully pleaſed at the Miſcarriage, as a Thing utterly againſt his Liking, and without his Privity, and a moſt barbarous Practice upon a Friend and Ally: So that as a Mark of the Honour and Eſteem he had for him, he ſent him a golden Claſp or Buckle for a Preſent, an Honour peculiar only to the royal Family; and he gave him alſo the Government of *Accaron*.

Jonathan *gives* Apollonius *Battle;*

Routs and purſues him to Azotus, *putting Fire to the City and the Temple of* Dagon, *and other Places thereabouts.*

Alexander *pretends a Deteſtation of* Apollonius *for what he had done; joys* Jonathan *of his Victory, and treas him with Preſents.*

Ptolemy *paſſes into* Syria *to joyn* Alexander.

It happen'd at the ſame Time, that *Ptolemy Philometor*, with both Land and Sea-Forces, came into *Syria*, to the Aſſiſtance of his Son in Law *Alexander*; where he was received in all Places with great Honour and Reſpect according to the King's Order, ſave only in *Azotus:* And there he was entertained with nothing but lamentable Stories and Complaints of the burning of *Dagon*'s *Temple*; and all People's Mouths were open againſt *Jonathan*, as the Author of that Outrage; beſide the Havock he had made in the Country by Fire and Sword, and the Deſtruction of a great many of their People. *Ptolemy* gave only the Hearing to theſe Complaints, and that was all. *Jonathan* met him at *Joppa*, and was received with all Magnificence and Honour, and after conducting the King to the River *Eleutherus*, he returned to *Jeruſalem*.

Jonathan *meets him at* Joppa, *and is honourably receiv'd.*

Alexander *and* Ammonius *contrive the Death of* Ptolemy.

The infamous End of Ammonius.

Upon *Ptolemy*'s coming to the City of *Ptolemais*, he was within a very little of being deſtroy'd by the Treachery of *Alexander*, which was manag'd by his Friend *Ammonius*. This Practice being diſcover'd, he wrote to *Alexander* to demand Juſtice upon him, according to his Deſert; but *Alexander*'s Refuſing to deliver him up, gave him to underſtand that he himſelf had a Hand in it; upon which Preſumption, he he contracted a mortal Hatred againſt him; and he had loſt himſelf as much with the People of *Antioch* before, upon the Account of the ſame *Ammonius*, who had done them many Indignities; but he came at laſt to an infamous End, for he loſt his Life in the Habit of a Woman, as he was ſneaking away to ſhift for himſelf under that Diſguiſe; as we have ſhew'd in another Place.

Ptolemy *calls a-way his Daughter from* Alexander, *and marries her to* Demetrius.

Ptolemy was by this Time ſo ſick of the Relation he had to *Alexander*, and to think of the Aſſiſtance he had brought him againſt *Demetrius*, that he preſently took away his Daughter from her Husband, and ſtruck up a League with *Demetrius* againſt *Alexander*, upon Condition of giving him *Cleopatra* in *Marriage*, and putting him in Poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom; who, on the other Hand was well enough pleaſed with the Terms, both of the Alliance and of the Woman. But the People had ſuch an Averſion to *Demetrius* upon his Father's Account, that *Ptolemy* had a hard Taſk of it to bring them over to receive that Man for their King, whom they look'd upon as their Enemy. Yet ſuch was their Hatred however to *Alexander* upon the Score of *Ammonius*, and to *Ammonius* himſelf alſo for his own ſake, that they were eaſily prevail'd upon to diſcharge the City of *Ammonius*; who thereupon ſlipt away into *Cilicia* from *Antioch*. *Ptolemy*, upon this, made his Entrance into the Place; where he was ſaluted, proclaimed, and crowned *King* in two Capacities, both by the *Burghers*, and the Soldiery: That is to ſay; in the Right of *Aſia*, and of *Ægypt*.

Ptolemy *proclaimed King of* Aſia, *and of Æ*gypt.

But being a Perſon naturally juſt, temperate, and diſcreet he manag'd his Buſineſs to the entire Satisfaction of his own People; and likewiſe without giving any Cauſe of Jealouſy or Envy to the *Romans*: So that he forthwith called a general Council of the *Antiochians*, entertaining them with a Diſcourſe upon the Subject of receiving *Demetrius* for their *King*; with large Aſſurances on that Prince's Parr, that the Senſe of the preſent Obligation would utterly extinguiſh the Memory of all Unkindneſs, and Miſunderſtandings gone and paſt: Beſide that I my ſelf, ſays he, will take care that in the Adminiſtration of the Government, he ſhall not ſo much as offer at any Thing unworthy of his royal Dignity and Truſt. As for my own Part, the Kingdom of *Ægypt* ſhall content me abundantly. Upon this Mediation, the whole Body of the People was prevail'd upon to take *Demetrius* for their King.

He relinquiſhes Aſia; *and* Antioch *receives* Demetrius *for their King.*

Alexander *ravages* Syria *with a vaſt Army.*

Ptolemy *and* Demetrius *fall upon him, and defeat him.*

Ptolemy *in Danger of his Life by a Fall from his Horſe.*

Alexander was at this Time ravaging *Syria*, and the Country about *Antioch*, putting all Things to the Extremities of Fire and Sword, with a mighty Army that he brought out of *Cilicia*; when *Ptolemy*, with his Son in Law *Demetrius* (the Nuptials being now over) encounter'd and routed him; forcing him to fly to *Arabia*. It happen'd in that Battel that *Ptolemy*'s Horſe, upon a Fright taken at the braying of an Elephant, caſt his Rider, and gave his Enemies the Advantage of giving him many grievous Wounds upon the Head, while he was down: Which Misfortune would certainly have coſt him his Life upon the Place, if he had not been reſcued at preſent by a Party of his Guards; but ſuch was his Condition however, that he lay ſpeechleſs for four Days, without ſpeaking one Word himſelf, or underſtanding any Thing that was ſaid to him. Upon the fifth Day, when he was coming a little to himſelf, one *Zabelus*, an *Arabian* Prince, having cut off *Alexander*'s Head, ſent it to *Ptolemy*, who was wonderfully pleaſed both with the Report of the Action, and with the *Spectacle* it ſelf. But when he had entertained his Paſſion a while, with the Sight and Thought of a *dead Enemy*, he quickly put an End to that Satisfaction, by *Dying himſelf*. This *Alexander*, was otherwiſe called [a] *Balles*. He reigned about five Years, as we have noted elſewhere. *Demetrius*, who was known alſo by the Name of *Nicanor*, ſucceeded *Alexander*, a Man of a harſh Nature, as appear'd by his barbarous Uſage of *Ptolemy*'s Soldiers, without any Regard to the Obligations and Services he had received from them, upon the Credit of an Affinity with *Cleopatra*. The Soldiers had ſuch an Indignation for this ungrateful Way of Proceeding, that they quitted him themſelves, and went away to *Alexandria*, leaving only the Elephants behind them.

Alexander's *Head cut off, and preſented to* Ptolemy.

The Death of Ptolemy.

The Ingratitude of Demetrius *the Succeſſor of* Alexander.

Jonathan *lays Siege to the Citadel of* Jeruſalem.

Jonathan the *High-Prieſt*, having at this Time drawn together all the Force he was able to raiſe out of *Judæa*, ſet himſelf down before the Citadel of *Jeruſalem*, with a Reſolution to diſlodge the *Macedonian Garriſon*, and the *Fugitive Jews* that had taken Sanctuary there. They were ſo bold and confident, in the Strength of the Place, that they bad *Jonathan*, at firſt, a moſt contemptuous Defiance; but after a while they were glad to ſend ſome of their wicked Inſtruments by ſtealth out of the Town to *Demetrius* for Succour. This Intelligence put him into ſuch a Chaſe, that he immediately march'd out with his Army from *Antioch* toward *Jonathan*; and upon his Arrival at *Ptolemais*, he ſent for him by a Lettter to come to him. *Jonathan*, upon this Invitation, took with him ſeveral rich Gratifications in Gold, Silver, glorious Garments, and other pretious Curioſities, and attended with the *Prieſts*, and *Elders*, made a Compliment of them to *Demetrius*; the Siege going forward all this while, nevertheleſs. The King's Heart was ſo ſoften'd by this generous Way of Reſpect, that he receiv'd both the Preſents and the Preſenters with great Honour, confirm'd and continued *Jonathan* in the *Pontificate* conferr'd upon him by his Anceſtor; and was upon the main, ſo far from giving any Credit to the Calumny and Suggeſtions of

Demetrius *marches toward* Jonathan, *and ſends for him upon the Way to* Ptolemais; *where* Jonathan *ſweetens him with Civilities and Preſents.*

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[a] *Iſ. Voſſius* ſays, it ſhould be read *Balas* according to the beſt Copies of *Joſephus*; and not *Balles* or *Velas*, as others have it.

the Rabble of the *fugitive Jews* againſt their Countrymen; that, upon *Jonathan*'s ſingle Requeſt for an Abatement of the *Tribute* of *Judæa*, together with the Dependencies of *Samaria*, *Joppa*, and *Galilee*, to the Rate of only *three hundred Talents* upon the Whole, he cauſed this following Declaration to be diſpatch'd away upon the firſt Word, in their Favour.

King *Demetrius* to his Brother *Jonathan*, and to the whole *Jewiſh Nation*, Joy, and *Greeting*.

This is to let you underſtand that we have here ſent you the Copy of a Letter lately written to Laſthenes, *our truſty and well-beloved Couſin.*

King *Demetrius* to his Father *Laſthenes*, Greeting.

Demetrius *to* Laſthenes *in Favour of* Jonathan *and the* Jews.

We are ſo ſenſible of the dutiful and affectionate Return we have from Time to Time received from our Friends the Jews, *in Acknowledgment of the Good-Will we bear them, that it is our good Pleaſure to give them ſome ſignal Mark of the Eſteem we have for them: Wherefore we do by theſe Preſents aſſign the three Governments of* Aphereima, Lydda, *and* Ramatha, *that were taken from the* Samaritans, *together with all the Land thereunto belonging, to the Uſe and Advantage of* Judæa; *diſcharging likewiſe the Prieſts at* Jeruſalem *of all the Duties by them formerly allow'd to our Forefathers, as well upon* Corn *and* Fruits, *as upon* Salt-Pits *and Crown-Taxes, with an expreſs Caution and Prohibition, that nothing of all this be exacted from them for the future. Be ſure to ſend the Copy of this Letter to* Jonathan, *and to have it hung up in the moſt conſpicuous Place of the holy Temple.* This was the Sum of the Declaration.

Demetrius *loſes the Hearts of his Army for Want of Pay.*

Matters were now brought into ſo quiet and peaceable a State, that *Demetrius* flattering himſelf into an Opinion, that there was no longer any Danger, diſcharges his Army without their full Pay; retaining only a Body of Mercenaries that he had gotten together in *Crete*, and other of the neighbouring Iſlands: So that diſmiſſing his Father's old Troops, without any Stipend, contrary to the Practice of his Anceſtors, who paid them as well in Peace as in War, and ſo kept them in Readineſs to ſerve upon any Occaſion, he quite loſt the Hearts of his own People.

CHAP. XV.

Tryphon *pretends to ſet* Antiochus *upon his Father's Throne.* Jonathan *plys the Siege of the Citadel, and ſends an Enforcement to* Demetrius *upon the Defection of his Army.* Demetrius *coop'd up in his Palace; but reliev'd and ſupported by* Jonathan. *The Ingratitude of* Demetrius. Tryphon *ſets up* Antiochus. Demetrius *defeated, and beaten back into* Cilicia. Jonathan, Antiochus *and* Tryphon *obtain a great Victory againſt* Demetrius. Gaza *renders upon Articles.* Demetrius *draws his Army to* Cedaſa. Jonathan *ſurpriz'd, and his Men leaving him, but* Mattathias *and* Judas *ſtood the Shock, and recover'd the Day.* Jonathan *renews a League with the* Romans *and* Lacedæmonians. *The three Sects of the* Phariſees, Sadducees, *and* Eſſæans. Simon *fortifies* Askalon *and* Joppa. *The two Brothers undertake for the fortifying of* Jeruſalem. Demetrius *routed by* Arſaces; *his Army deſtroy'd, and himſelf taken Priſoner.*

Tryphon *treats with* Malchus *for the advancing of* Antiochus *the Son of* Alexander *to the Throne,* Mac. i. 11.

THIS Defection of the Army from *Demetrius* was ſo notorious, that *Diodotus*, otherwiſe called *Tryphon*, a Native of *Apamia*, and formerly an Officer under *Alexander*, taking Notice of that mutinous Diſpoſition, apply'd himſelf to *Malchus* an *Arabian*, who was at that Time Governour of young *Antiochus*, the Son of *Alexander*; telling him how deſperately the Soldiers were bent againſt *Demetrius*, and propoſing that if *Malchus* would put *Antiochus* into his Hands, he made no Doubt of getting him reſtor'd to his *Father's Throne*. *Malchus* was at firſt a little diffident, and ſcrupulous; but by the Force of Prayers, and preſſing Inſtances, he was in a ſhort Time drawn over to a Compliance.

Jonathan *proſecutes the Siege of the Citadel.*

Jonathan the *High-Prieſt* layd cloſe Siege all this while to the Citadel at *Jeruſalem*, with a Reſolution to clear, not only *that Caſtle*, but other ſtrong *Holds* alſo in the Country, where the *fugitive Jews* ſhelter'd themſelves in *Garriſon*: So that he ſent an Embaſſy to *Demetrius* with more Preſents upon this Occaſion, deſiring him to withdraw all his Men that were in any of the Fortreſſes of *Judæa*; whoſe Anſwer was, that he was ready to gratify him, not only in that, but in a greater Matter, ſo ſoon as ever he

Jonathan ſends Demetrius 3000 choice Men upon the Revolt of his Army.

he could quit his Hands of the preſent War, which found him ſo much Work at that Time, that he was not at Liberty to do any Thing elſe; but adjuring *Jonathan* by all that was ſacred in Friendſhip, to ſend him a Supply of Men: For his own Troops, he ſaid, were gone over to the Enemy. *Jonathan* ſoon after this, ſent the King a Succour of *three thouſand choice Men.*

The People beſet Demetrius in his Palace. He charges the Enemy, and is beaten back. The Jews fight a while from the Battlements, and after that ſet Fire to the City. The Citizens fly, and the Jews ſtill upon the Back of them. Demetrius aſcribes his Victory to Jonathan's Succours. The Ingratitude of Demetrius, in threatening Jonathan with a War. Tryphon diverts it, by turning the War upon Demetrius, and crowning young Antiochus. Demetrius worſted, and driven back into Cilicia.

The People of *Antioch* were ſo enrag'd againſt *Demetrius*, both for his Father's Sake and his own, that they deſir'd nothing more than an Opportunity for a Revenge; wherefore, upon the News of this Relief from *Jonathan*, and conſidering the Hazzard of his growing ſtill ſtronger and ſtronger, if they were not before Hand with him, they betook themſelves to their Arms in a Hurry, and immediately begirt the *Palace* with ſuch a Countenance and Poſture, as if they were juſt ready to give the *Aſſault.* But their chief Buſineſs was rather to ſecure the *Avenues*, and ſeize him as he was coming out. *Demetrius* finding himſelf thus beſet, drew up his *foreign Mercenaries*, together with *Jonathan*'s *Auxiliaries*, and made a Charge upon the Enemy; but they were over-born by Numbers, and beaten back. The *Jews*, upon this Repulſe, retir'd into the *Palace*, where they mounted the Battlements; and from thence with Darts and Arrows ſo gall'd the Enemy, that they forced them from one Houſe to another, without much Danger to themſelves. The next Thing they did, was to fire the City; which, being for the greater Part wooden Buildings, and the Houſes ſtanding cloſe, was preſently all in a Flame. The Inhabitants, finding that the Fire was not to be maſter'd, ſhifted for themſelves as well as they could, with the *Jews* ſtill at the Back of them, from Houſe to Houſe, doing wonderful Execution upon them. This Rout put an End to their fighting; and all they had now to do, was to ſave their Wives and Children: But the *Jews*, all this while, made Advantage of their Confuſion; and falling upon them at every Turn according to the King's Order, they killed great Numbers of them upon the Purſuit, and forced the reſt to throw down their Arms, and deliver themſelves up at Mercy. This Victory put an End to the War; the Rebellion being pardon'd, and the Booty given to the *Jews*, whom *Demetrius* ſent back again to *Jonathan*, with a moſt honourable Teſtimony of their Valour, acknowledging that it was to their Courage he ſtood indebted for that Succeſs: But this grateful Humour did not laſt long; for he did afterward, not only break his Promiſe, but threaten *Jonathan* with a War, if he ſhould not for the future make good thoſe *Tributes* to *himſelf*, which the *Jews* had formerly paid to his *Predeceſſors.* And he had done as he ſaid too, if *Tryphon* had not diverted him, by forcing him to make Uſe of that Army againſt himſelf, which he had deſign'd againſt *Jonathan*; who being now return'd out of *Arabia* into *Syria*, with young *Antiochus*, ſet the Crown upon his Head, and by the Help of the Soldiers before ſpoken of, that had been couzen'd of their Pay, he made open War upon *Demetrius*; worſted him in a Set-Battle; made himſelf Maſter of his *Elephants*, and of the City of *Antioch*, and forc'd him back into *Cilicia.*

The generous Kindneſs of Antiochus to Jonathan. Jonathan offers his Service to Antiochus and Tryphon againſt Demetrius.

Antiochus, upon this Reſolution, ſent an Embaſſy to *Jonathan*, in the Style of his *Friend* and *Ally*; eſtabliſh'd him in the *Pontificat*; put him in Poſſeſſion of the *four Governments* that were aſſign'd to *Judæa*, and gave his Brother *Simon* the Command of all his Forces from *Tyre* to the Borders of *Sidon:* Preſenting *Jonathan* over and above, with ſeveral Drinking-Cups of Gold; purple Garments with a golden Buckle, and the Privilege of uſing and wearing theſe Enſigns of State; adopting him alſo into the Roll of his choiceſt Friends. *Jonathan* was ſo ſenſible of theſe multiply'd Bounties, and Marks of Honour he had received from *Antiochus*, that he forthwith diſpatch'd away an Expreſs to *Antiochus*, and *Tryphon*, both in one: With a moſt affectionate Tender of his Friendſhip and Service, with all Readineſs to join againſt *Demetrius* as a common Enemy; reflecting upon him alſo at the ſame Time as the moſt ungrateful of Men, in returning ſo much Evil for ſo much Good.

Jonathan raiſes Men, and makes an Intereſt for Antiochus. Gaza ſhuts the Gates againſt Jonathan.

No ſooner had *Jonathan* his Commiſſion for the raiſing of Men, but he preſently fell to work upon Levies in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; and from thence to all the neighbouring Towns and Cities; where he was receiv'd with great Honour in Appearance, but got no Soldiers among them. Upon his coming afterward to *Aſkalon*, the People entertain'd him with Formalities and Preſents: Where he took Occaſion to lay before them, (as he did at other Places in *Cœle-Syria)* how much it was their Intereſt, and their Duty, to take up Arms againſt *Demetrius*, for *Antiochus*, having ſo fair an Opportunity before them to reckon with him for old Scores. He wrought upon them ſo far by his Advice and Reaſoning, that they promiſed Supplies; but advancing afterward to *Gaza* upon the Deſign of the ſame good Office to *Antiochus*, he found, to his great Admiration, the *Gates* ſhut againſt him, and the People obſtinately reſolved to ſtick to *Demetrius.* *Jonathan* took this Affront ſo heinouſly, that he forthwith divided his Army upon it, aſſaulting the Town with one Part, while the other went ranging up and down to burn, and lay waſte the Country. The Inhabitants, after a ſhort Time, ſeeing nothing but inevitable Deſtruction before their Eyes; no Appearance of any Relief from *Demetrius*; nor, in Truth, ſo much as the Hopes of any at ſo remote a Diſtance, they came at laſt, upon laying Things together, to conſult their Neceſſities and Deſpairs, and upon ſecond Thoughts, made a ſeaſonable, and a ſubmiſſive Application to *Jonathan*, by their Deputies, who were as frankly received on the other Hand into his Intereſt and Frendſhip. It were better, if Men would govern themſelves by a Proſpect of the Reaſons and Conſequences of Things beforehand, and to do what they ought to do, willingly, before they came to be forced to't; but ſome People are altogether for the after Wit, that comes by woful Experience; not but that *bought Wit is better yet than none at all*, though they pay dear for't. *Jonathan*, in Fine, accepted of their Propoſals and Hoſtages, and ſo ſent them away to *Jeruſalem*, paſſing himſelf thorough the Country to *Damaſcus*.

Upon ſecond Thoughts, they court and embrace his Friendſhip.

Demetrius, in the mean while, had a ſtrong Army encamped before *Cedaſa* upon the Borders of *Tyre* and *Galilee*, with a Deſign to draw *Jonathan* out of *Syria* by Way of Diverſion, to the Aſſiſtance of *Galilee*, upon a Preſumption that he would look to his own Country in the firſt Place: But this did not hinder *Jonathan* from advancing with all the Speed he could to encounter him, leaving his Brother *Simon* behind him in his Abſence to take Care of *Judæa*. *Simon* at the ſame Time, with what Men he could get together out of that Country, marched up to *Bethſura*, and aſſaulted it, though accounted the ſtrongeſt, and moſt defenſible Place in all *Judæa*, and in the Hands, as we have ſaid before, of the Faction of *Demetrius*. So ſoon as the Garriſon found themſelves ſo preſs'd with Works and Engines, that the Place ſeem'd to be in ſome Danger, they ſent a Meſſenger to *Simon*, only for Leave to quit the Place, and, without any Moleſtation or Violence, free Liberty to march away to *Demetrius*. They were brought to theſe Terms, by the Apprehenſion of being all put to the Sword, if the Place were taken by Force. *Simon* granted them their own Conditions, and put another Garriſon in the Place of what was there before.

Demetrius *in the mean while encamps before* Cedaſa.
Jonathan *advances toward him, and leaves* Simon *to take Care of* Judæa.
Simon *attacks* Bethſura,
and takes it upon Conditions.

Jonathan, at this Time moving from the Place in *Galilee* near the Lake of *Genezer*, where he had firſt encamped, advanced into the Plain of *Aſor*, not ſo much as dreaming of any Enemy upon that Quarter: But a Party of *Demetrius* having gotten Intelligence of his Purpoſe the Day before, plac'd an *Ambuſh* under a Mountain, and marched toward him with their Body in the plain Field. So ſoon as *Jonathan* ſaw them in Order of Battle, and ready to make a Charge, he gave his Men the beſt Orders he could in ſo ſhort a Time, how to govern themſelves in the Action; but when the *Jews* came to diſcover the *Ambuſh*, they turn'd their Backs immediately, for Fear of being coop'd up betwixt the two Bodies, and all cut off. The Terror was ſo general that *Jonathan* had hardly a Man to ſtand by him: Saving only two Captains of his Guards, *Mattathias* the Son of *Apſalom*, and *Judas* the Son of *Chapſæus*; who, with a Band of fifty brave Fellows, ſtood their Ground, and made ſo deſperate a Charge upon the Enemy's Front, that they fought rather like Madmen than Soldiers. *Jonathan's Deſerters* finding the *Demetrians* doubting and ſtaggering, in this Confuſion, made Head and rally'd; and falling in upon them afreſh, kill'd a Matter of *two thouſand* upon the Place, purſuing the reſt to *Cedaſa* up to their very Tents.

Jonathan *falls into an* Ambuſh, *and his Troops forſake him.*
Mattathias *and* Judas, *with 50 choice Men, give a Stand to the whole Army.*
The Deſerters *rally upon it, and carry the Day.*

Jonathan, after this glorious Victory, returned to *Jeruſalem*; and in this Height of his Succeſſes, ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, with a Commiſſion to renew an Alliance with them, and with Orders to go to *Lacedæmon* in their Return, upon the ſame Account. *Jonathan*'s Propoſals were entertain'd, and his Embaſſadors honourably treated and diſpatch'd away with Letters recommendatory to the Kings of *Europe* and *Aſia*, for their ſafe Paſſage. They called likewiſe upon the *Lacedæmonians*, in their Way back again, and preſented them with Letters, as follows.

Jonathan's *Embaſſy to* Rome, *and* Lacedæmon *on the Subject of an* Alliance.

Jonathan the High-Prieſt, and the *Elders* of the *Nation*, the *Prieſts*, and other People of the *Jews* unto the *Ephori*, the Senate, and the People of the *Lacedæmonians*, their Brethren, ſend *Greeting*.

If you are well, both in your Perſons, and in all your Affairs, publick and private, we are ſo too; for we rejoyce in your Well-being.

Whereas we find in a Letter, of a Date (long ſince paſt) from Arius *your* King, *to* Onias *our* High-Prieſt, *and preſented to him by* Demoteles; *(a Copy whereof we ſend you here encloſed) importing a near Affinity of Blood betwixt us: And whereas it appeareth alſo by the Teſtimony we then render'd to* Arius *himſelf, by the Hand of the ſaid* Demoteles, *with what Joy we received the Intimation of ſuch an Alliance in that Letter: not as a new Thing to us neither, for we find Mention made of it in the Holy Scripture:) This is*

Jonathan's *Letter to the* Lacedæmonians.

to let you underſtand, that we ſhould have put in our Claim to the Honour of your Friendſhip before this, but that we were not willing to prevent you in the Glory of leading the Example. You may be pleaſed to take Notice however, that from the firſt Ratification of an Amity betwixt us to this Day, we have never forgotten you in our Prayers to God for your Proſperity, Health, and Victory over all your Enemies. And we have been as tender likewiſe in all our Sufferings and Diſtreſſes, under the vexatious Perſecution of our covetous and ambitious Neighbours, not to involve, either your ſelves, or any other of our friendly Allies, in our Troubles: But our Circumſtances being now eaſier, and our Wars, by God's Providence, over, we have ſent Numenius *the Son of* Antimachus, *and* Antipater, *the Son of* Jaſon, *being* Senators *and Men of Honour, to the* Romans; *and with Letters alſo to your ſelves for the ſtrengthening and renewing of a friendly Underſtanding betwixt us. You may be pleaſed to return us what Anſwer you ſhall think meet, and to let us underſtand wherein we may be uſeful to you; in a full Truſt and Confidence, that you ſhall find us ever ready to ſerve you in all Offices of Affection and Reſpect.*

Of the three Sects *among the* Jews; Phariſees, Sadduces *and* Eſſæans.

The *Jews* were at this Time divided into *three Sects* or *Factions*, upon the Subject of *Fate* and *free Will*. The *three Parties* were *Phariſees*, ***Sadduces*** and ***Eſſæans***. The *Phariſees* held that Men were concluded under a *Fatality* in *ſome* Caſes, and left at *Liberty* in *others*, either to do, or not to do, as they pleas'd. The *Sadduces* did not allow of any *Fatality* at all, in what Caſe ſoever; but that every Man has it in his own *Power* to make his Condition better or worſe, according as he takes right or wrong Meaſures: Whereas the *Eſſæans*, on the other Hand, acknowledg'd no other *Power* than that of an *over-ruling Deſtiny*, working according to the ***Predeterminations*** of an *irreſiſtible Fate:* But we have ſpoken more particularly to this Point, in our *Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars*. Lib. 2.

See the Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars, Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

Demetrius's *Troops march toward* Jonathan, *and* Jonathan *advances to oppoſe them.*

Demetrius's Commanders were now advancing toward *Jonathan*, at the Head of a better Army than they had before, in Hope of redeeming the Credit they had loſt by their late Overthrow; but *Jonathan*, having Intelligence that they were a coming, made all the Haſte he could to meet them at *Amathis*, with a Reſolution to oppoſe their Paſſage into *Judæa*; encamping himſelf within fifty Furlongs of the Enemy, and ſending ***Scouts*** abroad for Diſcovery how they were poſted, and which Way they bent their Deſign. Upon the Return of the ***Spies*** with the beſt Information they could get, and ſome Priſoners they had taken that Night, *Jonathan* found that the Deſign was to ſurprize him in his Quarters. So that he put every Thing immediately into a Poſture of Defence; planted his ***Watches*** and ***Out-Guards*** to their beſt Advantage, and kept his Men in Arms and in Heart all that Night; telling them the whole Matter beforehand, to the End that if they ſhould be attack'd, they might not be ſurpriz'd. When the Officers of ***Demetrius*** came to underſtand that the Plot was diſcover'd, it put them to their Wits End what to do next; for their under-hand Project being diſappointed, they were not in Condition to encounter him by open Force. Upon this Pinch they could find no better Shift than to ſlip away by Night; and under the Countenance of ſeveral Fires, to cover their Retreat. The next Morning by Peep of Day, *Jonathan* march'd up with a Reſolution to force the Camp; when finding it abandon'd, he poſted away after the Fugitives as faſt as he could, but to no Purpoſe; for they had gotten over the River *Eleutherus*, into a Place of Safety, before he could reach them. He took his Courſe next into *Arabia*; ravaged the Country of the *Nabathæans*; took a great many Cattle and Priſoners, and ſold them at *Damaſcus*.

Jonathan *hath Intelligence of a Deſign to beat up his Quarters:*

But the Enemy gave him the Slip by Night.

Jonathan *poſts after them, but cannot overtake them.*

He ravages Arabia.

Simon *marches to* Askalon: *And ſo to* Joppa, *ſecuring all as he goes.*

Simon, at the ſame Time, took a Progreſs thorough *Judæa* and *Palæſtine*, as far as *Askalon*, where he garriſon'd all Places of Defence; and after fortifying and ſecuring the Country, marched to *Joppa*, took Poſſeſſion of the Place, and clapt a ſtrong Guard upon it to keep the Inhabitants in Awe, that would otherwiſe have betray'd the Town to *Demetrius*.

Jonathan *and* Simon *fortify the* City *and* Temple.

Matters being in this Diſpoſition, *Jonathan* and *Simon* returned to *Jeruſalem*; where the *High-Prieſt* ſummoning the People together into the *Temple*, put them upon repairing the ruinous Walls, both of the *City*, and thoſe about the *holy Place*; fortifying them, upon the Main, with high and ſubſtantial *Towers*; adviſing them alſo to erect another Wall to cut off all Communication betwixt the *Caſtle* and the *City:* recommending it to them over and above, to put good Garriſons into other convenient Places up and down, and keep the Country in a defenſible Condition. The People were highly pleaſed with the Reaſons of all he ſaid; ſo that he made it his own Province to take Care of the *City*, and committed the reſt to his Brother.

Demetrius, being gotten over the River, advanced into *Meſopotamia*, with a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter, not only of the *Country*, but of *Babylon* it ſelf; propoſing alſo, upon the reducing of the upper Provinces, to make that Quarter the Seat of the War; for the ***Greeks*** and ***Macedonians*** thereabouts had ſent him ſeveral Embaſſies and Invitations to come over to them; with Aſſurances, that upon his appearing, they would range themſelves under his Obedience, and aſſiſt him with their Arms againſt *Arſaces* the King of *Parthia*. In the Strength of this Confidence and Encouragement, *Demetrius* moved immediately toward them in Contemplation, how eaſy a Thing it would be to beat *Tryphon* out of *Syria*, after *one home Blow* given to the *Parthians*. In the Strength of this Confidence, *Demetrius* poſted away immediately towards him, and was received upon his Arrival with all the Chearfulneſs imaginable, where he put himſelf in the Head of a brave Army, and made War upon *Arſaces*, by whom he was utterly routed; his whole Body deſtroy'd, and himſelf taken Priſoner, as we have ſaid formerly in another Place.

Demetrius *makes War upon* Arſaces; *loſes his Army, and is taken Priſoner.*

CHAP. X.

Demetrius *being gone,* Tryphon *aſpires to the Crown, by removing* Jonathan, *and* Antiochus. *He works upon* Jonathan's *Credulity, and moſt villainouſly betrays him; makes him a Priſoner in* Ptolemais, *and cuts off a thouſand of his People.*

THis Miſcarriage of *Demetrius* put an End to *Tryphon*'s pretended Faith and Allegiance to *Antiochus*: His Buſineſs being now only to conſider how he might remove his Maſter out of the Way, and ſet up for himſelf. This was not to be done he thought, ſo long as *Jonathan* (a true Friend to *Antiochus*) was in Condition to oppoſe it: So that the firſt Thing to be done, was to rid his Hands of *Jonathan*; and the contrivance was this: He went from *Antioch* to *Bethſan*, (in *Greek*, *Scythopolis*,) where he found *Jonathan* with forty thouſand choice Men at his Heels, that were ready at Hand to ſerve him in Caſe of Need. *Tryphon*, finding him in this Strength and Poſture, made uſe of Preſents and fair Words, to inviegle and impoſe upon him, when he ſaw there was no good to be done by down right Force. He gave it in Charge to his Officers, to pay the ſame Reſpect and Obedience to *Jonathan*, that they did to himſelf: Propounding by theſe Ways of Inſinuation, to cover the Treachery of his falſe Heart, and to create in him ſuch a Truſt and Confidence, as might probably expoſe him, for want of Caution, to a mortal Credulity and Surprize: Paſſing from one Thing to another; till at laſt, in regard all Things were now at Peace, he ſaid, and the War at an End, he put it into *Jonathan*'s Head to diſcharge his Army, as a Burden there was no Occaſion for; but ſtill adviſing him to retain a competent Guard about his Perſon, and that they might go together to *Ptolemais*; for he was reſolved to put him in Poſſeſſion of that City, and of all the Fortreſſes thereabouts; *for*, ſays he, *I am now come hither on Purpoſe to deliver thoſe Places into your Hands.* *Jonathan* was too innocent to ſuſpect ſo baſe a Villainy; inſomuch that caſting himſelf wholly upon the Sincerity and good Faith of *Tryphon*, he diſmiſs'd his Army, all but *three thouſand Men*, whereof he left *two* in *Galilee*, and carry'd the *third* along with him in Company with *Tryphon* to *Ptolemais*. He was no ſooner enter'd the Town with his People, but the Inhabitants, according to their Inſtructions, ſhut the Gates upon him; took *Jonathan* himſelf alive, and cut off all his Soldiers, every Man of them. Part of the Army was afterwards ſent to *Galilee*, with an Intent to murder the other *two thouſand* there, as they had done their Fellows; but having timely Notice of their Treachery to *Jonathan*, they betook themſelves to their Arms immediately upon the Report, and ſo made their Eſcape. *Tryphon*'s Soldiers were ſo well ſatisfy'd in the Reſolution of theſe Men as to the Contempt of Death and Danger, that they let them go off without any Interruption, and ſo went their Way back again as they came.

The fall of Demetrius *encourages* Tryphon *to ſet up for himſelf.*
1 Mac. 12 & 13.
His Plot upon the Life of Jonathan *to the deſtruction of* Antiochus.

Tryphon *betrays* Jonathan, *under a Mask of* Friendſhip.

Jonathan *made a Priſoner, by Treachery, in* Ptolemais; *and* 1000 *of his Men cut to pieces.*

CHAP. XI.

Tryphon *keeps* Jonathan *a Priſoner, and* Simon *ſupplies his Command. He turns the Inhabitants of* Joppa *out of the Town.* Tryphon *enters* Judæa, *and offers to ſet* Jonathan *at Liberty for a Sum of Money and Hoſtages.* Simon *delivers the Money and the Hoſtages; but* Tryphon *breaks Faith with him, and orders* Jonathan *to be put to Death. The People chuſe* Simon *unanimouſly to ſucceed him. He demoliſhes* Gaza, Joppa, Jamnia, *and the Citadel of* Jeruſalem; *laying the very Mountain it ſtood upon, under the Command of the* Temple.

THE News of *Jonathan*'s Impriſonment, and the Maſſacre of the People; the Loſs, in Fine, of ſo great a Man, and a Perſon ſo neceſſary to the *Jews*,

Jeruſalem *in Sorrow and Conſternation for* Jonathan's *Impriſonment and Diſaſter.* 2 Mac. 12.

Tryphon *prepares for an Incurſion into* Judæa.

both for his Valour and Conduct, ſtruck the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, not only with an inconſolable Affliction, out of the Love they bare him, but with a terrible Apprehenſion over and above, of the Miſeries they lay expoſed to in the Conſequence of his Death: Even to the Hazzard of the whole Nation, by letting looſe thoſe Enemies upon them, on this Occaſion, that ſtood in Awe of them before. This was the Thing they fear'd, and they were not much out in their Conjecture. For ſo ſoon as they came afterward to hear that *Jonathan* was put to Death, their Neighbours all aſſociated againſt them, as Men without a Head, and utterly deſtitute; the General being loſt, and no other Commander qualify'd to exerciſe his Charge. Nay, *Tryphon* himſelf got an Army together to make an Inroad with it upon *Judæa*. But *Simon* obſerving what a Conſternation the People were in, for Fear of new Broils, and out of an affectionate Zeal, to keep up their Hearts againſt the Practices of *Tryphon*, he call'd the People together, and made them a Diſcourſe, as follows.

Simon *animates the People to ſtand up for their* Liberties, *and offers himſelf for their* General.

I need not tell you, ſays he, *my Friends and Countrymen, how vigorouſly and frankly I my ſelf, my Father and my Brethren, have expoſed our ſelves to the uttermoſt Difficulties and Hazzards for our common Liberty: So that it is no new Thing in our Family, to lay down our Lives in the Defence of our Laws and our Religion; neither am I ſo inſenſible of the Authority of theſe domeſtick Examples, as to be wrought upon by any Terror to the ſacrificing of my Honour and my Duty, for the ſaving of my Life: Wherefore without looking any farther for a* Leader, *you have a Man here before you, that is ready to do or to ſuffer all Things that are great and glorious, for your Preſervation and Welfare: Do but you only follow where I ſhall lead you. I do not reckon my ſelf to be better than my Brethren, neither do I value my Life at a higher Rate, than they have done theirs before me; nor am I ſo degenerate, as to think of ſaving that Life by Cowardice, when my Country and my Religion are at Stake; which our Family has ever accounted as the moſt heroical of their Adventures, to part with upon the ſame Occaſion. No, no, my Friends and Brethren, it ſhall never be ſaid, that I have derogated from the Dignity of our Family. I make no Doubt at all yet, but that God in his good Time, will, even by my Hand, avenge you upon the Heads of your Enemies; deliver you, with your Wives and Children from your Oppreſſors, and vindicate the Holy Temple againſt all the Abominations and Violences of your malicious Perſecutors. And what is it, in Fine, that encourages this preſent Confederacy againſt you, but that they look upon you as Sheep without a Shepherd; that is to ſay, an* Army *without a* Leader?

Simon *commands in* Jonathan's *Place*.

The Multitude were ſo inflamed at this Speech and Declaration of *Simon*, that they preſently took Courage and Confidence upon it; ſuſpended their Fears, and revived their Spirits with the Hope of better Things: So that they all cry'd out with one Voice; *None ſo fit as* Simon *to ſucceed to the Command of his brave Brothers*, Judas *and* Jonathan; *and therefore let* Simon *be our General, and whatever he commands ſhall be obey'd.* The *new General* got as many of his People together as were fit to bear Arms, and ſo fell to work upon the walling of the City, and the fortifying of it with ſtrong and ſtately Towers; and that being over, he ſent *Jonathan* the Son of *Abſalom*, a particular Friend of his to *Joppa*, with Order to turn the Inhabitants out of the Town, for Fear they ſhould deliver it up to *Tryphon*: While he himſelf continu'd at *Jeruſalem* to look to the *City*.

The Inhabitants of Joppa *turned out of Town, for Fear of betraying it to* Tryphon.

Tryphon *marches into* Judæa *and takes* Jonathan *along with him in Bonds*.

Tryphon *offers* Jonathan *his Liberty for* 100 *Talents of Silver, and two of his Sons in* Hoſtage.

Tryphon was now upon his March with a great Army from *Ptolemais*; and coming into *Judæa*, he brought *Jonathan* with him in Bonds. *Simon* met him with his Troops near the City of *Addida*, upon a Mountain that overlooks the *Plain*. When *Tryphon* came to underſtand that the *Jews* had choſen *Simon* for their *General*, he ſent Meſſengers to him to try if he could circumvent him by a Trick. And ſo he ſent him Word, that if he had a Mind to have his Brother *Jonathan* diſcharg'd, let him ſend him a *hundred Talents of Silver*, and *two Sons* of *Jonathan* along with it for *Hoſtages*, that when he ſhould be ſet at Liberty, he ſhould not ſeduce *Judæa* from their Allegiance to the King; *Tryphon* ſuggeſting that he was now to be kept in Cuſtody, only till the King's Money ſhould be paid. *Simon* knew well enough there was a Cheat in't; but computing with himſelf upon all the Hazards of the Caſe; *as, what if he ſhould loſe his Money, and his Brother never the better for it?* Beſide the Delivery of his Sons to the Mercy of an Enemy, there was a Miſchief on the one Hand; and then he was afraid on the other, that upon his Denyal of the Money for a Ranſom, or the Sons for Hoſtages, the Calumny of his Brother's Death would at laſt be laid at his Door. Upon this Deliberation, he call'd a Council; told them *Tryphon's* Demands, giving his Opinion alſo beforehand, that there was Treachery in the Bottom; but intimating however, that it would be better to ſend both the *Money*, and the *Sons* at a Venture, than to incur a Suſpicion, upon not hearkening to *Tryphon's* Conditions, as if he were not ſo zealous as he ſhould be for the Safety of his Brother. So the Reſolution was taken to ſend *both*: Though *Tryphon* brake his Faith, after all,

Simon *ſuſpects Treachery*.

Tryphon *takes the* Money *and the* Hoſtages, *and keeps* Jonathan *ſtill a Priſoner*.

and would not yet releaſe *Jonathan*; but went up and down with his Army, ravaging the Country, till he came at laſt to *Dora*, a City of *Idumæa*, with an Intention to make that his Way to *Jeruſalem*; *Simon* keeping up with him ſtill wherever he went, Camp againſt Camp.

While *Tryphon* was upon the Way, Word was brought him from *Jeruſalem*, that the Garriſon was hard preſs'd for Want of Proviſions, and that they deſir'd he would immediately haſten away to their Relief. Upon this Intelligence, he order'd his Horſe to be in Readineſs, for he would march without any Delay to their Succour; but there fell ſo great a Snow that Night, that the Ways were all cover'd and impaſſable; eſpecially for Horſe. Upon this Diſappointment, he decamped, and went back to *Cœle-Syria*; and paſſing through the Country of *Galaad*, cauſed *Jonathan*, near the City of *Baſca*, to be ſlain, and bury'd there: And from thence he returned to *Antioch*. *Simon* took Care however to remove *Jonathan's Bones* to his Father's Sepulchre at *Modin*, with the Solemnity of a publick Mourning, where he erected a glorious *Monument* of white poliſhed Marble to the Honour of his Family. It was raiſed upon an Eminence, that overlooks the whole Country thereabouts, and encompaſſed with arched Walks, reſting upon admirable Pillars, each of one entire Stone. He raiſed alſo *ſeven Pyramids* for his *Father*, *Mother*, *four Brothers*, and *himſelf*, one for each: A Work ſo wonderful, both for the State and Beauty of it, that it is yet to be ſeen, and hath the Reputation of a celebrated Piece even to this Day.

The Citadel of Jeruſalem is hard preſs'd.
Tryphon *deſigns to relieve it; but is hinder'd by a prodigious Flight of Snow.*
Tryphon *puts* Jonathan *to Death.*
Simon *orders a ſolemn* Mourning *for him, and a glorious Monument, and* ſeven Pyramids.

This may ſuffice to ſhew the Care and Zeal of *Simon* in doing Right to the Honour of his Family, by ſo magnificent a Monument; and moſt particularly, to the Memory of *Jonathan*, [a] who had now govern'd the People in the Quality both of *Prince*, and of *High-Prieſt*, for the Space of four Years; his Brother *Simon*, by the univerſal Suffrage and Conſent of the People, ſucceeding him. In the firſt Year of his Promotion, he deliver'd them from the *Tributes* he formerly paid to the *Macedonians*; and this was in the Year 170, from the coming of *Seleucus Nicanor* to the Kingdom of *Syria*. Now *Simon* had gain'd ſo great an Eſteem and Authority among the People, that they dated their Writings as well private as publick, in ſuch or ſuch a Year of *Simon* the Governour of the *Jews*, with this Addition [*and the moſt deſerving Patron of the Nation.*] For under his Adminiſtration all Things ſucceeded well, both in War and Peace, by the Advantages he brought to his Friends, and by the Victory he obtain'd over the common Enemy; deſtroying the Cities of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and *Jamnia*; laying the *Citadel* of *Jeruſalem* level with the Ground; and taking it moreover into his Care, how to prevent the ſame Inconveniencies again for the Time to come: That is to ſay, by putting it out of Condition of either annoying the Town, or of ſerving for a Place of Protection to *Fugitives* and *Rebels*. In Order to this End, he gave his Advice for the digging up and plaining of the Mountain it ſelf that the Caſtle ſtood upon, ſo as to leave the *Temple* upon the Advantage of the higher Ground. Upon this Conſideration, he call'd a *Congregation*, and laid before them what Damage they had already ſuffer'd from this *Caſtle*, and what Inconveniencies they might reaſonably expect from it over again, in the future, if ever it ſhould fall into the Hands of an *Enemy Prince*. This plain and ſhort Way of reaſoning wrought ſo effectually upon the Multitude, that they were preſently, *one and all*, for demoliſhing the Mountain. They fell immediately to work upon't, and ply'd it ſo hard Night and Day for three Years ſucceſſively, without Intermiſſion (doing Duty by Turns) that in the End, by the Force of indefatigable Labour, they brought it under the Command of the *Temple*.

Jonathan *govern'd the People as* Prince *and High-Prieſt for four Years;* Simon *ſucceeding him.*
The Benefactor and Patron of the Nation.
He lays Gazara, Joppa, Jamnia, *and the Tower of* Jeruſalem *all in Rubbiſh.*
He demoliſhes the Mountain *it ſelf that the Caſtle ſtood upon, for the Security of the Temple.*

CHAP. XII.

Tryphon *murders* Antiochus, *and is choſen King. His Soldiers go over to* Cleopatra; *who marries* Antiochus Soter: *And he makes War upon* Tryphon, *and overthrows him in a Set-Battle; chaſes him out of* Syria, *and beſieges him in* Dora. *He makes a League with* Simon *the High-Prieſt, who aſſiſts him in the Siege.* Tryphon *gets away to* Apamia, *where he is taken and ſlain.*

SOON after the taking of *Demetrius Nicanor* Priſoner, *Tryphon* ſecretly murder'd his Pupil *Antiochus*, the Son of *Alexander*, (whom they treated with divine Honours) in the fourth Year of his Guardianſhip; giving it out that it was only an unlucky Accident in his Exerciſes, that brought him to his End. While this Rumour was freſh, *Tryphon* made an Intereſt among the Soldiery, by the Force of Friends and Mo-

Tryphon *puts his Pupil privately to Death.*
Tryphon *makes an Intereſt for himſelf,*

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[a] *Scaliger* in his Notes upon *Euſebius*, ſuſpects this Place to be corrupted in the Original; and corrects it ſo as to make *Jonathan* die in the fourteenth Year of his Pontificate, and when he had govern'd the Nation eighteen Years.

and is choſen King.

Tryphon *anſwers his* Name *in his* Manners. i. e. [a diſſolute Wretch.]

The Soldiers go over to Cleopatra, *the Wife of* Demetrius.

Cleopatra *marries* Antiochus Soter, *the Brother of* Demetrius.

Antiochus *drives* Tryphon *out of* Syria.

A League of Alliance betwixt Demetrius *and* Simon.

Tryphon *taken and ſlain.*

ney, to diſpoſe them toward the Choice of himſelf for their next Governour. *Demetrius*, they ſaid, was a Priſoner to the *Parthians*; and *Antiochus* would never forget the Deſerters of his Brother. By this Artifice of Inſinuation, *Tryphon* prepar'd his Way to the Crown: And there needed not much Argument in the Caſe, when all People reckon'd upon it, that it would be the making of any Man's Fortune, that ſhould give his Voice for the making of this Man *King*; ſo that they advanc'd him to the Throne without any more Ceremony. This Elevation made a Diſcovery of that ill Nature in him, now he was a King, which he had concealed all this while in the Capacity of a private Man; the better to compaſs his Ends by keeping fair with the People. So ſoon as ever he had gain'd his Point, the Mask was taken off, and he ſhew'd himſelf to be a true *Tryphon*, (or a *diſſolute Wretch*) in his *Manners*, as well as in his *Name*; and his Adverſaries laid hold of it very much to his Diſadvantage, for the Soldiers grew quickly weary of his Humour, and went over to *Cleopatra*, the Wife of *Demetrius*, who had then ſhut up her ſelf in *Seleucia* with her Children: While *Antiochus*, (otherwiſe called *Soter*, and the Brother of *Demetrius*,) went skulking up and down from Place to Place, and ſcarce any Body daring to receive him, for Fear of *Tryphon*. Now *Cleopatra*, what with the Encouragement of the military Men that deſerted him, the Inſtance and Perſuaſion of Friends, and the Apprehenſion ſhe her ſelf had of the *Seleucians* giving up the Town to *Tryphon*; ſhe ſent a Meſſenger to *Antiochus*, with a Propoſal of Marriage, and a Tender of her Kingdom to him, as well as of her Perſon. *Antiochus* forthwith embraced the Propoſition; and upon cloſing with *Cleopatra* on thoſe Terms, the People came trooping in to him in ſuch Numbers, that in a ſhort Time he was Maſter of a marching Army, and made War upon *Tryphon*; overcame him in a Battle; and beating him out of *Syria*, purſu'd him to *Phœnicia*, begirting him at laſt in *Dora*, a very ſtrong and a well fortify'd Hold. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to *Simon* the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*, upon a Treaty of Amity and Alliance, who frankly accepted of his Terms, and ſoon after ſent him a Supply of Proviſions and Monies for the carrying on of the *Siege*; which was a Service at that Time ſo acceptable to *Antiochus*, that he look'd upon him as the beſt Friend he had in the World: But *Tryphon*, in the End, made an Eſcape out of *Dora*, and fled to *Apamia*, where the Town was taken, and himſelf ſlain in the fourth Year of his Government.

CHAP. XIII.

The Treachery of Antiochus *againſt* Simon, *who ſtill gets the better of him; contracts a new Alliance with the* Romans, *and ſettles the Government in Peace.*

The ill Nature of Antiochus.

Cendebæus *marches with an Army againſt* Simon.

Simon *baffles him upon ſeveral Encounters.*

He renews a League *with the* Romans, *and after that lives at Peace.*

ANtiochus, being naturally covetous, and conſequently ungrateful, was now ſo far from acknowledging the good Offices *Simon* had done him, that he ſent an Army under the Command of *Cendebæus*, to lay *Judæa* waſte, and to ſeize upon his Perſon. The Senſe of this perfidious Indignity put the good old Man ſo far out of Patience, that forgetting the Infirmities of his Age, he marched immediately in the Head of an Army with the Reſolution of a *Hero* in the Prime of his Youth and Vigour, to engage the Enemy; ſending his Son before him with ſome of his choiceſt Troops, and himſelf following by ſeveral Ways with the reſt, planting his *Ambuſhes* every where up and down in the *Avenues*, and all Things ſucceeding to his Heart's Content; for he had ſtill the better of it upon every Encounter; renew'd his League with the *Romans*, and liv'd at Peace afterward all the Days of his Life.

CHAP. XIV.

Ptolemy *treacherouſly murders his Father-in-Law* Simon. *He ſeizes his Wife and two Children:* John *(call'd* Hyrcanus) *the* third, *ſhifting away to* Jeruſalem; *where he is receiv'd and protected, and* Ptolemy *deny'd Entrance.*

Simon *treacherouſly murder'd by his Son-in-Law* Ptolemy. 1 Mac. 16.

His Wife and two Children made Priſoners; and the third ſcapes to Jeruſalem.

WHEN *Simon* had been eight Years Governour of *Judæa*, he was treacherouſly murder'd, in the End, by his Son-in-Law *Ptolemy*, upon an Invitation to a Treat. He had got his Wife and his two Sons Priſoners already, and had his *Ruffians* abroad alſo to take his third Son *John*, otherwiſe called *Hyrcanus*, and kill him; but the young Man, having ſeaſonable Notice of the Danger, took *Sanctuary* in *Jeruſalem*, where the People were doubly kind to him, partly for the Love and Veneration they had for the Memory of his Father, and in Part for the deadly Hatred they bare to *Ptolemy* whom they bravely repulſed upon an Attempt to enter at one Gate, becauſe they had already received *Hyrcanus* at another.

CHAP. XV.

Hyrcanus *ſucceeds to the* Pontificate. Ptolemy *beſieg'd in the Caſtle of* Dagon. *The Mother and Brethren of* Hyrcanus *expos'd upon the Battlements; and threaten'd to be caſt down, unleſs* Hyrcanus *withdrew. The glorious Reſolution of the Mother; who is put to Death by* Ptolemy, *with her two Sons, while he flies for Protection to* Zeno, *(otherwiſe* Cotyla.)

UPon this Affront, *Ptolemy* withdrew himſelf to a certain Caſtle not far from *Jericho*, called *Dagon*. *Hyrcanus* at the ſame Time enter'd upon the *Pontificate*, and officiated in it as *Succeſſor* to his *Father*. The firſt Thing he did, was to offer up Prayers and Sacrifices in due Manner and Form; and that Duty being over, he march'd away to the Aſſault of the *Fort:* Where the only Difficulty he met withal, was to contend with the natural Piety and Tenderneſs he had for his *Mother* and his *Brethren*, whom *Ptolemy* expoſed from the Top of the Wall, whipping and tormenting them in the Sight of all the People, with Menaces to caſt them headlong from the Battlements, unleſs *Hyrcanus* preſently quitted the *Siege*. Now the other computing with himſelf, that the eaſier he was to the *Town*, the eaſier *Ptolemy* would be to his Relations, this Thought put him to a little Stand upon the firſt Impreſſion, which Way to incline; but his *Mother* ſeeing him look and act as if he were deliberating and relenting, called out to him aloud, and incourag'd him both with her Hand and Voice, to make a right Uſe of that barbarous Spectacle, and without any Regard to her's, and her Childrens Sufferings, to do himſelf and his Family Right, in a juſt Vengeance upon the Head of that execrable Monſter; for ſhe herſelf deſired nothing more than to expire in her Torments, upon Condition that that unnatural Tyrant might be plagu'd and puniſh'd according to his Deſert. The generous and provoking Bravery of this Woman raiſed the Spirits of *Hyrcanus* to the higheſt Degree of Reſolution to puſh forward the Aſſault. But finding that the more they preſs'd upon the Fort, the fiercer *Ptolemy* was upon his Mother, all other Reſentments of Rage and Revenge gave Way to the over-ruling Softneſs of a dutiful Son: So that by theſe Pauſes and Intervals, Irreſolution and Diſtraction, the Siege was drawn out at length till the *Sabbatical Year* came on; the *ſeventh Year* being a *Year* of *Reſt* to the *Jews*, as well as the *Seventh* of *Days:* So that *Ptolemy* was now deliver'd from the War and the Siege; and thereupon putting to Death the *Mother* and the Brother of *Hyrcanus*, he withdrew to *Zeno*, ſurnamed *Cotyla*, a Tyrant who had at that Time uſurped to himſelf the Government of *Philadelphia*. [*The End of the Hiſtory of the Bible.*]

1 Mac. 16. Ptolemy *retires to the Caſtle of* Dagon; *and* Hyrcanus *ſucceeded his Father in the Pontificate.* He *beſieges* Ptolemy *in the Fort.* Ptolemy *whips and torments the* Mother *and* Brothers *of* Hyrcanus *upon the Battlements.* Hyrcanus *relents: And his Mother calls out to him to preſs an Aſſault.*

The Sabbatical Year, *or the* Year *of* Reſt. Ptolemy *puts to Death the* Mother *and the* two Sons

CHAP. XVI.

Antiochus *beſieges* Hyrcanus *in the Fort at* Jeruſalem. *He grants the* Jews *a ſeven Days Truce.* Hyrcanus *moves him in Favour of the* Jews; *who comes to Terms with him, and raiſes the Siege.* Hyrcanus *makes an Alliance with* Antiochus; *and, according to* Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus, *does him great Service in the* Parthian *War.* Antiochus *is defeated and ſlain, and the Kingdom of* Syria *deſcends to his Brother* Demetrius.

ANtiochus had not as yet either forgotten or forgiven the Baffles and Diſgraces he had formerly received from *Simon* the Father of *Hyrcanus:* So that he made an Inroad into *Judæa* in the fourth Year of his Reign, the firſt of *Hyrcanus*, [a] and the 162d *Olympiad*, where he firſt ravaged the Country; and then drove *Hyrcanus* into the City it ſelf, dividing his Army into ſeven Bodies round about it. They advanced little or nothing at the beginning, the Walls being very ſtrong, and the Defendants valiant. The Camp was for ſome ſhort Time ſcanted for Water; but that Defect was plentifully ſupply'd by a great Fall of Rain. Upon a thorough Conſideration of the Matter, they found the Town moſt acceſſible upon the North-ſide of it, and therefore bent their Force principally upon that Quarter; raiſing a hundred Turrets of three Stories high againſt them, which were well-lin'd with Soldiers to carry on the Attack. They had likewiſe drawn a double Circumvallation of a great Length and Depth, to cut off the Means of Communication and Relief. But this

Antiochus *breaks into* Judæa; *forces* Hyrcanus *into* Jeruſalem, *and beſieges him in it.*

The Enemy's Approaches *and* Attacks.

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[a] And *the* 2d *of* 161 *Olympiad* according to the reading of *Petitus* in his *Eclog. Chronolog.* l. 1. c. 6. See *Scaliger's* Notes upon *Euſeb.* p. 135. *Ed. Commelin.*

This did not hinder the Defendants yet from making frequent Sallies, and doing Execution too, when at any Time they ſaw the Beſiegers looſe or careleſs upon their Guard: Or however, if they found them in Poſture to receive them, they could make their Retreat good at Pleaſure. There were a great many unprofitable Mouths in the Town, that only waſted their Proviſions, without doing any manner of Service: So that *Hyrcanus* taking this into Conſideration, ſeparated thoſe that were fit to bear Arms from the reſt, and turn'd all the uſeleſs People out of the City; where, betwixt *Antiochus* on the one Hand, that ſtopt them from going any further, and *Hyrcanus* on the other, that would not let them go back again, the poor Wretches ſaunter'd away their Time under the Wall, till many of them periſhed for Want of Bread.

All unprofitable People turn'd out of Town.

It ſo fell out, that it was now the Time of *the Feaſt of Tabernacles*; and upon the Occaſion of this *Feſtival*, theſe miſerable Creatures were admitted into the Town again: Whereupon the Inhabitants addreſs'd themſelves to *Antiochus*, only to grant a Truce for ſeven Days, in Honour of the Solemnity; which out of a Conſcience of Religion, he allow'd them at firſt Word; and he did not only gratify them in their Requeſt, but ſent them magnificent Preſents of Beaſts over and above, for *Sacrifices*; as Bulls with guilded Horns; Cups of Gold and Silver, repleniſh'd with all Sorts of precious Spices and Perfumes; and, in Fine, treated them with an Entertainment much different from that of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; who, in Affront to their *Religion*, upon the taking of the Temple, ſacrific'd *Hogs* upon the *Altar*, and prophan'd the *Holy Place* with *Porridge made of Swines Fleſh*, in a flat Defiance and Contempt of their Laws and Ceremonies, which prov'd the Ground of an Animoſity betwixt them never to be reconcil'd: Whereas the preſent *Antiochus* had the Character and Surname of [*the Pious*] given him by all Sorts of People, in Honour of the Reverence he had for Religion.

Antiochus *ſurnamed* the Pious.

Hyrcanus took Encouragement upon this Inſtance of the King's Juſtice and Goodneſs, to move him by an Embaſſy on the *Jews* Behalf, for the Liberty only of living one with another, according to the *Laws and Cuſtoms of their own Country*. The Court Faction, on the contrary, were for having them wholly *cut off* and *rooted out*, as an inſociable ſingular Sort of People, that would be thought holier and wiſer than their Neighbours, and valu'd themſelves upon a Singularity from the reſt of the World, in their Lives and Manners. But the King had too great a Reſpect for their Piety and Behaviour, to put them to Extremities: So that he ſent Word back to *Hyrcanus*, that upon Condition the beſieged ſhould deliver up their Arms; undertake for the Taxes of *Joppa*, and the reſt of the Cities about *Judæa*, and receive a Garriſon into the Town of his Appointment, he was ready to put an End to the War upon their own Terms. The *Jews* agreed to all, but the receiving of the Garriſon, in Regard of the Scruple they made of intermixing with Strangers; but for a Compoſition to be eaſed of that Article, they propoſed rather to give the King Hoſtages for the Performance of Covenants, and five hundred Talents over and above, which the King accepted of: Three hundred of them being paid down upon the Nail in part; and the Brother of *Hyrcanus*, one of the Pledges. Upon the finiſhing of this Treaty, the Works and the Battlements were thrown down; the City diſmantled and the Siege rais'd.

Hyrcanus *ſolicite* Antiochus *for Liberty for the* Jews.

The King comes to an Agreement *with him.*

The City diſmantled, *and the Siege withdrawn.*

Hyrcanus, after this, cauſed the Monument of *David* to be open'd, (the richeſt Prince that ever was upon the Face of the Earth) where he made a Seizure of *three thouſand Talents* to his own Uſe; and furniſh'd himſelf with foreign Mercenaries, being the firſt of the Nation that ever entertain'd an Army of Strangers. In the next Place, he enter'd into a League with *Antiochus*; invited himſelf and his Army into the City, where he gave them a ſplendid and a moſt magnificent Reception, and follow'd him afterward with his Auxiliaries into the *Parthian War*, as we have it upon the Authority of *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* in Terms to this Purpoſe. Antiochus, *upon the routing of* Indates *the* Parthian General, *erected a triumphal Arch upon the Bank of the River* Lycus, *where he reſted two Days at the Requeſt of* Hyrcanus *a* Jew, *being juſt at the Time of one of their* Feſtivals, *upon which Day they made a Conſcience of travelling*. The Hiſtorian was in the right as to this Particular; for the Feaſt of *Penticoſt* fell out at that Time, to be juſt the next Day after the *Sabbath*, and it is not lawful for us to take a Journey upon either of thoſe two Days.

Hyrcanus *takes* 3000 Talents *out of* David's Tomb.

He ſtrikes a League with Antiochus, *and follows him into the* Parthian War.

Nicolaus Damaſcenus.

Antiochus, in Fine, came to a Battle with *Arſaces*, the King of the *Parthians*, in which Action he loſt both his Life and his Army. His Brother *Demetrius*, after him, ſucceeded to the Kingdom of *Syria*, being now ſet at Liberty by *Arſaces*, upon this Invaſion of *Antiochus*, of which we have ſpoken heretofore.

Antiochus *loſes his Life and his Army in a Battle with* Arſaces. *His Brother* Demetrius *ſucceeds him.*

CHAP. XVII.

Hyrcanus *makes himſelf Maſter of* Idumæa, *and brings over the People to the* Jewiſh *Laws and Diſcipline, and contracts a new Alliance with the* Romans. Demetrius *is beaten out of the Field, and flies to* Ptolemais *for Protection; and thence to* Tyre, *where he is made a Priſoner, and put to Death. A League betwixt* Alexander *and* Hyrcanus. Alexander *routed, and kill'd in a Battle with* Antiochus Gryphus. Antiochus Gryphus *and* Antiochus Cyzicenus *(two Brothers) perpetually in War one with another.*

Hyrcanus, after the Death of *Antiochus*, march'd away immediately with his Army into *Syria*, preſuming within himſelf, as afterward it prov'd, that he ſhould find the Country in ſome Meaſure deſerted and unmann'd. In ſix Months time, though with ſome Difficulty, he took in *Medaba*; and after that, *Samega*, and other Places thereabouts; and then *Sichem* and *Garizin*, with the Land of the *Chuthites*, where the *Temple* ſtood, that with *Alexander*'s Leave, was built after the Model of that at *Jeruſalem* by *Sanballat*, one of his Governours; to gratify his Son in Law *Manaſſes*, the Brother of the *High-Prieſt Jaddus*, as we have ſaid before; which *Temple* was deſtroy'd a matter of two hundred Years after. *Hyrcanus* took alſo ſeveral ſtrong Places in *Idumæa*, as *Adora* and *Mariſſa*; and at laſt, when he had maſter'd the whole Province, made Proclamation for all People to depart the Land that would not ſubmit to be *circumcis'd*: So that rather than quit their Country, they not only comply'd in the Point of *Circumciſion*, but in a Conformity alſo to all the other Rites and Ceremonies of the *Jews*: And that was the firſt Time they were reckoned among the *Jews*.

Upon the Death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus *marches immediately into* Syria.

He ſubdues the whole Province of Idumæa.

The Idumæans *ſubmit to the* Jewiſh Laws *and* Cuſtoms; *and from that Time forward, they were called* Jews.

Hyrcanus the *High-Prieſt*, being now about to renew a League with the *Romans*, ſent his *Embaſſadors* to the *Senate*, with Letters upon that Subject. Theſe Letters being read and debated, an Amity was concluded in Manner, and upon the Conditions following. Fanius *the Son of* Marcus Prætor, *called a* Senate *in the Field of* Mars, *on the* eighth *of the* Ides of February; *preſent* Lucius Manlius *the Son of* Lucius Mentina, *and* Caius Sempronius, *the Son of* Caius Falerna, *upon the Buſineſs of the* Embaſſy *of* Simon *the Son of* Doſitheus; Apollonius *the Son of* Alexander, *and* Diodorus, *the Son of* Jaſon, *Perſons of Honour and Probity, and deputed by the Nation of the* Jews *to treat about an Alliance, and other publick Matters with the* Senate *of* Rome: *Whereupon it was agreed that* Joppa, *and the* Ports, Gazara *with the* Fountains, *and other Places that had been taken away by* Antiochus *contrary to a Decree of the* Senate, *ſhould be all reſtored, and the King's Soldiers not to paſs thorough either that, or any other Part of the* Roman Territory, *without Leave: That whatever had been done by* Antiochus *in the late War, ſhould be declared void, and Commiſſioners appointed to take an Eſtimate of what the People had ſuffer'd in their Lands and Goods by his Depredations; and to ſee Satiſfaction made for all Loſſes.* Upon theſe Conditions, the *Senate* was pleaſed to accept of the Propoſals, that were preſented them by theſe honourable Perſons, in the Name of their good Friends and Allies, the People of the *Jews*. As to the Matter of returning an Anſwer in Form, it ſhould be done, they ſaid, at their firſt Leiſure, and Care taken that no Wrong ſhould be offer'd them for the Future. *Fanius* had Orders likewiſe to furniſh the Embaſſadors with Money for their Charges back again, out of the publick Stock; which he did accordingly, with recommendatory Letters over and above, to all Governours and Officers in their Way, for the Convenience and Security of their Paſſage.

Articles of Alliance *betwixt* Hyrcanus *and the Senate of* Rome.

While Matters ſtood thus with *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, there was no want of good Will in *Demetrius* to pick a Quarrel with him, if he had but had Seconds to ſtand by him in it; but for the *Syrians*, and his own Soldiers, they hated him for his Lewdneſs to that Degree, that they joyn'd in a Confederacy againſt him, making it their Requeſt to *Ptolemy*, otherwiſe called *Phyſcon* the King of *Ægypt*, only to ſend them ſome Branch or other of *Seleucus*'s Family, and they would ſet him up for King. Upon this Application, *Ptolemy* ſent them one *Alexander*, ſurnamed *Zebina*, with a conſiderable body of Men. It came to a Battle, and *Demetrius* being routed, he fled to his Wife *Cleopatra*, who was then at *Ptolemais* for Protection; but the Gates being ſhut againſt him, away he went for *Tyre*, where he fell into the Hands of his Enemies that kept him a while in the Anguiſh of a miſerable Life, and then put him to Death.

Ptolemy *ſends* Alexander Zebina *to make War upon* Demetrius.

Demetrius *is routed, and flies to his Wife* Cleopatra *at* Ptolemais; *but being refuſed Entrance, he makes away to* Tyre, *where he is taken by the Enemy, and ſoon after put to Death.*

Alexander Zebina being now poſſeſſed of the Kingdom of *Syria*, enter'd into a League with *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, who was engaged ſome ſhort Time after, in a War with *Antiochus Gryphus*, the Son of *Demetrius*. They brought it to a Battle, and

A League betwixt Alexander *and* Hyrcanus.

Alexander *ſlain in a Battle with* Antiochus Gryphus.

Antiochus Gryphus *and* Antiochus Cyzicenus.

it was *Alexander*'s Hap to be ſlain in the Encounter. *Antiochus*, by this Providence, came to the King of *Syria*; but durſt not as yet make any Attempt upon the *Jews*; for he heard that *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (a Brother he had of his own Name) was at that very Time drawing an Army together againſt him at the Town of *Cyzycus*. So that his Buſineſs was, without being troubleſome to the *Jews*, to keep himſelf upon his Guard againſt his Brother, who was called *Cyzicenus*, from the Name of the Place where he had his Education. The Father of this Man was *Antiochus Soter*; he that was taken Priſoner by the *Parthians*. Now *Cleopatra*, as we have ſaid already, had been Wife to the *two Brothers*. Upon the coming of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, into *Syria*, the Brethren were perpetually tearing one another to Pieces, and *Hyrcanus* conſequently in the Poſſeſſion of a profound Peace; for after the Slaughter of *Antiochus* he fell off from the *Macedonians*, and had no more to do with them, either as an *Ally*, or as a *Subject*. But in the Days of *Alexander Zebina*, every Thing went with *Hyrcanus* to his own Heart's Content, and more yet in the Reign of the *two Brothers*: For while they were battering and teizing one another, *Hyrcanus* had *Judæa* ſafe and whole to himſelf, and the Opportunity of hoarding up an ineſtimable Maſs of Treaſure; beſide that while *Cyzicenus* lay ravaging the Country, on the one Hand; and his Brother had no Relief all this while out of *Ægypt*, on the other, he fairly left them to themſelves to confound one another; which was the very Thing he aimed at, and ſo deſpis'd them both.

CHAP. XVIII.

Hyrcanus *beſieges* Samaria. *A miſerable Famine there.* Antiochus Cyzicenus *preſſes to relieve it.* Ariſtobulus *puts him to the Rout; and then back to* Samaria *to continue the Siege.* Ptolemy *ſends* Antiochus *ſix thouſand* Ægyptians *that ravage the Country of* Hyrcanus. Antiochus *commits the War to* Callimander *and* Epicrates. *The former is routed and ſlain, and* Scythopolis *betray'd by the other.* Samaria *taken and laid waſte.* Chelcias *and* Ananias *are* Cleopatra'*s Confidents and Captains.* Hyrcanus *treats the* Phariſees. Eleazar *affronts him.* Jonathan *inflames* Hyrcanus *againſt him: Whereupon he goes over to the* Sadduces. *The Death of* Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus *lays Siege to* Samaria.

A terrible Famine in the Town.

Antiochus Cyzicenus *marches toward their Relief.*

Ariſtobulus *gives him a Defeat.*

Antiochus *with* 6000 Ægyptians *ravage* Hyrcanus's Country.

Antiochus *leaves the Manage of the War to* Callimander *and* Epicrates.

Callimander's *People cut off upon an Encounter, and himſelf ſlain.*

Epicrates *betrays* Scythopolis *and other Places to the* Jews *for* Money.

Samaria *taken after a Year's Siege.*

HYrcanus, under theſe Circumſtances, marched with an Army up to the ſtrong City of *Samaria*, now call'd *Sebaſte*, ſince it was rebuilt by *Herod*, of which we ſhall ſay more in convenient Time and Place. *Hyrcanus* was ſo irritated againſt the *Samaritans* by the Indignities they had put upon the People of *Mariſſa*, (the *Inhabitants* and *Allies* of *Judæa*, though the King of *Syria*'s *Subjects*) that he reſolved to attack the Place with all the Vigour imaginable. Upon ſitting down before it, he begirt the Town with a large Ditch, and a double Wall of eighty Furlongs Compaſs, and gave the Conduct of the Siege to his Sons, *Antigonus* and *Ariſtobulus*, who ply'd it ſo hard, and kept them in ſo cloſe, that they were forced by Extremity of Famine to keep Life and Soul together with Carrion and Dog's Meat: So that in the End, they went to *Antiochus Cyzicenus* for Relief, who came in all Haſte upon their Requeſt; but being routed by *Ariſtobulus*, and purſu'd by the Brothers as far as *Scythopolis*, he made a very narrow Eſcape. The Brethren, after this Action, returned to *Samaria*, and forcing the People into the Town again, renew'd the Siege, which put them upon an Application to the ſame *Antiochus* once again for Succour, who prevailing with *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Lathurus*, for a Matter of ſix thouſand Men; ſo much againſt his Mother's Will and liking, that he was within a very little of loſing his Kingdom for it. With this Band of *Ægyptians*, *Antiochus* went at firſt ranging and ravaging up and down the Country of *Hyrcanus*, not being at that Time in a Condition to look him in the Face. Now the Thing he aim'd at, was by this Diverſion to draw him from the Siege; but what with Surprizes, Deſertions, and other Caſualities, he found his Party in a ſhort Time ſo ſhrunk and weaken'd, that he committed the Charge of the *Jewiſh* War to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, and went off from thence himſelf to *Tripoli*. *Callimander*, after this, with more Bravery than Diſcretion, ventur'd upon a raſh Encounter, where his People were wholly cut off, and himſelf ſlain. *Epicrates* at the ſame Time, betraying *Scythopolis* and ſeveral other Neighbouring Towns there, for Money to the *Jews*, by a Treachery as clear as the Sun: So that, in Fine, there was no Poſſibility of relieving the Place. *Hyrcanus* had been a full Year before *Samaria* when he took it, and it was not enough, he thought, to be *Maſter* of the City, without razing the very *Memory* of it from off the Earth: for he not only made it a Heap of Rubbiſh, but drew ſeveral Trenches of Water thorough it, which ſo diſfigur'd the Face of every Thing, that there was not the leaſt Mark left of any Building that had ever been there. There goes a wonderful, if not an incredible Story of this ſame *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*; which ſays, that upon the Day of the Battle which his Sons had with *Cyzicenus*, it was revealed to him by a Voice from Heaven, as he was alone in the *Temple*, and offering Incenſe, that his Sons had gotten a freſh Victory over *Antiochus*. He went out immediately, and told the People what he had heard; which was confirm'd a while after, beyond all Diſpute. This was computed to be juſt upon the preciſe Inſtant of the Succeſs; and let this ſuffice for the State of Things at that Time with *Hyrcanus*.

No Memorial left that ever there was ſuch a Place.

A Voice from Heaven tells Hyrcanus *of his Sons Victory.*

The *Jews* found this a favourable Seaſon for them, not only at *Jeruſalem*, but at *Alexandria* alſo, and the reſt of *Ægypt*, *Cyprus*, *&c.* For the Queen *Cleopatra*, upon a Difference with her Son *Ptolemy Lathur*, committed the Command of her Troops to *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the Sons of that *Onias*, who erected a Temple in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, after the Platform of that at *Jeruſalem*, of which we have ſpoken before. Theſe two Perſons were the Queen's Adviſers and Directors in all ſhe did, as we have it upon the Credit of *Strabo* the *Cappadocian* in Words to this Effect. *A great many of thoſe* (ſays he) *that either came formerly with us to* Cyprus, *or were ſent thither afterward by* Cleopatra, *immediately quitted the Queen's Intereſt, and went over to* Ptolemy: *Only the* Jews *that were of* Onias's *Party, ſtood firm, out of a Reverence they paid the Queen for the Reſpect ſhe ſhew'd to* Chelcias, *and* Ananias, *their Friends and Countrymen.* Thus far *Strabo*.

The Jews *proſper every where.*

Chelcias *and* Ananias, *two of* Cleopatra's *Captains and* Counſellors. *See* Strabo *the* Cappadocian.

Now the Credit and good Fortune of *Hyrcanus* drew upon him, in a high Meaſure, the Envy of the *Jews*; the *Phariſees* eſpecially, who had no great Kindneſs for him before; but this is a Point that I have formerly touch'd upon. The Authority of that Faction, in Fine, is ſo *ſacred* among the *common People*, that let them treat their *King*, or their *High-Prieſt* at never ſo coarſe a Rate, the Multitude would be ſure to ſide with them. *Hyrcanus* however, having been train'd up in that School, and being look'd upon as a Perſon much in their Favour, took a fair Occaſion to invite them to an Entertainment, where he treated them with all poſſible Humanity and Reſpect. So ſoon as good Company and good Cheer had put them into the Humour of a free and an eaſy Converſation, he took his Time to make them a ſhort Diſcourſe ſomewhat to this following Purpoſe. *I need not tell you*, ſays he, *my worthy Friends, that a Man of your own Principle, deſires nothing more than to approve himſelf acceptable to God, and juſt to his Neighbour, which is but according to the Reſult of your own Doctrine: But if you ſhall find however, that I have in any Thing departed from my Duty, as it is your Part to admoniſh and inſtruct me, I ſhall account it mine to amend and reform.* This generous Candor was received with ſuch Applauſe, that *Hyrcanus* did not a little value himſelf upon the Reputation of ſo honourable a Teſtimony.

Hyrcanus *envy'd by the* Jews *and* Phariſees.

The wonderful Credit of the Phariſees *with the common People.*

Hyrcanus *treats the* Phariſees.

After ſome ſhort Pauſe, *Eleazar*, one of the Gueſts, and a peſtilent ſpiteful Man ſtood up and brake the Silence. *Since you are pleaſed* (ſays he to *Hyrcanus*) *to profeſs your ſelf ſo great a Lover of Truth and plain Dealing, be but ſo juſt alſo as to lay down your* Pontificate, *and content your ſelf with the Character of your civil Adminiſtration.* [And I beſeech you (ſays *Hyrcanus*) why this Propoſal?] *Becauſe*, ſays the other, *we have been told by our Elders, that in the Days of* Antiochus Epiphanes, *your Mother was a Slave.* Now the Report was falſe, and ſo much the more offenſive, as well to the *Phariſees*, as to *Hyrcanus* himſelf. There happened to be in the Company one *Jonathan*, *Hyrcanus*'s particular Friend; but a *Sadducee*, and conſequently a mortal Enemy to the *Phariſees*. This *Jonathan* would needs have it that the Calumny of *Eleazar* was a Thing concerted, and that the *Phariſees* were all privy to it. Now this you will find to be true, ſays he, if you do but put it to them what Puniſhment they think a Man may deſerve for ſo ſcandalous a Defamation. *Hyrcanus* put the Queſtion to feel how they ſtood affected, and whether they had any Hand or not in the Affront. Their Anſwer was, being Men generally inclin'd to Mercy in ſuch Caſes, that they did not find Defamation to be a capital Crime, and ſo they thought Whipping and Impriſonment might ſerve for Satiſfaction. This Way of qualifying the Matter put *Hyrcanus* into a terrible Fret, and gave him to underſtand, that they had every one of them their Part in this infamous Reflexion upon his Family. *Jonathan* ply'd *Hyrcanus* in this Heat, and embitter'd him againſt the *Phariſees* to ſuch a Degree, that he abſolutely renounc'd the Sect, and went over to the *Sadducees*; abrogating all their Ordinances and Statues, with a Penalty upon thoſe that ſhould preſume to obſerve them. This was it, that put both himſelf and his Sons quite out of Credit with the common People, as will be ſeen in it's proper Place. We are here to take Notice, that the *Phariſees* had many *Traditions* handed down from Father to Son, which are not to be found among the Laws of *Moſes*.

Eleazar *paſſes a bitter Reflexion upon* Hyrcanus.

Jonathan *a* Sadducee *irritates* Hyrcanus *againſt the* Phariſees; *who renounces them, and turns* Sadducee.

Now

The great Men *ſide with the* Sadduces, *and the* Multitude *with the* Phariſees.

Now theſe *Traditions* are rejected by the *Sadduces*, upon a Perſuaſion, that only the *written Laws* are *authoritative* and *binding*. We are now come to the very Root of the main Controverſy betwixt the two Parties; the *Sadduces* being ſupported by Men of *Quality* and *Subſtance*; the *Phariſees* only by the Favour of the *Multitude*. But of theſe *Sects*, and of the *Eſſenes*, we have ſaid enough in our *Hiſtory of the Jewiſh Wars*, Lib. 2.

Hyrcanus *govern'd* 31 *Years, and left* 5 *Sons; foretelling that the two eldeſt ſhould not be long liv'd.*

The Remainder of *Hyrcanus*'s Life, after the compoſing of this Sedition, was happy and quiet to the very Day of his Death; which happened in the Year of his Government thirty one. He left behind him five Sons; and God was pleaſed to honour him with three eminent Dignities; the *civil Government* of the *Jews*; the *High-Prieſthood*, and the *Spirit of Prophecy*: Foretelling by a Divine Revelation, that his two eldeſt Sons ſhould not long enjoy the Government after the Death of their Father. It ſucceeded in the Event according to his Prediction; but it will be worth the while, for the Credit of his Preſage, to ſhew how they came to their End.

CHAP. XIX.

Ariſtobulus *the eldeſt Son of* Hyrcanus *makes himſelf to be crown'd* King. Antigonus *the ſecond Brother, is his Favourite. He keeps the other three Brothers in Priſon, and ſtarves his Mother.* Antigonus *is put to Death; and his Death foretold by one* Judas *a Prophet, both for Time and Place.* Ariſtobulus *ſeiz'd with a Horror of Conſcience, and a vomiting of Blood; which he confeſſes to be a juſt Judgment upon him.*

Ariſtobulus *changes the* Ariſtocraſy *into a* Monarchy.

He takes Antigonus *into the Government with him.*

His barbarous Cruelties.

He puts Antigonus *to Death upon the Inſtigation of his Enemies.*

A malicious Calumny.

A Plot of the Queen *and the Conſpirators upon his Life.*

Hyrcanus being now Dead, his eldeſt Son *Ariſtobulus* took up a Reſolution of changing the Form of the Government, and turning the *Principality* into an *abſolute Monarchy*; ſetting the Crown accordingly upon his own Head. This happen'd 481 Years and three Months, after the Return of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. He had ſo great a Tenderneſs for *Antigonus*, his next Brother, that he made him a kind of a Partner with him in the Government. The other three he kept all this while in Bonds; caſting his Mother into Priſon alſo, whom he look'd upon as a Competitreſs upon a Pretence of Claim: *Hyrcanus* having left her at his Death, the Miſtreſs of all he could confer upon her. His Cruelty, in ſhort, was ſo horrid and unnatural, that he ſtarv'd his Mother to Death in her Confinement, and afterward put his dearly beloved Brother and Favourite, *Antigonus* himſelf to Death, only upon the malicious Suggeſtions of evil Tongues. It was a good while before he would give any Heed to thoſe invidious Stories, in Regard both of the Affection he had for *Antigonus*, and that in his Conſcience, he looked upon them all to be only the Inventions of Malevolence and Envy; but *Antigonus* having the Hap once to return from the Army in great Pomp and Glory, juſt upon the Solemnity of the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, *Ariſtobulus* at the ſame Time lying ſick in his Bed, his Brother *Antigonus* went up to the Temple with his Guards about him in mighty Splendor and State; only upon the Account of *religious Worſhip*, and in the firſt Place to offer up his Prayers and Vows for the Health of his *Brother*. The Fame and Reputation of *Antigonus*, and the Magnificence of his Parade upon this Occaſion, furniſhed as fit Matter for a Faction of Court-Paraſites and Make-bates to work upon, as they could wiſh: So that away they went preſently open mouth'd to the King, with all the virulent Pretences and Aggravations they could muſter together. *This was not a Behaviour*, they ſaid, *that became the Condition of a private Man; but rather a moſt notorious Evidence of a Deſign upon the Crown; and that the Guards he had then about him, would in a ſhort Time advance from this Invaſion upon his Royalty, to a Violence upon his Perſon; and he was not ſo mad neither as to ſtop at a Part of the Government, when he might have it whole to himſelf.* *Ariſtobulus* was ſo divided betwixt the Fear of being either too ſecure, or too credulous, that though he could not believe every Thing they told him, he could not yet but ſuſpect there might be ſomething in it upon the Main; and ſo took a middle Courſe of providing for his Safety, without ſeeming to be jealous of any Danger. He had his Apartment in a Tower, that hath been ſince known by the Name of *Antonia*, where he poſted a Guard in a dark Place under Ground, with particular Orders, that they ſhould watch his Brother in his Paſſage, and that if he came without Arms, no Body ſhould meddle with him; but if he came armed, they ſhould kill him. So *Ariſtobulus* ſent for his Brother to come to him, charging the Meſſenger to bid him come without Arms: But the Queen, and the reſt of the Conſpirators tamper'd with the Meſſenger, and bad him tell *Antigonus* on the contrary, that his Brother had heard of a very brave Suit of Arms he had gotten; and that he had a great Mind to ſee how they became him. *Antigonus* depending wholly

Antigonus *murder'd in* Straton's Tower.

A ſtrange Prediction of one Judas *concerning his Death; with the very* Time *and* Place.

ly upon the good Faith of his Brother, and ſuſpecting no Treachery, went immediately armed juſt as the Meſſenger found him, to ſhew himſelf. Upon his coming to the Tower of *Straton*, the Soldiers fell upon him in a dark Paſſage, and ſlew him. This Diſaſter may ſuffice to ſhew the Force of Envy and Slander; and how the very beſt of Natures may be corrupted by thoſe Temptations. But the moſt wonderful Circumſtance of all was the Prediction of one *Judas*, a famous *Prophet* of thoſe Times, whoſe Preſages never fail'd. This *Judas*, upon the Sight of *Antigonus*, coming to the Temple, brake out into Exclamations among his Diſciples, that he was now weary of his Life; for *Antigonus* whoſe Death he had preſag'd upon that very Day at *Straton's Tower*, was yet alive: The Place ſix hundred Furlongs off, and the Day more than half over: So that he had utterly loſt the Credit of a Prophet for ever. While he was in this Perplexity for the Reputation of his Oracle, came the News of *Antigonus*'s being ſlain in a ſubterranean Paſſage under the *Tower*. Now this was call'd *Straton's Tower*, it ſeems, as well as that upon the Coaſt, which was afterwards known by the Name of *Cæſarea*; and this *Salvo* ſet the Prophet right again.

Ariſtobulus *ſtruck with a Remorſe of* Conſcience.

Ariſtobulus *vomits Blood.*

His laſt Agony, and Confeſſion of his Wickedneſs.

A good Man upon the Main, and a Friend to the Jews.

The Thought of this execrable Murder wrought upon *Ariſtobulus* immediately a conſcientious Deteſtation of the Fact, and enflamed his Diſtemper, inſomuch that his Agonies encreaſing upon him, he fell at laſt into a vomiting of Blood; and as one of his Servants was carrying Part of it away in a Baſin, by a ſtrange Providence he made a Stumble upon the Way, and ſpilt it upon the very Blood of his Maſter's Brother. There was ſuch an Outcry upon this Accident (as if the Servant had done it on Purpoſe) that *Ariſtobulus* himſelf overhearing it, would not be quiet till they told him the Meaning of it; and the ſhyer they were of owning the Truth, the more eager was he to know it, as Men are naturally more curious in ſuch Caſes. But in the Concluſion, betwixt Importunity and Menace, he extorted it from them, and in the Horror of an afflicted Conſcience, enter'd with Groans and Tears into an anxious Expoſtulation upon it to this Purpoſe. *No, no*, ſays he, *the all ſeeing Eye of God hath found me out in my Wickedneſs, and my Brothers Blood hath already brought down a Vengeance upon me. How long ſhall this ſhameleſs Carcaſs of mine entertain a Life ſo juſtly forfeited to the Aſhes and Memory of my dear Mother and Brother! Why do I not rather die once for all, than bleed to Death thus Drop by Drop, as if my Sufferings could be an Attonement for the Foulneſs of a Parricide!* With theſe Words betwixt his Lips he gave up the Ghoſt, having govern'd only one Year, under the Surname of *Phillen*; that is to ſay, *a Lover of the Greeks.* He brought many Advantages to his Country; made War upon *Ituræa*, and laid a conſiderable Part of it to the Territory of *Judæa*, forcing the People, upon Pain of Baniſhment, to ſubmit to Circumciſion, and to live in a Conformity to the other Rites and Practices of the *Jews*. He was accounted to be otherwiſe, a Perſon of Modeſty and Juſtice, as *Strabo* vouches for him out of *Timagenes*, in theſe Words. *He was a righteous Man, and in many Reſpects a Friend to the* Jews; *for he enlarged their Juriſdiction by annexing to it* Ituræa, *uniting the People alſo into one common Bond of Circumciſion.*

CHAP. XX.

Salome *the Widow of* Ariſtobulus *ſets the three Brothers at Liberty, and places* Jannæus Alexander *upon the Throne.* Alexander *puts one of his Brothers to Death, and provides for the other. He beſieges* Ptolemais: Ptolemy Lathur *advances to relieve them; but they ſhut their Gates upon him.* Alexander *quits the Siege, and plays a politick Game betwixt the Intereſt of* Cleopatra *and* Ptolemy. Ptolemy *ſets down before* Ptolemais, *and takes the City* Azochis *by Aſſault.*

Salome *ſets the three Brothers at Liberty, and advances the eldeſt to the Throne.*

Hyrcanus *contracts a mortal Averſion for* Alexander, *upon a Dream.*

AFter the Death of *Ariſtobulus*, his Wife *Salome*, (by the *Greeks* called *Alexandra*) ſet the Brothers at *Liberty*, whom her Husband had made Priſoners (of which already) and placed *Jannæus*, otherwiſe called *Alexander*, upon the Throne; the eldeſt, and the moſt temperate of the three. It was his ill Hap to incur his Father's Averſion, almoſt as ſoon as he was born; to the Degree of not being ſuffer'd to appear in his Sight. The Reaſon, they ſay, was this. *Hyrcanus* had a Dream one Night of God's appearing to him, and that upon his Enquiry who ſhould ſucceed him in the Government, he was anſwered with the lively Repreſentation of the Perſon, and ſo the *Viſion* diſappear'd. *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* were his *Favourites*; and *Hyrcanus* finding, that neither of them was deſign'd by this Figure, he apply'd it to *Alexander*, under the Affliction of a double Diſappointment, in Regard both of the Dignity, and of the Fortune, falling, as he accounted it, into a wrong Hand. Upon this Occaſion, *Alexander* was ſent away to be brought up in *Galilee*;

Alexander *cuts off one of his Brothers, and provides for the other.*

but the Event however anſwer'd the Prediction; for ***Alexander***, upon the Death of *Ariſtobulus*, enter'd upon the Adminiſtration; and taking off one of his Brothers that would have ſupplanted him, treated the other with great Honour in the contented State of a private Life.

He lays Siege to Ptolemais; *which, with* Gaza, Dora, *and the* Tower of Straton, *under* Zoilus, *did yet ſtand out.*

An Embaſſy to Ptolemy Lathur *for Relief.*

Ptolemy *upon this, equips a great Fleet.*

Demænetus *puts off the People from treating with* Ptolemy.

So ſoon as he had ſettled the State to his Mind, he marched with an Army to *Ptolemais*, where he encounter'd a Body of the Enemy in the Field; beat them into the Town, and then coop'd them up in it. There was only this Place and *Gaza*, of all the *Sea-Coaſt-Towns* that ſtood out; beſide *Dora*, and the Tower of *Straton*, in the Hands of *Zoilus*. As for *Antiochus Philometor*, and his Brother *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, they were ſo engaged and waſted in a War one with another, that there was no Thought of any Relief to the People of *Ptolemais* that Way. But *Zoilus* that play'd his own Game all this while, and lay upon the Catch to make Advantage of theſe Diviſions, ſent them ſome Sort of Aſſiſtance, though not much to the Purpoſe. It was at this Time with the two Enemy-Kings, as it is with a Couple of Sword-Men fighting a Prize: They are ſo intent upon cutting one another down, that they never think of any Thing elſe; and let them be never ſo much batter'd and weary'd, there muſt be no yielding at laſt; but when they have fought as long as they can ſtand, their Way is to lye down by Conſent, to take Breath, and to't again. The beſieged, in Fine, had no Proſpect of any Hope or Poſſibility of Relief, but from *Ægypt*, and eſpecially from *Ptolemy Lathur*, that had been driven out of his Kingdom by his Mother *Cleopatra*, and was now withdrawn into *Cyprus*: So that they preſently ſent away Embaſſadors to *Ptolemy* to deſire his Aid againſt *Alexander*: Making no Doubt, they ſaid, but ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould ſet Foot in *Syria*, the People of *Gaza* and *Ptolemais* would all declare in his Favour; beſide that *Zoilus*, the *Sidonians*, and other People thereabouts, would be ſure to joyn with him over and above. The King was ſo elevated with theſe Aſſurances, that he ſent his People immediately upon the equipping of a Fleet for the Expedition: But while this was a doing, one *Demænetus*, a Perſon of great Credit with the Citizens of *Ptolemais*, brought the People, upon ſecond Thoughts, to a better Underſtanding of the Matter, by reaſoning with them about it, after this Manner. *The Queſtion*, ſays he, *in Short, will be this; whether you had not better ſtand the Fate of the War you are engag'd in with the* Jews, *and venture the* uncertain Iſſue *of it, than by calling in and delivering your ſelves up to the Protection of a foreign Power, to incur a* certain Slavery; *and not only become involved in a preſent Broyl, but run the Riſk of a more dangerous Incumbrance that threatens you from* Ægypt. *For you cannot think that* Cleopatra *will ever ſtand ſtill, to ſee* Ptolemy *form his Troops into a Body: But the Queen will rather get beforehand with him, and have a potent Army at his Back, before he is ready for't; beſide the Hazard he runs of being thrown out of* Cyprus *too. Or to take it another Way, ſuppoſe* Ptolemy *ſhould fail in his Deſign, and be forced back again to* Cyprus, *there are you left to the wide World to ſhift for your ſelves: And what do you think will be the End on't then?*

Ptolemy *lands with 30000 Horſe and Foot; but the Citizens will have nothing to do with him.*

Alexander *quits the Siege, and betakes himſelf to Stratagems.*

He tampers under Hand with Cleopatra, *and treats with* Ptolemy *to deliver up* Zoilus.

Ptolemy *lays Siege to* Ptolemais.

This Diſcourſe brought them quite off from their Opinion of the Embaſſy, and *Ptolemy* was told as much at Sea upon his Paſſage: But however, ſince he was now in Motion, he continu'd his Courſe to *Sycamin*, where he landed an Army of about *thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot*, marching thence to *Ptolemais*, with an Intent to ſend an Embaſſy to the City; but when he found that they would have nothing to do with him, either by Meſſage, or by Word of Mouth, it put him to his Wit's End what to do next. While he was in this Perplexity, there came to him *Zoilus*, and ſome Deputies from *Gaza*, to implore his Help againſt the *Jews* and *Alexander*, that were making Havock in their Country. *Alexander*, upon this, was forc'd to raiſe the Siege for Fear of *Ptolemy*: And when he ſaw there was no good to be done by downright Force, he marched his Army back again, and betaking himſelf to his Politicks, play'd his Game another Way. He treated with *Cleopatra* under-hand againſt *Ptolemy*, and at the ſame Time kept fair with *Ptolemy*, in Appearance, under the Countenance of a Friend and an Allie; propoſing to give him four hundred Talents of Silver, upon Condition of delivering up the Uſurper *Zoilus* into his Hands, and reſtoring to the *Jews* thoſe Lands of theirs, which he had in Poſſeſſion. *Ptolemy*, without any Heſitation, embraced the Friendſhip of *Alexander*, and ſeized upon *Zoilus*; but coming to underſtand, that there was an Intrigue carry'd on all this while betwixt *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, he look'd upon the League as broken, and without more ado, laid Siege to *Ptolemais*, where the Gates were ſhut againſt him. Upon this, he divided his Army, leaving one Part of it before the Town to make good the Siege, and marching off with the Remainder of it himſelf, to deſtroy the Country of *Judæa*. Now *Alexander*, on the other Hand, to encounter this Deſign of *Ptolemy*, levy'd an Army of his own People; ſome ſay of *fifty*, others of *eighty thouſand Men*, and ſo advanced with it againſt the Enemy. *Ptolemy*, in the mean Time, taking the Advantage of a *Sabbath-Day*, fell upon *Aſſochis*, a City of *Galilee*, at unawares, and took it by Aſſault with about ten thouſand Priſoners, and a vaſt Booty.

Ptolemy *takes the City of* Aſſochis *by Aſſault.*

CHAP. XXI.

Ptolemy Lathur *gives* Alexander *an Overthrow, and takes* Ptolemais *by Aſſault.* Cleopatra *joyns with the* Jews *againſt him, and makes* Chelcias *and* Ananias *her Generals.* Ptolemy *is forc'd out of* Ægypt, *and ſlain in the Purſuit.* Cleopatra *reduces* Ptolemais, *and ſtrikes a new League with* Alexander, *who takes* Gadara *and* Amathon. Gaza *beſieg'd.* Apollodotus *makes a brave Sally, and is beaten back.* Lyſimachus *murders him, and betrays the Town. A barbarous Maſſacre.* Alexander *returns to* Jeruſalem. Antiochus Grypus *ſlain.* Seleucus *routs* Antiochus Cyzicenus; *takes him Priſoner, and puts him to Death.* Demetrius Eucærus *made King of* Damaſcus. *The Death of* Antiochus *by the* Parthians. Philip *and* Demetrius *ſucceed him.* Alexander *affronted by his own People; deſtroys ſix thouſand of them, and falls into an Ambuſh. A Rebellion that coſt the* Jews *fifty thouſand Lives.*

AFTER the taking of *Aſſochis*, *Ptolemy* went and attack'd *Sepphoris*, a Place a little Way off; where he was repulſed with a conſiderable Loſs, and from thence marched directly away to try a Battle with *Alexander*, whom he found about [a] *Aſſophus* near the River *Jordan*, and encamped juſt over againſt the Enemy. *Alexander* had in his *Van* eight thouſand of thoſe they call *Hecatontomachi*, armed with brazen Bucklers, and *Ptolemy*'s Men in the Front had the ſame Sort of Shields; but the Generality of his People not being ſo well armed as their Adverſaries, were not over-eager of engaging, till one *Philoſtephanus*, an excellent Officer that had the ordering of them, and underſtood his Trade perfectly well, led them on and encourag'd them. The firſt Word of Command was to paſs the River that parted the two Armies; which *Alexander* did not pretend to oppoſe, in Confidence of getting the Day, if he could but engage the Enemy with the River behind them to cut off their Retreat. When it came to the Shock, the Fortune of the Battle was a while doubtful, and it was fought with great Loſs on both Sides; till [upon the ſhrinking of a Diviſion of *Ptolemy*'s,] the Victory ſeemed to incline to *Alexander*: But *Philoſtephanus* coming up to their Relief with a ſeaſonable Enforcement, that Wing of the *Jews* was overlaid by Numbers, and broken; and no Succour appearing, they were forced to ſhift for themſelves, and the whole Field ſcatter'd preſently into a Rout, after their Example: *Ptolemy*'s Men preſſing ſo hard upon the Fugitives that their Arms were tir'd, and their Swords blunted with the Execution. They ſpeak of *thirty thouſand* Men ſlain in that Battle. *Timagenes* in his Hiſtory makes them to be *fifty*; the reſt either taken Priſoners, or ſaving themſelves by Flight.

Ptolemy *attacks* Sepphoris, *and is beaten off.*

The Hecatontomachi.

Philoſtephanus *engages them.*

Alexander *put to the Rout, with the Loſs of* 30000 *Men.*

After the Purſuit of this bloody Victory as far as mercileſs Rage and Day-light could carry it, *Ptolemy*, in the Evening, went into ſome of the *Jews* Villages and Habitations; and finding them well ſtock'd and crowded with Women and Children, order'd his Soldiers to cut their Throats, one with another, promiſcuouſly, and then hack them into Goblets and Quarters, and ſo into Pots and Kettles with them over the Fire, for a Terror to thoſe that ſcap'd from the Battle, when they ſhould find themſelves fallen into the Hands of an Enemy that liv'd upon humane Fleſh. *Strabo* and *Nicolaus* make mention of this barbarous Cruelty. The ſame People took *Ptolemais* alſo by Aſſault, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

A barbarous Butchery of Ptolemy.

Ptolemais *taken by Force.*

Cleopatra was ſo ſenſible of the overgrown Greatneſs of her Son *Gaza* reduc'd, and the Land of *Judæa* laid waſte, that ſhe thought it now high Time to put a Stop to his Ambition; eſpecially being come to the Gates of *Ægypt* it ſelf, with a Deſign upon the Kingdom too. Upon this Precaution, ſhe muſter'd without any Delay, all the Strength ſhe was able to make, both at Sea and Land; conſtituting *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, two *Jews*, for *Generals*. She ſent the greateſt Part of her Treaſure with her Grandchildren, and her laſt Will and Teſtament, into the *Iſle* of *Coas*; and order'd her Son *Alexander* with a powerful Navy into *Phœnicia*, to keep that Province in Obedience, while ſhe her ſelf went to *Ptolemais*; and being refuſed Admittance, ſhe order'd an Aſſault upon the Town. *Ptolemy*, upon this, quitted *Syria*, and haſten'd away into *Ægypt*; flattering himſelf, that coming ſo unexpectedly, and in the Queen's Abſence too, he ſhould find the Country unguarded; but he was much miſtaken in his Surmiſe. *Cleopatra* had the Fortune at this Time to loſe *Chelcias*, one of her Generals, as he was in the Purſuit of *Ptolemy* in *Cœle-Syria*.

Cleopatra *levies an Army againſt* Ptolemy, *and makes* Chelcias *and* Ananias *her* Generals.

Ptolemy *quits* Syria *and marches away into* Ægypt. Chelcias *ſlain.*

Upon *Ptolemy*'s Miſcarriage in this Attempt upon *Ægypt*, the Queen ſent a ſtrong Detachment after him, that drove him quite out of his Country, now a ſecond Time,

Ptolemy *forced quite away out of* Ægypt.

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[a] It ſhould be *Aſochis* according to *Ortelius* in his *Theſaurus Geograph.* v. *Aſophus.*

Cleopatra *takes* Ptolemais *by Aſſault, and treats* Alexander *with great Reſpect;*

and renews a League of Amity with him at Scythopolis.

and forced him to take up his Winter-Quarters in *Gaza:* She her ſelf, in the mean Time, taking the City and Garriſon of *Ptolemais* by Aſſault, where ſhe was highly preſented by *Alexander*, and the Preſenter alſo received with a Dignity becoming ſo great and generous a Queen, to an unfortunate Prince under the Perſecution and Oppreſſion of a common Enemy, and that had no other Sanctuary to repair to. Some were for going quite another Way to work, and for the Queen's making the beſt of her Opportunity, by ſeizing *Alexander* and his Kingdom both at once; ſuggeſting what Pity it would be to leave ſo many good People of the *Jews* at the Mercy of one ſingle Man: But *Ananias* cry'd out againſt the Propoſition, as an Affront to all the Ties and Duties of Hoſpitality and common Faith; eſpecially to a Friend and a Kinſman, under ſo ſacred a Truſt: Beſide, that one ſuch Act of Injuſtice would turn againſt her the Hearts of all the honeſt *Jews* upon the Face of the Earth. The Queen was ſo mightily pleaſed with this plain-dealing Simplicity of *Ananias*, that ſhe did not only forbear preſſing any Thing that was hard upon him, but renew'd a League of Friendſhip with him, at *Scythopolis* a City of *Cœle-Syria*.

Alexander *takes* Gadara *and* Amathus.

Theodotus *cuts off* 10000 Jews *by Surprize.*

He beſieges Gaza.

Apollodotus *makes a ſtout Sally upon the* Jews, *and an obſtinate Defence.*

Aretas *holds the* Jews *in Hand with Hopes of Relief.*

Lyſimachus *murders his own Brother* Apollodotus, *and delivers up the Town.*

A bloody Maſſacre.

Alexander *goes back to* Jeruſalem.

No ſooner did *Alexander* find himſelf out of the Power and Fear of *Ptolemy*, but away he went upon an Expedition into *Cœle-Syria*; where, after a ten Month's Siege, he took *Gadara*, and after that, *Amathus* the ſtrongeſt Fort incomparably upon the River *Jordan*, and the Place where *Theodotus* the Son of *Zeno*, in an Outrage of Revenge, fell upon the *Jews* by Surprize, cut off ten thouſand of their Men, and took *Alexander's Baggage:* But this unexpected Diſaſter did not yet divert the King from his Deſign upon *Raphia*, a *Sea-Coaſt Town*, and *Anthedon*, which was afterward by *Herod* called *Agrippiades*; both which he reduced by Force. *Ptolemy* had by this Time left *Gaza*, and betaken himſelf again to *Cyprus*, his Mother *Cleopatra* alſo being gone back to *Ægypt:* So that *Alexander* took this Occaſion of revenging himſelf upon the People of *Gaza* for calling in *Ptolemy* to their Succour againſt him; laid Siege to the Town, and at the ſame Time haraſs'd their Country. While *Alexander* was before the Place, *Apollodotus* their Commander made a ſtout Sally one Night with two thouſand Mercenaries, and ten thouſand of the Citizens well-armed, upon the Camp of the *Jews*; and ſo long as it was dark, the beſieged had the better of it, upon an Apprehenſion of *Ptolemy's* being come up with Relief: But ſo ſoon as ever they had Day-light to ſhew them the Truth of the Matter, the *Jews* rally'd, and made ſo furious a Charge upon the Garriſon, that they deſtroy'd a thouſand of their Men: But the Courage of theſe People was Proof ſtill againſt all the Difficulties of *Number*, *Force*, nay and *Famine* it ſelf; being reſolved among themſelves rather to abide all Extremities, than to ſhrink, or yield to an Enemy. And for a further Encouragement to this Obſtinacy, they were held in Hand by *Aretas* an *Arabian* King, with the Promiſe of a timely Succour. But all came to nothing; for before any Supply could be brought, *Apollodotus* was kill'd, and the Town taken. This *Apollodotus* was murder'd by the Hand of *Lyſimachus*, his own Brother, out of mere Spite and Envy, for the Reputation he had gained among the People. After the Fact committed, he got a Party together, and ſo deliver'd up the City to *Alexander*. This Prince, upon his firſt Entrance, behaved himſelf as if he meant them nothing but Moderation, Good Will and fair Quarter: But this peaceable Humour did not laſt long, for he turn'd his Soldiers looſe among them immediately after, with a Commiſſion at large to kill, burn, and deſtroy, at Pleaſure. This Licence they extended to a direct *Maſſacre*, though it coſt them dear enough too; for there dy'd as many of the *Jews*, as of the *Townſmen*. Some, in ſhort, ſet Fire to their own Houſes, that the Enemy might not be the better for them; others laid violent Hands upon their very Wives and Children; chuſing rather to have them die free, than live Slaves. The *Magiſtracy* of the Town happen'd to be in Council when theſe barbarous Troops came into the City, and the *Senators*, to the Number of *five hundred*, betook themſelves preſently to the *Temple* of *Apollo* for *Sanctuary*; but they were all ſlaughter'd to a Man; the Town ſack'd and levell'd; and *Alexander*, after a Year ſpent before it, returned to *Jeruſalem*.

The Death of Antiochus Grypus.

Seleucus *routs* Antiochus Cyzicenus; *takes him Priſoner, and puts him to Death.*

Much about this Time it was that *Antiochus*, otherwiſe called *Grypus*, was kill'd by the Treachery of *Heracleon* in the Year of his Life forty five, and the nine and twentieth of his Reign. His Son *Seleucus* ſucceeded him, who waged War with his Uncle *Antiochus*, call'd *Cyzicenus*, whom he worſted and took Priſoner in a Battle, and put him to Death. *Antiochus*, the Son of *Cyzicenus*, whoſe *Surname* was *Euſebes*, came a while after to *Arad*, where he was crown'd; and making War after this, upon *Seleucus*, he beat him at one Battle out of all *Syria*, whence he fled for Safety to *Cilicia:* And in Requital for the Protection he receiv'd among the *Mopſeates*, he laid heavy Taxes and Impoſitions upon them, which they took in ſuch Indignation, that they put Fire to his Palace, and burnt Maſter and Servants all together alive.

While *Antiochus Cyzicenus* was in Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Syria*, there was another *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Seleucus*, that brought in a War upon him, wherein he loſt his Life and his Army: After which, his Brother *Philip* took the Crown to himſelf, and govern'd Part of *Syria*. *Ptolemy Lathur*, upon this, ſent for his fourth Brother *Demetrius Eucærus* to *Gnidus*, whom he conſtituted King of *Damaſcus*. *Antiochus* bare up very ſtoutly againſt his Brothers for the Time he liv'd; but being call'd upon ſoon after to the Aſſiſtance of *Laodice*, the Queen of the *Galadenes*, that was then in War with the *Parthians*, he was [a] ſlain in the Field with his Sword in his Hand, behaving himſelf like a Man of Honour and Reſolution: And after his Death, the Government of *Syria* deſcended to his two Brothers, *Philip* and *Demetrius*, as hath been ſaid heretofore.

Ptolemy *makes* Demetrius Eucærus *King of* Damaſcus.

Antiochus *ſlain by the* Parthians.

Philip *and* Demetrius *ſucceeded to the Government of* Syria.

There was about this Time a moſt ſeditious Affront put upon *Alexander* by his own People. It was a cuſtomary Thing among the *Jews* to march with Boughs of *Citron* or *Palm-Trees* in their Hands upon the Celebration of the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, and as *Alexander* was upon his Preparation to *ſacrifice*, and aſſiſt at the Solemnity, the Multitude fell to pelting him with *Citrons*, and with ſuch provoking Language of *Slave*, and the like, that in a Rage he cauſed a Matter of ſix thouſand of them to be put to Death, and was forced to ſet up a Partition of Wood about the *Temple* and the *Altar*, to the very Place where only the Prieſts were admitted, to keep off the Crowd. He made Uſe of *Piſidians* and *Cilicians* for his Mercenaries; but for the *Syrians*, he did not love them, and durſt not truſt them. He got the better, in Fine, of the *Arabians*; laid the *Moabites* and *Galaadites* under Contribution, and deſtroy'd *Amathus* without any of the leaſt Oppoſition from *Theodorus*. He made War alſo upon *Obed* the King of *Arabia*, but falling into an Ambuſh near *Gadara* in *Galilee*, he was forced by a Preſs of *Camels* into the Mouth of a narrow, craggy Paſſage; from whence, with infinite Difficulty, he made a Shift to clear himſelf, and ſo got ſafe to *Jeruſalem*. This Diſaſter of *Alexander*'s was follow'd with a ſix Year's Rebellion, which coſt the *Jews* no leſs than fifty thouſand Lives. The King was weary of the Broil, and would fain have been at Quiet; but the more he ſought for a Reconciliation, the further were they from it: Inſomuch, that asking them at laſt what it was poſſible for him to do to content them, they bad him with one Voice cut his own Throat; and thereupon invited *Demetrius Eucærus* to their Aid.

Alexander *affronted by his own People.*

He puts 6000 of them to Death.

He demoliſhes Amathus, *and makes War upon* Obed.

A ſix Year's Rebellion that coſt the Lives of 50000 Jews.

They call in Demetrius *to their Aſſiſtance.*

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucærus *marches againſt* Alexander, *and defeats him in a Battle. His Auxiliaries are all ſlain to a Man. Six thouſand* Jews *repair to him in the Mountains.* Demetrius *retires, and the* Jews *make Head againſt* Alexander; *who ſhuts them up in* Bethama, *and carries them Priſoners to* Jeruſalem. *Eight hundred* Jews *put to Death for a Spectacle.* Alexander *nick-nam'd* Thracidas, *for his butcherly Cruelty.* Philip *beſieg'd in* Berœa *by his Brother* Demetrius, *who is himſelf aſſaulted in his Camp by* Zizus *and* Mithridates, *and carry'd away Priſoner to the King of the* Parthians. Demetrius *dies, and his Brother* Philip *enters upon the Government of* Syria.

Demetrius *Eucærus*, in Conjunction with thoſe that called him in, marched to their Aſſiſtance with an Army of *three thouſand Horſe* and *forty thouſand Foot*, and encamped near *Sichem*, where *Alexander*, with about *ſix thouſand foreign Mercenaries*, and ſome *twenty thouſand* of his own Faction, went out to meet him. The Armies being now drawn up, it came to a Tryal of Skill upon the Point of Stratagem and Addreſs, betwixt the two Parties, whether *Demetrius* ſhould debauch more of *Alexander*'s Foreigners to him, (being all *Greeks*;) or *Alexander*, on the other Hand, gain over more of *Demetrius*'s *Jews* to himſelf. They ſtood tricking of it thus a while; but finding that there was no Good to be done on either Hand that Way, they brought it to a Battle, and *Demetrius* got the Day: *Alexander*'s Auxiliaries doing as much however as it was poſſible for brave Men to do; for they dy'd every Creature of them upon the Spot with Sword in Hand: And the Loſs on the other Side was alſo very conſiderable. *Alexander* upon this Defeat, was forced to fly to the Mountains for Refuge; where, by a ſtrange Turn of Compaſſion for his Misfortune, a Matter of ſix thouſand *Jews* came up to him, and joyn'd him. *Demetrius* took ſuch an Apprehenſion at this Enforcement, and the Inclinations of the People, that he preſently quitted and retir'd. But the *Jews*, after all this, ſtood their Ground ſtill, nevertheleſs, and carry'd on the War againſt *Alexander* upon the Stock of their own Reſolution and Credit: Notwithſtanding that they were perpetually baffled and

A Battle fought betwixt Demetrius; *and* Alexander *worſted. He retires to the Mountains, and* 6000 Jews *repair to him.*

Demetrius *withdraws, and the* Jews *maintain the War againſt* Alexander.

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[a] *Vaillant* in his *Nummi Seleucidorum*, p. 376. endeavours to ſhew that *Joſephus* is in a Miſtake here.

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Alexander *coops them up in* Bethama; *takes the Town, and carries the People Priſoners to* Jeruſalem.

800 Jews *crucify'd for a* Spectacle.

Alexander, *for his Barbarity, nick-nam'd* Thracidas.

cut to Pieces as often as they fought. They were forced in the Concluſion, with the beſt of their Men, to betake themſelves to *Bethama* for Protection, where *Alexander* coop'd them up; and forcing the Town, carry'd the People Priſoners to *Jeruſalem*; where he committed the moſt execrable Barbarities that can be imagin'd. As he was feaſting himſelf, and his *Concubines* one Time, in a Turret that had the Advantage of a large Proſpect, he made it Part of his Entertainment, to treat his Company with the Spectacle of the *gibbetting* of *eight hundred Jews*, with their Wives and Children, and the cutting of their Throats in the Sight of one another yet living. It was a terrible Provocation, 'tis true, for Subjects not only to rebel, but to joyn alſo with Strangers againſt their lawful Prince, to the extreme Hazzard of his Life and Dignity, as this was the Caſe; and then to reduce him at laſt to the Neceſſity of giving up again to the King of *Arabia*, what he had taken from the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, as a Compoſition not to aſſiſt his revolted Subjects againſt him: To ſay nothing of other Outrages innumerable of the ſame Kind; this is all abominably ill, but not ſufficient yet to warrant ſo unnatural an Inhumanity. The Rigour, in ſhort, was ſo deteſtable, that the *Jews* gave *Alexander* the Name of [a] *Thracidas* for it. There were ſome eight thouſand of the Army however that made a Shift to get away by Night; and ſpent their Days afterward in a Kind of Baniſhment, ſo long as *Alexander* liv'd; but this Tumult once over, he had a peaceable Reign of it ever after.

Demetrius *beſieges* Berœa, *with his Brother* Philip *in it: While he himſelf is attack'd, and taken Priſoner in his Trenches, and ſent to the King of* Parthia.

Demetrius *dies, and* Philip *ſucceeds him to the Kingdom of* Syria.

Demetrius went from *Judæa* to *Berœa*, where his Brother *Philip* was, and with an Army of *ten thouſand Foot* and a *thouſand Horſe*, laid Siege to the Town. *Straton* the Prince of the Place, and a Friend of *Philip*'s, called in to his Aſſiſtance *Zizus* an *Arabian* Prince, and *Mithridates Sinaces* the *Parthian General*, who with a powerful Army attack'd *Demetrius*, and preſs'd him ſo hard both with Darts and Arrows, and with Drought for Want of Water, that *Demetrius* with his People were forced to render; himſelf being taken Priſoner, and ſent for a Preſent to *Mithridates* a *Parthian* King. What *Antiochians* were found in the Tents, were left at Liberty to go back to *Antioch*. The King of *Parthia* treated *Demetrius* with great Honour and Reſpect; but he ſicken'd ſoon after and dy'd: *Philip*, after this Encounter, repairing preſently to *Antioch*, and entring into the Government of the whole Kingdom of *Syria*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Antiochus Dionyſius *makes himſelf King of* Damaſcus. *His Brother* Philip, *by the Help of* Mileſius, *ſupplants him. The Ingratitude of* Mileſius, *who afterward ſhuts the Gates upon* Philip, *and keeps it for* Antiochus. Alexander *fortifies all the Avenues from* Caparſaba *or* Antipatris *to* Joppa. Antiochus *breaks in upon* Alexander: *There paſſes a bloody Battle*; Antiochus *is kill'd, and his Army routed.* Aretas *choſen King of* Cœle-Syria. *He falls into* Judæa, *and gives* Alexander *an Overthrow, and then comes to an Agreement with him upon Terms.* Alexander *takes in ſeveral Places by Aſſault; depoſes* Demetrius, *and ſo back to* Jeruſalem. *The large Poſſeſſions of the* Jews. Pella *deſtroy'd.* Alexander *falls ſick of a Debauch at the Siege of* Ragaba. Alexandra *deplores her Condition to her Husband; who adviſes her to caſt her ſelf wholly upon the* Phariſees, *and ſo he dies.*

Antiochus *King of* Damaſcus. *His Brother* Philip *goes into the Town, and ſupplants him.*

Mileſius *gets Poſſeſſion of the Place, and preſerves it for* Antiochus.

ANtiochus, otherwiſe call'd *Dionyſius*, and the Brother of *Philip*, took the Opportunity of his Brother's being then engaged with his Army in an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*; and having an Eye upon *Damaſcus*, got Peſſeſſion of the Place, and himſelf declared *King* there. The Tidings of this Adventure brought his Brother *Philip* immediately in all Haſte to *Damaſcus*, where, by a ſecret Intelligence with *Mileſius*, the Governour of the Fort, he was quietly received into the Town: But to diſguiſe the Matter, he gave the Officer no Reward, for Fear he ſhould be thought to come in rather by Treachery, than by the Force of his Authority and Credit; but *Mileſius* was even with him for it afterward; for *Philip* being abroad once at the *Circus* for his Exerciſe and Diverſion, *Mileſius* ſhut the Gates upon him, and reſerved the City for *Antiochus*; who, upon the firſt News of it, poſted inſtantly back again out of *Arabia*, and with an Army of *eight thouſand Foot*, and *eight hundred Horſe*, marched directly into *Judæa*. *Alexander*, upon this Incurſion, drew a large and deep Ditch from *Caparſaba*, now called *Antipatris*, up to the very Sea of *Joppa*, which was the only acceſſible Way to the Town. He erected a Wall alſo with Intervals of ſeveral wooden Towers, which he carry'd on for a hundred and fifty Furlongs in

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[a] Becauſe the *Thracians* were remarkably cruel and bloody, as appears from *Thucydides* and other Hiſtorians.

Length; and there he waited for *Antiochus*, who, without more ado, ſet Fire to theſe wooden Contrivances, and ſo paſs'd his Army into *Arabia*, where the Enemy gave Way upon the firſt Encounter; but advancing afterward with a Body of *ten thouſand Horſe*, *Antiochus* charging in directly upon them, it came to a bloody Diſpute: But preſſing in over eagerly to the Relief of one of his Wings that he found over-power'd, it was his Fortune to be kill'd, when he was as good as ſure of the Victory. The whole Army loſt their Hearts with their General, and inſtantly upon his Fall, fled in a Rout to *Cana*, where the greater Part of them periſh'd for Want of Bread.

A bloody Battle betwixt Antiochus *and* Alexander.

Antiochus *kill'd, and his Army routed.*

Aretas came next to the Government of *Cœle-Syria*, upon the Call and Choice of the People of *Damaſcus*, out of a pure Spite and Oppoſition to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Mennæus*. He enter'd *Judæa* with an Army, overthrew *Alexander* near *Addida*; and then upon Conditions betwixt them two, went his Way back again.

Aretas *ſucceeds to the Government of* Cœle-Syria;

Alexander went on, and took *Dion* by Aſſault; marching thence to *Eſſa*, where *Zeno*'s Treaſure lay, and all he had that was rich and precious. He ran firſt three Walls about it, and then made himſelf Maſter of it by Storm; as he did afterwards of *Gaulana*, and *Seleucia*, the Vale of *Antiochus*, and the Fortreſs of *Gamala*. And in Regard that there were many grievous Miſdemeanours laid to the Charge of *Demetrius*, formerly the Maſter of theſe Places, he diveſted him of his royal Authority. When he had ſpent ſome three Years in this Courſe of Action, he carry'd his Army back again, to the great Satiſfaction of the *Jews*, in Regard that they ſaw every Thing ſucceeded ſo well in his Hands.

Alexander *takes* Dion, Eſſa, *and afterwards* Gaulana, Seleucia, *the Vale of* Antiochus *and* Gamala.

Demetrius *depos'd from his Government.*

The *Jews* were at that Time in Poſſeſſion of *Syria*, *Idumæa*, and *Phœnicia*; the *Tower of Straton* upon the Sea, *Apollonia*, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Rhinocura*; and in the Midland, of *Idumæa*, of *Adora*, and *Mariſſa*; all *Samaria*, and the Mountains of *Carmel* and *Itabyr*. And beſide theſe, of *Scythopolis*, *Gadara*, *Gaulanitis*, *Seleucia* and [a] *Gabala*. And in the Land of the *Moabites*, of *Eſſebon*, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oron*, *Telithon*, *Zara*; and in *Cilicia*, *Aulon* and *Pella*. This laſt they demoliſhed for refuſing to conform to the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Jews*. They had likewiſe other conſiderable Places in *Syria*, that came but lately to be under their Juriſdiction.

The Jews *have a large Command*;

Pella *demoliſh'd*.

Alexander deliver'd up himſelf toward the End of his Reign, to Intemperance and Debauch, and drank himſelf into a Quartan Ague, that held him for full three Years; but yet at the ſame Time he attended the Affairs both of his Army and Government, which betwixt the Diſtemper of his Wine, and the Fatigue of his Cares, brought him quickly to his End. He dy'd upon the Frontiers of the *Geraſens*, at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Ragaba* on the further Side of the River *Jordan*.

Alexander, *betwixt Debauch and Fatigue, dies of a* Quartan Ague, *before* Ragaba.

When the Queen *Alexandra* found him reduced to the laſt Extremity, and out of all Hope of Recovery, ſhe fell into a paſſionate Tranſport of weeping; beating her Breaſts, and lamenting the miſerable Condition of her ſelf and her Children, in Terms to this Effect; *Alas, my Dear*, ſays ſhe, *what will become of your poor helpleſs Wiſe and Children now, without ſo much as one Friend in the World to truſt to, and left in the Hands too of your mortal Enemies. Well!* ſays *Alexander*, *if you would be ſafe and happy when I am dead and gone, and you and your Children quietly ſucceed to the Government, mind what I ſay now, and be ſure to follow my Counſel. In the firſt Place, keep my Death conceal'd from the Soldiers till the Caſtle is taken, and then do you go triumphant to* Jeruſalem *with the News of it, and make your firſt Court to the* Phariſees, *as the only Way to make your ſelf popular; for your Character riſes or falls according to their Opinion of you; and no ſuch Friends, where they love, or Enemies, where they hate: For whether they ſpeak true or falſe, good or evil, 'tis all a Caſe to the Multitude that believes them all alike, whatever they ſay. I ſpeak this upon Experience; for it has been my Croſſneſs to this Sect, and nothing elſe, that has turn'd the Hearts of the whole Nation againſt me: Therefore*, ſays he, *when you come to* Jeruſalem, *ſend for ſome of the leading Men of that Party; lay the Corps before them, and tell them in Words as near the Truth as the Matter will bear, ſomewhat to this Purpoſe: That is to ſay; that out of the Reverence you have for their Generoſity, Piety and Juſtice, you do now deliver up the Body to be diſpoſed of as they in their Wiſdom ſhall judge meet, whether for Scorn and Infamy, without the Rites of Burial, or by any other Way of exemplary Juſtice upon it for paſt Indignities, or otherwiſe, at their Pleaſure: Aſſuring them that you ſhall ever reſign your ſelf to their Authority and Prudence; not only in this, but in all other Matters of a publick Nature. Go but this Way to Work, and depend upon it there will be a Care taken for the Decencies of an honourable and a magnificent Funeral, and for the ſettling of your ſelf and your Children in the Exerciſe of your rightful Power. Let them but have the ruling of you, and it will be their Buſineſs to eſtabliſh you in a peaceable Rule over others.* This was the End of his Speech and of his Life, in the 49th Year of his Age, and the 27th of his Reign.

Alexandra *bemoans the Caſe of her ſelf and Family to her Husband.*

Alexander *adviſes the Queen what to do; charges her to make Friends of the* Phariſees.

Alexander *dies in the 27th Year of his Reign.*

CHAP.

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[a] Card. *Noris* in his Book *de Epocha Syromaced.* reads *Gamala*.

CHAP. XXIV.

The State of Judæa *under* Alexandra. *She conſults the* Phariſees *about her Huſband's Body and the Government.* Alexander *leaves two Sons,* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus, *and the Regency to the Queen.* Hyrcanus *is made* High-Prieſt. *The* Phariſees *govern in the Queen's Name.* Ariſtobulus *remonſtrates againſt them. Several ſtrong Holds put into the Hands of the Male-Contents; only* Hyrcania, Alexandrias, *and* Machærus, *the Queen reſerves to her ſelf.* Ariſtobulus *ſent with an Army againſt* Ptolemy. Tigranes *ſets down before* Ptolemais *with a prodigious Army.* Alexandra *complements* Tigranes *with an Embaſſy.* Cleopatra *makes Head againſt him.* Lucullus *gives* Mithridates *an Overthrow.* Tigranes *returns with his Army.* Alexandra *falls ſick. The Queen's three Forts declare for* Ariſtobulus. Alexandra *claps up his Wife and Children. The People come flocking in to him.* Hyrcanus *and the Elders complain of him to the Queen. The Death and Character of* Alexandra.

Alexandra *commits all to the* Phariſees.

SO ſoon as the Caſtle was taken, *Alexandra* apply'd her ſelf immediately to the *Phariſees*, according to her Huſband's Direction, leaving the whole Affair of the Body, and of the Government, to their Menage. Upon this Inſinuation, the *Phariſees*, the greateſt Enemies ſhe had in the World, became her greateſt Friends; addreſſing themſelves preſently in an Harrange to the People upon the glorious Exploits of *Alexander*; the irreparable Loſs of ſo juſt a Prince; and by theſe rhetorical Flouriſhes of condoling, rais'd the Paſſions of the Multitude to ſuch a Pitch of comfortleſs Sorrow, that they thought him worthy of a Funeral Solemnity beyond all that ever went before him.

Alexander *leaves two Sons,* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus, *and the Queen* Regent. Hyrcanus *advanced to the* Pontificate, *The* Phariſees *direct, and the* Queen *executes.*

This Prince left at his Death two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*; but devolved the *Regency* by his laſt Teſtament, to his Wife *Alexandra*. *Hyrcanus*, the elder Brother was a Lover of his Eaſe, and a Man not qualify'd for the Cares and Intrigues of State. *Ariſtobulus*, on the contrary, was naturally daring and induſtrious; but the Mother all this while was the Favourite of the People, for the Diſlike ſhe ſhew'd in her Huſband's Life-Time to his Male-Adminiſtration. By her Aſſiſtance and Advice, *Hyrcanus* was promoted to the *Pontificate*; not for Seniority or Parts, but for Incompetency, as the more manageable Fool of the two. Upon the whole Matter, the Queen did but execute the *Phariſees* Orders; and at the ſame Time when ſhe ſign'd and ſeal'd, the other govern'd: Nay, and the common People had it in Charge to pay them all Obedience. She appointed alſo the Revival of the *Phariſees Ordinances*, and *Traditions*, which her Father-in-Law had aboliſh'd; and at this Rate every Thing was done in the Queen's Name by the other's Power: For at their Inſtance, *Exiles* were *recall'd*; Priſoners ſet at *Liberty*, and the like. In ſome few Caſes, 'tis true, ſhe acted by her own proper Authority; that is to ſay, ſhe kept a mercenary Army in Pay, and augmented her Forces to ſuch a Degree, that her Neighbours ſtood in Awe of her, as appear'd by the Security they gave her in Hoſtages for their good Behaviour. Her Reign, in ſhort, would have been quiet enough, but for the troubleſome Importunities of the *Phariſees*, that would ſtill be putting her upon one Miſchief or another. As when they preſs'd her for Juſtice upon thoſe that adviſed the Death of the eight hundred Perſons before-mentioned; upon which Inſtigation, *Diogenes* was cut off in the firſt Place, and ſo one after another; till at laſt ſeveral of the moſt eminent Men concern'd, went directly in a Body to the Queen her ſelf, with *Ariſtobulus* in the Head of them, who ſhew'd in his Countenance, the Diſguſt he had at the Proceeding, and that he wanted only Power and Opportunity to bring his Mother to Reaſon. His Followers took this Occaſion of remonſtrating to the Queen what Proofs they had given their late Maſter, of their Faith and Loyalty, through all Extremities and Hazzards; acknowledging alſo the generous Returns they had received in Honours and Rewards for their Services. And they were now in Hope, they ſaid, that all this ſhould not be turn'd to their Diſadvantage; and after ſcaping the Swords of their Enemies in an open War, to be diliver'd up for Sacrifices like Beaſts, to the Malice of treacherous Enemies at Home in a Time of Peace, and there to periſh without any Manner of Redreſs. Nay, they ſaid further, that if their Adverſaries would but ſtop there, and content themſelves with the Blood they had ſpilt already, ſuch was the Reverence they had for their Superiours, that they would patiently ſit down without ſo much as complaining of any Thing that was paſt: But if they ſhould be allow'd ſtill to perſiſt, they would only beg Leave to withdraw, which without the Queen's Permiſſion, they durſt not preſume to do, though they were ſure otherwiſe to loſe their Lives, even in the Palace it ſelf. To ſay nothing how highly it would reflect upon her Majeſty's Honour, to countenance the ſword

A proud and a cruel Sort of People.

Ariſtobulus *and other eminent Men addreſs to the* Queen *againſt them.*

Enemies of her dead Husband, againſt his try'd Friends Or how welcome a Hearing it would be to *Aretas* the *Arabian*, and other *Enemy Princes* to find that *Alexandra* had clear'd her Court of a Sort of People, whoſe very Names had been formerly a Terror to them. But ſaid they further to the Queen: If this be yet too much, and that you are abſolutely reſolv'd to indulge the Pride and Ambition of the *Phariſees*, in Preference to all other Conſiderations, you may be pleaſed to diſpoſe of us, only into Caſtles and Garriſons elſewhere; for if this be the Fate that attends *Alexander*'s Friends, we ſhall content our ſelves in any Condition to bear our Part in the Honour of a common Calamity.

Theſe Words and many more to the ſame Purpoſe, drew Tears from all that were there Preſent, partly out of Grief for thoſe that were ſlain already, and partly out of an Apprehenſion for the reſt that were yet in Danger; calling out, in general, upon the *Ghoſt* of *Alexander*. There was no Man ſpake ſo freely as *Ariſtobulus*, both upon the main Cauſe, and in particular Reflexions upon his Mother. But all this was their own Fault at laſt, in gratifying the impetuous Paſſion of a malicious Woman againſt all Right and Reaſon, with the Temptation of the Empire; eſpecially, where there was no Danger of a Failure for Want of a Succeſſor.

The Queen was ſo hard put to't for an Anſwer to theſe expoſtulatory Propoſals, that ſhe could not do better than to put the Malecontents into ſtrong Holds and Garriſons, upon Condition, that *Hyrcania*, *Alexandrias* and *Machærus*, where ſhe depoſited her Jewels, Treaſure and rich Goods, might be none of them. She ſent her Son *Ariſtobulus* a little while after this, with an Army toward *Damaſcus* againſt *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Mennæus*, a very troubleſome Prince to his Neighbours; but he returned ſoon after from that Expedition, without doing any Thing of Moment.

Alexandra *puts* Ariſtobulus *in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſtrong Places, ſaving 3 Caſtles to herſelf.*

Ariſtobulus *advances againſt* Ptolemy.

While Things were in this Poſture, came a Report that *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia* was fall'n into *Syria* with an Army of *five hundred thouſand Men*, and with a Deſign to march ſuddenly into *Judæa*. *Alexandra* was ſo ſurpriz'd at this Intelligence (as ſhe had Reaſon to be) that ſhe forthwith ſent Embaſſadors with a Complement and Preſents to *Tigranes*, who was at that Time before *Ptolemais*. The Queen *Selene*, otherwiſe called *Cleopatra*, who had then the Government of *Syria*, animating her Subjects to ſtand upon their Guard, and to oppoſe *Tigranes*'s Entrance into the Country. The Embaſſadors acquitted themſelves ſo well toward the King on the Behalf of *Alexandra* and the whole Nation of the *Jews*, that with great Inſtances of Acknowledgment and good Will, for the Honour and Reſpect of the Embaſſy, (and at ſuch a Diſtance too) he gave them an Aſſurance of all good Offices in Return. In Short, he took *Ptolemais*, and was no ſooner Maſter of it, but Word was brought him of the Rout of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*; his Eſcape upon the Purſuit into *Iberia*; and that when *Lucullus* ſaw he could not overtake him, he ſtruck off into *Armenia*, where he was at that Time ravaging and deſtroying the Country. Upon this Intelligence, *Tigranes* immediately marched off with his Army, and went his Way Home again.

Tigranes *threatens* Judæa *with an Army of* 500000 *Men.*

Alexandra *ſends an Embaſſy to him at* Ptolemais.

Cleopatra *reſolves to oppoſe him.*

Lucullus *routs* Mithridates

Tigranes *goes Home again.*

The Queen *Alexandra* fell ſome Time after this, into a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs, which gave *Ariſtobulus* as fair an Opportunity of playing his own Game as his Heart could wiſh. So that ſlipping out in the Night, and only one Servant with him, he went by Stealth to the Forts and Caſtles, where his Father's Friends were in Garriſon, as hath been ſaid already. *Ariſtobulus* had been a long Time very much unſatisfy'd with his Mother's Way of Menage; but conſidering her preſent Indiſpoſition, and the Danger of the whole Family's lying at the Mercy of the *Phariſees*, in Caſe of her Death; *Hyrcanus*, the next in Succeſſion, being their Property and Creature to all Manner of Purpoſes, and utterly unqualify'd for the Exerciſe of any publick Charge, he found himſelf more uneaſy under theſe Circumſtances than ever. No Mortal knew any Thing of his Deſign but his own Wife, whom he left behind him at *Jeruſalem* with his Children, and ſo went to *Agada*, where he was very generouſly received by *Galæſtes* a Perſon of eminent Quality there. *Alexandra* miſs'd him the very next Day after his Departure, but not ſo much as dreaming what he was about, till they came to underſtand by one Meſſenger upon the Heel of another, that this, and that, and t'other Fortreſs were gone over to him: And there was no more in it at laſt neither, than as one led the Way for the reſt to follow. This Turn put the Queen and the People into a deſperate Confuſion; for they looked upon *Ariſtobulus* as a Perſon likely enough to ſet up for himſelf, and in as fair a Poſſibility of carrying his Point: Beſide the diſmal Apprehenſion of being call'd to a bloody Account for the outragious Barbarities they had committed upon ſeveral of his particular Friends. In this Conſternation, they could think of no better Expedient than to clap up the Wife and Children of *Ariſtobulus* under a Guard in the Citadel, near the *Temple*. While this was in Agitation, the People came flocking to him in ſuch Throngs, that there

Alexandra *falls Sick.*

Ariſtobulus *gains the* three Forts *over to him.*

Alexandra *makes his Wife and Children Priſoners.*

Two and twenty Caſtles declare for him in fifteen Days.

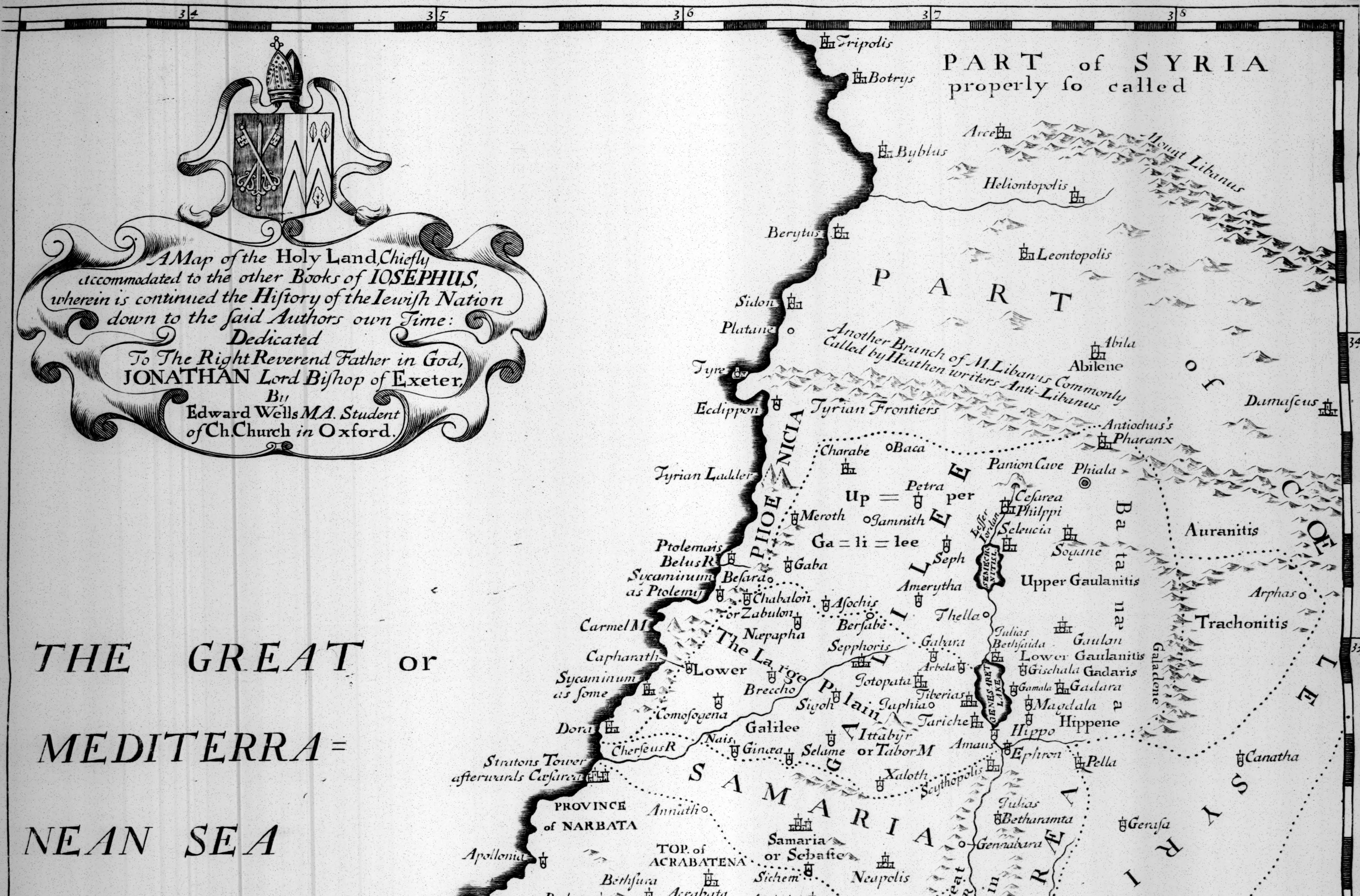
Hyrcanus *and the Elders preſs the Queen for Relief.*

ſeemed to be ſomething in it, both of the Tumult, and of the Pomp of a Court. Briefly, in fifteen Days, he made himſelf Maſter of two and twenty Caſtles: And when he had thus ſecured himſelf, both of a Stand and a Retreat, he quickly got an Army together from Mount *Libanus*, *Trachonitis*, and the Princes thereabouts, who were forward enough upon this Occaſion to help the ſtronger Side, in a Proſpect of the Advantages they might reaſonably expect, for the Service of raiſing a new King to the Throne. Upon this Pinch of Affairs, *Hyrcanus*, and the Elders of the *Jews* apply'd themſelves to the Queen for Advice and Directions what to do. They told her that *Ariſtobulus*, by Virtue of the Places he had already taken, was as good as Maſter of all the reſt; that they found her, to their great Grief in Extremity, but however ſo long as the liv'd they could do nothing without her, even though they ſaw themſelves upon the very Brink of Ruine. The Queen's Reply was, that *not being in Condition either of Body or Mind to charge her ſelf with the Publick, ſhe had laid all thoſe Cares aſide, and remitted it wholly to themſelves, to conſult the Neceſſities of the Government. They had the Means of Defence, ſhe told them in their own Hands; the Strength of the Nation entire, and wanted neither Men, nor Money.* Theſe were her laſt Words; and ſoon after, ſhe dy'd in the ninth Year of her Reign, and the ſeventy third of her Life.

The Death, and the Character of Alexandra.

This Princeſs was a Woman of a Character, even above her Sex; ambitious both of Honour and of Command, beyond Meaſure; but withal, intent upon her Buſineſs, and highly induſtrious to the Reproach of the Ignorance and male Adminiſtration of but too many maſculine Governours. She made the Preſent the greateſt Part of her Care, without wandring unneceſſarily into the Uncertainty of Things to come. She kept her ſelf ſtrictly to Moderation, even in the very Stretch of her Power, and continu'd living and dying in an untainted Reputation for her Integrity and Juſtice: But in her Family, ſhe was yet ſo unfortunate as to leave nothing of that Dignity and Power to her Poſterity, that the had acquired with ſo much Difficulty and Hazzard; only in Truth to gratify a more than feminine Ambition. The Thing, in Short, that ruin'd all, was the taking of her Enemies for her Adviſers; by which Miſcarriage, the Government was left without a Head. But the Miſtakes of her Reign appeared more eminently in the Calamities that enſu'd upon them to the Royal Family after her Death. This muſt be ſaid however for her, that ſo long as ſhe liv'd, ſhe kept the People in Peace. And we are now come to the End of the Life of Queen *Alexandra*.

FLAVIUS



A Map of the Holy Land, Chiefly accommodated to the other Books of IOSEPHUS, wherein is continued the History of the Iewiſh Nation down to the ſaid Authors own Time:

Dedicated

To The Right Reverend Father in God, JONATHAN Lord Biſhop of Exeter,

By Edward Wells M.A. Student of Ch. Church in Oxford.

34
35
36
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38
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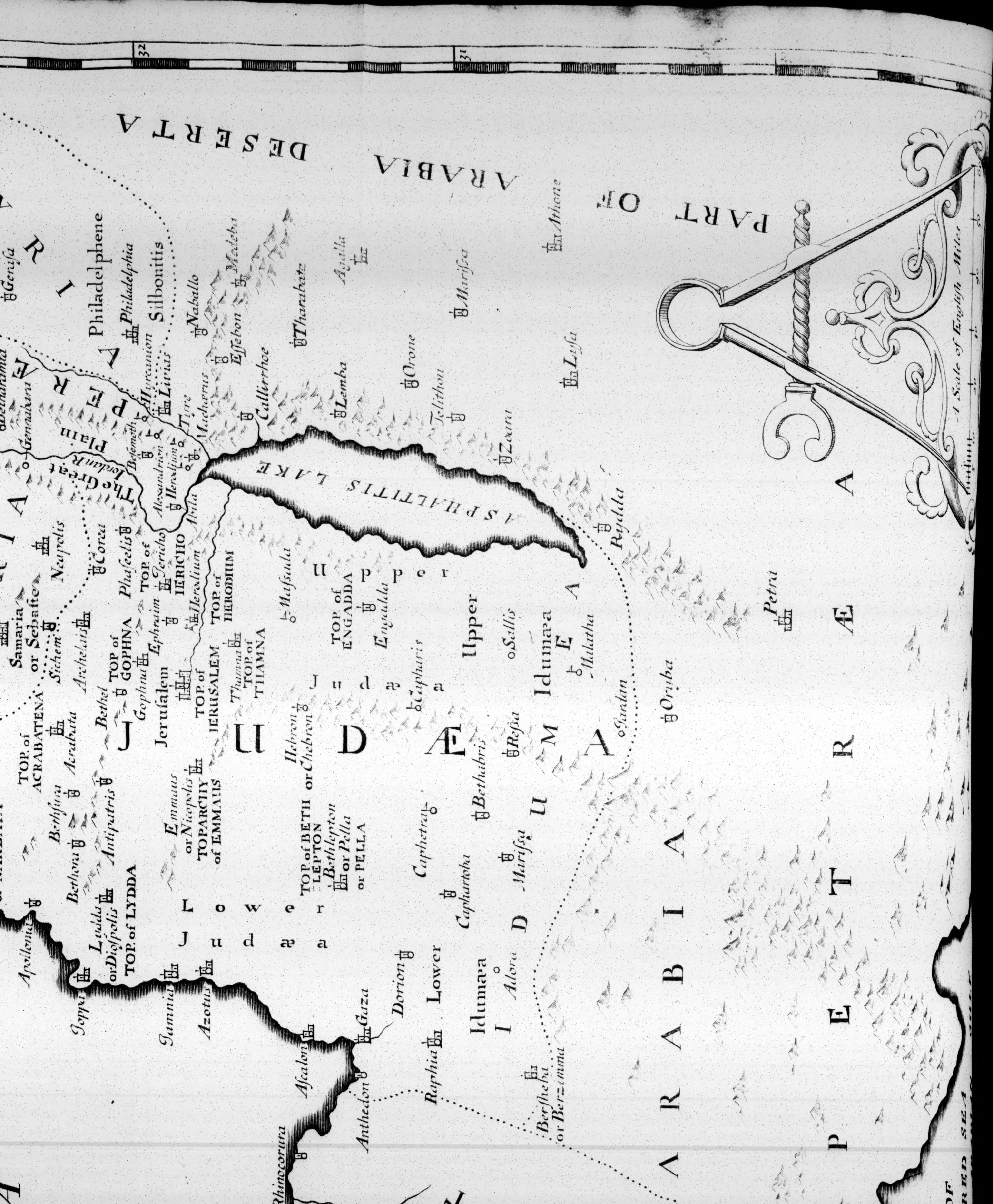
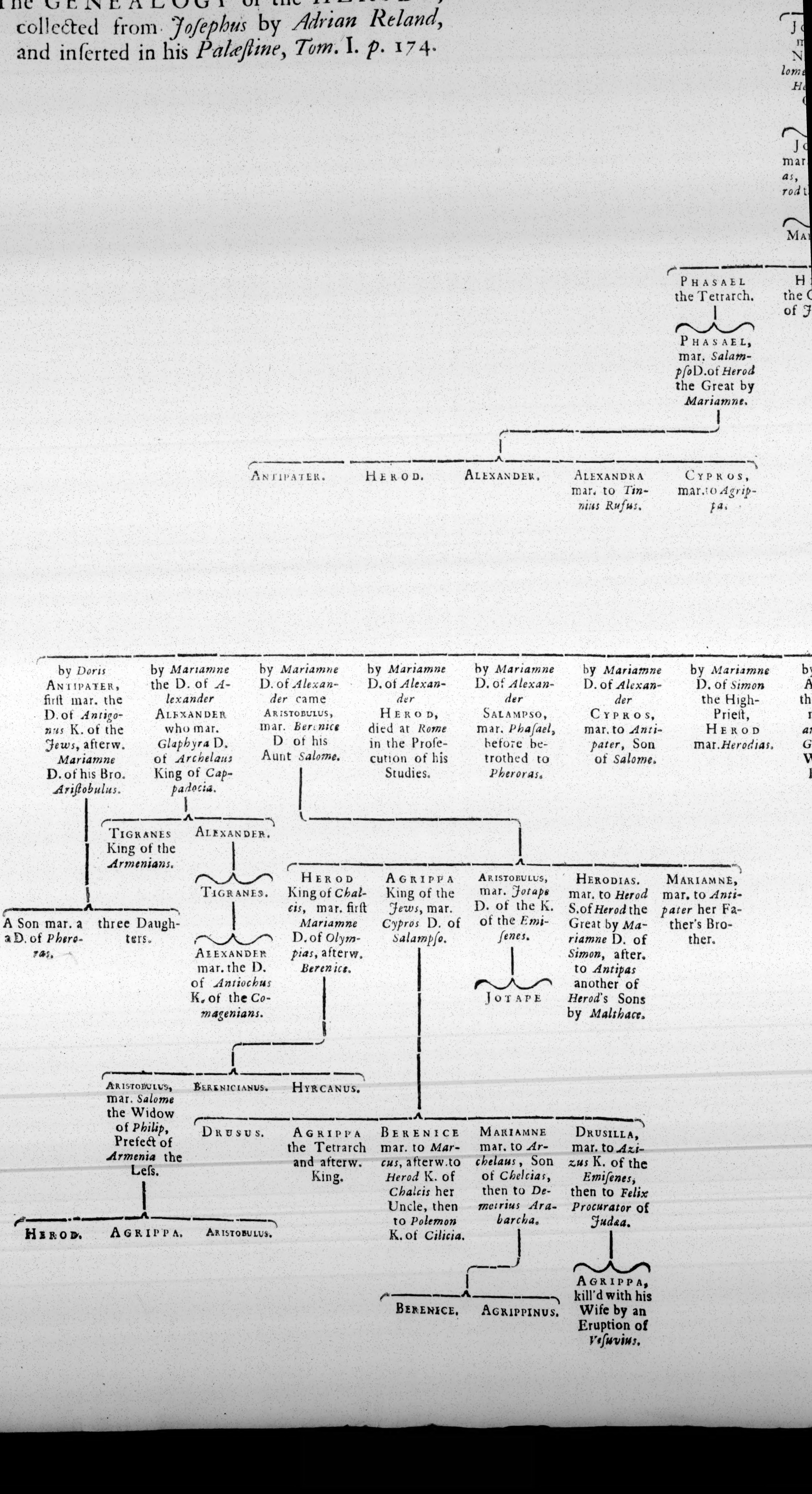
33
PART of SYRIA properly ſo called
Tripolis
Botrys
Byblus
Arce
Mount Libanus
Heliontopolis
Berytus
Leontopolis
PART of CŒLE SYRIA
Sidon
Platane
Another Branch of M. Libanus Commonly Called by Heathen writers Anti-Libanus
Abila
Abilene
Damaſcus
Tyre
Ecdippon
Tyrian Frontiers
Antiochus's Pharanx
Tyrian Ladder
PHOENICIA
Charabe
Baca
Panion Cave
Phiala
Up = per
Petra
Ceſarea Philppi
Leſſer Jordan
Seleucia
Meroth
Jamnith
GALILEE
Ga = li = lee
Seph
Soyane
Batanæa
Auranitis
SEMECHONITIS LAKE
Upper Gaulanitis
Ptolemais
Belus R.
Gaba
Beſara
Sycaminum as Ptolemy
Chabalon or Zabulon
Aſochis
Amerytha
Thella
Arphas
Trachonitis
Carmel M.
Næpapha
Berſabe
Julias Bethſaida
Gaulan
Lower Gaulanitis
Gadaris
Galadene
Capharath
Lower
The Large Plain
Sepphoris
Gabara
Arbela
GENESARETH LAKE
Giſchala
Gamala
Gadara
Sycaminum as ſome
Brecchio
Jotopata
Tiberias
Comoſogena
Sigoh
Japhia
Magdala
Tariche
Hippo
Hippene
Dora
Galilee
Ittabyr or Tabor M.
Amaus
Ephron
Pella
Canatha
Chorſeus R.
Nais
Ginæa
Selame
Stratons Tower afterwards Cæſarea
SAMARIA
Xaloth
Scythopolis
PROVINCE of NARBATA
Annath
Julias Betharamta
Geraſa
Samaria or Sebaſte
Gennabara
Apollonia
TOP. of ACRABATENA
Sichem
Neapolis
Bethſura
Acrabata
THE GREAT or MEDITERRA= NEAN SEA


32
31
ARABIA DESERTA
PART OF
A Scale of English Miles
JUDÆA
Upper Judæa
Lower Judæa
IDUMÆA
Upper Idumæa
Lower Idumæa
ARABIA PETRÆA
PART OF ARABIA
PART OF THE RED SEA
ÆGYPT
PERÆA
NEAN SEA
ASPHALTITIS LAKE
The Great Plain
Jordan R.
Philadelphene
Philadelphia
Silbonitis
Gerasa
Samaria or Sebaste
Sichem
Neapolis
Corea
Archelais
TOP. of ACRABATENA
Acrabata
Bethel
TOP. of GOPHNA
Gophna
Ephraim
TOP. of JERICHO
Jericho
Phaselis
Alexandrion
Herodium
Abila
Bosemoth
Hyrcanion
Livias
Tyre
Machærus
Callirrhoe
Naballo
Esebon
Medeba
Tharabasa
Agalla
Marissa
Athone
Lemba
Orone
Zelithon
Zoara
Lusa
Rydda
Petra
Jerusalem
TOP. of JERUSALEM
TOP. of HERODIUM
Jerolium
Thamna
TOP. of THAMNA
Masada
TOP. of ENGADDA
Engadda
Caphares
Sellis
Malatha
Hebron or Chebron
Ressa
Jradan
Oryba
Bethsua
Bethora
Antipatris
Emmaus or Nicopolis
TOPARCHY of EMMAUS
TOP. of BETHLEPTON
Bethlepton or Pella or PELLA
Caphetra
Betharis
Caphartoba
Marissa
Adora
Lydda or Diospolis
TOP. of LYDDA
Apollonia
Joppa
Jamnia
Azotus
Ascalon
Gaza
Dorion
Raphia
Anthedon
Bersabee or Berzimma
Rhinocorura
Ostracine
Pelusium
Heracleopolis
Bubastus
Tanis
Onias City
Babylon
Heroopolis
Heliopolis

The GENEALOGY of the *HERODS*, collected from *Joſephus* by *Adrian Reland*, and inſerted in his *Palæſtine*, *Tom.* I. *p.* 174.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PHASAEL the Tetrarch.
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PHASAEL, mar. *Salampſo* D. of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne*.
ANTIPATER.
HEROD.
ALEXANDER.
ALEXANDRA mar. to *Tinnius Rufus*.
CYPROS, mar. to *Agrippa*.
by *Doris* ANTIPATER, firſt mar. the D. of *Antigonus* K. of the *Jews*, afterw. *Mariamne* D. of his Bro. *Ariſtobulus*.
by *Mariamne* the D. of *Alexander* ALEXANDER who mar. *Glaphyra* D. of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*.
by *Mariamne* D. of *Alexander* came ARISTOBULUS, mar. *Berenice* D of his Aunt *Salome*.
by *Mariamne* D. of *Alexander* HEROD, died at *Rome* in the Proſecution of his Studies.
by *Mariamne* D. of *Alexander* SALAMPSO, mar. *Phaſael*, before betrothed to *Pheroras*.
by *Mariamne* D. of *Alexander* CYPROS, mar. to *Antipater*, Son of *Salome*.
by *Mariamne* D. of *Simon* the High-Prieſt, HEROD mar. *Herodias*.
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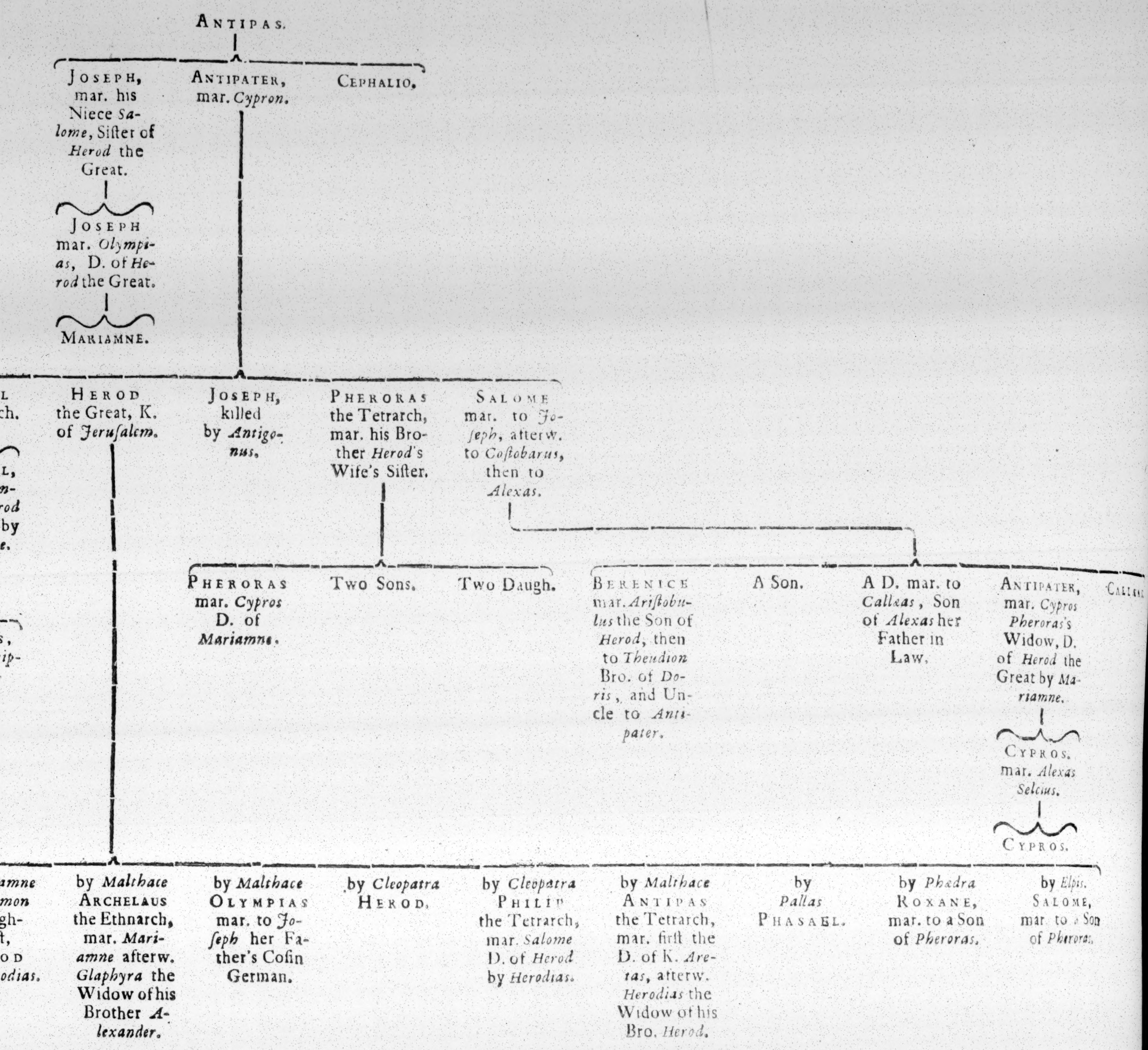
TIGRANES King of the *Armenians*.
ALEXANDER.
TIGRANES.
ALEXANDER mar. the D. of *Antiochus* K. of the *Comagenians*.
A Son mar. a D. of *Pheroras*.
three Daughters.
HEROD King of *Chalcis*, mar. firſt *Mariamne* D. of *Olympias*, afterw. *Berenice*.
AGRIPPA King of the *Jews*, mar. *Cypros* D. of *Salampſo*.
ARISTOBULUS, mar. *Jotape* D. of the K. of the *Emiſenes*.
JOTAPE
HERODIAS. mar. to *Herod* S. of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne* D. of *Simon*, after. to *Antipas* another of *Herod's* Sons by *Malthace*.
MARIAMNE, mar. to *Antipater* her Father's Brother.
ARISTOBULUS, mar. *Salome* the Widow of *Philip*, Prefect of *Armenia* the Leſs.
BERENICIANUS.
HYRCANUS.
HEROD.
AGRIPPA.
ARISTOBULUS.
DRUSUS.
AGRIPPA the Tetrarch and afterw. King.
BERENICE mar. to *Marcus*, afterw. to *Herod* K. of *Chalcis* her Uncle, then to *Polemon* K. of *Cilicia*.
MARIAMNE mar. to *Archelaus*, Son of *Chelcias*, then to *Demetrius Arabarcha*.
DRUSILLA, mar. to *Azizus* K. of the *Emiſenes*, then to *Felix Procurator* of *Judea*.
BERENICE.
AGRIPPINUS.
AGRIPPA, kill'd with his Wife by an Eruption of *Veſuvius*.



ANTIPAS.

JOSEPH, mar. his Niece *Salome*, Siſter of *Herod* the Great.

JOSEPH mar. *Olympias*, D. of *Herod* the Great.

MARIAMNE.

ANTIPATER, mar. *Cypron*.

CEPHALIO.

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HEROD the Great, K. of *Jeruſalem*.

JOSEPH, killed by *Antigonus*.

PHERORAS the Tetrarch, mar. his Brother *Herod*'s Wife's Siſter.

SALOME mar. to *Joſeph*, afterw. to *Coſtobarus*, then to *Alexas*.

PHERORAS mar. *Cypros* D. of *Mariamne*.

Two Sons.

Two Daugh.

BERENICE mar. *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Herod*, then to *Theudion* Bro. of *Doris*, and Uncle to *Antipater*.

A Son.

A D. mar. to *Calleas*, Son of *Alexas* her Father in Law.

ANTIPATER, mar. *Cypros Pheroras's* Widow, D. of *Herod* the Great by *Mariamne*.

CYPROS, mar. *Alexas Selcius*.

CYPROS.

CALLE

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by *Malthace* **ARCHELAUS** the Ethnarch, mar. *Mariamne* afterw. *Glaphyra* the Widow of his Brother *Alexander*.

by *Malthace* **OLYMPIAS** mar. to *Joſeph* her Father's Coſin German.

by *Cleopatra* **HEROD.**

by *Cleopatra* **PHILIP** the Tetrarch, mar. *Salome* D. of *Herod* by *Herodias*.

by *Malthace* **ANTIPAS** the Tetrarch, mar. firſt the D. of K. *Aretas*, afterw. *Herodias* the Widow of his Bro. *Herod*.

by *Pallas* **PHASAEL.**

by *Phædra* **ROXANE,** mar. to a Son of *Pheroras*.

by *Elpis*. **SALOME,** mar. to a Son of *Pheroras*.

To be placed p. 353.

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FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE FOURTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3898, to 3929.

CHAP. I.

A Battle betwixt Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus, *wherein the former is defeated. They come afterward to an Agreement*; Ariſtobulus *to govern, and* Hyrcanus *to enjoy his Peace and Liberty in a private State of Life.*

THERE is enough ſaid in the foregoing Book, of the Reign, Life, and Death of *Alexandra*. We ſhall now take the following Part of the Hiſtory, in Order as it lies before us; with all poſſible Care, as near as we can, neither to ſuppreſs, nor to omit any Thing material, for Want of Recollection or Information. The Memorials of Antiquity are much in the Dark, and in many Caſes tireſome to the Reader, as well as obſcure: Wherefore whoever enters upon this Office, ſhould do well to make the Work as eaſy, and as entertaining as he can, in the very Ornament of Style and Language: But with a Reverence to Truth in the firſt Place, for Fear of *abuſing* and *miſleading* the World, under a Pretence of *informing* them.

It was in the third Year of the *Olympiad*, one hundred ſeventy ſeven; *Q. Hortenſius*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, *Conſuls*, that *Hyrcanus* took upon himſelf the *Pontificate*; and *Ariſtobulus* immediately made War upon him. They fought a Battle at *Jericho*, and a great many of *Hyrcanus*'s Soldiers deſerted and went over to his Brother: Himſelf being driven into the *Citadel*, where the Wife and Children of *Ariſtobulus* were kept Priſoners, by the Order and Direction of his Mother, as we have ſaid before; and the Remainder of the Faction took Sanctuary for a while within the Verge of the Temple; but render'd themſelves ſoon after. As Matters cool'd by little and little, the Brothers enter'd upon a Treaty of an Accommodation, and came in the Concluſion to this Agreement; that *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be eſtabliſh'd in the Poſſeſſion of the Government, and *Hyrcanus* be allow'd to live at Eaſe and Liberty upon his own particular Fortune without any Moleſtation. This Contract was ſign'd and ratify'd in the Temple it ſelf, with all the Formalities of joyning Hands; and Promiſes reciprocally interchang'd for the Performance of Covenants; concluding with a mutual Embrace in the Sight of all the People, and ſo departing; the one to his Palace, the other to his private Apartment, under the Roof of *Ariſtobulus*.

Hyrcanus *defeated by* Ariſtobulus *in a Battle near* Jericho.

They treat, and come to an Accommodation.

The Articles formally ſign'd and ratify'd in the Temple.

CHAP. II.

Antipater *makes an Intereſt for* Hyrcanus *againſt* Ariſtobulus, *and ſets the People againſt him.* Hyrcanus *applies himſelf to* Aretas *for Aſſiſtance and Protection.* Antipater *agrees with* Aretas *about the receiving of him, and ſettles the Matter with him at* Petra *in* Hyrcanus'*s Favour.*

NOW there was a certain *Idumæan* of *Hyrcanus*'s Faction, a wealthy, troubleſome, and a buſy Man; his Name *Antipater*, and a deadly Enemy to *Ariſtobulus*. *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus* makes him to be of the firſt Stock of *Jews* that came out of *Babylon* into *Judæa*, out of a Complement probably to his Son *Herod*; who had the Fortune afterward to be advanced to the Throne; of which we ſhall ſpeak farther in its proper Place. This *Antipater* was at firſt call'd by his Father's Name, *Antipas*, Antipater *makes an Intereſt for* Hyrcanus *againſt* Ariſtobulus.

Ill Offices done betwixt the Brothers.

who, they ſay, was preferr'd by the Favour of King *Alexander*, and his Wife, to the Government of *Idumæa*; where, by the Force of fair Words, and large Preſents, he made a conſiderable Intereſt in the *Arabians*, *Gazæans*, and the People of *Askalon*: In Truth, ſtanding in ſome Awe of *Ariſtobulus*, as well for his Power to do him Miſchief, as for a Grudge there was betwixt them. Young *Antipater*, finding that there was no Good to be done upon *Ariſtobulus*, but by leſſening him in his Reputation among the People, betook himſelf by the ſecret Ways of Calumny, and Detraction, to the making of Parties, and ſtirring up Fears and Jealouſies againſt him. He would be ſaying now and then: *How unreaſonable a Thing it was for the younger Beother to ſupplant the elder; ſtrip him of his Birthright, and uſurp the Government to himſelf: Nay, and how mean a Thing it was for ſo many noble* Jews, *of Power and Credit, to look on and ſuffer it.* The very ſame Words ſerv'd him for *Hyrcanus* too; but adviſing him withal, to get out of the Way in Time; for the other Party had moſt certainly a Deſign upon his Life, being all agreed upon it, that *Ariſtobulus* could never be ſafe ſo long as *Hyrcanus* was in Being. *Hyrcanus* was an open, eaſy Man, and having no Guile in himſelf, was not apt to ſuſpect it in others: So that this Diſcourſe did not work upon him as it was expected it ſhould; but the Softneſs of his Nature, and the Love he had for Peace and Quietneſs, was invidiouſly imputed to him as a Want of Brains, and common Senſe. His Brother *Ariſtobulus* being, on the contrary, as fierce and enterprizing, in the other Extreme. *Antipater* ſaw well enough, that with all his Inſinuations, he had not yet gain'd his Point upon *Hyrcanus*; but this did not divert him however from plying him with freſh Cautions and Importunities, to have a Care of his Brother: Inſomuch that he prevail'd upon him at laſt to apply himſelf for Protection to the *Arabian* King *Aretas*, with the Offer of his own Friendſhip and Service over and above; which Propoſals ſeem'd the more plauſible, in Regard that *Arabia* borders upon *Judæa*. The Reſolution being taken, *Antipater* goes his Way immediately to *Aretas*, to treat with him about the Reception of *Hyrcanus*; and upon the Security both of his Oath and Honour, that he would not upon any Terms deliver him up into the Hands of his Enemies, *Antipater* went back again to *Hyrcanus* with an Account of his Buſineſs. When he had been ſome ſhort Time at *Jeruſalem*, he took *Hyrcanus* with him one Night out of the City, and conducted him by great Journies to the City of *Petra*, where *Aretas* kept his Court: And here he employ'd his uttermoſt Credit with the King, (which was very great) in Favour of *Hyrcanus*, and in Order to the eſtabliſhing of him in his paternal Right. He follow'd him ſo cloſe, in Fine, with preſſing Inſtances and Gifts, that at laſt he brought him over; *Hyrcanus* promiſing him at the ſame Time, that if ever he came to be ſettled in his Kingdom by his Means, he would give him back again the Country and the twelve Cities, which had been taken from the *Arabians* by his Father: That is to ſay; *Medada*, *Naballo*, *Livias*, *Tharabaſa*, *Agalla*, *Athone*, *Zoara*, *Oronæ*, *Mariſſa*, *Rydda*, *Luſa* and *Oryba*.

Antipater *mediates with* Aretas *toward the reſtoring of* Hyrcanus.

CHAP. III.

Aretas *gives* Ariſtobulus *Battle; forces him into* Jeruſalem, *and beſieges him in the Temple. The* Paſchal Feaſt *being at Hand, the* Jews *withdraw into* Ægypt. Onias *ſton'd to Death by the Rabble for refuſing to curſe* Ariſtobulus. *God's Judgment upon the People for their Perfidy and Murder.*

Aretas *gives* Ariſtobulus *an Overthrow; drives him into the Temple, and aſſaults him there.*

UPON the Encouragement of theſe Promiſes, *Aretas* advanced againſt *Ariſtobulus* with an Army of *fifty thouſand Horſe and Foot*; fought, and overcame him: Inſomuch that finding himſelf abandon'd by his Soldiers going over to *Hyrcanus*, he was forc'd to fly for Refuge to *Jeruſalem*; where *Aretas*, with his whole Army, attack'd him in the very *Temple*; the People unanimouſly joyning with *Hyrcanus* againſt *Ariſtobulus*, the Prieſts only excepted: *Aretas*, on the other Hand, with his *Jews*, as well as *Arabians*, puſhing on the Aſſault with the uttermoſt Vigour. While this Action was a-foot, the Feaſt of *Unleavened-Bread* coming on, (that which we call the *Paſchal*) the chief Men of the *Jews* withdrew themſelves out of the Country, and went into *Ægypt*: At which Time, one *Onias*, a holy and a righteous Man, upon the Apprehenſion of a civil War at Hand, went out of the Way, and hid himſelf. The *Jews* reflecting upon the Piety of this Man, and how he had obtained Rain from God in an Extremity of Drought, brought him out into the Camp, and there made it their Requeſt, that as he had formerly deliver'd them from the Judgment of a Famine; ſo he would now relieve them from a moſt deſtructive War, by denouncing a Malediction upon *Ariſtobulus*, and his whole Faction. He oppos'd it a great while, till at laſt being over-rul'd by the Multitude, he ſtood up in the Middle of them, and de-

The Jews *retire into* Ægypt.

liver'd an ejaculatory Prayer to this Purpoſe. *Lord!* ſays he, *Thou art the King of Kings; ſince ſo it is, that both we that ſtand here before thee are* thy *People, and they that are beſieged in the Temple, are* thy *Prieſts; I do humbly beſeech thee not to hear the Prayers of either of them one againſt the other.* Upon which Words, ſome of the execrable Rabble of the *Jews* that ſtood by, ſton'd him to Death. This Barbarity of theirs was follow'd immediately by a Divine Juſtice, and the Murder of *Onias* avenged in Manner as follows. While *Ariſtobulus* with the Prieſts were thus beſet in the *Temple*, the *Paſchal Feſtival* came on; at which Time, according to Cuſtom, the *Jews* offer'd up a great Number of Sacrifices; but the beſieged, not having ſo many as they had Occaſion for, deſir'd their Brethren to ſupply them at their own Price; and ſo they agreed at *one thouſand Drachmas a Head*, each Beaſt, and the *Money* to be *paid down*. *Ariſtobulus* and the *Prieſts* agreed to the Price and the Conditions, and ſo let down the Money to them with a Rope and a Bag from the *Temple Wall*. When the *Beſiegers* had the *Money*, they refuſed to deliver the *Victims*; and ſuch was their ſhameleſs Impiety, that they did not only break Faith with Men, but ſacrilegiouſly robbed God himſelf of a Service that was dedicated to his Honour. The Prieſts, upon this Perfidy, impoſed upon them under the Countenance of a Contract, joyned in a Prayer to God, that this Iniquity might not 'ſcape unpuniſh'd. Their Prayers were heard, and the Judgment not deferr'd; for there fell immediately a violent Tempeſt, that deſtroy'd all the Fruits of the Earth through the whole Province: So that one Meaſure of *Wheat* was ſold for *fifteen Drachmas*.

Onias ſton'd to Death by the Multitude.

A ſacrilegious Treachery in the Beſiegers.

A Judgment from Heaven overtakes them.

CHAP. IV.

Pompey *ſends* Scaurus *for* Syria; *who, upon the taking of* Damaſcus *by* Metellus *and* Lollius, *poſts away toward* Judæa. Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus, *propoſe an Alliance with* Scaurus, *who cloſes with* Ariſtobulus, *and bids* Aretas *withdraw from the Siege of* Jeruſalem *at his Peril.* Ariſtobulus *falls upon* Aretas *and* Hyrcanus, *cuts off ſeven thouſand of their Men, and* Cæphalio *the Brother of* Antipater *among the reſt.*

POMPEY himſelf was at this Time detained in *Armenia*, by the War he had there with *Tigranes*; but in this *Interim* ſent *Scaurus* into *Syria*. When he came to *Damaſcus*, he found the City newly taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*; and ſo he poſted forward without any Stop toward *Judæa*. As he was upon the Way, there came Embaſſadors to him from *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, and both upon the ſame Errand too: That is to ſay, to deſire an *Alliance offenſive* and *defenſive*. *Ariſtobulus* offer'd *four hundred Talents*, and *Hyrcanus* juſt as *much*. *Scaurus* inclin'd rather to *Ariſtobulus*, as the more generous and ſolvent of the two, beſide the Terms he inſiſted upon were more practicable and eaſy; but he look'd upon the other to be poor and hard; his Conditions higher than his Brother's, and himſelf at laſt not ſo reſponſible: For it was a much harder Matter to carry ſo ſtrong and ſo well fortify'd a City by Aſſault, than to beat a *Vagabond* Parcel of *Nabathæans* and *Fugitives*; and the Rabble not ſo well vers'd neither in the Trade of that War. For theſe Reaſons, *Scaurus* agreed with *Ariſtobulus*; took his Money, and diſcharg'd the Siege: Ordering *Aretas* to withdraw, upon the Peril of being accounted an Enemy to *Rome* in Caſe of Refuſal. *Scaurus*, after this, went back to *Damaſcus*, and *Ariſtobulus* advanced with a mighty Army againſt *Aretas* and *Hyrcanus*; and engaging them in a Place called *Papyron*, he gave them an Overthrow with the Loſs of about ſeven thouſand of the Enemy, and *Cæphalio* the Brother of *Antipater* among the reſt.

Pompey *in War with* Tigranes.

Damaſcus *being taken by* Metellus *and* Lollius, Scaurus *advances toward* Judæa.

An Embaſſy to Scaurus *from* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus.

Scaurus *enters into a League offenſive and defenſive with* Ariſtobulus, *and makes* Aretas *quit the Siege.*

Ariſtobulus *gave* Hyrcanus *and* Aretas *a great Overthrow.*

CHAP. V.

Pompey *goes to* Damaſcus, *and ſo to* Cœle-Syria: *Great Court made to him all the Way he goes.* Ariſtobulus *makes him a magnificent Preſent.* Gabinius *and* Scaurus *charg'd with Corruption.* Pompey *takes the Cauſe into his own Hand.* Ptolemy Mennæus *pays a thouſand Talents Compoſition for his Head. The Cauſe of* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus *brought to* Damaſcus. Pompey *gives them a Hearing, and adjourns the Tryal: But* Ariſtobulus *goes away in a Huff, without waiting for the Iſſue.*

UPon *Pompey*'s coming to *Damaſcus* and *Cœle-Syria*, a while after there came Embaſſadors thronging to him from all Quarters: That is to ſay; from all *Syria*, *Ægypt* and *Judæa*. *Ariſtobulus*, above all the reſt, ſent him a moſt glorious Preſent: i. e. *A golden Vine of five hundred Talents*; which *Strabo*, the *Cappadocian* gives an Account

Application to Pompey *from all Quarters, upon his Way into* Syria.

A rich Preſent from Ariſtobulus.

See Strabo.

Account of in theſe Words. *There was a Preſent made to* Pompey *out of* Ægypt, *of a* Crown *that weigh'd* four hundred Pieces of Gold; *and another out of* Judæa, *of a* golden Vine, *or* Garden, *to which they gave the Name of* Τερπολή, *or* Delight. Theſe Preſents were brought by Embaſſadors, and I my ſelf ſaw the *Vine* at *Rome* in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this Inſcription, *Alexander*, *King of the Jews*. It was valued at *five hundred Talents*, and paſs'd for the Preſent of *Ariſtobulus* the Prince of the *Jews*.

Gabinius *and* Scaurus *charged with Corruption.*

Pompey *ſets a Time for hearing the Cauſe.*

Ptolemy *compounds for his Head.*

Pompey *gives* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus *a Hearing at* Damaſcus.

There came to *Pompey* not long after this, other Embaſſadors; *Antipater*, on the Part of *Hyrcanus*, and *Nicodemus* for *Ariſtobulus*, who charged *Gabinius* and *Scaurus* with taking Sums of Money, the former *three hundred Talents*, and the other *four*; (diſobliging them both.) *Pompey* took the Cognizance of the Cauſe into his own Hand, and appointed the Parties to attend him about it. The Spring coming on, *Pompey* drew out of his Winter Quarters, and marched to *Damaſcus*, deſtroying the Fort of *Apamia*, a Fortification of *Antiochus Cyzicenus* by the Way, having an Eye likewiſe upon the Country of *Ptolemy Mennæus*, a wicked Man; and worſe, if poſſible, than his Kinſman *Dionyſius Tripolitanus*; who loſt his Head by the Hand of Juſtice. But this Man had the good Fortune to redeem himſelf for a *thouſand Talents*, which *Pompey* divided among his Soldiers. He raiſed the Fort of *Lycias* alſo, where *Silas* the *Jew* had gotten Poſſeſſion; and ſo paſſing from thence toward *Heliopolis* and *Chalcis*, he took the Way of the Mountain that lies betwixt them, and ſo into *Cœle-Syria*, and then from *Bella* to *Damaſcus*, where the Controverſy betwixt the *Jews* and their Princes was brought to a Hearing: *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus* being at Odds one with another, and the common People againſt them both. *They were not to be govern'd by Kings*, they ſaid, *but by God's Prieſts*, *according to the Laws and Conſtitutions of their Country. They did not deny the ſacerdotal Extraction of the two Brothers*; *but they charged them with a Deſign of enſlaving the People*, *and ſubverting the Fundamentals of the Government.*

Hyrcanus's *Plea.*

Hyrcanus inſiſted upon it, that he being the elder Brother, *Ariſtobulus* had violently, and againſt all Law and Juſtice, ſeiz'd upon his hereditary Dignity and Eſtate; and depriving him of the Prerogative of his *Birthright*, reduced him to the Condition of a Penſioner at his Mercy and Allowance: Setting forth how troubleſome and vexatious he was to his Neighbours both at Sea and Land, as a Man born for Miſchief; and that it was only the Turbulence of his ambitious Humour, that animated and tranſported the People into this Revolt. You have here the Subſtance of his Plea, and he had at leaſt a thouſand of the moſt eminent *Jews* that *Antipater* had engaged in his Intereſt, to ſtand by him in it.

Ariſtobulus's *Defence.*

Ariſtobulus pleaded, on the other Hand, that *Hyrcanus* was not ſet aſide with any Thought of Uſurpation or Encroachment, either upon his Title, or upon his Inheritance, but purely for Incapacity for the neceſſary Offices of Government, being fall'n to ſuch a Degree of Scorn and Contempt among the common People, that I had no other Choice before me, *ſays Ariſtobulus*, but either to take the Adminiſtration into my own Hands, or venture the tranſlating of it into another Family: And for the Appellation of *King*, I only kept it as I found it, in the ſame Style of Dignity that my Father *Alexander* us'd before me. Now this I am ready to make good, *ſays he*, by ſeveral Witneſſes here; producing at the ſame Time a Company of huffing gaudy Sparks, in the Vanity of their Dreſs and Trappings, ſuch as all Men of Sobriety hated and deſpiſed, and fitter in Appearance for that we call a Maſquerade, than to give Teſtimony in a Court of Juſtice.

Pompey *gives them a fair Diſmiſſion for the preſent; and puts off the Tryal to another Time.*

Ariſtobulus *goes his Way into* Judæa, *without Waiting any longer upon* Pompey.

Pompey, upon the hearing of all Parties, was in his Judgment againſt the intemperate Proceeding of *Ariſtobulus*; but gave them however for the preſent a fair Diſmiſſion; with a Promiſe, that ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould have reduc'd the *Nabathæans* into Order, he would come over to them, and do ſomewhat farther in it: Requiring them in the mean Time to behave themſelves peaceably, and ſo diſcharg'd *Ariſtobulus* with Complement and Reſpect, for Fear he might take Pet elſe, and obſtruct him in his Paſſage. But he was not to be wrought upon by fair Words it ſeems, for he went away preſently to *Delion*, and ſo to *Judæa*, without Waiting any further upon what *Pompey* had promis'd him.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey *finding himſelf affronted, ſends a Summons to him in* Alexandrion, *to come down, and ſpeak with him.* Pompey *demands the Poſſeſſion of all the Fortreſſes in his Power, and* Ariſtobulus *delivers them up; but preſently withdraws to* Jeruſalem, *and prepares for a War. While this was a doing, comes the News from* Pontus *of* Mithridates *being poyſon'd by his Son* Pharnaces.

THE Mockery of this Way of proceeding provoked *Pompey* to ſuch a Degree, that he took the Army he had provided againſt the *Nabathæans*, and joyning them with the *auxiliary* Troops that he had rais'd up and down at *Damaſcus*, and the reſt of *Syria*, together with the *Roman Legions* that he had under his Command, and marched with them directly toward *Ariſtobulus*, paſſing by *Pella* and *Scythopolis*, till he came to *Coreæ* upon the Entrance into the very Heart of *Judæa*; where he found upon the Top of a Mountain, a ſtrong and a famous Caſtle, which was call'd *Alexandrion*: And being told that *Ariſtobulus* had made Choice of that Place for his Retreat, he gave him a Summons to come down and ſpeak with him; which he was prevail'd upon to do by the People he had about him, for Fear of being engag'd in a War with the *Romans*. There paſs'd ſome Diſcourſe betwixt them, upon the Subject of the Diſpute between the two Brothers; and after that Formality was over, *Ariſtobulus*, with *Pompey*'s Leave, went fairly back again to the Caſtle; and this he did again and again, to keep fair with *Pompey*, in all reaſonable Compliances, as the moſt likely Way to compaſs his End: But this did not hinder him yet from putting himſelf into a Poſture of Defence in Caſe of the worſt, out of a Fear and Jealouſy he had of *Pompey*'s declaring for his Brother. *Pompey*, after this, order'd him to deliver up all the Caſtles that he was Maſter of, and to ſignify ſuch his Will and Pleaſure to the Governours under his own Hand, that there might be no Place left for Scruple or Excuſe. *Ariſtobulus* did as he was appointed; but took it ſo heinouſly, that he went away forthwith to *Jeruſalem*, to prepare, as he underſtood the Matter, for a certain War. It was not long before *Pompey* in the Head of his Army, marching againſt him, was met upon the Way with an Expreſs from *Pontus*, giving him an Account of the Death of *Mithridates* by his Son *Pharnaces*.

Pompey, *in an Indignation, marches againſt* Ariſtobulus.

He finds him in Alexandrion, *and ſummons him down to ſpeak with him.*

After ſeveral Diſcourſes, Ariſtobulus *delivers up all the Caſtles in his Poſſeſſion.*

He goes away in a Diſguſt to Jeruſalem. Pompey *follows him.*

Mithridates *ſlain by his Son* Pharnaces.

CHAP. VII.

Pompey *incamps at* Jericho, *and ſo marches toward* Jeruſalem. Ariſtobulus *offers him Money, and the Poſſeſſion of the Town.* Pompey *complies, and ſends* Gabinius *to receive the Money; but the Gates are ſhut againſt him.* Ariſtobulus *is made a cloſe Priſoner upon it, and* Pompey *lays Siege to the City in Perſon.*

POMPEY had the firſt Camp at *Jericho*, a Place famous for *Palm-Trees* and *Balſam*, which is the moſt precious of Gums, and only a Diſtillation from a little Shrub upon an Inciſion made with a ſharp Stone. The next Morning he moved toward *Jeruſalem*. *Ariſtobulus*, by this Time repented himſelf of what he had done, and went out to meet him with a Complement of offering him a Sum of Money, and the Command of the Town; and whatever Satisfaction he ſhould further deſire for the preventing of a War. *Pompey* accepted of his Propoſals, and ſent *Gabinius* with a Body of Men into the City to receive the Money: But he had only his Labour for his Pains; for the Gates were ſhut againſt him, and he came back empty-handed as he went out: The Fault being laid upon the Soldiers that would not ſtand to the Agreement. *Pompey* had ſuch an Indignation for this Affront, that he kept a ſtricter Guard upon *Ariſtobulus*, and went himſelf to *Jeruſalem*, which was very ſtrong by Situation, and well fortify'd; only it lay a little expoſed toward the North, where there was a large and a deep Vally about the Temple, and a ſubſtantial Stone-Wall to encompaſs it.

Pompey *moves toward* Jeruſalem.

CHAP. VIII.

Jeruſalem *divided*; *Part for* Pompey, *Part for* Ariſtobulus. Pompey *propoſes a* Peace, *and it is rejected. The Situation of the* Temple, *and the taking of it by Aſſault. The Piety and Modeſty of the* Conquerour. Jeruſalem *made* tributary. Straton's *Tower*, *or* Cæſarea. *The Faction of* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus. Pompey *carries* Ariſtobulus *a Priſoner to* Rome.

Jeruſalem *divided; Part for* Pompey, *Part for* Ariſtobulus.

Pompey's *Propoſals of a Peace rejected.*

The Situation of the City *and* Temple.

The Jews *ruined by their Superſtition.*

The Temple *taken by Aſſault.*

WHILE *Pompey* was before the Town, the Citizens were mightily divided how to behave themſelves: Some for yielding; others for holding out, and preparing for a War; eſpecially conſidering that *Ariſtobulus* was kept a Priſoner. So that without more ado they prepoſſeſs'd themſelves of the Temple, and brake down the Bridge betwixt that and the City; while the other Party not only gave Entrance to the Army, but deliver'd up both City and Palace into the Hands of *Pompey*; who preſently ſent away *Piſo* his Lieutenant with Part of his Army to take Charge of both; which he did effectually, by fortifying the Houſes and Buildings of the *Temple* that were next at Hand. When Things were come to this Paſs, *Pompey*, in the firſt Place, made them a Propoſal of *Peace*; but upon their Refuſal to treat, he provided for an Aſſault; *Hyrcanus* ſupplying him very frankly with what he had Occaſion for. The *North-ſide* of the Temple being the weakeſt Quarter, *Pompey* propoſed to begin his *Attack* there. It was encompaſſed with high Towers, and a forc'd Ditch, over and above the aforeſaid Valley. Upon the City Side, toward *Pompey*'s Station, there was no paſſing, now the Bridge was down, for Crags and Precipices; but the *Romans*, with infinite Labour and Difficulty, made a hard Shift yet to fill up the Ditch with Timbers, and other Materials that they got together, and ſo to raiſe Platforms and Ramparts to ſuch a prodigious Height, that with Engines of Battery which they brought from *Tyre*, they play'd great Stones upon the Temple-Wall; and yet if it had not been for the Advantage they took of our *ſeven Day's Sabbath*, the *Romans* would have had much ado to have gain'd their Point: For notwithſtanding that in Caſe of Aggreſſion, the Law allow'd us to defend our ſelves upon that Day, and to repel Force by Force, we durſt not do any Work upon it however yet, though but to croſs and hinder one Work with another. When the *Romans* came to underſtand this once, and to obſerve, that we made no Oppoſition to the advancing of their Bulwarks, and the fixing of their Machines upon that Feſtival; they employ'd the *Sabbath* wholly upon ſafe and quiet Preparations for the Action of the next Day, without attempting any Manner of Violence upon us at preſent. This is enough to ſhew the infinite Deference we have for the Religion and Laws of our Country, when the Dread of Death it ſelf is not able to divert us from the very Rule and Method of our Devotions; for the Prieſts have their ſolemn Sacrifices twice a Day, Morning and Afternoon, with all their Preſcript Forms of Worſhip, without any Diſpenſation or Excuſe, in what Extremity ſoever, for the Omiſſion. This Temple was taken upon a *Faſting-Day*, in the third Month of the Siege, the hundred and ſeventy ninth *Olympiad*; *Caius Antonius*, and *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, being Conſuls. Upon the Enemies forcing the Place, they put every Man to Death before them: And all this Cruelty was not enough yet to deter thoſe officiating at the Altar, from going on with their Devotions; accounting it the leſs Evil of the two, to fall into the Hands of an unmerciful Enemy, than to abandon their holy Profeſſion, or fail in the leaſt Scruple of Obedience and Reſpect to their Country's Rites and Ceremonies. Now for the Authority of this Relation, and to ſhew that there is nothing in it of fabulous, we have it atteſted by all the Authors of Note that pretend to give any Account of the Actions of *Pompey*, and among the reſt by [a] *Strabo*, *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, and *Titus Livius* the famous *Roman Hiſtorian*. They fell to Work with their Engines upon the great Tower, till by the Dint of repeated Batteries they ſhook it to Pieces, and brought it down to the Ground, carrying away a great Part of the next Wall along with it in the Ruines. This Breach was no ſooner made, but the Enemy preſs'd in Crowds to enter it. The firſt that mounted was *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the Son of *Sylla*, with his Company; and then upon another Quarter, the Centurion *Furius*, with his Men, and *Fabius* then betwixt them both with another ſtrong Party; the Place being all cover'd with dead Bodies; ſome killed by the *Romans*, others by Conſent diſpatching one another; ſome again caſting themſelves down headlong from the Walls, and others ſetting Fire to the Houſes over their Heads, rather than to be Spectators of the Barbarities that were committed. There were ſlain a Matter of twelve thouſand *Jews*, and not many *Romans*. *Abſolom*, the Uncle, and the Father-in-Law of *Ariſtobulus*, was made a Priſoner. Theſe Outrages were accompany'd alſo with ſeveral Indignities to the very Myſteries of our

[a] Lib. 16.

Religion, by the Admittance of prophane Perſons into the Place, and to the Sight of thoſe Privacies, which none but Prieſts had ever been Eye-Witneſſes of before. *Pompey* and his Train were of the Number that came in there, where they found a *golden Table*, a *Candleſtick* and *Cups* of the ſame Metal; Varieties of *Incenſe*, and *Perfumes* in Abundance, beſide a Matter of *two thouſand Talents in the Treaſury*: But he look'd upon all this Proviſion as ſacred; and out of a Veneration he had for holy Things, he did not only forbear touching or ſeizing any of it; but with a generous Piety, order'd the Officers of the Temple next Day to purge the Place, and to offer Sacrifices according to their own Cuſtoms and Ordinances. He reſtored *Hyrcanus* to the High-Prieſthood, partly for the good Offices he had received from him himſelf, and partly for the Service he had done him in hindring the *Jews* from ſiding with *Ariſtobulus*. He cut off the Heads then of the Incendiaries of the Faction that were the Promoters of the War, and took Care to ſee *Fauſtus*, and others that behaved themſelves bravely upon the Aſſault, rewarded according to their Deſerts. As for *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, he made it tributary to the *Romans*, and reduced all the Places that he found the *Jews* poſſeſs'd of in *Cœle-Syria*, under their Allegiance; confining alſo that populous and powerful Nation within the Compaſs of their antient Bounds. He cauſed *Gadara*, (lately deſtroy'd) in Favour of his freed Man *Demetrius* that was born there, to be rebuilt; and as for *Hippon*, *Scythopolis*, *Dion*, *Samaria*, *Mariſſa*, *Azotus*, *Jamnia*, and *Arethuſa*, being inland Places, he deliver'd them up into the Hands of their former Inhabitants, together with other Places that were ruin'd by the War; but for the *Maritime Towns*, as *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and *Straton*'s *Tower*, *Pompey* made them all *free*, and laid them to the Province. Now this *Tower of Straton*, when it came afterward to be *rebuilt* by *Herod*, and beautify'd with ſtately *Ports* and *Temples*, changed the ancient Name for *Cæſarea*.

The Piety and Modeſty of the Conquerour.

Jeruſalem *made tributary.*

The Tower of Straton, *afterwards* Cæſarea.

From this Fewd betwixt *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, we may date the Ruine of *Jeruſalem*, with the Loſs of our Liberty to the *Romans*; we being forced to give all back to the *Syrians*, which we had taken in a fair War; the Impoſition of above *ten thouſand Talents*, which it coſt us in a ſhort Time to the *Romans*; and the Tranſlation of the ſovereign Authority, which had ever till then deſcended in the *Prieſthood*, to the very *Dregs* of the *People*. But we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of all this in another Place.

The Faction of Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus *the Ruine of the* Jews.

Pompey, after this, committed the Government of *Cœle-Syria*, as far as *Euphrates* and the Borders of *Ægypt*, to *Scaurus*, with two *Roman Legions*, while he himſelf haſten'd to *Rome* by the Way of *Cilicia*, carrying *Ariſtobulus* along with him a Priſoner, with two Sons, and as many of his Daughters; but *Alexander*, one of the Sons, made his Eſcape; and *Antigonus*, the younger, with his Father and his Siſters, went forward to *Rome*.

Cœle-Syria *committed to* Scaurus.

Pompey *carries* Ariſtobulus *to* Rome.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus *marches againſt* Petra; *and comes to a Compoſition with* Aretas, *to the high Satisfaction of both Parties.*

THE Paſſage to *Petra*, the Capital of *Arabia*, is very craggy and difficult; inſomuch that *Scaurus*, upon his March thither with an Army, was forced to ravage the Country thereabouts to provide Bread for his Soldiers. *Antipater*, by the Order of *Hyrcanus* furniſh'd him with Corn and other Neceſſaries out of *Judæa*; and being well known to *Aretas*, *Scaurus* ſent him upon an Embaſſy to him: And he acquitted himſelf ſo well in his Commiſſion, that he prevailed upon him for a Compoſition of *three hundred Talents*, to ſave his Country from Ruine; which put an End to the War, even before it was begun, to the great Satisfaction of *Scaurus*, as well as of *Aretas*.

Scaurus *marches againſt* Petra.

CHAP. X.

Gabinius *his Expedition againſt* Alexander; *whom he routs and beſieges in* Alexandrion. Gabinius *offers an* Amneſty, *and orders the Repairing of what Cities had been damaged.* Alexander *ſubmits.* Hyrcanus *is reſtor'd to the* Pontificate; *and* five Courts of Juſtice *erected.*

ALEXANDER, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, falling into, and galling *Judæa* with frequent Incurſions ſome Time after this, *Gabinius* was ſent from *Rome* into *Syria*, with the Commiſſion of General; and upon an Expedition againſt *Alexander*, wherein

Gabinius's *Expedition againſt* Alexander.

wherein he performed many memorable Exploits. *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt* was not now in any Condition to make Reſiſtance, though he had it in his Thought to repair and re-edify the Walls of *Jeruſalem* that *Pompey* had deſtroy'd; but the *Romans* would not ſuffer him to go forward with it. *Alexander* ranging up and down the Country, made a Shift in a ſhort Time to get a Body of Men together, *Jews*, and others promiſcuouſly, of *ten thouſand Foot*, and *fifteen hundred Horſe*: He ſtor'd and fortify'd the Caſtle of *Alexandrion* near *Coreæ*, and *Machærus*, on the Borders of *Arabia*. *Gabinius* advanced to fight him, ſending *Marcus Antonius*, with ſome other Officers, before; who being joyn'd with the honeſt Part of the *Jews* under the Command of *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*, taking alſo the *Auxiliaries* of *Antipater*; came up to *Alexander*: *Gabinius* following with the reſt of his Army. *Alexander* drew off to be nearer *Jeruſalem*, where they came to a Battle; in which, *Alexander* loſt ſome *three thouſand* Men, and as many taken. *Gabinius*, after this, laid Siege to the Caſtle of *Alexandrion*; but with an Offer and Promiſe of Pardon to the Defendants for all that was paſt, if they would render up the Place. The beſieged kept a ſtrong Out-Guard under the Walls of the Caſtle, which the *Romans* attack'd, and cut off a great many of them: *Marcus Antonius* behaving himſelf very bravely upon that Occaſion. *Gabinius* was loth to loſe Time; ſo that leaving Part of his Army behind to attend the Siege, he went himſelf to take a View of the reſt of the Country, and to give Order for the rebuilding of what Cities had been deſtroy'd; as, *Samaria*, *Azotus*, *Scythopolis*, *Anthedon*, *Raphia*, *Dora*, *Mariſſa*, *Gaza*, and divers other Places. This was done by the Direction of *Gabinius*; and theſe Places came to be a very convenient and ſafe Habitation, after they had been for a long Time deſerted. *Gabinius*, having put the Country into this Order, returned to *Alexandrion* in Proſecution of the *Siege*; where *Alexander* took the Opportunity of begging Pardon by his Embaſſadors, upon Condition of delivering up to him the Caſtles of *Hyrcania*, *Machærus*, and *Alexandrion*, which he accepted of, but raſed them all three to the Ground. After this, there came to him the Mother of *Alexander*, who was a Well-wiſher to the *Romans*, her Husband and the reſt of her Children being then Priſoners at *Rome*. *Gabinius* deny'd her nothing; and after the ſettling of Matters, *Hyrcanus* was brought to *Jeruſalem*, and reſtored to the Office and Exerciſe of his Prieſthood. There were then conſtituted five Courts of Juſtice, and a Diviſion made of the whole Province into five equal Parts: So that ſome went for Law to *Jeruſalem*; others to *Gadara*, and others alſo to *Amathus*, *Jericho*, or *Saphora*, which is a City of *Galilee*. They came by this Means to be deliver'd from the Tyranny they complained of, and ſo returned to the Form of an *Ariſtocraſy* again.

Alexander *routed, and beſieged in* Alexandrion.

Gabinius *offers an Amneſty*:

And orders the repairing of what Cities he had damaged.

Alexander *ſubmits and delivers up the Caſtles he had in his Hand.*

Hyrcanus *reſtor'd to the* Pontificate.

Five Courts of Juſtice erected.

CHAP. XI.

Ariſtobulus *makes his Eſcape from* Rome. Commiſſioners *are ſent after him. He is routed by the* Romans, *and taken a ſecond Time a* Priſoner. *He defeats the* Nabathæans: *After which, he goes to* Rome, *and* Craſſus *ſucceeds him.*

UPON the Flight of *Ariſtobulus* from *Rome* to *Judæa*, with an Intent to repair and fortify *Alexandrion* afreſh after the late Ruines, *Gabinius* ſent a Body of Men thither under the Command of *Siſenna*, *Antonius*, and *Servilius*, to maintain the Place, and to endeavour the ſecuring of *Ariſtobulus* himſelf. Betwixt the Authority of ſo great a Name, and a popular Itch of Novelty, there came great Numbers of the *Jews* flocking over to him; and in particular, *Pitholaus*, the Governour of *Jeruſalem*, with a thouſand Men well armed: As for thoſe that were not ſo, of which there were a great Number, he diſcharged them as unſerviceable and uſeleſs. He marched with a Body of eight thouſand Men, to attempt the taking of *Machærus*. The *Romans* following him upon the Heel, came up with him and fought him; and after an obſtinate Reſiſtance upon the firſt Shock, gave him a terrible Overthrow; kill'd ſome five thouſand upon the Place, while the reſt did what they could to ſave themſelves by Flight. *Ariſtobulus*, upon this Rout, with a Matter of a thouſand Men, fortify'd the Caſtle as well as he could, and kept up his Heart ſtill in the Extremity of his ill Fortunes; but in two Days the Caſtle was carry'd by Aſſault; himſelf grievouſly wounded, and by a capricious Fatality of ill Luck, carry'd away Priſoner with his Son *Antigonus* his Companion in his Eſcape, and ſo brought to *Gabinius*; by whom he was now ſent a ſecond Time Priſoner to *Rome*; having been three Years and a Half, both in the Poſſeſſion of the *Kingdom*, and of the *Pontificate*, and acquitting himſelf with great Honour and Magnificence in both Charges: But the *Senate* ſet his Children at Liberty however, upon the Intimation of *Gabinius*, that he had

Ariſtobulus *ſcapes from* Rome *to fortify* Alexandrion.

Commiſſioners ſent to look after him.

Ariſtobulus *routed by the* Romans.

Himſelf, with his Son, taken, and ſent a ſecond Time to Rome.

promiſ'd the Mother as much, upon the Delivery of ſuch and ſuch Caſtles: So that they were ſent back again free to *Jeruſalem.*

Gabinius was now enter'd upon an Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and gotten over the River *Euphrates*, when upon ſecond Thoughts, he chang'd his Mind, and bent his Courſe toward *Ægypt*, for the reſtoring of *Ptolemy*, as is ſaid elſewhere. [a] *Antipater* furniſh'd him for this Enterprize with Corn, Arms, and Money, and brought over a great many of the *Jews* about *Peluſium* into an Alliance with him; this *Peluſium* being the very Key to *Ægypt.*

Gabinius *prepares the reſtoring of* Ptolemy.

At his Return, *Gabinius* found *Syria* all in an Uproar; for *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, having made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom, harraſs'd the Country with a powerful Army, and forced a great many of the *Jews* over to his Party, killing all the *Romans* he could come at in his Paſſage, and beſieging the reſt upon the Mount of *Garizin*, that fled thither for Sanctuary. *Gabinius* finding the *Syrians* in this Diſorder, ſent *Antipater*, being a Man of known Prudence and Integrity, to deal with them and to try if he could bring them to their Wits again. He behaved himſelf in this Commiſſion ſo effectually, that he brought off ſeveral of the Revolters; but *Alexander* himſelf he found was not to be mov'd. For having gotten together an Army of ſome thirty thouſand *Jews*, his Reſolution was to puſh it to a Battle with *Gabinius.* They fought, in ſhort, at the Mount *Itabyr*; and the *Jews* loſt ten thouſand Men in that Encounter.

Alexander *makes terrible Havock in Syria.*

Gabinius *gives him a notable Overthrow:*

Matters being thus ſettled in *Jeruſalem*, the Victor, by the Advice of *Antipater* marched away againſt the *Nabathæans*, and gave them a notable Overthrow, diſcharging two noble *Parthians*, *Mithridates* and *Orſanes*, that came over to him for Protection; giving it out that they were fled into their own Country. *Gabinius* having now acquitted himſelf with Honour in all his Commiſſions, went back to *Rome*, and *Craſſus* ſucceeded him in his Command. The Atchievments of *Pompey* and *Gabinius* may be ſeen in the Hiſtories of *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* and *Strabo* the *Cappadocian.* And they write both to the ſame Purpoſe.

and defeated the Nabathæans *alſo.*

Gabinius *goes back to* Rome, *and* Craſſus *ſucceeds him.*

CHAP. XII.

Craſſus *rifles the* Temple, *contrary to his* Oath. Strabo, *the* Hiſtorian. Craſſus *and his Army cut to pieces by the* Parthians. *He retreats into* Syria. Taricheæ *taken by* Aſſault. Pytholaus *taken and put to Death.* *The Character of* Antipater.

CRASSUS, being now upon the Preparative for a War with the *Parthians*, came to *Judæa*, and ſeized not only the *two thouſand Talents* that *Ptolemy* made a Conſcience of ſo much as meddling with, but he pillag'd the Temple of all the Treaſure he could lay his Hands on, to the Value of *eight thouſand Talents* more. He carry'd away with him alſo *a Wedge of Gold of three hundred Mina's*, reckoning every *Mina*, according to the *Jewiſh* Computation, at *two Pound and a half. Eleazar* the Prieſt, that had the keeping of this holy Treaſure, deliver'd it up to *Craſſus*; not out of Spite, or ill Will, for he was a righteous and a juſt Man: But this Bar of Gold being lodged in a wooden Beam that was made hollow on purpoſe to receive and conceal it, and no mortal privy to the Secret but himſelf, *Eleazar* had no other thought, ſeeing *Craſſus*'s Heart ſo wholly ſet upon the Money, but to deliver up this Wedge as a Compoſition for all the reſt; for there were Hangings alſo of an ineſtimable Value faſten'd to this Timber, and other rich Ornaments for the Service of the Temple, which were all likewiſe in *Eleazar's* Cuſtody. And he did not deliver this Bar of Gold at laſt neither, but upon the Declaration of *Craſſus*, that he was abundantly ſatisfy'd with what he had already; and upon the Solemnity of an Oath, and Promiſe, that he would not meddle with any Thing elſe. But his Oath would not ſerve the Turn it ſeems, for he rifled the Temple from Top to Bottom, and ſtript it to the bare Walls.

Craſſus *rifles the Temple againſt his Oath.*

The Maſs of Money that was lodged in this Temple, how prodigious ſoever it may appear, will not be found ſo great a Wonder, conſidering how long the *Jews* were a getting it together, and that it came from all Quarters of the World, wherever the Worſhip of the true God was known: Beſide that the Report of this immenſe Value is ſo far from Vanity and Oſtentation, that it is a Truth atteſted and confirm'd by the Authority of ſeveral Hiſtorians; as of *Strabo* the *Cappadocian* for one. *Mithridates*, ſays he, *ſent to the Iſle of* Coos *for ſome Money of* Cleopatra's, *that ſhe had depoſited there; and for eight hundred Talents belonging to the* Jews. Now we have no publick Treaſure, but what is ſacred, and dedicated to God; and it is as clear as

Strabo *the Hiſtorian.*

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[a] *According to Biſhop* Montague's *correction it ſhould be,* Hyrcanus *and* Antipater *furniſh'd him,* &c. *See* Appar. iv. *ad* Orig. Eccleſiaſt.

Day, that the *Aſiatick Jews* tranſmitted this Treaſure from thence to *Coos*, upon the Apprehenſion of a War with *Mithridates*. For it cannot be imagined that the *Jews* of *Judæa*, that had ſo much a ſtronger, and a ſafer Place near Hand, that is to ſay, the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem*, would ever have ſent their Money away for better Security to *Coos*: Neither can it be ſuppoſed, that it came from the *Alexandrian Jews*; for they were too far off to have any Apprehenſion of *Mithridates*.

See Strabo again.

Strabo has it in another Place; *That* Sylla *paſſing through* Greece *to carry on a War againſt* Mithridates, *ſent* Lucullus *to* Cyrene, *that was then torn to pieces with Feuds and Factions among the* Jews; *a People that had ſpread themſelves over the Face of the whole Earth.* He ranges the *Cyrenæans*, in another Place, *into* four Diviſions; Burghers, Husbandmen, Strangers, *and* Jews. *The laſt Sort of them are ſo univerſally diſpers'd, that there's hardly any habitable Part where they have not got footing, and a conſiderable Eſtabliſhment. As for* Ægypt, *and* Cyrene, *while they were under the Juriſdiction of the ſame Prince, and ſeveral other Countries alſo, they embraced in many Places the* Jewiſh Laws, Rites *and* Cuſtoms; *gave them the Liberty of populous Congregations, and trained up their Children in a Conformity to the* Jewiſh *Way of* Diſcipline. *In* Ægypt, *they had whole Colonies of them, beſide a right of Propriety that they have by a Formality of Aſſignment in a conſiderable Part of the City of* Alexandria; *with Magiſtrates, Judges, and Courts of Juſtice of their own, and Ways of deciding Differences in Caſes of Propriety, peculiar to themſelves; and all in as good Method as if it were in a Form of Government. Now* Ægypt *agreed the better with this Nation, both for Extraction-ſake, and Neighbourhood; for the* Jews *came out of it, and they eaſily became one again: So that it was but making a ſtep to either, only as one Borderer does to another; and in this Manner, not only as Neighbours, but as formerly Members of the ſame Body.* Thus far *Strabo*.

Craſſus, *and his Army cut to pieces by the* Parthians. Caſſius *retreats into* Syria, *and puts a ſtop to the* Parthians. Tarichæ *taken by Aſſault, and* 30000 *Priſoners.* Pitholaus *taken, and put to Death.* Antipater *had four Sons and one Daughter by* Cypron. *The Character of* Antipater.

When *Craſſus* had done his Pleaſure in *Judæa*, he advanced againſt the *Parthians*, and gave them Battle, where he was cut off himſelf, and his whole Army, as we have it elſewhere: But *Caſſius* made his Retreat into *Syria*, where he gave a Stand to the Progreſs of the *Parthians*, that were now grown inſolent upon their Succeſs. He went afterward to *Tyre*, and ſo to *Judæa*, where he took *Taricheæ* by Aſſault upon the firſt Attack and a Matter of thirty thouſand Priſoners; *Pitholaus*, *Ariſtobulus*'s Friend among the reſt, whom he cauſed to be put to Death by the Advice of *Antipater*, who over and above the Power he had with him as a Friend, was a Perſon very conſiderable with the *Idumæans*, upon the account of a Match with an *Arabian* Lady of a moſt illuſtrious Extraction: Her Name was *Cypron*, and by her he had four Sons, *Phaſael* and *Herod*, (afterwards King) *Joſeph* and *Pheroras*; and an only Daughter *Salome*. This *Antipater* had ſo generous, and obliging a Way with him, that all the Princes and great Men about him had a high Eſteem for him; the King of *Arabia* eſpecially; to whoſe charitable Goodneſs he recommended the Government of his Children, during the War with *Ariſtobulus*. *Caſſius* having by this Time recruited and reinforced his Army, advanced to the River *Euphrates* to make Head againſt the *Parthians*, according to the Report of ſeveral Hiſtorians.

CHAP. XIII.

Pompey *and the* Senate *abandon* Rome. Cæſar *diſcharges* Ariſtobulus. Pompey's *Faction poyſons him.* Alexander's *Head cut off by* Pompey's *Orders.* Philippion *marries his Siſter* Alexandra: *After which* Philippion *is ſlain; and* Ptolemy *marries the* Widow.

Rome *abandon'd by* Pompey, *and the* Senate. Cæſar *ſets* Ariſtobulus *at Liberty.* Pompey's *Faction poyſons him.*

WHen *Cæſar* came a little after this, to be Maſter of *Rome*, and to find the City abandon'd by *Pompey*, and the whole *Senate*, who all ſhifted away beyond Sea upon the Fright, he bethought himſelf of ſetting *Ariſtobulus* at Liberty, and diſpatching him away into *Syria*, with the Command of *two Legions* to keep that Province in Order. But the Comfort he promis'd himſelf in the Honour of being *Cæſar's* Favourite, was not long liv'd; for *Pompey*'s Faction found a Way in a ſhort Time to diſpatch him by Poyſon; and the *Cæſareans* took Care of the Funeral. His Body lay embalm'd with Honey a long Time, till *Anthony* ſent it away to be interr'd among their Kings.

Alexander's *Head cut off by* Pompey's *Order.* Philippion, Alexander's *Son, marries his Siſter* Alexandra.

Scipio cauſed the Head of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, to be cut off by the Order of *Pompey* for ſeditious Practices of former date againſt the *Romans*, and the Execution was done at *Antioch*: But *Ptolemy Menæus*, the Governour of *Chalcis* near *Libanus*, diſpatch'd his Son *Philippion* to the Widow of *Ariſtobulus* at *Askalon*, to have her ſend him his Son *Antigonus*, and his Siſters. *Philippion* fell in Love with one of his Siſters, whoſe Name was *Alexandra*, and marry'd her; but he being afterwards ſlain, his Father *Ptolemy* himſelf took her to Wife, and provided nevertheleſs for the Family.

Philippion *ſlain*, *and* Ptolemy *marries the Widow.*

CHAP. XIV.

Peluſium *taken by* Mithridates: *And* Antipater, *the firſt Man that enter'd the Breach.*

ANTIPATER was a Man of great Authority in *Judæa*, and one that after the Overthrow and Death of *Pompey*, did *Cæſar* many conſiderable Services at the Inſtance of *Hyrcanus* in his War upon *Ægypt*; for *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* being forced to ſtop once at *Askalon*, becauſe there was no paſſing for him by *Peluſium* with Succours that he had for *Cæſar*, *Antipater* join'd him with an armed Body of three thouſand *Jews*, and brought in ſeveral of the prime Men of *Arabia*, and effectually all *Syria*, to his Aſſiſtance: As there was *Jamblicus* a Prince of the Country, and his Son *Ptolemy*; and *Tholomy* of *Libanus*, the Son of *Sohemus*; with the Cities, almoſt all in general, who came in a Kind of Emulation to ſerve him, and happy was he who could preſent himſelf firſt. *Mithridates*, being now in a marching Condition, advanced out of *Syria* into *Peluſium*; where the Inhabitants refuſing him Entrance, he ſat down before the Place, aſſaulted it, and batter'd a Piece of the Wall down: *Antipater* was the brave Man that firſt enter'd the Breach, and was ſo well ſeconded in the Action, that the Town was taken upon it: But as *Antipater* and *Mitridates* were haſt'ning away to *Cæſar*, the *Ægyptian Jews*, in the Country of *Onias*, as they call it, oppoſed their Paſſage, till by the Power and Intereſt of *Antipater*, as their Countryman, but eſpecially upon the Sight of a Letter from *Hyrcanus*, the *High-Prieſt*, to them; they were prevailed upon to be fair to *Cæſar*, and to ſupply them upon their March with whatſoever they might have Occaſion for: Upon the Credit, I ſay, of *Antipater's* Mediation and Advice, and upon that of the *High-Prieſt's* Letter, they chearfully comply'd; the People of *Memphis*, upon this, applying themſelves to *Mithridates*, and eſpouſing the ſame Intereſt.

Antipater *did* Cæſar *eminent Service in his War with* Ægypt.

Peluſium *taken by* Mithridates. Antipater *the firſt that enter'd the Breach.*

CHAP. XV.

Mithridates *worſted*; Antipater *reſcues him, and wins the Day.* Hyrcanus *and* Antipater *highly in* Cæſar's *Favour.* Antigonus *complains to* Cæſar *of* Hyrcanus *and* Antipater, *who hears* both Sides, *and determines in Favour of the* Defendants.

AT a Place called *Delta*, and upon a particular Spot of Ground known by the Name of *the Jews Camp*, *Mithridates* and *Antipater* came to a Battel with the Enemy; the Former commanding the Right Wing, and the other the Left. *Mithridates* was ſo hard preſs'd, that his Men gave way, and the Diſorder was very near coming to a total Rout: But *Antipater*, in the very Nick of Time, came up along the Bank of the River with an Enforcement to his Relief; reſcu'd his Friends, and in one Word put a victorious Enemy to flight; drove them before him upon the Chace; made himſelf Maſter of their Camp, and called in *Mithridates*, who was left a great Way behind to take his Part of the Booty, who loſt a Matter of eight hundred Men, and *Antipater* not above fifty. Upon the Report of this Action, *Mithridates* gave *Cæſar* frankly to underſtand, that he was indebted both for the Preſervation of the Army, and for the Glory of that Day, to the Bravery of *Antipater*; which *Cæſar* was ſo ſenſible of, that throughout the whole Courſe of the War, he was ſure to be employ'd upon a Poſt of Honour ever after; and he carried the Marks of it in the many Wounds he received in that Service.

Mithridates *worſted.* Antipater *reſcues him and wins the Battel.*

So ſoon as this War was over, *Cæſar* went back by Sea into *Syria*, treating both *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, with a ſingular Grace and Reſpect: The one he confirmed in the *Pontificate*; and the other he made a Freeman of *Rome*, with all the Privileges of the City. Some will have it that *Hyrcanus* was perſonally in this War, and came actually into *Ægypt*. *Strabo* the *Cappadocian* tells us as much out of *Aſinius*. *Upon the coming of* Mithridates *into* Ægypt, *ſays he,* Hyrcanus *the* High-Prieſt *of the* Jews *came along with him.* He ſays in another Place, upon the Credit of *Hypſicrates*, that Mithridates *came firſt thither alone; and then ſent for* Antipater *the Governour of* Judæa *to* Askalon, *who brought him three thouſand Men: And that upon his Counſel and Perſuaſion, divers of the Princes, and great Men of the Country went over to him, and* Hyrcanus *the* High-Prieſt *among the reſt.* Thus far goes *Strabo*.

Hyrcanus *and* Antipater *highly in* Cæſar's *Favour.*

Strabo *the* Cappadocian.

About

Antigonus complains to Cæſar *of* Hyrcanus *and* Antipater.

Cæſar *hears both Parties: And determines in favour of* Hyrcanus *and* Antipater.

About this Time came *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, with a Complaint to *Cæſar*, how his Father had been poyſon'd by a Faction, for bearing Arms in his Service, and how a Brother of his had his Head chopt off at *Scipio*'s Inſtigation: Setting forth how he was diſinherited and ejected; and preſented himſelf as an Object of his Compaſſion. He fell foul alſo upon *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, for uſurping upon the Liberties of the Nation, and particularly for Wrongs done to himſelf; but *Antipater*, being then preſent, wiped off theſe Reproaches by expoſing the turbulent and ſeditious Humour of *Antigonus*, and how buſy he was in all factious Cabals to embroil the publick Peace: Not forgetting neither to mind *Cæſar* by a modeſt Inſinuation, of his own Merits, appealing only to himſelf upon the Proof he had given of his Diſpoſition and Integrity in the late War. As for *Ariſtobulus*, he was always known to be a profeſs'd and an implacable Enemy to *Rome:* So that the *Romans*, in keeping him a Priſoner, did no more than what Neceſſity of State, common Prudence, the Law of Arms, and the Practice of Nations, obliges him to do. And then to the Point of *Scipio*'s beheading his Brother, he was convict of ſeveral Robberies, and it was no more than a capital Puniſhment for a capital Crime. *Cæſar*, in Fine, upon a full Hearing of *Antipater*'s Diſcourſe, pronounced *Hyrcanus* to be *High-Prieſt*; gave *Antipater* his Choice of any Command he had a Mind to; and conferring upon him the Lieutenancy of *Judæa* over and above.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſar *gives* Hyrcanus *Leave to rebuild* Jeruſalem. *An Alliance betwixt the* Senate *of* Rome *and the* Jews. *A League betwixt* Athens *and the* Jews. Antipater's *Exhortation to the People.*

Cæſar *gives* Hyrcanus *Leave to rebuild* Jeruſalem.

THE Walls of *Jeruſalem* lying at this Time all in Rubbiſh and Ruine, juſt as they were left upon *Pompey*'s breaking them down, [a] *Hyrcanus* offer'd up a Requeſt to *Cæſar* for Leave to ſet them up again; which was immediately granted with all the Forms of Ceremony and Reſpect, and Letters diſpatch'd away to the *Conſuls* at *Rome*, for the entring of the Reſolution in the *Records* of the *Capitol:* The Copy of the Decree running as follows.

A *Decree* of the *Senate* aſſembled in the *Temple of Concord*, on the thirteenth Day of the Month of *December*; preſent *L. Coponius*, the Son of *Lucius*, and *Caius Papirius Quirinus*.

An Alliance betwixt the Senate *of* Rome *and the* Jews.

Whereas it appeareth unto this Senate, upon the Report of Valerius *the Son of* Lucius, Prætor, *that it is requeſted, and propoſed by* Alexander *the Son of* Jaſon; Numenius *the Son of* Antiochus, *and* Alexander *the Son of* Dorotheus, *Embaſſadors on the Behalf of the* Jews; *good Men, and our faithful Allies; that the ancient League of Friendſhip may be renewed betwixt us; and that in Token of their good Will and Diſpoſition they have brought a Preſent of* a golden Cup *and* Buckler, *valu'd at fifty thouſand Crowns; deſiring Letters alſo of Recommendation to all* Governours *and* Free Towns, *for a ſafe Paſſage both by Sea and Land through all their Ports and Territories: Be it therefore ordered by this Senate, that the ſame League of Friendſhip and Society be renewed and eſtabliſhed; all the Deſires of the ſaid Embaſſadors agreed unto, and granted; and their Preſents accepted.* This was in the ninth Year of the *Pontificate* and *Principality* of *Hyrcanus*, and in the *Month* of *Panemus*.

This Prince of the *Jews* had great Honour done him alſo by the *Republick* of *Athens*, in Acknowledgment of their Obligations to him, for they ſent him a *Decree*, to this following Purpoſe,

A *Decree* of the *Athenians*, bearing Date the twenty fifth *Day* of the Month *Panemus*; *Dionyſius Aſclepiades* being Preſident and *High Prieſt*, and *Agathocles Archon*, reported by *Eucles* the *Alimuſian*, the Son of *Menander* the *Scribe*, on the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, in the *Month Munichion:* A Council of the *Proedri* being met in the *Theatre*; and after gathering the *Suffrages* of the *People* by the *High Prieſt Dorotheus*, and his *Aſſeſſors*, *Dionyſius*, the Son of *Dionyſius*, made Publication as follows:

A League between Athens *and the* Jews.

For as much as Hyrcanus *the Son of* Alexander, *and* High-Prieſt *and* Prince *of the* Jews, *hath upon all Occaſions both Publick and Private, as well in the generous Reception, Entertainment, and Accommodation of our Embaſſadors, as otherwiſe, given Proof of*

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[a] See *Scaliger*'s Animadverſions upon *Euſebius*, an. 1963. and *Petavius* upon *Epiphanius*, Hæreſ. 21.

a ſingular Affection and Eſteem, both for our Nation *in* General, *and the Citizens of* Athens *in Particular, whereof we have received many Inſtances: And foraſmuch as we have received credible Information from* Theodoſius *the Son of* Theodorus *of* Sunium, *of the Virtue of the ſaid excellent Prince, and of his friendly Diſpoſition to do us all the good Offices in his Power; we have reſolved to preſent him with the* honorary Acknowledgment *of a* Crown of Gold; *and to erect a brazen Statue to him in the Temple of the* [a] People and the Graces, *for the Fame of his Memory; and to have it notify'd by* Proclamation *at the exhibiting of any* new Show, *in all Theatres and Places of publick Exerciſes, and Spectacles in Honour of* Bacchus, Minerva, Ceres, *&c. that we have preſented him with this Crown out of a Veneration for his Virtue. And we do further will and require all our* Governours *and* Magiſtrates, *to be aiding and aſſiſting in the effectual Improvement of theſe our Conceſſions to the beſt Advantage of our Friends and Aſſociates, ſo long as this Amity ſhall continue betwixt us: For the Maniſeſtation of our Gratitude, Piety and Juſtice toward all Men of Worth and Honour, and the encouraging of good Offices and Inclinations toward us for the Future. We do likewiſe order, that a fit Choice be forthwith made of* Embaſſadors *from among the* Athenians *to attend* Hyrcanus *in our Name, and with this our* Decree *and* Preſents, *and to provoke an Emulation to outdo us in this generous Way of Competition.* And ſo much for the friendly Intercourſe that paſs'd betwixt the *Romans* and the *Athenians* with *Hyrcanus.*

When *Cæſar* had ordered his Matters in *Syria,* he went back again with his Navy, and *Antipater* along with him; who immediately upon his Return to *Jeruſalem,* gave Orders for the repairing of the *Walls* that *Pompey* had thrown down; taking a *Tour* at the ſame Time up and down the Province, to try what might be done with Menaces and fair Words, toward the keeping of a divided and a factious People quiet. *He laid before them the Bleſſings of a dutiful Obedience to their Prince, in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Liberties and Poſſeſſions, and the dangerous Conſequences of ſeditious Practices and Innovations, which would force Governours to turn Perſecutors,* Hyrcanus *himſelf to turn* Tyrant, *and the moſt neceſſary of their Patrons and Allies, even the* Cæſars, *and the* Senate of Rome, *themſelves, to become their implacable Enemies; for depend upon it,* ſays he, *they will be obey'd:* And ſo he left them to conſider of it.

Antipater's Exhortation to the People.

CHAP. XVII.

Phaſael *and* Herod *Governours of* Jeruſalem *and* Galilee. Herod's *Character.* Ezekiah *a famous Rover.* Phaſael's *Character.* Antipater's *Reputation draws Envy upon him. Complaints of* Antipater *to* Hyrcanus. Herod *cited before the* Judges. *A brave and a bold* Speech *of* Sameas. Herod *tranſported againſt* Hyrcanus. Proclamations *publiſh'd in Favour of the* Jews. Cæſar *ſlain in the* Senate Houſe, *by* Brutus *and* Caſſius.

A*NTIPATER,* under theſe Circumſtances, took an Occaſion from the natural Heavineſs of *Hyrcanus* to contrive a Way for the advancing of his own Family and Fortunes by putting his two eldeſt Sons *Phaſael* and *Herod* into two eminent Commands; the former into that of *Jeruſalem,* with the adjoyning Country, and *Herod* his ſecond Son into the Government of *Galilee,* being at that Time [b] fifteen Years of Age; but of ſuch a Pregnancy of Wit, and ſo enterprizing a Spirit, that his Youth did not at all hinder him from ſearching out honourable Occaſions for ſo heroical a Diſpoſition to work upon. The Borders of *Syria* were in thoſe Days very much infeſted with Robbers; ſo that the firſt Inſtance of his *Proweſſe* was upon that vagabond Troop of *Highway-Men,* wherein he took *Ezechias* their Commander in Chief Priſoner, with ſeveral of their Companions, and put them all to Death. This Action gave him ſo mighty a Reputation among the People, that his Name was celebrated thorough all the Towns and Villages as their Deliverer, and the Author of their Security and Repoſe. By the Fame of this Exploit, he became alſo known to *Sextus* the Kinſman of *Cæſar* the Great; who had then the Adminiſtration of *Syria:* Beſide that it kindled an Emulation in *Phaſael* likewiſe, to do ſomewhat that was great too, after the Example of his Brother; applying himſelf accordingly to the Arts of Popularity, as the moſt likely Way for the compaſſing of his End. He was a Man of a publick Spirit and made for Buſineſs; affable in his Converſation, and ſo temperate in the Exerciſe of his Power, that never any good Man was the Worſe for it. By this dextrous Way of Addreſs, *Antipater* came to be treated by the whole Nation, rather as an abſolute Prince than as a Proxy; and with a Reverence alſo becoming the Dignity of ſo great a Maſter. And

Phaſael *and* Herod *Governours of* Jeruſalem *and* Galilee.

Herod's *Character.*

Ezechias *a famous Thief taken, and put to Death.*

The Character of Phaſael.

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[a] *See* Meurſius's Athenæ Attic. *l.* 2. *c.* 11.

[b] Caſaubon *has ſhewn that inſtead of* xv. *we ſhould read* xxv, *or* xxvi. *See his firſt Exercit. againſt* Baronius, *towards the End. And Biſhop* Mountague's Exercitatio x. *as alſo* Harduin *de* Nummis, Herodiad. p. 23.

he had this Virtue peculiar to himſelf from the reſt of the World, that Proſperity never altered him, but from firſt to laſt he ſtood firm to his Faith and to his Friend.

Antipater's *Reputation draws Envy upon him.*

Calumnies rais'd againſt him.

Complaints of Antipater *to* Hyrcanus.

This over-grown Greatneſs of *Antipater*, and the Elevation of his Family to ſuch a Degree of Wealth, Credit and Power, together with the Eſteem the People had for himſelf and his Children, and his vaſt Revenue in Money from *Hyrcanus*, created ſo ſpiteful an Envy againſt him among the great Men of the *Jews*, that they began to look upon him with an evil Eye; eſpecially when they came to find what an Intereſt he had made, not only among the People of *Rome*, but in the very Hearts and good Opinion of the *Emperors* themſelves. They told a Story of him, how he got Money from *Hyrcanus* for the Uſe of the *Romans*, and then engroſs'd the Thanks for it to himſelf, as if it had been a Preſent out of his own Coffers, without ſo much as naming the other in the Caſe. This was invidiouſly hinted to *Hyrcanus*, who was ſo far from taking it ill, that he ſeem'd pleas'd with it. But the Thing of all the reſt that ſtuck moſt in their Stomachs, was the violent, daring, ambitious Humour of *Herod*; inſomuch that in the Heat of this Indignation, they went open mouth'd to *Hyrcanus* with a Complaint againſt *Antipater*. *How long*, ſaid they, *ſhall every Thing go to Wreck thus, and you take no Notice of it? Do not you perceive all this while, how the Dignities, Profits and Prerogatives of Royal Power, are wholly ſhared betwixt* Antipater *and his two Sons; and that you your ſelf have only the empty Name and Title of a Prince? Have a Care of letting Things go too far, and being over ſecure; for moſt certainly the Safety of your Perſon and Government lies equally at Stake. You miſtake your ſelf, if you look upon theſe Sparks to be no longer your* Deputies, *for they are effectually your* Maſters. *What was* Herod's *Outrage upon* Ezechias *and his Companions, but an Affront to publick Juſtice? For it is no better than direct Murder by our Law, to put any Man to Death, let him be never ſo great a Villain, without the Formality of a* Tryal: *But this Man had the Face to exerciſe an Arbitrary* Power, *even without the leaſt Colour of* any Power at all.

Hyrcanus *ſets a Day of Hearing, and refers the Cauſe to the Judges.*

Herod *appears.*

What with this Diſcourſe and the Clamour of the *Mothers* in the *Temple*, that lay Day after Day, there calling out both to Prince and People for Juſtice upon *Herod*, for the Murther of their Children, *Hyrcanus* was at laſt prevail'd upon to appoint a Day of Hearing, and try the Cauſe indifferently betwixt *Herod* and his *Accuſers* before a Bench of *Judges*. *Herod* appeared upon the firſt Call; though not altogether as a private Man, but according to his Father's Precaution, with only ſuch a Train as might ſecure the Priſoner, without affronting the Court. *Sextus Cæſar*, having at that Time the Command of *Syria*, wrote a Letter to *Hyrcanus* in *Herod*'s Favour, and not without Menaces, if they did not acquit him; which was no hard Thing to obtain; for *Hyrcanus* lov'd him as his own Fleſh and Blood. When *Herod* with his People about him, had ſtood a long Time facing the Court, and not one Mouth open'd againſt him, it put the whole Congregation to their Wits End, what to think of that profound Silence, till in the Concluſion, there ſtood up one *Sameas*, a Man too juſt to be corrupted, and too innocent to fear any Thing; and he deliver'd himſelf in Terms to this Purpoſe.

A bold Speech of Sameas.

With the Favour, ſays he, *of your ſelf, Sir, and of this honourable Court, this is the firſt Time that ever I ſaw a Priſoner at the Bar, behaving himſelf in ſuch a Huff of Vanity and Confidence; and I am of Opinion that you will hardly match this Man, all Things conſider'd, in the whole Courſe of your Obſervation and Experience. It has been the Practice formerly of Perſons in his Condition, to demean themſelves in their Habits, Countenances and Behaviour, with ſome Regard to the Sobriety, Severity and Reſignation that becomes Men in the Hands of the* Law, *and under the Awe of a legal Animadverſion: But we have a Criminal here that values himſelf upon his* Guards, *his* Ornaments *and his* Purple, *and ſtands in a Poſture to make* publick Juſtice *more* dangerous *to the* Court, *than to the* Malefactor. *But I do not blame him ſo much neither, for conſulting* his own Safety, *before that of the* Law *and the* Government; *as I do thoſe that ſuffer'd him to go on in thoſe Liberties: That is to ſay; the* King *and the* Judges. *Take Notice however,* (ſays he) *turning to the* Judges, *of what I am about to tell you.* God *is a* God *of Righteouſneſs and Power: And the Time will come, when this very Man that you are now ſtickling to bring off in Favour of* Hyrcanus, *ſhall be the Ruin of you, both* King *and* Judges.

Herod *pays* Sameas *a great Reſpect.*

And ſo it came to paſs not long after; for upon *Herod*'s getting Poſſeſſion of the Government, he put the King himſelf to Death, and all the Judges ſave only *Sameas*; for whom he had a ſingular Honour, in Regard both of his Integrity and Juſtice; and more particularly, as the Perſon, that, after the beſieging of the City by himſelf and *Soſius*, was inſtrumental to the admitting of him into the Place: With this further Declaration, that it was a Judgment upon them for their Sins, and a Puniſhment not to be avoided. But of this, elſewhere.

Hyrcanus, finding how the Judges ſtood affected, and that it was likely to go hard with *Herod*, he adjourned the Court till the next Day, and gave him a private Hint, by all Means to get out of the Way, for he was a loſt Man elſe. *Herod*, upon this, withdrew to *Damaſcus*, for Fear of *Hyrcanus*, as he pretended; and upon ſome Diſcourſe with *Sextus Cæſar*, and the ſettling of his own Affairs, he publickly declar'd, that if ever they cited him again to that Court, he would diſclaim their Juriſdiction. This Contempt put the Judges in a Rage; and they fell preſently to the hammering of it into *Hyrcanus*'s Head, that his Ruine was the very Bottom of the Deſign: But though the Thing was as plain as plain could be, and that he himſelf was convinced of it, he had not the Heart or the Grace yet, to make any Uſe of the Precaution to his Advantage. *Herod* was by this Time ſafe, and eaſy under the Care and Protection of *Sextus Cæſar*, and ſettled alſo in a Purchaſe, for a Sum of Money, of the Government of *Cœle-Syria*. This was the firſt Thing that open'd *Hyrcanus*'s Eyes, for Fear of any Miſchief that Way: And his Apprehenſion was not idle neither; for *Herod* was ſo exaſperated at the Indignity of being expos'd to a Tryal, that he marched againſt him with an Army; and if it had not been for the Importunities, and the Interceſſions of his Father, and his Brother, he had moſt certainly fall'n upon *Jeruſalem* it ſelf: But upon their Inſtances and Entreaties, that he would content himſelf with the Fright he had put them in, and ſtop there, without offering any farther Violence to the Author of his Dignity and Fortune, they pacify'd, and diverted him from his Purpoſe. *'Tis true*, they ſaid, *he had been cited; but he was brought off too, and lay under ſome Obligation for his Deliverance*. They adviſed him likewiſe to conſider the uncertain Chance of War, and how Providence gave Victories many times beyond and againſt human Expectation; and that he had little to hope for in this Cauſe from divine *Juſtice*; conſidering that he fought not only againſt his *Prince*, but againſt his very *Nouriſher* and Upholder; and one that had deſerved all good from him, without doing him any Injury: Or if he took any Thing amiſs from him at preſent, it was rather to be imputed to the Malevolence of evil Counſellors he had about him, that had tranſported *Hyrcanus* into an evil Opinion of him. *Herod* was ſo wrought upon by this Way of Advice and Reaſoning, that he contented himſelf with ſhewing the People what Power and Reputation he had, upon this Occaſion; and this was the State of Affairs with the *Jews* at that Time.

Hyrcanus *adjourns the Court.*

Herod *withdraws.*

Herod *tranſported againſt* Hyrcanus.

Cæſar being now return'd to *Rome*, was preparing for an Expedition into *Africa*, againſt *Scipio* and *Cato*, and ſaluted upon the Way by Embaſſadors from *Hyrcanus* to ſolicit the renewing of a *former League* of Friendſhip. It will be proper enough in this Place to take Notice of the Honours our People have from Time to Time received from the *Roman Emperours*, and the Alliances that have paſs'd betwixt us; to the End that the whole World may ſee what Opinion the Kings of *Europe*, as well as *Aſia*, have ever had for the Faith and Courage of the *Jews*.

The *Hiſtories* of the *Perſians* and *Macedonians* are not publickly known and diſpers'd, 'tis true; and the Authority of them may appear the leſs authentick: So that, though we our ſelves have their Books, and they are to be had alſo elſewhere, and make honourable Mention of us upon many Occaſions, we ſhall rather decline making any Advantage of it, and caſt the Credit of our Cauſe upon the *Decrees* and Proclamations of the *Romans*; the *monumental Inſcriptions* in their *Capitols*, and upon *Pillars of Braſs*; which are all, Teſtimonies, and Evidences, beyond Contradiction; and ſo was that *memorable Inſcription* of *Julius Cæſar*'s, upon the *Brazen Pillar* in *Alexandria*, which ſerves as a Record to perpetuate the Privilege of free Citizens, which was allow'd the *Jews* as a Prerogative in that famous Place. I ſhall now proſecute my Purpoſe with the particular Inſtances of certain Orders, and Decrees of the *Senate* and of *Julius Cæſar*, to the Advantage of *Hyrcanus* and our whole Nation.

Proclamations in Honour of the Jews.

Caius Julius Cæſar, *Emperour*, *Pontifex Maximus*, and the ſecond Time *Dictator*: To the *Magiſtracy*, *Senate*, and the People of *Sidon*; *Greeting*.

I my ſelf, and my Army are in Health; and if you are well, all is well. I ſend you the Copy of a Letter of ours to Hyrcanus, *the Son of* Alexander, *the* Prince, *and* High-Prieſt *of the* Jews, *to be engraved upon a* Braſs-Table; *the Inſcription, in* Latin *and* Greek; *and to remain among your* Regiſters *for* After-Times. The Letter it ſelf in Subſtance as Follows.

C. Julius Cæſar, *Emperor*, *the ſecond Time* Dictator, *and* Pontifex Maximus, *hath with the Advice and Conſent of the Senate appointed the Publication of this Decree.*

Foraſmuch as Hyrcanus, *the Son of* Alexander *a* Jew, *hath in all Times, as well in War as in Peace, approved himſelf to be our truſty good Friend and Allie, as appeareth by ſeveral Atteſtations of unqueſtionable Credit, and particularly by the Supply of fifteen hun-*

dred choice Men, that he ſent to Mithridates, *to my Aſſiſtance in the late* Alexandrian War: *Theſe Services and good Offices duly conſider'd, I do hereby confirm, and eſtabliſh unto* Hyrcanus, *and his* Heirs, *the* perpetual Government *of the* Jews, *both as their* Prince. *and* High-Prieſt, *after the Manner and Method of their own Laws: And from this Time forward, enroll them among my*[a] *truſty and well-beloved Friends, and ratify an Affinity with them as my Aſſociates. And it is my Pleaſure likewiſe, that all the*[b] legal pontifical Rights and Privileges *be devolved upon him, and his* Sons *for ever: And in Caſe any Controverſy ſhall ariſe among the People concerning the* Jewiſh Diſcipline, *himſelf and his Family, in the Courſe of Succeſſion, to be the only* Judges *of it. It is moreover my Will and Pleaſure, that the* Jews *be diſcharged the Burden of* Winter-Quarters, *and of all publick Payments.* We ſhall come now to ſome of his particular Grants, Reſolutions and Decrees.

It is ordered, Caius Cæſar *being* Conſul, *that the Government of the* Jews *ſhall deſcend from* Hyrcanus *to his* Heirs *for ever, with all the* Poſſeſſions, Grants *and* Emoluments, *belonging or annexed to the* Pontificate; *the* High-Prieſt *to have the Judgment of all Cauſes. And it is likewiſe appointed that Embaſſadors be forthwith ſent to* Hyrcanus *the Son of* Alexander, *the* High-Prieſt *of the* Jews, *with Inſtructions to treat about a friendly Alliance with him: And that theſe Particulars be fairly inſcrib'd upon* Brazen Tables *in* Latin *and* Greek, *to be ſet up in the* Capitol, *at* Tyre, Sidon, Askalon, *and in the* Temples; *to the End that this our Pleaſure may be duly made known thorough all our Dominions, and that none may pretend Ignorance: And for the Honour of our Friends, and for a Recommendation of their Agents and Miniſters, to a ſingular Reſpect and Eſteem in all Places where they ſhall come.*

Caius Cæſar, Emperour, Dictator, *and* Conſul; *taking into his Conſideration the Honour, the Friendſhip, and the*[c] *good Services of* Hyrcanus, *doth hereby, for the Benefit and Advantage of the* Senate *and* People *of* Rome, *grant unto* Hyrcanus, *the Son of* Alexander, *and to his* Sons after him, *by an hereditary Right of* Succeſſion, *the Authority and Office of* Princes *and* Prieſts *of* Jeruſalem, *and of the whole Nation of the* Jews, *to be by them exerciſed and enjoy'd, in ſuch Manner as their Anceſtors enjoy'd and exerciſed the ſaid Dignities before them.*

Caius Cæſar, *the* fifth Time Conſul, *hath ordained and appointed that the City of* Jeruſalem *ſhall be* repair'd *and* fortify'd; *and that* Hyrcanus *the* Prince *and* High-Prieſt *of the* Jews, *and the Son of* Alexander, *ſhall have the Adminiſtration of the Government, with an Abatement upon the Duty every ſecond Year, of a Part of their* Taxes, *and an Exemption from* Carriages *and* other Tributes.

Caius Cæſar, Emperour, *hath likewiſe ordained that the Inhabitants of* Jeruſalem *ſhall pay a yearly Tribute for itſelf and all its Dependencies, ſaving only the City of* Joppa; *with an Exemption of all* Duty, *from the* ſeventh Year, *which they call* Sabbatical, *or the* Year of Reſt; *in which they neither* ſow, plant, *nor* reap, *either Fruit or Grain. And it is his Pleaſure alſo, that the* Jews *in* Sidon *pay a Tribute of the fourth Part of their Fruits every ſecond Year for a Duty; beſide the* Tenths *to* Hyrcanus *and his* Sons, *as they have pay'd formerly to their Predeceſſors. And farther, that no Governours, military Officers, or Embaſſadors, preſume to raiſe any Soldiers, or impoſe any Charges upon the Lands of the* Jews; *whether for winter Quarters, or upon any other Pretext whatſoever; but that they may hold all their Purchaſes, and Acquiſitions, peaceably, and quietly, to themſelves, without any Lett or Moleſtation whatſoever. It is alſo our farther Will and Pleaſure, that the City of* Joppa, *which the* Jews *were poſſeſs'd of at their firſt Entrance into an Alliance with the* Romans, *remain under the Government of* Hyrcanus *the Son of* Alexander *and his* Family, *with all the Revenues and Advantages ariſing from it, whether upon* Husbandry, Port-Duties, Taxes, Cuſtoms, Anchorage, Impoſitions *upon Goods, and* Expertations *of* Corn *for* Sidon, *once in two Years, ſaving only the* Sabbatical Year, *wherein (as it is ſaid before) they neither* plough, plant, ſow, reap *nor* gather. *As to the Villages that* Hyrcanus, *and his Anceſtors formerly enjoy'd in the* great Plain, *it is the Will of the* Senate, *that they continue to* Hyrcanus *and the* Jews, *in Manner as before, and that the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms be ſtill preſerved and exerciſed betwixt them and the* Prieſts, *and all Advantages made good that had been formerly granted to them by the* Senate *and the* People of Rome; *the ſame Privileges extending even to* Lydda *it ſelf. And whereas the* Romans *had formerly beſtow'd upon the Kings of* Syria, *and* Cilicia, *certain Lands and Eſtates in Reſpect of an* Alliance *betwixt them, it is the Pleaſure of the* Senate *that they ſtill continue in the Poſſeſſion of* Hyrcanus *the Prince of the* Jews. *And farther; that* he himſelf, *his* Son, *and his* Embaſſadors, *ſhall have Places aſſigned them among the* Senators, *to ſee the* Gladiators, *and other* publick Spectacles: *And that upon any Occaſi-*

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[a] *See* Cotelerius's *Notes upon the ſecond Vol. of his* Monumenta Eccleſ. *Gr. p.* 546.

[b] *'Tis in the Original as* Cotelerius *corrects it,* ἀρχιερατικὰ ϗ φιλάνθρωπα. *Ibid. p.* 595.

[c] *See* Cotelerius's *Notes to the ſecond Vol. of his* Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. *p.* 525.

on of applying themſelves to the Senate, *the* Dictator, *or the* Maſter of the Horſe, *ſhall introduce them to their Audience; and an Anſwer to be returned them within ten Days, if the Senate ſhall come to any Reſolution upon the Matter.*

Caius Julius, the *fourth Time Emperour*, the *fifth Time Conſul*, and *perpetual Dictator*, makes this Mention of *Hyrcanus* the Son of *Alexander*, the *Prince* and the *High-Prieſt* of the *Jews*.

Whereas my Predeceſſors, *as well in the* Provinces, *as in the* Senate, *have formerly born Witneſs to many honourable Reports on the Behalf of the* High-Prieſt Hyrcanus, *and the Generality of the* Jews, *who have thereupon received the Thanks of the* Senate *and* People of Rome, *in Acknowledgment of their Worth and Goodneſs: We look upon theſe friendly Offices and Reſpects, as Obligations never to be forgotten; and upon our ſelves, as bound in the Name of the* Senate *and* People of Rome, *to give* Hyrcanus, *his Family and Countrymen all poſſible Demonſtrations of the Senſe we have of their Amity and Eſteem.*

Caius Julius, *Dictator* and *Conſul*; to the *Magiſtracy*, *Senate* and *Body* of the *Parians*,
Greeting.

Whereas Application hath been made unto us at Delos, *by great Numbers of the* Jews *from ſeveral Quarters, complaining againſt you in the Hearing and Preſence of your own Embaſſadors, for barring the* Jews *the Liberty of their* Country-Laws, *and the free Enjoyment of their* Rites *and* Sacrifices; *they having likewiſe ſhew'd us the Inſtrument of Interdiction it ſelf: Theſe are to let you underſtand, that we will not ſuffer any ſuch unreaſonable Rigour to be practiſed toward our Friends and Allies; but our Pleaſure is, on the contrary, that they be let alone in the free and peaceable Enjoyment of their* Cuſtoms, Feſtivals, *and* Sacrifices; *being no more than the Allowance of a Privilege which they enjoy in* Rome *it ſelf: For in the* Edict *of* Caius Cæſar, Conſul, *prohibiting all* publick Meetings *and* Congregations *in the City, the* Jews alone *were permitted to* meet *together; feaſt and make merry: And I my ſelf, in another Caſe of Prohibition,* excepted *the* Jews *likewiſe out of that* Reſtraint, *and left them to their own Ways and Manners. Wherefore if ſo it be, that you have paſs'd any Order to the Prejudice of our Allies, in the Privileges that we have thought fit to allow them, it is but juſt and reaſonable that you revoke, and make void any ſuch Decree out of a Reſpect to us, and to them for our Sakes, as they are our Friends and Aſſociates.*

After the Death of *Cæſar*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Publius Dolobella*, being then *Conſuls*, call'd a *Senate*, and gave an Audience to the *Embaſſadors* of *Hyrcanus*, upon the Subject-Matter of their Inſtructions and Deſires; Struck up a new League with them, and came to a Reſolution, at laſt, in Favour of all their Demands. This *Dolobella*, having received Letters from *Hyrcanus*, took an Occaſion from thence to ſend Diſpatches all over *Aſia*, and particularly to *Epheſus*, the *Metropolis* of that Province, in Terms much to this Effect.

The [a] Emperour *Dolobella* to the *Magiſtrates*, *Senate*, and People of
Epheſus, *Greeting.*

Whereas we are given to underſtand by Alexander *the Son of* Theodorus, *and Embaſſador of* Hyrcanus *the* High Prieſt *and Prince of the* Jews, *in the Name of the ſaid* Hyrcanus, *that the* Jews, *being ty'd up by the Religion, Laws, and Conſtitutions of their Country, not to bear Arms, travel, or ſo much as provide themſelves Neceſſaries for Life, upon the Day of their* Sabbaoth, *are thereby render'd incapable of attending the Duties and Services of the War: We do therefore order and appoint, according to what our Predeceſſors have done before us in the ſame Caſe, that the ſaid* Jews, *be from this Time forward exempted from all military Charges, and permitted the Liberty of meeting, worſhipping, and ſacrificing, according to their own Rule and Way. And hereof you are to cauſe due Notice to be given thorough all the Cities of your Province.*

We find theſe Privileges granted to our People by *Dolabella*, at the Inſtance of *Hyrcanus*: And *Lucius Lentulus* the *Conſul* pronouncing upon the whole Matter, in Form, that the *Citizen-Jews* in *Epheſus* ſhould be allow'd the free Exerciſe of their Religion; with an Immunity from all Offices and Impoſitions relating to the War.

Given in Court the 18th *Day of* September.

We might produce ſeveral other imperial Reſolutions and Decrees of *Senate* in Favour of *Hyrcanus* and the *Jewiſh* Nation, with Letters recommendatory to the Governours of Cities and Provinces, upon the Subject of our Rights and Claims; for which we can ſhew Authorities not to be doubted of by any equal and impartial Judge, in Juſtification of what we have here deliver'd. The Proofs, in Fine, of an amicable Underſtanding of ancient Date, betwixt us and the *Romans*, are ſo firm and clear, that the Record of it is yet to be ſeen to this Day, upon *brazen Tables* and Pillars in the *Capitol*, in perpetual Memory of that Alliance. It would be Time loſt to be more particular in a Caſe, where there are ſo many undeniable Evidences extant in Confirmation of the Matter here exhibited: So that I ſhall rather caſt my ſelf upon what I have ſaid already for the Credit of what I could ſay farther, than tire out the Reader with a tedious Story for the clearing of a Thing that proves it ſelf. Wherefore let this ſuffice to ſhew the friendly Correſpondence that paſs'd in former Times betwixt the *Romans* and the *Jews*.

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[a] *The Style of* Generals, *in those Days.*

There happen'd at or about this Time a deſperate Sedition in *Syria*, and it was upon this Occaſion. *Cæcilius Baſſus*, a *Pompeian*, enter'd into a Plot upon the Life of *Sextus Cæſar*: He got him treacherouſly murder'd, and immediately drew out his Troops upon it, and took Poſſeſſion of the Province. This Uproar was follow'd with a bloody War upon the Borders of *Apamia*. The *Cæſareans* march'd againſt *Baſſus* with Horſe and Foot: *Antipater* with his Sons joyning them, in Honour to the Memory of his illuſtrious Benefactor: Accounting himſelf bound both in Honour and Juſtice to take his Revenge upon the Murderer of ſo generous a Friend. While the War was drawing out at Length, [a] *Marcus* ſets up for Succeſſor to *Sextus*; and in the mean Time, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, with a Band of other Conſpirators, aſſaſſinated *Cæſar* in the *Senate-Houſe*. He had now been three Years and a Half in his Government: As appears by the whole Current of *Hiſtorians*.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Death of Cæſar *was follow'd by a* Civil War. Caſſius *enters into a Faction, and joyns with* Herod *in horrible Oppreſſions. People as well as Places expoſ'd to Sale.* Marcus *in a Plot againſt* Antipater, *and brings himſelf off by a falſe Oath.*

The Death of Cæſar *is follow'd with a* Civil War. Caſſius *makes a Party, and draws* Marcus *and* Baſſus *into't. Horrible Oppreſſions under* Caſſius *and* Herod.

UPON the Death of *Cæſar*, the *Senators* and the leading Men of *Rome* fell preſently all to Pieces, in Parties and Factions; every Man ſhifting and ſetting up for himſelf, till the Confuſion brake out into a *Civil War*. *Caſſius* got Poſſeſſion of the Army in *Syria*, which was then before *Apamia*; raiſed the Siege, and brought over *Marcus* and *Baſſus* into his *Intereſt*; took his Progreſs from Place to Place, picking up Men, Money, and Arms, more or leſs, wherever he came, but oppreſſing *Judæa* above all the reſt, by an Impoſition of *betwixt ſeven and eight hundred Talents of Silver*. In the Hurry of this Broil and Diſtraction, *Antipater* committed the Care of levying one Part of this Money to his *two Sons*, and the reſt of it to *Malichus*, (one that had no great Kindneſs for him) together with ſome others. *Herod*, that was willing to oblige the *Romans* at other People's Coſt, began with the moſt acceptable Preſents to *Caſſius*, of the Contribution of *Galilee*, as the Firſt-Fruits of his Service; but for ſeveral Cities under other Governours, they were expoſed and ſold as by an *Outcry*, People, Places and all, to him that would give moſt; as particularly the Cities of *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, and *Thamna*, where the Inhabitants, by *Caſſius's* Order, were ſold by Auction: And he was ſo exaſperated againſt *Malichus*, upon this Occaſion, that if *Hyrcanus* had not pacify'd him with a Compoſition of a *hundred Talents* out of his own Coffers, by the Hands of *Antipater*, it would have coſt *Malichus* his Life. So ſoon as *Caſſius* was gone off with his Treaſure, *Malichus* enter'd into a Practice againſt the Perſon of *Antipater*, reckoning upon it, that if he were once out of the Way, *Hyrcanus* would find himſelf more eaſy and ſecure in his Government. *Antipater* had ſuch an Apprehenſion however of this Deſign upon him, that for Prevention-ſake, he forthwith paſs'd the River *Jordan*, and put himſelf in the Head of as many *Jews* and *Arabians* as he could get into a Body; but *Malichus* who was a bold and a cunning Fellow, finding himſelf ſuſpected, went to *Antipater* and his Sons barefac'd, and without more ado clear'd himſelf of the Jealouſy by the Dint of downright *Perjury*. *Can any Body imagine*, ſays he, *that I ſhould be ſo arrant a Fool, as to entertain ſo much as the leaſt Thought of a Plot, or a Conſpiracy, when at the ſame Time,* Phaſael *had the Command of* Jeruſalem, *and* Herod *that of the Arms, and Magazines?* So that by this Impudence, failing of his main End, he made his Peace with *Antipater*. *Marcus* had at this Time the Government of *Syria*; who coming afterwards to hear of new Practices of *Malichus* in *Judæa*, had certainly put him to Death, if it had not been for the Interceſſion of *Antipater* on his Behalf.

People and Places all put to Sale.

Malichus *in a Plot againſt* Antipater.

Malichus *makes his Peace by a falſe Oath.*

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[a] *By* Marcus *we are to underſtand* Marcus Criſpus: *Or otherwiſe to read* Murcus, *as Mr.* Spanheim [illegible] *To this Purpoſe ſee* Caſaubon's *Exercit. An.* DCCVI.

CHAP. XIX.

Marcus *and* Caſſius *give* Herod *the Command of the* lower Syria. Malichus *gets* Antipater *poiſon'd, but forſwears it. A bloody Malice well diſſembled.*

ANTIPATER's good Nature in this Act of Tenderneſs, was more than his Diſcretion; for, as it fell out, he ſav'd *Malichus* only to deſtroy himſelf. When *Marcus* and *Caſſius* had gotten an Army together, they gave *Herod* the Command of it both by Sea and Land, and at the ſame Time made him Governour of the *Cœle-Syria*, with a further Promiſe of the Kingdom of *Judæa*, ſo ſoon as the War ſhould be over with *Anthony*, and the *younger Cæſar*, (afterward *Auguſtus*) which they were then engaged in. This Promotion of *Herod* put *Malichus* into ſuch an Apprehenſion and Jealouſy of *Antipater*, that he got him poyſon'd for a Sum of Money, by *Hyrcanus*'s *Butler* one Day at his Maſter's Table; and thereupon, with a Guard of Soldiers about him, took Poſſeſſion of the City. This was the End of *Antipater*; a juſt and a good Man, and a true lover of his Country. *Herod* and *Phaſael* reſented this barbarous Practice upon the Perſon of their *Father*, as they ought to do; but *Malichus* had the Confidence however to forſwear all upon the Main, and ſtand upon his Juſtification. The two Brothers were both agreed in the Determination of a Revenge; but the Queſtion was, in what Manner to bring it about. *Herod* was for doing of it at the Head of an Army; but *Phaſael* rather by *Stratagem* and *Surprize*, for Fear of embroiling the People in a *civil War*: So that he carry'd it fair to *Malichus*, without diſcovering any Suſpicion he had of him for the Murther; employing himſelf at the ſame Time upon the erecting of an illuſtrious *Monument* to the Honour of his dead *Father*. *Herod* came about this Time to *Samaria*, and finding every Thing in great Diſorder, he made it his Buſineſs to ſet Matters to Rights again, and to compoſe all Controverſies and Diſputes among the Inhabitants, by a regular Courſe of Law and Juſtice. There came on ſoon after this, a ſolemn Feſtival at *Jeruſalem*; upon which Occaſion, *Herod* advanced with his Army toward the City; where *Malichus* in a Dread on the other Hand, earneſtly preſs'd *Hyrcanus* not to give him Admittance; who was accordingly prevail'd upon to refuſe him Entrance, upon a Pretext, that it would be a *Prophanation* of the *holy Religion* to communicate in their *Ceremonies* and Worſhip with Strangers. But *Herod* made light of this Interdiction, and got into the Town by Night. This Surprize ſtartled *Malichus*; but he had the Wit yet to ſtick to his Diſguiſe of Tears and Exclamations for the Loſs of his dear Friend *Antipater*, and at the ſame Time to provide a Guard under-hand for the Security of his Perſon. *Herod*'s Friends under theſe Circumſtances, had no better Expedient than to encounter his Pretence of Sorrow and Affliction on the one Hand, with an artificial Semblance of Friendſhip and Confidence on the other.

Marcus and Caſſius give Herod the Command of the lower Syria.

Malichus gets Antipater poyſoned;

But forſwears it. The two Brothers reſolve upon a Revenge.

Malice [illegible] on both Sides.

CHAP. XX.

Caſſius *and* Herod *joyn to revenge* Antipater's *Murder.* Malichus *ſtabb'd under a Colour of Friendſhip.*

THE Character of *Malichus* was ſo well known to *Caſſius*, that he order'd *Herod*, immediately upon the News of *Antipater*'s *Death*, to revenge it upon the Head of the *Murderer*, privately commanding the Troops alſo that were then at *Tyre* to his Aſſiſtance. Upon the taking of *Laodicea* afterward by *Caſſius*, and the People thronging to him with Money and Preſents, *Herod* made no Doubt of an Opportunity to gain his Point upon that Occaſion: But as *Malichus* was upon the Way, near *Tyrus* in *Phœnicia*, his Heart miſgave him, and that Apprehenſion put him upon other Meaſures. He had a Son at that Time an Hoſtage in *Tyre*, and he thought with himſelf that if he could but ſteal him away into *Judæa*, the *Jews* might be tamper'd to a Revolt; and he himſelf take his Advantage, while *Caſſius* was engaged in a War with *Anthony*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Government. The Project was bold and well enough contrived; if *Herod*'s wonderful Sagacity and Precaution had not diſappointed it, by ſending out ſeveral Officers beforehand to meet *Malichus* and his Train upon the Way in their Arms, under a Pretext of inviting them to a Collation; which they did accordingly, and falling upon him on the Sea-ſide of the Town, they there diſpatch'd him with their Daggers. The Horror and Surprize of this Action ſtruck *Hyrcanus* ſpeechleſs; but upon coming a little to himſelf, and enquiring into Particulars, *Herod* put a ſhort End to his Curioſity, by telling him that it was all done by the Command of

Caſſius joyns with Herod to revenge Antipater's Murder.

Malichus ſtabb'd upon the Way, under Colour of Friendſhip.

Caſſius: Whereupon *Hyrcanus* ſeemed highly to approve the Juſtice of the Vengeance for the Murder of *Antipater*, upon ſo lewd a Man, and ſo treacherous an Enemy to his Country.

Upon the Departure of *Caſſius* out of *Syria*, there follow'd great Troubles in *Judæa*. For *Felix*, with the Troops that were under his Command in *Jeruſalem*, made an Attack upon *Phaſael*; and the People betook themſelves to their Arms in his Defence. *Herod* upon this, apply'd himſelf to *Fabius* the Governour of *Damaſcus*, with a Deſign to aſſiſt his Brother; but was prevented for the preſent by a Fit of Sickneſs, that put him out of Condition to ſerve him. *Phaſael* however had the good Fortune to do his Buſineſs without him, and to force *Felix* for Sanctuary into a ſtrong Hold upon Terms: *Phaſael* reproaching *Hyrcanus* all this while with Ingratitude to the higheſt Degree, in ſiding with his Enemy, after ſo many Obligations as he had laid upon him; for the Brother of *Malichus* had at that Time gotten ſeveral fortify'd Places into his Hand, and *Maſada* among the reſt, which was look'd upon as a Fort in a Manner impregnable; but *Herod* upon his Recovery, took them all back again, and ſo diſmiſs'd him upon Articles of Agreement betwixt them.

CHAP. XXI.

Antigonus *raiſes an Army.* Herod's *Tenderneſs for the* Tyrians. *He defeats* Antigonus, *and marries* Mariamne.

Antigonus *raiſes an Army.*

Herod's *Tenderneſs for the* Tyrians.

Herod *encounters* Antigonus, *and defeats him.*

Herod *marries* Mariamne. Herod *had* Antipater *by a former Wife* Dores.

ANTIGONUS, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, a near Kinſman of *Ptolemy Mennæus*; and for Affinity Sake, by him adopted: Engaged *Fabius* for a Sum of Money to joyn with him in the drawing of an Army together, taking *Marion* alſo into his Aſſiſtance, who by the Favour of *Caſſius*, had gotten the Command of *Tyre*, and the Power of all *Syria* into his Hand; having ſettled ſeveral Garriſons there, and three in *Galilee* it ſelf, upon his own Borders: But *Herod* quickly reduced theſe Places, treating the *Tyrians* that had the Keeping of them, not only with fair Quarter, but with Reſpect, Tenderneſs, and even with Preſents too, for the Love he bare to the People themſelves. His next Buſineſs was immediately to march up to *Antigonus*; whom he encounter'd and defeated upon his very Entrance into *Judæa*; and returning triumphant from thence to *Jeruſalem*, he was received by *Hyrcanus* and the whole People, with all poſſible Inſtances of Honour and Eſteem: For being now upon the Point of a Match with the Daughter of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and of *Alexandra* the Daughter of *Hyrcanus*, *Herod* was conſider'd as a Branch of the Family; and the Marriage being conſummated ſoon after, he had by this Wife three Sons and two Daughters: Having had a former Wife of his own Country, whoſe Name was *Dores*, by whom he had his eldeſt Son *Antipater*.

CHAP. XXII.

Caſſius *routed by* Anthony *and* Brutus. *Complains againſt* Phaſael *and* Herod. Hyrcanus *preſſes* Anthony *for Satisfaction againſt* Caſſius. *Several* Edicts *in Favour of the* Jews.

Caſſius *routed at* Philippi *by* Anthony *and* Auguſtus.

Complaints to Anthony *againſt* Phaſael *and* Herod.

Herod *pleads his Cauſe with Arguments and Preſents.*

Hyrcanus, *and the Body of the* Jews *preſs* Anthony *for Satisfaction againſt* Caſſius.

Anthony *publiſhes ſeveral former* Edicts *in their Favour.*

AFter the Defeat of *Caſſius* at *Philippi*, by *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, *Cæſar* went his Way into *Gaul*, and *Anthony* into *Aſia*; who was complemented upon his March in *Bithynia* with *Embaſſies* and *Applications* from ſeveral Parts; and among others, he was encounter'd with Complaints and Accuſations againſt *Phaſael* and *Herod*, from many eminent Perſons among the *Jews*; ſuggeſting that *Hyrcanus*, though he had the Name of a *Governour*, was in Effect, but a *mock Prince*; for that the two Brothers had uſurp'd the Authority and Adminiſtration to themſelves. *Herod* pleaded ſo well for himſelf, and ſeconded his Reaſons with ſuch a Sum of Money, that his Adverſaries could not be ſo much as heard againſt him. Upon *Anthony*'s coming up to *Epheſus*, Embaſſadors were ſent from *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, and the whole Body of the *Jews*, with a *Crown of Gold*, *Supplications* and *Preſents*; deſiring that their Countrymen that were carry'd away Priſoners by *Caſſius* contrary to the Rules of War might be ſet at Liberty, and their Lands reſtored to them, that had been wrongfully taken away; deſiring *Anthony*'s Letters to the Provinces in their Favour to this Purpoſe. Their Requeſt was found to be ſo reaſonable, *Anthony* preſently granted their Petition, and wrote to *Hyrcanus* and to the *Jews*, and likewiſe diſpatch'd an Edict to the *Tyrians*, to this following Effect.

Marcus Antonius, Emperor, to *Hyrcanus* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Prince* of the *Jews*; *Greeting*, Joy and Health.

Anthony, *to the Magiſtrates of* Tyre.

Whereas we have received from Lyſimachus *the Son of* Pauſanias, Joſeph *the Son of* Mennæus *and* Alexander *the Son of* Theodorus, *your Embaſſadors, at* Epheſus, *freſh Aſſurances of the Continuance of yours, and your People's Affection for us, according to what hath been formerly exhibited to us at* Rome; *in which Commiſſion, they have faithfully and worthily acquitted themſelves: And whereas we are abundantly ſatisfied in the Sincerity of your Intentions, and more from the Proof we have had of your good Faith, Piety and Virtue, than by the Force of Words, we do heartily agree to your Propoſals, and embrace your Friendſhip. Now ſince ſo it is that the Enemies, both of our ſelf, and of the People of* Rome, *have laid waſte and ravag'd the whole Country of* Aſia, *without any Regard to Societies, Laws or holy Places, Oaths, Promiſes or Contracts, we have turned our Arms againſt theſe Violators of all Duties, ſacred and civil; not for any particular Intereſt of our own, but in Vindication of the common Cauſe of Mankind. As in the Caſe of the horrid Murther of* Cæſar; *a Villany ſo black and hideous, that the Sun it ſelf was confounded at the Sight of it: The execrable* Aſſaſſins *betook themſelves, ſome of them at leaſt, into* Macedonia, *as if it had been to fight the old Quarrel againſt the Gods over again there: Such was their outragious Malice at the Battel of* Philippi; *where having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Faſtneſſes and ſtrong Places, up to the very Sea, under the Cover of almoſt impaſſable Mountains, they were ſo poſted that there was only one Way open to come at them: But theſe Difficulties notwithſtanding, divine Juſtice gave us ſo entire a* Victory *over the* ſacrilegious Rebels, *that we beat* Brutus *and* Caſſius *into the Town; where, finding themſelves begirt, they both periſhed together. So that having inflicted a juſt Vengeance upon the Heads of theſe Monſters, we are now in Hope to ſee peaceable Days again, and* Aſia, *that looks like a Body already recovering out of a deſperate Diſtemper by the Benefit of this Relief, delivered finally from the Outrages of a devouring War. And it ſhall be our Care likewiſe to provide that you and your People may come in for an ample Share in the Comfort of ſo great a Bleſſing. To this End we have already diſpatch'd away our* Mandates *from Place to Place for the immediate Diſcharge of all the* Jews, *as well bond, as free, that had been expoſed to Sale by* Caſſius, *or his* Order. *And it is our farther Pleaſure, that you ſhall quietly enjoy to your ſelves, and your Heirs, all the* Graces *and* Privileges *unto you granted by* my ſelf *and* Dolobella, *with an expreſs Inhibition to the* Tyrians, *that they give you no Sort of Moleſtation, and as poſitively commanding them to make full Reſtitution of all the Goods and Eſtates that had been taken away from the* Jews, *declaring our Acceptance alſo of the Crown you were pleaſed to ſend.*

Marcus Antonius, Emperor, to the *Magiſtrates, Senate,* and People of *Tyre*; Greeting.

Whereas we have been given to underſtand at Epheſus, *by the Embaſſadors of* Hyrcanus, the High-Prieſt, *and* Prince *of the* Jews, *that in the Time when our Enemies were in Poſſeſſion of this Province, you enter'd upon the Lands of ſeveral of this People for your own Uſe: Be it now known unto you, that as we engaged in this War for the Good of the Empire, and for the Maintenance of Piety and Juſtice, againſt a Band of ungrateful Rebels: So we do hereby will and require you, not only to live in Peace and Amity with our Allies, but alſo to reſtore to the former Proprietors whatever you have of theirs that was taken from them by the Hands of our Enemies; who, as they had no Manner of Right thereunto themſelves, by any Commiſſion or Authority from the* Senate; *ſo neither could they convey any Right to others, upon whom they pretended to beſtow it; being only the mercenary Inſtruments of their Violence and Uſurpation. And now having brought our Adverſaries to condign Puniſhment, we find it reaſonable to re-eſtabliſh our Allies in the full and quiet Enjoyment of their Eſtates: Wherefore, if you have in your Hands at preſent any Lands or Eſtates formerly belonging to* Hyrcanus *the* Prince *of the* Jews, *which you came to be ſeized of in the Time, or under the Countenance of* Caſſius's unrighteous Invaſion; *it is our Will that they be forthwith deliver'd up to the Perſons from whom they were taken, without any Oppoſition, or Delay; and in Caſe of any Doubt or Difficulty that may ariſe upon the Equity of the Matter, it ſhall be our Care when we come into thoſe Parts, to hear both Sides, and to do indifferent Juſtice.*

Mark Anthony, Emperor, to the *Magiſtrate, Senate,* and *People* of *Tyre*; Greeting.

I have ſent you my Mandate, *which you are to ſee carefully tranſcrib'd in* Latin *and* Greek, *and expoſed upon a Table among your Records, in a publick Place where all People may take Notice of it.* And again.

Marcus Antonius, *Emperor*, and *Triumvir*, &c. as follows.

Whereas Caius Caſſius, *taking Advantage of our Troubles and Diſtractions, brake in with a Body of vagabond Troops upon a Province where he had nothing at all to do, and without the leaſt Colour of any warrantable Title or Pretenſion; ravaging and deſtroying the Country and the whole Nation of the* Jews, *though our dear Friends and Allies; and continuing thoſe outrages, till by our Arms we brought down the Pride and Inſolence of theſe preſumptuous Uſurpers; it is our expreſs Will and Command now for the Reparation of all theſe Indignities (ſo far as in us lies) to ordain and appoint, that Reſtitution or Satisfaction be forthwith made to our Allies the* Jews *for whatſoever hath been forcibly taken from them, and the Perſons of all their Priſoners to be ſet at Liberty: And we do likewiſe require that this our Decree be punctually obſerved, upon Pain of our utmoſt Diſpleaſure.*

Anthony wrote to the ſame Purpoſe alſo to the People of *Sidon*, *Antioch* and *Arad*, which we think reaſonable to give an Account of in this Place, to the End that Poſterity may know how great an Honour and Reſpect our Nation has received Time after Time from the State of *Rome*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Anthony's *Encounter with* Cleopatra. *Heavy Complaints againſt* Herod *and* Phaſael. *The* Cauſe *try'd and* Council *heard.* Anthony *adviſes with* Hyrcanus. *The Ingratitude of* Herod's *Accuſers.*

Anthony's *Encounter with* Cleopatra. *Complaints and Accuſations againſt* Herod *and* Phaſael. *Counſels heard on both Sides. The Cauſe try'd at* Daphne. Anthony *adviſes with* Hyrcanus.

The Defendants *advance, and ſeveral of the Proſecutors put to Death. The Ingratitude of* Herod's *Accuſers, which coſt them their Lives in the Concluſion.*

A*NTHONY*, paſſing after this, into *Syria*, was met and complemented by *Cleopatra* upon the Way, in *Cilicia*, where he fell deſperately in Love with her. Application was alſo made to him by a Matter of a hundred eminent Perſons of the firſt Quality of the *Jews*, with Complaints and Accuſations againſt *Herod* and *Phaſael*; bringing along with them a ſelect Choice of the beſt Speakers they had for their *Advocates*. *Meſſala* was of Counſel for the *two Brothers*, being likewiſe ſeconded by *Hyrcanus*; who was at this Time by Marriage become Father-in-Law to *Herod*. The Cauſe was try'd at *Daphne*; where, upon full Hearing of both Sides, *Anthony* put it to *Hyrcanus*, which of the two was the beſt qualify'd for the Office of a Governour; who made Anſwer, that he took *Herod* to be the more competent Adminiſtrator of the two. *Anthony* had ſo great a Tenderneſs and Reſpect for the two young Men, upon the Score of paſt Kindneſs received from their Father *Antipater*, who took him into his Protection when *Gabinius* made War upon *Judæa*, that he conferr'd upon them both the Dignity of *Tetrarchs*, and committed *Judæa* to their Care. He wrote ſeveral Letters alſo in their Favour, and impriſon'd fifteen of the moſt violent of their Proſecutors, with a Reſolution to have put them all to Death, if *Herod* by his Mediation had not diverted the Execution: But this Generoſity of *Herod*'s had no Effect at all upon the implacable Malice of his Enemies; for they were no ſooner diſmiſs'd from their Embaſſy, but they entered into new Practices againſt the Life of their Preſerver, immediately upon their Return; and drawing together to the Number of a thouſand Perſons of the Faction, they trooped away in a Body to *Tyre* to wait for *Anthony*'s coming thither. But *Herod* and his Brother had already made ſo powerful an Intereſt by the Force of Money and Preſents, that *Anthony* ſent his Orders to the Magiſtracy of the Place, to aſſiſt *Herod* in the Support of his Authority, and to do Juſtice upon the *Jewiſh Embaſſadors*, as a Parcel of ſeditious Innovators, that were in a Deſign to overturn the Government. But *Herod* gave yet a ſecond Inſtance of his Humanity and good Nature, in repairing to the Deputies as they were advancing up to the City, and adviſing them by all Means to withdraw themſelves in Time: *Hyrcanus* joyning with *Herod* in the ſame Advice, and deſiring them to retire, for Fear of what Miſchief might befal them if they perſiſted in that Appeal. But theſe People, in Contempt of all Counſels and Dangers, kept on their Way till they were ſet upon and overborn by Multitudes of both *Jews* and *Inhabitants*; great Numbers of them being kill'd and wounded, and the reſt diſpers'd, which put a final End to that Controverſy: Not but that the common People went on with open Mouth, exclaiming againſt *Herod*'s Proceedings; which irritated *Anthony* to that Degree, that he commanded all the Priſoners to be put to Death.

In the Year following, *Pacorus* the Son of the King of *Parthia* and *Barzapharnes*, a Prince of the Country, made themſelves Maſters of *Syria*; and *Ptolemy Mennæus* dying at the ſame Time, his Son *Lyſanias* ſucceeded him, having contracted a particular

Friendſhip with *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, by the Means of *Barzapharnes*, who had very great Credit with him.

CHAP. XXIV.

Antigonus *deals with the* Parthians *to depoſe* Hyrcanus; *and to put* Herod *and his Brothers to Death.* Pacorus *and* Barzapharnes *joyn againſt* Judæa. *The* Tyrians *deny* Pacorus *Entrance. The* Jews *of* Mount Carmel *ſide with* Antigonus. *A Guard ſet upon the* Temple, *and the Houſes fir'd over their Heads.* Pacorus *betrays* Phaſael. Barzapharnes *charged with* Treachery, *but denies it.*

ANTIGONUS contracted with the *Parthians* for a *thouſand Talents*, and *five hundred Women*, upon the depoſing of *Hyrcanus*, and receiving him for Governour in his Stead; and at the ſame Time put *Herod* to Death, and all his Party. The Sum agreed upon was not depoſited; but the *Parthians* however enter'd upon the Undertaking, and marched with an Army againſt *Judæa*; *Pacorus*, by the Way of the Coaſt, and *Barzapharnes* thorough the Inland. The *Tyrians* ſtood upon their Guard againſt *Pacorus*, and kept him out of the City; but the People of *Sidon* and *Ptolemais* open'd their Gates and receiv'd him. He detached, upon this, a Party of Horſe upon the Scout, under the Command of the *King's Cup-Bearer*, whoſe Name alſo was *Pacorus*, to diſcover the State of the Country, and to ſecond *Antigonus*, if there ſhould be Occaſion. The *Jews* of *Mount Carmel* ſided with *Antigonus*, who fanſy'd that by their Aſſiſtance he might make himſelf Maſter of that Part of the Country which they call *Drymœ*, and he was perſuaded by others alſo that came over to him, to puſh forward, even to *Jeruſalem* it ſelf; which he did accordingly by the Help of ſeveral ſtrong Enforcements that joyn'd him with a Reſolution to attack *Herod* and *Phaſael* in the royal *Palace*: But while this was in Agitation, the two Brothers with a conſiderable Body of their Friends and Party, fell upon them in the Market-Place; and beating them from their Poſt, they fled into the *Temple*. *Herod* clapt a Guard of Soldiers into the adjoyning Houſes, for the better Security of the Place: But the Multitude breaking violently in upon them before they could be reliev'd, ſet Fire to the Buildings over their Heads, and burnt the Houſes to Aſhes, together with the Defendants. Soon after this Outrage, *Herod* had his Revenge, in a Defeat he gave them with a very great Slaughter. They went skirmiſhing on from Day to Day till toward the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, which *Antigonus* and his Party expected with great Impatience, becauſe of the mighty Confluence of People that reſorted thither upon that Solemnity. The Time being come, there were ſeveral thouſands gather'd together about the *Temple*: Some with Arms; others, without; and the City as well as the Temple crouded with them, all but the Palace; which *Herod*, with a ſmall Party, maintained; the Charge of the Walls and Outworks being committed to *Phaſael*. The Enemy having poſted themſelves in the *Suburbs*, *Herod* made a brave and a deſperate Sally upon them, wherein he did great Execution; driving ſeveral thouſands before him: Some into the *Temple*; ſome into the *City*, and forcing others to take Sanctuary behind a Rampart that was there at Hand: *Phaſael* acquitting himſelf in this Action like a Man of Honour. *Pacorus*, in the mean Time, at the Inſtance of *Antigonus*, with a ſmall Party, enter'd the City upon a Pretence to keep the People quiet, and put a Stop to the Tumult; but with a Deſign, in Truth, to advance *Antigonus* to the Government. *Phaſael*, after this, treated them with great Reſpect, both upon the Way, and at his own Palace, and *Pacorus* requited the Civility with a Practice upon his Life, which was carry'd on, under Colour of an Embaſſy to *Barzapharnes*; which *Phaſael*, being a credulous Man, was eaſily prevail'd upon to undertake, though ſo much againſt *Herod*'s Opinion, that he was abſolutely for cutting off *Pacorus*, and the whole Crew that came along with him, to prevent a worſe Miſchief; being too well acquainted with the Faithleſſneſs of the barbarous People he had to do withal, to truſt them. But ſo it was however, that *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* put themſelves upon their Journey with *Pacorus* to conduct them, leaving a Guard of two hundred Horſe with *Herod*, and ten of thoſe People that they call *Freemen*. Upon their Arrival at *Galilee*, the Commanders of the neighbouring Garriſons came out in their Arms to meet them, and none forwarder than *Barzapharnes*, with fair Words and Preſents to bid them welcome; though his Heart, upon the whole Matter was falſe at the Bottom. *Phaſael* and his Train were conducted to a Quarter upon the *Sea-Side*; where being given to underſtand that the *Parthians* were to have a *thouſand Talents*, and *five hundred Women*, of *Antigonus*, for this Piece of Service, he began to have an Apprehenſion of foul Play: Over and above

Antigonus *contracts with the* Parthians *to depoſe* Hyrcanus, *and put* Herod *and his Brothers to Death.*

Pacorus *and* Barzapharnes *joyn againſt* Judæa.

The Tyrians *deny* Pacorus *Entrance; but* Sidon *and* Ptolemais *receive him.*

The Jews *of mount* Carmel *ſide with* Antigonus.

The two Brothers clap a Guard upon the Temple. *The Multitude fire their Houſes over their Heads.*

Herod *drives them out of the Suburbs.*

Pacorus *betrays* Phaſael.

that he had Notice given him of a Deſign upon him that very Night; and that there was a Guard of Soldiers in Readineſs to ſeize upon his Perſon. And the Plot had certainly been put in Execution, if they had not waited for the Intelligence of *Herod*'s being ſecured at *Jeruſalem* by the *Parthians*, as it was concerted among themſelves; for if the other two had been taken up firſt, *Herod* might have had Time enough, they thought, to give them the Slip, and ſhift for himſelf. The Information of this Contrivance was quickly found to be true, by the coming up of the Guards that were to do the Exploit. Upon this Diſcovery, ſeveral of *Phaſael*'s People were at him immediately to take Horſe and away; *Ophellius* eſpecially, who, by the Means of *Saramella*, (one of the greateſt Men for Eſtate in all *Syria*) had detected the Conſpiracy; and living near the *Sea*, offer'd him the Convenience of ſhipping to carry him off; but *Phaſael* was too generous to abandon his Friends in their Diſtreſs: So that he choſe rather to go directly to *Barzapharnes*, and charge him Point Blank with the Indignity of ſo diſhonourable a Practice. *If Money*, ſays he, *be your Buſineſs*, Phaſael *methinks ſhould be better able to gratify you that Way than* Antigonus; *beſide the ſcandalous Barbarity of ſo horrid a Violence upon the Perſons of Embaſſadors, in Oppoſition to all the Laws of good Faith, Hoſpitality and Nations.* The *Barbarian* forſwore the whole Matter from one End to the other. *It was all but a Fancy*, he ſaid, and ſo went his Way to *Pacorus*,

Barzapharnes *charg'd with Treachery, but denies it.*

CHAP. XXV.

Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *taken up by the* Parthians. *A Plot upon* Herod, *who accuſes* Pacorus. Alexandra *abſolutely governs him. He makes his Eſcape, and builds* Herodium, *in Honour of his Victory there. He meets* Herod *at* Reſa, *and goes himſelf to* Petra. Jeruſalem *beſieg'd*; Mariſſa *demoliſh'd.* Antigonus *put in Poſſeſſion of the Government.* Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *in Bonds.* Phaſael *beats out his own Brains. The Greatneſs of* Herod's *Mind. He applies himſelf to* Marcus, *who orders him to leave his Country. He goes for* Ægypt, *and then for* Rome: *He meets* Sappinas *and* Ptolemy *at* Rhodes, *and tells* Anthony *his whole Story.*

Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *taken up by the* Parthians. *A Plot upon* Herod.

Herod *accuſes* Pacorus.

Barzapharnes had no ſooner turn'd his back, but a Party of Soldiers took up *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* with Exclamations in their Mouths againſt ſo perjurious, and ſo barbarous a Practice: An *Eunuch* being diſpatch'd away at the ſame Time alſo, for the Apprehenſion of *Herod*, if they could but inveigle him out of his Palace. But he had got ſuch an Inkling already of the Deſign they had upon him, and the intercepting of his Correſpondence with his Brother, that away goes he preſently, to expoſtulate the Matter with *Pacorus*, and the leading Men of the *Parthians*; who gave him for Anſwer, that they knew nothing at all of the Buſineſs, though in Truth privy to the whole *Intrigue*. They told him indeed, if he had any Doubt of his Brother's Welfare, he could not do better than to go out of Town with them to meet his Letters upon the Way, for Fear of their falling into wrong Hands. But having heard ſo much of his Brother's ill Uſage, and being alſo confirm'd in his Suſpicion of the *Parthians*, by the Opinion of *Alexandra*, the Daughter of *Hyrcanus*, a Woman of ſingular Prudence, and whoſe Daughter he was to marry, *Herod* govern'd himſelf by her Caution and Advice, whatever the reſt ſaid to the contrary. Upon this Occaſion, the *Parthians* laid their Heads together what Courſe to take, and gave themſelves Time till next Day to conſider of it; for they did not think fit to venture an Aſſault upon ſo great a Man as *Herod* was, in the Face of the Sun; but *Herod* reflecting upon the Diſtraction they were in, with the certain Knowledge he had of their perfidious Violence they had committed upon his Brother, (though the *Parthians* told him it was all falſe) and conſequently the deſperate Hazzard of ſtaying any longer among thoſe People, he bethought himſelf of giving them the Slip that very Night; and ſo taking the Opportunity of the Duſk of the Evening, he reſolved to attempt his Eſcape. He took along with him all the Troops he had about him; provided Waggons, and Horſes and other Beaſts of Carriage for the Women, and his Train, as his Mother, Siſter, and *Mariamne*, his contracted Miſtreſs, the *Daughter* of *Alexander*, and the Niece of *Ariſtobulus*; with his *Spouſe*'s *Mother*, the *Daughter* of *Hyrcanus*, the youngeſt Brother, and the reſt of his Company and Family; marching away altogether toward *Idumæa*, and well advanced upon the Way before their Enemies took Notice of it. It was a Spectacle to make the moſt inſenſible Heart to bleed; the Sight of the poor Women hurrying away with ſucking Children at their Breaſts with Tears and Outcries, leaving their Country in Miſery, and their Friends in Bonds, and in an hourly Expectation of falling under the ſame Fate themſelves.

Alexandra *governs* Herod.

Herod *ſlips away with all his People.*

But *Herod* ſtood as firm as a Rock all this while, againſt the uttermoſt Iniquities of a croſs Fortune, and did all that was poſſible to do, both by his Example, and by his Counſels, to keep up the Hearts of his Companions. *He told them that there was no Poſſibility of Safety, or any Thought of Life, but in Flight, encouraging them to hope the beſt, and not to ruine themſelves by fruitleſs Lamentations and Deſpairs; but rather bear up and aſſiſt toward their own Deliverance.* Upon theſe Words, they took up a Reſolution becoming the Occaſion. There fell out, juſt upon this, an unlucky Accident by the overturning of a Wagon, which put his Mother in extreme Danger of her Life. This Diſaſter made ſuch an Impreſſion upon *Herod*, partly out of a *filial Tenderneſs* for his *Mother*, and in Part for Fear of being overtaken by the Advantage of this Stop, that he had certainly caſt himſelf upon the Point of his own Sword, if his Friends about him had not laid hold of him, and prevented it. *For this*, they told him, *would have been the ſacrificing of his Friends to the Fury of his Enemies; neither was it the Part of a brave Man to indulge his own Particular to the Damage of the Publick.* He was, in Fine, betwixt Force and Shame, brought to better Reaſon; and thereupon betook himſelf immediately to the Care of his *Mother*, by all Manner of good Offices that the Place and the Time would bear, proſecuting his Journey to the Caſtle of *Maſſada* with all the Speed he could; the *Parthians* preſſing upon him in his Paſſage, with whom he had many Skirmiſhes, but ſtill got the better of it. Nay the very *Jews* were upon the Purſuit of him too; and coming up with him when he was gotten a Matter of threeſcore Furlongs in his Way from *Jeruſalem*, they formally attack'd him, but were beaten back, and put to the Rout: And notwithſtanding this Hurry and Confuſion, the Fight was manag'd on *Herod*'s Part with all Exactneſs of Order and Diſcipline. When he came afterward to be King of *Judæa*, he erected a famous Palace upon that Spot of Ground where he obtained this Victory, and built a Village near the Place, which he called by the Name of *Herodium.* Coming afterwards to *Reſa* in *Idumæa*, he was met by his Brother *Joſeph*, and they two laid their Heads together, how they might eaſe themſelves of that vaſt Multitude of uſeleſs and ſuperfluous People that they had in their Train, over and above their liſted Troops. The Caſtle of *Meſſada* that they pitch'd upon for their Retreat, was too little for the whole Body: So that they diſmiſs'd a Matter of nine thouſand of their People to provide the beſt they could for themſelves up and down in *Idumæa*, with a *Viaticum* for their Entertainment, till they could find ſome Quarter to ſettle in. As for thoſe that were fit for Action, and his near Relations, *Herod* took them along with them into the Caſtle, where he diſpos'd of the Women and their Families to the Number of about eight hundred Perſons; and ſo leaving them a Competence of Proviſion of Meal, Water, and all other Neceſſaries, he haſten'd away to *Petra*, the *Capital* City of *Arabia*.

Herod's *Mother endanger'd by the overturning of a Wagon.*

Herod *hath ſeveral Skirmiſhes upon the Way, but comes off ſtill.*

Herod *builds* Herodium *in Honour of his Victory there.*

Joſeph *meets* Herod *at* Reſa.

Herod *puts his Mother and Relations into the Caſtle of* Meſſada.

Herod *himſelf goes to* Petra.

By Break of Day the *Parthians* made Spoil of all that *Herod* had left in *Jeruſalem*, as well in the *City* as the *Palace*, ſaving only *three hundred Talents in Caſh*, of *Hyrcanus's*, which they left behind them untouch'd, and divers conſiderable Pieces of *Herod's* too, beſide what Goods and Treaſure he had tranſported before-hand into *Idumæa*, to be out of Harm's Way. And the *Parthians* were not content neither with the Wealth and Plunder of the City, without depopulating the Country alſo; beſide the laying of *Mariſſa*, a Place of great Riches and Strength, in Rubbiſh.

Jeruſalem *beſieged.*

Mariſſa *demoliſh'd.*

Antigonus being now put into the Poſſeſſion of the Government by the King of *Parthia*, *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* were deliver'd up to him in Bonds. But the 'ſcape of the *Women* was yet a great Diſappointment to him; for the *Parthians* were by Contract to receive the *Women* with the Money. *Hyrcanus* being at this Time a Priſoner, *Antigonus* order'd both his Ears to be cut off, deſigning by that Maim to put him into a legal Incapacity for the Honour of the *Pontificate:* Not knowing but that a *popular* Faction ſome Time or other, in a Freak, might otherwiſe reſtore him to the Government.

Antigonus *put in Poſſeſſion of the Government.*

Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *deliver'd up to him in Bonds.*

Hyrcanus's *Ears cut off by the Order of* Antigonus.

But there was nothing greater in this extraordinary Juncture, than the generous Magnanimity of *Phaſael*; who, when he found that he was certainly to die, was not ſo much troubled at the Death it ſelf, as at the reproachful Circumſtances of lying at the Will and Pleaſure of an inſulting Enemy. Finding himſelf in this Extremity, and his Hands ſo manacled, that there was no Execution to be done that Way, he beat out his Brains againſt a Stone-Wall; accounting it much more honourable to act that Violence upon himſelf, than to ſuffer the ſame Thing by the Hand of another. Some will have it that the Contuſion was not mortal, and that the Surgeons appointed by *Antigonus*, under Pretence of aſſiſting him, were in Truth to diſpatch him; and that they dreſs'd the Wound with Poyſons inſtead of Remedies. He liv'd long enough however, to underſtand that his Brother *Herod* was at that Time ſafe, and out of the Hands of his Adverſaries, which made his Death welcome and eaſy to him, in

Phaſael, *in a generous Indignation, beats out his own Brains.*

in the Satisfaction of leaving one behind him, that would avenge his Blood upon the Heads of his Adverſaries.

The Greatneſs of Herod's *Mind.*

Herod, after all this, was ſo far from ſinking, either in his Courage, or in his Preſence of Mind, though ſurrounded with almoſt inſuperable Misfortunes, that his Reſolution and his Senſe of Things, ſeemed rather the ſtronger and the ſharper, for the Difficulties he had to encounter. His firſt Application was to *Malchus* the King of *Arabia*, to borrow a Sum of Money of him now in his Diſtreſs, either upon Credit and Conſideration, or elſe upon the Score of Humanity and Bounty; not doubting of a fair and friendly Return from a Prince that was already indebted to him for many ſignal Obligations. Now he had heard nothing as yet of the Death of his Brother; and his preſent Buſineſs was to provide himſelf with three hundred Talents for his immediate Ranſom, taking a Son of *Phaſael's*, of about ſeven Years old, along with him, as a Pawn to the *Arabians* for the Security of their Money. Upon this Point of Time, there came Meſſengers from *Malchus* with Orders to *Herod* to depart the Country, for the *Parthians* were abſolutely againſt the receiving of him. His Anſwer was, that he did not come to be either a Trouble or a Charge to any Body, but only to treat about ſome important Affairs of his own. The Coarſneſs of this Uſage was look'd upon to be only a Trick of ſome of the great ones, to avoid the Payment of a juſt Debt, and to cozen *Herod* of the Treaſure that *Antipater* had depoſited in their Hands.

Herod *applies himſelf to* Malchus *King of* Arabia.

Herod *order'd to depart the Country.*

Herod, upon bethinking himſelf, found it his beſt Courſe to be gone, how unſatisfy'd ſoever with the Indignities they had put upon him: So away he went toward *Ægypt*, taking a certain Temple in his Way, where he had left ſeveral of his Company. He was told next Day at *Rhynocura* of the Death of his Brother. *Malchus* was by this Time become ſenſible of his Ingratitude, and haſten'd all he could after *Herod*, to make him ſome Amends, but could not overtake him; for he was gone a great Way before toward *Peluſium*; and when he came thither, the Ship that was bound for *Alexandria*, would not take him in: Whereupon he diſcours'd the Magiſtrates of the Place, who, out of a Reverence to the Dignity of his former Character, conducted him with great Reſpect into the City, where he was generouſly entertained by *Cleopatra*, and not without earneſt Invitations to make a longer Stay there: But his Heart was ſo ſet upon going to *Rome*, that neither *Cleopatra*'s Entreaties, nor the Difficulties of a Winter Voyage, nor the general Talk of Troubles at that Time in *Italy*, nor all this together, was ſufficient to divert him from his Purpoſe.

Herod *goes away for* Ægypt.

Herod *takes a Paſſage for* Rome.

He went aboard, in Fine, for *Pamphylia*, and after ſo terrible a Tempeſt that the Mariners were forc'd to caſt their Goods and Baggage over-board, to ſave their Veſſel, with much ado at laſt he got ſafe to *Rhodes*, where he had the good Hap to meet with *Sappinas* and *Ptolemy*. He found the Town ſo miſerably harraſs'd by the War with *Caſſius*, that he contributed out of the ſmall Remainder of his Fortune, more than in Truth he could well ſpare, toward the Repair of the Ruins. Here he took Shipping, with his Friends, for *Italy*, taking *Brunduſium* in his Way, and from thence to *Rome*; where he was no ſooner arriv'd, but he gave *Anthony* an Account of all his Adventures in *Judæa*; the Seizure and the Murder of his Brother *Phaſael* by the *Parthians*; *Hyrcanus* at that Time a *Priſoner*, and *a Contract of a thouſand Talents*, and *five hundred Women* to be pick'd and choſen out of his own Family, to be made good to the *Parthians* upon the advancing of *Antigonus* to the Government. As for the *Women*, ſays he to *Anthony*, I made a hard Shift to get them away by Night out of all Danger for the preſent, into a Place where they are ſince beſieged, and in hourly Expectation of falling into the Hands of the Enemy. This is the Truth of the Matter; and I have now broken thorough all Hardſhips and Hazzards, both at Sea and at Land, to lay the State of our Affairs before you, and to implore your Aſſiſtance and Support.

Herod *meets* Sappinas *and* Ptolemy *at* Rhodes.

Herod *gives* Anthony *his whole Story.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Herod *in great Favour with* Auguſtus *and* Anthony; *choſen King of* Judæa; *and conducted by* Anthony *and* Cæſar *to the* Capitol. Antigonus *preſſes hard upon* Maſſada. Ventidius *ſqueezes Money out of him.*

THE ſad Story of *Herod*'s *Adventures* gave *Anthony* a compaſſionate Tenderneſs for him; and not without juſt Reflexions neither, how ſoon it might come to be his own Caſe, conſidering the Power and Unſteadineſs of Fortune in raiſing up, and caſting down. He call'd to Mind alſo the good Offices he had formerly received from *Antipater*, *Herod*'s *Father*, and the ancient Friendſhip that had paſs'd betwixt them; not forgetting at the ſame Time the Sum of Money he was to have, upon his advancing *Herod* to be *King*, as he had before made him a *Tetrarch*. This was all in *Herod*'s Favour; but the Thing that ſtruck the main Stroke at laſt, was the Averſion he had for *Antigonus*, whom he look'd upon as a buſy turbulent Spirit, and a profeſs'd Enemy to *Rome*: So that even out of a Spite to *Antigonus*, he reſolved to befriend *Herod* all he could. *Auguſtus* went Hand in Hand alſo with *Anthony* in the promoting of *Herod*'s Pretenſion and Requeſt; partly upon the Score of Acknowledgment for former Services, and partly for old Acquaintance-ſake betwixt the two Families; for his *Father* and *Antipater* had been fellow Soldiers in *Ægypt* together: Over and above the Deſire he had to gratify *Anthony* himſelf, in the Perſon of his Friend. The Matter was ſoon after brought before the *Senate*, where *Meſſala* and *Atratenus* preſented *Herod* with a ſingular Recommendation of him to their Kindneſs and Eſteem, upon the Account, both of his own, and of his Father's Services and good Affections to the State of *Rome*, reproaching *Antigonus* on the other Side, as a publick Enemy, not only for paſt Miſdemeanours, but for his late Acceptance of the Government from the Hands of the *Parthians*, in Contempt of the *Romans*. When this *Harangue* had put the *Senate* in a Heat, *Anthony* laid hold of the Occaſion and gave his Opinion, that conſidering the State of the preſent War with the *Parthians*, they could not do better than to conſtitute *Herod King* of *Judæa*; and the Motion paſs'd the Aſſembly without any Oppoſition. The Honour was illuſtrious in it ſelf; *Herod*'s Obligation to *Anthony* in the procuring of it, was much the more valuable for being conferr'd upon him, not only beyond his Hope and Expectation, but likewiſe beſide the Method and Meaſure of ordinary Practice; for the *Romans* did not uſe to beſtow Royal Dignities, but upon the Branches of Royal Families. Neither did his very Ambition aſpire to any Thing more than to beg it for *Alexander* the Brother of *Mariamne*; the Nephew of *Ariſtobulus* by the *Father*'s ſide, and of *Hyrcanus* by the *Mother*'s; whom he cauſed afterward to be put to Death, as will be ſeen in its proper Place. This great Work was but ſeven Days a doing, and *Herod* diſpatch'd away out of *Italy* with his Royal Commiſſion.

Auguſtus *and* Anthony *are* Herod's *Friends.*

Herod *choſen King of* Judæa *by the Senate, without Oppoſition, upon the Motion of* Anthony.

Upon the breaking up of the *Senate*, *Anthony* and *Cæſar* took *Herod* out betwixt them, accompany'd with the *Conſuls* and the *Senators*, who conducted him to the *Capitol*, where they were to ſacrifice in Form, and to depoſite the *Senatus-Conſulta* or their *Decrees*. *Anthony* gratulated the *new King upon his Acceſſion to his Authority* with a moſt magnificent Treat. Upon the firſt Day of his Reign, in the *Olympiad* one hundred eighty four: *C. Domitius Calvinus*, (now the ſecond Time) and *C. Aſinius Pollio*, *Conſuls*.

Herod *conducted by* Anthony *and* Cæſar *to the* Capitol.

In this *interim* of *Herod*'s Abſence, *Antigonus* preſs'd hard upon his Friends in the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, where they had Plenty of all Sorts of Proviſions, ſave only of *Water*; which they wanted to ſuch a Degree, that *Joſeph* with a Party of two hundred choice Men, had taken a Reſolution to ſally out of the Town, and attempt the forcing their Way thorough the Enemy to get to the *Arabians*; being well informed that *Malchus* had heartily repented himſelf of the Inhoſpitality of his late Behaviour toward *Herod*: But in this nick of Time, there fell ſo prodigious a Shower of Rain, that it fill'd all their *Ciſterns* and *Receptacles* for *Water*; and upon this Supply, they ſtood to their Defence without any further Thoughts of quitting the Place. The wonderful Providence of this Relief animated the beſieged to that Degree, that not a Day or a Night paſs'd without a ſucceſsful Sally upon the Enemy.

Antigonus *preſſes hard upon* Maſſada *in* Herod's *Abſence.*

While this was a doing, *Ventidius* a *Roman General*, drove the *Parthians* out of *Syria*, and went afterward into *Judæa*, under pretence of a Deſign to help *Joſeph*, but in Truth to ſqueeze Money out of *Antigonus*; which he did abundantly upon drawing his Troops toward *Jeruſalem*: And having gain'd his Point, he carry'd the greater Part of them off again; leaving only a ſmall Remainder under the Command of *Silo*, for the better Colour of the Cheat; for *Antigonus* was forced to come to a Compoſition with him too, for Fear he might be troubleſome before the Arrival of the *Parthians*, whom he expected to come up to his Succour.

Ventidius *ſqueezes Money out of* Antigonus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod *marches toward* Antigonus. Silo *and* Ventidius *aſſiſt* Herod. Silo *a Penſioner to* Antigonus. Herod *marches towards* Joppa; *reſcues* Silo, *takes* Joppa *and relieves* Maſſada. *He takes* Reſa *and marches towards* Jeruſalem. *An* Act of Grace *offer'd.* Herod *reproach'd for his Family. The Soldiers Mutiny.* Herod *quiets them and marches to* Jericho. *The* Romans *rifle the City.* Herod *ſends* Joſeph *into* Idumæa. *The Robbers ſcatter'd and* Galilee *reduc'd.* Pheroras *repairs* Alexandrion. Sylo *joyns* Herod. *Execution done upon the* Thieves. *An* old Man *kills himſelf, his Wiſe and his Children, rather than accept of an* Amneſty. Ptolemy *has the Government*; *and* Herod *marches for* Samaria. *The Death of* Ptolemy. *The* Parthians *overthrown. The Cruelty of* Machæras *to the* Jews. Herod *offended at it. He leaves the Army to his Brother* Joſeph, *and repairs to* Anthony *before* Samoſata; *who receives him very honourably.* Antigonus *gives up the Place.* Anthony *leaves his Army to* Soſius, *and goes for* Ægypt. Joſeph *cut to pieces.* Machæras *fortifies* Gath. Galilee *revolts.* Herod's *foreboding* Dreams. *He is preſerv'd at* Jericho *by a ſtrange Providence. He defeats* Pappus. *His Surprize in the* Bath. *He lays Siege to* Jeruſalem.

Herod *comes back from* Italy, *and marches toward* Antigonus.
Silo *and* Ventidius *order'd by* Anthony *to aſſiſt* Herod.

Silo, *a Penſioner to* Antigonus.
Galilee *for* Herod.

He marches toward Joppa, *and* Silo *comes over to him.*
The Jews *purſue* Silo, *and* Herod *reſcues him.*
Herod *takes* Joppa *and relieves* Maſſada.

He takes Reſa, *and marches with* Silo's *Troops toward* Jeruſalem.

An Act of Grace.

Herod *reproach'd for his Extraction.*

HEROD was now come back again out of *Italy* as far as *Ptolemais*, with a conſiderable Body, both of Auxiliaries and of his own People, and upon his March by the Way of *Galilee* toward *Antigonus*. *Silo* and *Ventidius* had Orders brought them alſo from *Anthony* by *Gellius*, to aſſiſt *Herod* in the taking Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But ſo it fell out, that *Ventidius* was at that Time taken up in quieting the Tumults, that an Incurſion of the *Parthians* had raiſed in ſeveral of the Cities: But *Silo* was in *Judæa*, and a Penſioner to *Antigonus*. *Herod*'s Army gather'd however in the Rolling, and encreaſed mightily upon the March. *Galilee* was in a manner wholly for him. The Thing he was the moſt Intent upon in the firſt Place, was the raiſing of the Siege of *Maſſada*, to ſet his Friends and Relations at Liberty, that were coop'd up there. But *Joppa* was a Block in his Way, and would be ſuch a Check upon him in his Advance to *Jeruſalem*, that there was no leaving ſo ſtrong a Place behind him. *Silo* upon this, march'd off; and the *Jews* plying him cloſe in the Rear, *Herod* charged in upon them with a ſmall Party; routed them and brought off *Silo*, when he was juſt falling into their Hands. *Herod*, after this made himſelf Maſter of *Joppa*, and ſo immediately went away to the Relief of his Friends in *Maſſada*, where the People came over to him in abundance; ſome for his Father's Sake, others for his own; ſome again out of a Senſe of the Obligations they had to both; but the generality, out of the Hope they had to ingratiate themſelves with the new King. *Antigonus*, in the mean Time, laid ſeveral Ambuſhes and Traps for him in his Way, though with little Effect; for *Herod*, ſo ſoon as ever he had rais'd the Siege of *Maſſada*; relieved his Friends, and taking the Caſtle of *Reſa*, he advanced directly toward *Jeruſalem* with *Silo*'s *Troops*, and a great Number of Citizens that ſtood in Awe of his Power to attend him. He encamped with his Army upon the *Weſt Quarter* of the Town, where the Defendants gall'd him all that was poſſible with Arrows, Darts and ſtrong Sallys: *Herod*, in the mean while making Proclamation in Form, by his *Herald* from Place to Place round the Walls of the Town, that he had no other End in that Enterprize than the publick Good and the Welfare of the City; nay, that he was ſo far from contriving, or deſigning them any Miſchief, that he was ready to grant them an Indemnity and Oblivion, without Exception to any Perſon whatſoever, let the Crime or Indignity have been never ſo ſpiteful and notorious. *Antigonus* made Anſwer, (addreſſing himſelf to *Silo* and the *Roman Soldiers*,) that it was a very unjuſt, and an unreaſonable Thing to pretend the ſetting of *Herod* upon the Throne; a private Man, and an *Idumæan*: That is to ſay, but *half a Jew*, neither; which was a Practice directly againſt the Law and Right of Succeſſion that was cuſtomary among them. If they took any Offence at his receiving the Crown from the Hands of the *Parthians*; and for that Reaſon thought fit to depoſe him from the Dignity, there were others, he told them of the Royal and Sacerdotal Line, and Perſons that had deſerved every Jot as well from the *Romans*, and had as fair a Title to the Government; and it would be great Iniquity to deprive them of it. This Conteſt betwixt *Herod* and *Antigonus* grew ſo hot, that they came at laſt to angry and foul Words: Inſomuch that *Antigonus* commanded his Men to force the Enemy off from the Walls; and they ply'd them ſo hard with their Darts and Arrows, that they were driven to retire. It was no longer any Doubt after this, but that *Silo* was corrupted; for he had ſo tamper'd divers of his familiar Acquaintance among the Soldiers, that they broke out into Clamours, for Moneys and Proviſions; and into Outcries for more commodious Winter-Quarters: For *Antigonus*, they ſaid, had made ſuch Havock up and down in the Country thereabouts, that there was no living upon it. This mutinous Extravagance put the Army into ſuch a Diſtemper, that the Soldiers were ready to lay down their Arms and be gone; but *Herod*, on the other Hand, made Uſe of the Authority of *Cæſar Anthony*, and the *Senate*, by whoſe Commiſſion he was now come thither, and encourag'd both Officers and Soldiers to ſtand their Ground, and maintain their Station; and to depend upon him, that they ſhould want nothing that they themſelves could deſire for their Entertainment and Satisfaction. Immediately upon this, he ſent out his Commiſſaries to provide them all Neceſſaries, and left *Silo* no farther Pretence of Murmur or Complaint; for they were preſently ſupply'd with vaſt Quantities of Proviſions beyond Imagination: *Herod* having order'd his Friends at *Samaria* to lay up Stores of Corn, Wine, Oyl, Cattle and all other Neceſſaries at *Jericho*, and from thence to ſupply the Army. *Antigonus* took the Matter right, and preſently diſpatch'd away Parties up and down the Fields and the Paſſes, to way-lay and intercept the Forages; who according to their Orders, diſpos'd of their Detachments about *Jericho*, and the Crags of the *Mountains*, where they were very careful to watch the Convoys. *Herod*, on the other Side, was as careful on his Part; and with ten Companies, one half *Romans*, the other *Jews*; together with a Body of *Mercenaries*, and ſome few Troops of Horſe, he marched ſtrait forward to *Jericho*, where he found the Town abandon'd; and five hundred of the Inhabitants, with their Families fled to the Mountains; which he took and diſcharg'd again. The *Romans* rifled the City; and the Booty, in Money, Jewels, and other precious Goods and Furniture, amounted to an ineſtimable Value. The King left a Garriſon in the Place, and went his Way back again; aſſigning his Army their Quarters in his new Conqueſts, as *Idumæa*, *Galilee* and *Samaria*; *Antigonus* prevailing alſo with *Silo*, by the Force of *Money*, that Part of the *Roman Army* might be quarter'd in *Lydda*; which was done to make a Friend of *Anthony*. So that the *Romans* were now at Eaſe, and in both Peace and Plenty.

The Soldiers in a direct Mutiny.

Herod *quiets them, and ſupplies them with all Sorts of Proviſions.*

Herod *marches to* Jericho, *where he finds the Town abandon'd.*

The City rifled by the Romans.

But *Herod*, that could not lie idle, ſent away at this Time his Brother *Joſeph* into *Idumæa*, with a *thouſand Foot*, and *four hundred Horſe*, and went himſelf to *Samaria*, where he provided for his Mother, and the reſt of his Kindred that he brought from *Maſſada*, and ſo marched for *Galilee* to take in ſome Garriſons, which were then in the Poſſeſſion of *Antigonus*. Coming up to *Sephoris* in a deep Snow, he found the Place wholly abandon'd, and Proviſions in it of all Sorts, and in great Plenty. The Country thereabouts not far from *Arbela*, being vexatiouſly infeſted with Robbers, that from the Faſtneſſes of the Mountains terribly annoy'd the Neighbourhood, *Herod* commanded out a Squadron of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot, to ferret them out of their hiding Places. Some forty Days after this Detachment, he march'd againſt them with his whole Army: Whereupon they drew out, and made ſo brave a Charge upon him, that *Herod*'s Left-Wing gave Way; till, upon a victorious Reinforcement, with *Herod* himſelf in the Head of it, he brought his own Men on again, and put their Adverſaries to a total Rout, purſuing the Victory as far as the River *Jordan*. This Overthrow brought all *Galilee* over to *Herod* in Time, ſaving only thoſe that ſhelter'd themſelves in the Receſſes of the Mountains. The Work being now over, *Herod* order'd the common Soldiers *a hundred and fifty Drachma's* a Man for a Reward, and the Officers more in Proportion; and after this Donative, they were all diſmiſs'd to their Winter-Stations. *Silo*, and his Officers, that had been hitherto billetted upon *Antigonus*, gave *Herod* to underſtand, that he did not only refuſe to allow them more than one Month's Entertainment, but ſent likewiſe up and down to the Neighbours everywhere thereabouts, to be gone with what they had up to the Mountains, and to clear the Country of all Manner of Neceſſaries for Life, to ſtarve the *Romans* out of their Quarters: But *Herod* prevented this Miſchief by committing the Charge of providing for the Army to his younger Brother *Pheroras*, with Orders alſo to repair the Fort of *Alexandrion*, which lay then in Ruins; in both which Commiſſions he acquitted himſelf effectually, and much to his Reputation.

Herod *ſends* Joſeph *into* Idumæa, *and goes himſelf to* Samaria.

The Robbers routed, and Galilee *reduc'd.*

Pheroras *provides for the Army, and repairs to* Alexandrion.

Anthony was now at *Athens*, and *Ventidius* in *Syria*, where he order'd *Silo* to join him with the auxiliary Troops of the *Parthians*, but ſtill to aſſiſt *Herod* in the firſt Place, if there ſhould be Occaſion. *Herod* however ſent away *Silo* and his People to *Ventidius*, and marched himſelf againſt the *Rovers* that lay lurking in their hiding Holes up and down the Hills. The Rocks were ſo ſteep and craggy, and the Paſſes ſo ſtreight, that it was almoſt impoſſible to come at them; and theſe Caves ſerv'd them and their Families, both for their Retreat and their Habitations. The King, upon the View of the Place, finding that there was no Good to be done by ſcaling

Anthony *orders* Silo *to join* Herod.

from

Herod's *Invention to fetch the Robbers out of their Holes.*

Execution done upon the Thieves.

An Act of Grace offer'd, which brings a great many over.

from below, or by creeping, or ſtealing down upon them from above, made Uſe of this Invention. He cauſed ſeveral *Cheſts* to be fram'd, and ſo let down by a *Machine*, with *Iron-Chains*, from the Top of the Hills, and theſe *Caſes* to be fill'd with *Soldiers*, *Lances*, *Darts*, *Hooks*, and other Arms, either by Attack to deſtroy them in their Dens, or to draw them out, and caſt them down headlong, as the Caſe ſhould require. This was a bold, and almoſt a deſperate Experiment, conſidering the horrid Depth of the Precipice; beſide that they were victuall'd, and provided in their Cells with all Manner of Neceſſaries. One of theſe Boxes being let down juſt upon the Entrance into a Cavern, and not a Man of them daring to ſhew his Head out of the Vault, a Soldier ſtarted up with his Sword and Buckler, and catching Hold with both Hands of the Chain that upheld the Coffer, he ſlipt down into the Cavity of the Rock, out of an Impatience to wait any longer for their coming out. In one of theſe Receſſes, he killed ſeveral with his Darts, and pluck'd others out with his Hooks, where he met with any Reſiſtance, and threw them down the Cliffs: Some at a farther Diſtance he diſpatch'd with his Lance, and then betook himſelf to his Cheſt again. The Cries of the wounded frighted the reſt to the laſt Degree of Deſperation; but Night coming on put a Stop to the Execution. The King, in the mean while, having offer'd an Indemnity to all that would lay down their Arms, and come in to him, they ſubmitted in great Numbers, and laid Hold of that Act of Grace.

An old Man kills himſelf, his Wife, and ſeven Children, rather than accept of it.

The End of the War with the Rovers.

On the Day following, they ply'd the Attack in the ſame Manner as before; only their Bodies were more expos'd, and putting Fire to the combuſtible Matter they had in the Caves, they ſet all in a Flame, and ſmoother'd their Adverſaries in their Holes. There was among the reſt an old Man, with his Wife and ſeven Sons, begging Leave of him in that hopeleſs Extremity, to deliver up themſelves to the Enemy: The Man planting himſelf at the Mouth of the Cavern, ſtabbed them one after another, every Creature of them as they attempted to paſs by him, and the Woman laſt of all; caſting their Bodies down the Precipice, and himſelf after them; chuſing rather to loſe his Life than his Liberty, but not without ſcandalous Reflections upon *Herod* for the Meanneſs of his Extraction, though this Prince at the ſame Time gave him all the Aſſurances of Clemency, and Mercy, that could be given by Signs and Geſtures at a Diſtance, if he would but have accepted of the Pardon. This was the End, in Short, of this War betwixt *Herod* and theſe *Rovers*.

The Government is left to Ptolemy, *and* Herod *marches for* Samaria.

Ptolemy *ſlain by a Party of High-Way-Men.*

This Adventure being now over, and the Government of that Quarter given to *Ptolemy*, *Herod* marched away with *ſix hundred Horſe* and *three thouſand Foot* into *Samaria*, with a Deſign to bring *Antigonus* to a deciſive Battel; but *Ptolemy's Command* prov'd fatal to him, for he was ſet upon and ſlain by a Party of thoſe People that had formerly put *Galilee* in Diſorder. Upon the committing of this Outrage, they betook themſelves to the Bogs, Crags and other Places of difficult Acceſs, for Refuge, and from thence they robb'd and ravag'd the whole Country, as they ſaw their Opportunity: But *Herod*, at his coming back, made them pay dear for their Purchaſe; for ſome he kill'd; and others he forced out of their ſtrong Holds, and put to the Torture; demoliſhing all their Caſtles and Fortifications; and when he had rid his Hands of the moſt conſiderable of his Enemies, he ſet a Fine of a hundred Talents upon the Cities that were ſuſpected to favour them.

The Parthians *overthrown.* Ventidius *ſends a Detachment to* Herod.

Machæras *puts to Death all the* Jews *he finds in his Way to* Emmaus.

Herod *much mov'd at it, but forgives it.*

The *Parthians* having by this Time received a great Overthrow, with the Loſs of their King *Pacorus* in the Battel, *Ventidius*, according to his Inſtructions and Orders from *Anthony*, ſent away *Machæras* to *Herod* with an Enforcement of *two Legions*, and a *thouſand Horſe:* Who having been dealt withal, and tamper'd by *Antigonus*, was abſolutely for going to him, under a Pretext of giving Intelligence, and making Diſcoveries; notwithſtanding that *Herod* was utterly againſt it, and ſo he went his Way; but finding upon his Approach, that *Antigonus* was ſo far from truſting him, or admitting him, that he order'd his People to keep him off with Slings and Darts, this gave him ſufficiently to underſtand that *Herod* was in the Right when he diſſuaded him, and he himſelf in a great Miſtake for not complying with his Advice. Hereupon he returned to the City *Emmaus*, in a furious Rage, putting all the *Jews* to the Sword that he found in the Way, without Diſtinction of either Friend or Foe. *Herod* was ſo irritated at this barbarous Way of proceeding, that he went away preſently to *Samaria*, with a Reſolution to inform *Anthony* of this Outrage, and give him to underſtand that he was in Condition good enough himſelf to deal with *Antigonus* without Need of any ſuch Aſſiſtants as did more Miſchief to their own Party, than to the Enemy. As he was going forward upon this Errand, *Machæras* poſted after him, and overtook him upon the Way, preſſing him earneſtly either to put a Stop to his Journey, or at leaſt to leave *Joſeph* his Brother behind, for them two to carry on the War together againſt *Antigonus*. *Herod*, upon his Importunity, granted him his

Requeſt, and forgave what was paſt, leaving the Army under the Command of *Joſeph* with expreſs Orders not to run any unneceſſary Hazzard, nor to enter into any Miſunderſtanding with *Machærus*.

He leaves the Command of the Army to his Brother Joſeph.

And repairs to Anthony *himſelf, before* Samoſata.

Several Encounters by the Way.

Matters being thus ſettled, he marched away immediately with an auxiliary Body of Horſe and Foot to joyn *Anthony*, who was at that Time before *Samoſata* upon the River *Euphrates*. At his coming to *Antioch*, he found great Numbers of People that would fain have gone in to *Anthony*, if they could have got to him; but the Ways were ſo beſet with Troops of bloody *Barbarians*, that there would have been no coming at him, if *Herod* had not put himſelf in the Head of them, and undertaken both for their Conduct and Protection: So that they proſecuted their March, and when they were advanced within two Days Journey of *Samoſata*, they fell into an *Ambuſh* of the Enemies Horſe that lay cloſe behind the Buſhes upon the Entrance into the *Champain*, to prevent any Succours from going that Way to *Anthony*. They ſuffer'd the Front to paſs forward on to the Plain, without either Diſcovery or Interruption; but upon *Herod*'s coming up with the Rear, they fell furiouſly upon him with a Matter of *five hundred Horſe*, and brake thorough the firſt Rank: But the King preſſing violently upon them with his Guards, beat them from their Ground; rally'd his own ſcatter'd Troops, and follow'd the Execution till he made himſelf Maſter of the Booty they had taken, in Priſoners, Horſes, Mules, Carriages, and all the Baggage, which was very conſiderable: And this being done, *Herod* continu'd his Journey to *Anthony*; but not without other Encounters upon the Way with Troops of *Barbarians* that ſally'd out of the Woods and Thickets upon him in his further Progreſs; but ſtill defeating and cutting them to Pieces upon every Attempt; till in the End, the Way was ſafe and open to him without any Difficulty or Hazzard; his People adoring him as their Protector and Preſerver.

Anthony *receives* Herod *with infinite Honour and Reſpect.*

Antigonus *delivers up* Samoſata.

Anthony *leaves his Army to* Soſius, *and betakes himſelf to* Ægypt.

Anthony having heard of his Exploits upon the *Barbarians*, and how bravely he had acquitted himſelf upon ſeveral other Occaſions, ſent out the Flower of his Troops to receive him upon his Approach to the Town, with all Honour and Reſpect imaginable both for his Perſon and his Services: Embracing him upon his Arrival with infinite Joy, Affection, Friendlineſs, and Eſteem; celebrating and admiring him for his Virtue; and in Fine, treating him with a Dignity anſwerable to the royal Character that he himſelf had conferred upon him. In a ſhort Time after this, *Antigonus* deliver'd up the Place, and in ſo doing put an End to the War. *Anthony* gave the Government of the Province, and the Command of the Army to *Soſius*, with Orders to aſſiſt *Herod* upon all Occaſions; and ſo went himſelf into *Ægypt*. *Soſius* hereupon ſent away *two Legions* with the King toward *Judæa*, for the Guard of his Perſon, and marched after them himſelf with the reſt of his Army.

Joſeph *cut to Pieces.*

Galilee *revolts.*

Machærus *fortifies* Gath.

While theſe Things were a doing, *Joſeph*, in the Abſence of his Brother, was ſlain in *Judæa* for Want of obſerving *Herod*'s Order when he went to *Anthony*. He march'd out toward *Jericho* with his own Troops, and five Companies of *Machærus*, with a Deſign to get in the Harveſt, and he encamped upon the Mountains. Now the *Romans* with him being but raw and undiſciplin'd Soldiers, and the greater Part of them only new-rais'd Men out of *Syria*, the Enemy took Advantage, both of the Place where he was poſted, and the Inexperience of the Men they had to do withal: So that falling upon them, they ſurpriz'd and routed them; entirely deſtroying *ſix Companies*, and cutting *Joſeph* to Pieces, fighting manfully in the Head of them. *Antigonus* being Maſter of the Field, and finding *Joſeph* among the dead Bodies, cauſed his Head to be cut off, and his Brother *Pheroras* redeem'd it at *fifty Talents*. This Rout was follow'd with the Revolt of *Galilee*, and with drowning as many of *Herod*'s Friends as they could lay hold of in the Lake: Beſide divers ſeditious Commotions in *Judæa*: *Machærus* in the mean while fortifying the Caſtle of *Gath*.

Herod'*s foreboding Dreams.*

The ſad Story of theſe Calamities, one upon the Neck of another, was brought to *Herod* at a Place call'd *Daphne*, the Suburbs of *Antioch*; and it was the leſs ſurprizing to him for ſome *foreboding Dreams* he had a little before, which manifeſtly pointed at the Death of his *Brother*. He went from thence in all Haſte for Mount *Libanus*, and taking eight hundred Men of the Place along with him, and a *Roman Legion*, he advanced to *Ptolemais*: And ſo paſſing forward by Night through the Country of *Galilee*, he was ſet upon by the Way, but beat the Enemy back into the Caſtle they came out of the Day before; immediately inveſting the Place, and diſpoſing his Troops early next Morning for an Attack; but there fell in that very nick of Time ſo violent a Tempeſt, that he was forc'd to draw off into ſome of the Neighbour Villages for Shelter. Juſt as this happened, comes another *Legion* to *Herod* from *Anthony*; which Enforcement put the Garriſon in ſuch a Fright that they quitted the Place, and ſtole away in the Dark of the Night. *Herod* thought the Time long till he had avenged the Blood of his *Brother*, and ſo made all the Haſte he could to *Jericho*, Herod *preſerved at* Jericho *by a ſtrange Providence.*

richo, where he treated with great Magnificence all the Princes of the Place upon his Arrival. When Supper was juſt over, and the Company gone, *Herod* retir'd into his own Apartment, without leaving ſo much as one Creature in the Eating-Room. So ſoon as ever the Place was empty, the Roof fell flat to the Ground into the Parlour, without any farther Miſchief; which was look'd upon as a ſingular Providence that watched over *Herod* in the Delivery of him from ſo eminent a Danger.

Pappus *defeated by* Herod.

The Enemy falling down from the Mountains next Day upon the *Romans*, with a Body of *ſix thouſand Men*, put them into a downright Conſternation; beating back the Forlorn, and over-running all before them, even to the wounding of *Herod* himſelf, in the Side, with an Arrow. *Antigonus*, at this Time, out of an Oſtentation as if he had Men to ſpare, ſent *Pappus* away to *Samaria* with ſome Troops under his Command; and while he and *Machæras* were deſigning upon one another, *Herod* got Poſſeſſion of *five Towns*, put two thouſand Men to the Sword that were there in Garriſon, and leaving them all in Aſhes, went back to look after *Pappus*, who was then encamped at a Place called *Iſanas*, where he was joyn'd with great Numbers that came over to him from *Jericho* and *Judæa*; but *Herod* perceiving that the Enemy had the Heart yet to puſh it to a Battle, put it immediately upon that Iſſue, and gave them a total Rout, doing Execution upon them in Revenge of his Brother's Death in the very Town they fled to for Sanctuary. The Houſes were preſently crowded with Soldiers from Top to Bottom, ſome in one Place, ſome in another; but upon taking off the Roofs, what with Stones and other Weapons from above, they were all laid open to an univerſal Slaughter. And after all this, the moſt diſmal and horrid Part of the Spectacle, was the Piles of the dead Bodies that lay in Heaps up and down in the Chambers; which was the only Thing that ſunk their Hearts into a Deſpair beyond all Recovery.

Herod *ſurprized in the Bath.*

The Head of Pappus *that kill'd* Joſeph, *ſent to* Joſeph's *Brother.*

The miſerable Remainder of their broken Troops fled in ſuch Diſorder, and in ſuch Shoals, that if it had not been for a furious Tempeſt at that very Time, the Victors had march'd directly up to *Jeruſalem* in that Heat, and put an End to the War. For *Antigonus* was already upon the Point of reſolving to abandon the City. It was now late in the Evening, and *Herod* having order'd his Soldiers to go to Supper, retired into his Chamber to refreſh himſelf after the Fatigue of the Battle; and upon this Occaſion, he had a ſecond Deliverance no leſs providential than the former. For as he was there in the Bath, ſtark-naked, and only one Body to wait upon him, out ſtarted three Soldiers with Swords in their Hands, and croſſing the Room in Haſte, ruſh'd out at the Door. Now theſe were People that had hid themſelves in the Houſe it ſeems, for Fear of the Enemy in the Heat of the Outrage; and ſo ſcamper'd away in a Fright, to ſave themſelves, without ever dreaming of any Violence upon the King, whom they might eaſily have deſtroy'd. The Body of *Pappus* being found among the Slain, *Herod* the next Day order'd his Head to be ſtruck off, and ſo ſent it to *Pheroras*, as a Kind of conſolatory Revenge for his Brother *Joſeph*, whom *Pappus* put to Death with his own Hand.

Herod *lays Siege to* Jeruſalem.

So ſoon as the Confuſion of this Hurry was over, *Herod* march'd away with his Army, and encamped near *Jeruſalem*, taking up his Quarter upon the Temple-ſide of the Town, as *Pompey* had done long before him, and as the Place that lay faireſt for an Attack. When he had gotten his Pioneers, and all neceſſary Materials about him, and given his Orders for the caſting up of three Trenches, and Bulwarks about the Place, and the erecting of ſuch and ſuch Towers, away he went himſelf to *Samaria* to conſummate his Marriage with *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Alexander*, and the Grand-Child of *Ariſtobulus*, who had been for ſome Time contracted as we have ſaid before, leaving Officers behind him in his Abſence to carry on the Siege.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Soſius *and* Herod *Generals at* Jeruſalem. *The* City *and* Temple *taken, with a bloody Execution. The Moderation of* Herod. *The abject Submiſſion of* Antigonus. Herod *brings him in Chains. A Mutiny in the* Army. *The Tenderneſs of* Herod. Antigonus *carry'd in his Fetters to* Anthony; *who orders him to be put to* Death. *The End of the* Aſmonæan Family.

WHEN the Marriage-Solemnity was over, *Soſius* ſent away his Troops before him, being a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, and ſoon after follow'd them himſelf by the Way of *Phœnicia*. The King returned alſo from *Samaria* with an Enforcement of about *thirty thouſand Men*: Which being joyn'd, the whole Army drew together toward the Walls upon the *North Quarter* of the Town, to the Number of *eleven Regiments of Foot*, and *ſix thouſand Horſe*, over and above the *Auxiliaries* they brought from *Syria*. The two *Generals* were *Soſius* and *Herod*; the former employ'd by *Anthony*, as an Aſſiſtant; the other acting upon his own Account, in a Proſpect of ſettling himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom that the *Senate* had given him upon the Overthrow of *Antigonus*, the profeſs'd Enemy of *Rome*.

Soſius *and* Herod, *Generals at the Siege of* Jeruſalem.

The *Jews* within were bold, and numerous; for the whole Nation of them in Effect was gotten into the Town, where they made a very obſtinate Defence; animating their Companions with emphatical Outcries of *THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD*, ſtill at every Turn, by Way of Exultation: And ſuch Preſages of Victory by God's Bleſſing upon their Cauſe, as ſeemed prophetically to foretell their Deliverance. Neither were they wanting all this while in their Endeavours, by frequent Excurſions, and ravaging the Country, to ſtreighten and diſtreſs the Beſiegers; for they ſwept it ſo bare that there was hardly any Thing left for Man or Beaſt to live upon. But *Herod* quickly put a Stop to this Inconvenience, partly by the Ambuſhes he laid up and down to entrap the Pillagers, and partly by the Commiſſaries and Convoys he employ'd far and near, for the Supply of the Camp. The Seaſon was ſo fair and favourable, and ſo many Hands at Work, that the Pioneers had by this Time finiſh'd the Approaches, and the Beſiegers were now advanced to the Battery, leaving nothing unattempted for the gaining of their Point. The beſieged, on the other Hand, made a ſtout Reſiſtance; oppoſing *Stratagem* to *Stratagem*, and by one Invention diſappointing another. They made a great many deſperate Sallies, and ſet Fire to divers of the Enemy's Works, as well thoſe that were perfected, as thoſe that were only begun; and their Courage, when they came to Handy-ſtrokes, was nothing inferiour to that of the *Romans*, though in the Matter of military Knowledge and Experience, the *Romans* in Truth had the Advantage of them. As faſt as one Wall was thrown down, the Defendants ſupply'd it with a Retrenchment that ſerv'd for another. They counterwrought Mine againſt Mine, and met, and fought many Times under-ground in the very Work; ſtanding it out to the laſt, their very Deſperation doing the Office of Valour. This was their Bravery in Defiance of a formidable Enemy before the Town, and a ſtarving Want of Neceſſaries within the Walls; for they were now in the *ſabbatical Year*, when it was not lawful for them to till the Ground. Upon the fortieth Day after breaking Ground, twenty brave Fellows mounted the firſt Wall; and after them, a *Centurion* of *Soſius*'s. The ſecond Wall was taken fifteen Days after, and ſeveral Galleries about the Temple ſet a Fire, which *Herod* invidiouſly imputed to *Antigonus*, to make him odious to the People. Upon taking the Out-Quarter of the Temple, and the lower-Town, the *Jews* betook themſelves into the Middle of the one, and the upper Part of the other: And for Fear the *Romans* ſhould interrupt them in their daily Prayers and Sacrifices, they deſired Leave of *Herod* by their Embaſſadors, only to bring in ſo many Beaſts as ſhould be neceſſary for that Service. *Herod* readily granted their Requeſt, in Hope it might work ſome good upon them: But finding his Miſtake, and that they were more and more violent for *Antigonus*, he fell on immediately with his whole Strength, and took the City by Aſſault. The *Romans* were ſo exaſperated at the Oppoſition and the Delay, and the *Herodian Jews* alſo ſo embitter'd againſt thoſe of the other Party, that they put all to the Sword without Mercy, as well in the Streets, as in the Houſes, and without ſparing Age or Sex: Nay the Temple it ſelf was no longer a Sanctuary to thoſe that fled into't. Never ſo diſmal a Spectacle for Blood and Slaughter; and the Soldiers were tranſported betwixt Fury and Revenge, to ſuch a Degree of implacable Inhumanity, that though the King himſelf did all he could by his Authority and earneſt Entreaties to put a Stop to the Butchery, there was not a Man that heeded or obey'd him.

The City and Temple taken.

A bloody Execution.

The Moderation of Herod.

The abject Submiſſion of Antigonus.

In this Extremity *Antigonus* came down from the Tower, and (below the Dignity of his late Character) caſt himſelf at the Feet of *Soſius*; who was ſo far from pitying him, that inſtead of *Antigonus*, he ſaluted him by the Name of *Antigona*, and made a *Woman* of him, in Contempt of ſo effeminate a Spirit. But he did not treat him afterwards like a Woman; for he was put in Chains, and ſecur'd under the Cuſtody of a Guard.

Herod *brings him in Chains.*

The Army Mutinous.

But *Herod*'s Work was not yet done neither; for he was as hard put to't afterward to keep his own Party in Order, as he had been already to gain a Victory over his Enemies. His Mercenaries, in Fine, were ſo preſſing and importune in Troops and Throngs to be prying into the Temple, and the very Sanctuary itſelf, that all *Herod* could do by his Authority, fair Words, Threatenings, and Force it ſelf, was little enough to reſtrain them. And in Truth, his Succeſs would have been worſe than a Defeat to him, if he ſhould have ſuffer'd the expoſing of the ſacred and incommunicable Myſteries of Religion, to the pragmatical Curioſity of the prophane Multitude.

The Tenderneſs of Herod.

He kept off the Soldiers alſo from pillaging, all he could too; by reaſoning and expoſtulating the Matter with *Soſius*, laying it before him, that if they went on killing and ſpoiling at that Rate, the *Romans* would find him the King of a *Deſert*, rather than of a People: And telling him that if the whole World were offer'd him upon thoſe Terms, he would not purchaſe it at the Price of ſo much Blood. *Soſius* made Anſwer, that it was a Thing of Courſe, Juſtice, and common Practice, upon the taking of a Place by Aſſault, to allow the Soldiers the Advantage of the Booty. *Herod* told him on the other Side, that as to what concern'd the Soldiers, he would compound himſelf for the Plunder, and gratify them upon his own Account abundantly to their Satisfaction, which he did accordingly; for he was in every Point as good as his Word. He was, in ſhort, ſo generous to the common Soldiers, ſo bountiful, in Proportion to the Officers, and ſo magnificent in his Preſents and Acknowledgments to *Soſius*, that the City was redeem'd; and all Parties, in Concluſion, very well appay'd.

Jeruſalem *taken on a remarkable Year.*

This happen'd in the *Conſulate* of *Marcus Agrippa*, and *Canidius Gallus*; *Olympiad* 185: in the third Month, and upon the Day of a ſolemn *Faſt*, being the very Anniverſary of their Deſtruction by *Pompey*; for the City was taken upon the very Day of the taking it [a] ſeven and twenty Years before.

Antigonus *carry'd in Chains to* Anthony.

Soſius, upon this, dedicated unto God a *golden Crown*, and ſo went his Way from *Jeruſalem*, taking *Antigonus* his Priſoner along with him in Bonds to *Anthony*. *Herod* had a Jealouſy in his Head, that perhaps *Anthony* would not take away his Life; and that in Caſe of his appearing at *Rome*, and putting in his Claim to the Government before the *Senate*, *Antigonus* being of the *royal Blood*, and himſelf but a *Plebeian*, *Herod* did not know what might come of it. *Antigonus*, he thought, might ſuggeſt, that though for his own Part, he could not pretend to the Dignity, having been in Arms againſt the *Romans*; and though his own Guilt might be taken for a ſufficient Forfeiture as to himſelf, he might be yet in Hope, that they would not puniſh his innocent Sons for the guilty Father's Sake, but admit him into the Succeſſion. *Herod* found himſelf very uneaſy under this Proſpect and Apprehenſion, and ſo prevail'd with *Anthony*, for a mighty Sum of Mony under-hand, to have *Antigonus* diſpatch'd out of the Way: And that being done *Herod*'s Heart was at Reſt.

Anthony *orders* Antigonus *to be put to Death. The End of the* Aſmonæan *Family.*

Thus ended the Reign of the *Aſmonæan Family*, after a hundred and twenty ſix Years Poſſeſſion of the Government; a Family illuſtrious in it ſelf for the long Continuance of the *ſacerdotal Succeſſion* in it: And no leſs famous for the ſignal Services they and their Anceſtors had from Time to Time render'd to the publick: But it was diverted at laſt by an inteſtine Broyl, as we have it upon Tradition, from our Forefathers; and the Adminiſtration was transferr'd to *Herod*, the Son of *Antipater*, a Perſon of a *plebeian Extraction*, and a *private Subject*. 8

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[a] According to *Scaliger* it ſhould be xxvi. See his Book *de Emendat. Temp.* l. 5. p. 451.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE FIFTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3929, to 3955.

CHAP. I.

Pollio *and* Sameas, *great with* Herod. *A notable Prediction of* Pollio's. Herod *preſents* Anthony. *Five and forty of* Antigonus's *Men put to Death, and himſelf beheaded at* Antioch.

WE have already ſet forth the taking of *Jeruſalem* by *Soſius* and *Herod*, and the making of *Antigonus* a Priſoner; and we are now to proceed to what follow'd upon it. So ſoon as *Herod* came to the Exerciſe of his Royal Authority over *Judæa*, he made it his Buſineſs to promote, and to provide for thoſe of the City in the firſt Place that took part with him, as yet while he was in the Condition but of a private Man. But for thoſe of the oppoſite Party, hardly a Day paſt without a capital Execution upon ſome or other of them. *Pollio*, the *Phariſee* and his Diſciple *Sameas*, were highly in his Favour for the good Offices they did him, in adviſing the Citizens when he lay before the Town, to open the Gates and receive him. This was that [a] *Pollio* that formerly foretold to *Hyrcanus* and the reſt of the Judges, upon the queſtioning of *Herod* for his Life; that if they acquitted him, the Time would come, when he ſhould as certainly take away their Lives, as they might now take away his. This Prediction was verify'd in the Event.

Herod *kind to his Friends, and ſevere to his Enemies.*

Pollio, *the* Phariſee, *and his Diſciple* Sameas, *great with* Herod.

A notable Prediction of Pollio's.

No ſooner was *Herod* in Poſſeſſion of the City, but he got together all the Royal Furniture, with the rich Booty in Goods, Gold and Silver, that had been taken away by the wealthy Citizens, and had it all carry'd to the Palace; out of which he made a mighty Preſent to *Anthony*, dividing the reſt among his Friends and his Favourites. He order'd alſo forty five principal Men of *Antigonus*'s *Intereſt* to be put to Death, and a Guard ſet at their ſeveral Doors to wait for the bringing out of the Bodies, and to inſpect whether they were dead or not, and to take Care that they carry'd out nothing elſe. In Caſe of diſcovering any Gold or Silver, it was all brought to the King; and in one Word, they ſaw no End of their Miſery. They were in the Hands of a griping and a neceſſitous Prince; and all they were worth in the World was too little to ſatisfy his Avarice. They were alſo in their *ſabbatical Year*, and conſequently no Harveſt to ſupply their Wants.

Herod *preſents* Anthony.

45 *Men of* Antigonus's *Party put to Death.*

Anthony having at this Time *Antigonus* a Priſoner, had ſome Thoughts of expoſing him in Chains for the Honour of his Triumph. But when he heard that the *Jews* began to be mutinous, and out of the Averſion they had for *Herod* to favour *Antigonus*; *Anthony* without any more Ceremony, ſtruck off his Head at *Antioch*, as the beſt Expedient he could think of to keep the People quiet. *Strabo* of *Cappadocia* has a Touch upon this as follows.

Antigonus *beheaded at* Antioch.

Anthony, *ſays he, brought* Antigonus *the King of the* Jews *a Priſoner to* Antioch, *where he cauſed his Head to be ſtruck off; the firſt King that ever the* Romans *put to this Manner of Death: But he had this to ſay for himſelf, that the* Jews *would never acknowledge* Herod *for their King, ſo long as* Antigonus *was living. Nay ſo great was the Reverence and Eſteem they had for their former Prince, that they were not to be wrought upon, even by Torments, to allow* Herod *ſo much as the* Name *of a King: But* Herod *propounded to himſelf by this ſcandalous and ſhameful Puniſhment, to blaſt the Memory and Reputa-*

See Strabo.

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[a] Lib. 14. c. 17. *Sameas* and not *Pollio*. See *Vorſtius*'s *Diſſertation de Synedriis Hebræorum*

tion of the one, and to ſoften the popular Averſion of the Multitude to the other. Thus far goes *Strabo*.

We have ſpoken already of the two *Parthian* Generals, *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus*; and of their carrying away *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* Priſoners: The former having been firſt *High-Prieſt*, and then Prince of the *Jews*; the latter, the Brother of *Herod*, who out of a generous Indignation daſh'd out his own Brains, rather than he would ſubmit to the ſlaviſh Infamy of an inglorious Death. *Hyrcanus* being at this Time in the Hands of the *Parthians*, News was brought him of *Herod*'s Promotion to the Government; upon which Intelligence, he made his Court to the new King, and we are now to ſhew how he came to obtain his Liberty, and to return.

CHAP. II.

Phraates *treats* Hyrcanus *with great Reſpect. Upon* Herod's *Promotion,* Hyrcanus *would needs viſit him; but his* Friends *oppos'd it.* Herod *invites* Hyrcanus, *and complements* Phraates. Hyrcanus *goes for* Jeruſalem, *where* Herod *entertains him very generouſly.* Ananus *advanc'd to the* Pontificate; *which* Alexandra *takes for an Affront, and puts* Cleopatra *upon moving* Anthony *for her Son.* Alexandra *ſends* Anthony *the Pictures of* Ariſtobulus *and* Mariamne. Anthony *tells* Herod, *he ſhould be glad to ſee* Ariſtobulus, *but* Herod *is againſt it;* Anthony *being a Man of Liberty and Pleaſure.* Herod *charges* Alexandra *for plotting with* Cleopatra. Ananus *depos'd, and* Ariſtobulus *in his Place.* Alexandra's *Excuſe.*

Phraates *treats his Priſoner* Hyrcanus *with great Honour.*

Upon Herod's *Promotion,* Hyrcanus *had a Mind to give him a Viſit.*

All his Friends againſt it.

Herod *invites* Hyrcanus *to come over to him;*

and ſends Saramalla *to* Phraates *with Complements and Preſents, to ſweeten him toward* Hyrcanus.

HYRCANUS being brought Priſoner to *Phraates*, the King of *Parthia*; and this Prince being well informed of his Birth and Character, he had ſo great a Reſpect for his illuſtrious Blood and Quality, that he immediately order'd his Chains to be taken off, and allow'd him the Freedom of the City of *Babylon* for the Bounds of his Confinement: A Place where there were a great many of his own Sect; and where he had the ſame Reverence paid him, not only by the *Jews* of that City, but by thoſe likewiſe on the other Side of *Euphrates*, as if he had been their Governour and *High-Prieſt*. So that the preſent Condition of *Hyrcanus* was not very uneaſy to him. But when he came to underſtand that *Herod* was advanced to the Government, he being a grateful and a good natur'd Man himſelf, made a Judgment of others according to the ſame Meaſure; flattering himſelf with the Hope of mighty Things that *Herod* would do for him now upon this Elevation, as an Acknowledgment to the Preſerver of his Life and Honour, which he himſelf had ſav'd when it was all at Stake (of which we have ſaid enough heretofore.) This Fancy ran in *Hyrcanus*'s Head to that Degree, that he reſolved within himſelf to make a Journey to him, but not without the Formality of adviſing firſt with ſome of his Confidents about it. Upon laying their Heads together, he found all his Friends unanimouſly poſitive againſt his going. *For*, ſaid they, *ſo long as you are here, you may aſſure your ſelf from us and all our People, of a Reverence and Obedience ſuitable to the Duty of your Subjects and Servants, and to the Dignity of your own Character, which you can never expect in your own Country, by Reaſon of the Maim* Antigonus *has given you, which puts you into an Incapacity of pretending to it. They told him likewiſe, that in the Matter of good Turns and reciprocal Services, it is not with Princes, as it is with private Perſons. Kings have ſhort Memories commonly in thoſe Caſes, and Men change their Manners with their Fortunes.* This Diſcourſe was reaſonable enough, but the Paſſion *Hyrcanus* had for his own Country, made him deaf to all good Counſels. *Herod* gave *Hyrcanus* an Invitation alſo by Letter to come over to him, and take his Part in the Government, deſiring him likewiſe to move *Phraates* and his Brethren the *Jews*, not to envy him the Comfort of ſo great a Bleſſing; for now was the Time, he ſaid, to ſhew his Gratitude to the Perſon he ſtood indebted to, both for his Bread and for his Life. And this was not all neither, but he ſent *Saramalla* upon an Embaſſy to *Phraates* with fair Words and magnificent Preſents over and above, to ſweeten him on the Behalf of *Hyrcanus*, his worthy Patron and dear Friend. But this was all Countenance and Freak; for *Herod*, being a crafty and a ſuſpicious Prince, and an Uſurper to boot, his Buſineſs was to ſecure himſelf againſt poſſible Changes and Turns of State, and upon that Conſideration, either to get *Hyrcanus* into his Power, or out of the World, as afterwards he did.

Hyrcanus *diſcharg'd, and ſo goes his Way for* Jeruſalem. Herod *entertains him with great Honour.*

Hyrcanus being, in Fine, diſcharged by *Phraates*, and amply ſupply'd with Monies and Neceſſaries by the *Jews* in *Babylon* for his Journey, he went his Way to *Jeruſalem*, where he was received with all the Marks of ſingular Honour and Reſpect; as for Inſtance, *Herod* gave him the firſt Place at all Meetings and Entertainments; treated him in the Style of *Father*, and carry'd every Thing on with ſuch a Face of good Faith, that there was no Room left for any poſſible Doubt or Jealouſy of the contrary. There was nothing, in Fine, omitted, that might conduce to his Eſtabliſhment, ſaving only that he was ſo over ſolicitous in that Particular, that it prov'd the Occaſion of a dangerous Breach in the Family; for he was ſo cautious of having any Man of an honourable Extraction advanced to the *Pontificate*, that he ſent to *Babylon* for one *Ananel*, a Perſon of a mean and obſcure Condition, and made him High-Prieſt. *Alexandra*, the Wife of *Hyrcanus*, and the Widow of *Alexander* the Son of King *Ariſtobulus*, by whom ſhe had a Son whom ſhe called *Ariſtobulus*, after his Grandfather's Name, and a Daughter *Mariamne*, a Woman of admirable Beauty, and the Wife of *Herod*: This *Alexandra* laid it extremely to Heart, to ſee her Son thus affronted, and the High-Prieſthood uſurped by one from Abroad, while her Son was yet living. In this Diſcontent ſhe wrote by a certain Muſician to *Cleopatra*, to beg the *Pontificate* of *Anthony* for her Son. But *Anthony* never minding the Matter, it ſo happen'd, that one *Gellius*, a particular Friend of his, being at that Time in *Judæa* about ſome Affairs of his own, had the good Fortune to ſee *Ariſtobulus* and *Mariamne*, whom he look'd upon to be two of the moſt graceful beautiful Perſons that ever his Eye beheld. Inſomuch that he highly complemented *Alexandra* upon the Bleſſing of bringing two ſuch Miracles into the World, and recommended it to her to make a Preſent of their Pictures to *Anthony*, as the Way to ſecure her ſelf of any good Office that lay in his Power to do her. Upon this Conſideration, ſhe ſent the Pictures; and *Gellius* that had a Mind to inveigle *Anthony* into a Paſſion for *Mariamne*, made the Matter yet more than it was, with *hyperbolical* and extravagant Flouriſhes, that they were perfect, and lovely, ſo much beyond the ordinary Rate of Fleſh and Blood, that they look'd liker Angels in humane Shapes. It would not have been either handſome, or honeſt, in *Anthony*, to ſend for the Wife of a Prince that was his Friend; and he was not willing neither to give *Cleopatra* any juſt Ground of Jealouſy; but he wrote however to *Herod* how glad he ſhould be to ſee *Ariſtobulus* upon any fair Occaſion, if it might ſtand with his Convenience. *Ariſtobulus* was at that Time but fifteen or ſixteen Years of Age, and *Herod* did not think it ſafe to ſend a delicate charming Youth, nobly born, and in the Flower of his Years, to the Perſon of all Men living the moſt abandon'd to unnatural Luſts, and the moſt eager in the Purſuit of unlawful Pleaſures; for this was *Anthony*'s Character; beſide that being one of the greateſt Men in *Rome*, he made Uſe of his Power and Authority to bear him out in theſe Liberties. So that *Herod* put him off with this Pretence, that the *Jews* were ſo ſeditious, and ſo bent upon Change and the Experiment of another King, that if *Ariſtobulus* ſhould but ſtir out of the Kingdom, it would blow up all in a Flame.

Herod *advances* Ananel, *a mean Perſon to the* Pontificate.

Alexandra *takes this for an Affront to her Son. Sues with* Cleopatra *to engage* [illegible] *of* Anthony *for her Son.*

Alexandra *ſends* Anthony *the Pictures of* Ariſtobulus *and* Mariamne.

Anthony *writes to* Herod *how glad he ſhould be to ſee* Ariſtobulus.

Herod *against it as a Matter of ill Conſequence:* Anthony *being a Man of Liberty and Pleaſure.*

When he had fobb'd *Anthony* off with this Anſwer, he manag'd his Matters ſo as to keep civilly fair with the young Man, and *Alexandra*; his Wife *Mariamne* preſſing him over and above at every Turn, to do her Brother Right in the Buſineſs of the *Pontificate*; urging withal that it was his own Intereſt ſo to do, for the very Duty of the Office would excuſe him beyond all Exception from taking the Journey. *Herod*, upon this Diſcourſe, took a Freak in's Head; and calling ſeveral of his Friends about him, in a Way of Conference and Advice, he fell into a bloody Invective againſt *Alexandra*; telling them that ſhe was enter'd into a ſecret Conſpiracy againſt him, and that ſhe wrought by the Means of *Cleopatra*, who was to engage *Anthony* to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the Government, and transfer it to her Son; which, he ſaid, ſhe was the more to blame in, becauſe ſhe could not vindicate *Ariſtobulus* without degrading her Daughter, and making Way by a publick Broil to the dethroning of her Son-in-Law, and removing him from a Dignity that he had acquir'd with ſo much Toil and Hazzard. *But upon the whole Matter*, ſays he, *I am ready to forget and to forgive all theſe Injuries; and to ſhew the Reverence and Tenderneſs I have for my Mother, and the Reſt of her Relations, I will immediately veſt her Son in the Exerciſe of the Office; and I had done it ſooner too, when I put* Ananel *into't, if the other had been of Age to execute it.* This ſtudy'd Speech (for in Truth ſo it was, and intended only for an Amuſement to the Women and the Council) put *Alexandra* into the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, betwixt the Joy of ſeeing her own Buſineſs done, and the Trouble of finding her ſelf ſuſpected: So that burſting out into a paſſionate Tranſport of Tears and Proteſtations, ſhe gave this further Account of her Behaviour. *That as to the Point of the* High-Prieſthood; *ſhe had ſuch an Indignation, for the Affront was put upon her Son in that Particular, that ſhe left no lawful Way or Means to do him Right in't, unattempted; but as to any Deſign ſhe had of raiſing him up to the Throne, ſhe was ſo far from any Thought that Way, that if the Thing were offer'd her, ſhe would refuſe it: For her Ambition look'd no further*, ſhe ſaid, *than to ſee Juſtice done to her Son in that Station, and conſequently the Honour and the Safety of the Family provided for. But as the*

Herod *charges* Alexandra *for treating with* Cleopatra.

Ananel *depos'd and* Ariſtobulus *put into the* Pontificate.

Alexandra's *Vindication.*

Caſe then ſtood, ſhe had, *ſhe was ſo ſenſible of the King's Grace and Goodneſs to her ſelf in the Perſon of* Ariſtobulus, *that he ſhould ever find her moſt dutiful for the future: And if upon any* Punctilio *of* Honour, *or of Haughtineſs of Mind ſhe might have paſs'd the preciſe Bounds of Reſpect and Moderation, ſhe begg'd his Pardon for it.* This Diſcourſe put a ſeeming End to the Controverſy, for they ſhook Hands, and in Appearance parted Friends.

CHAP. III.

Herod *is jealous of* Alexandra, *and ſets Spies upon her. She writes to* Cleopatra *for Advice, what to do: Who invites* Herod *and her Son into* Ægypt; *whither they are privately convey'd.* *Æſop tells* Sabbion *the* Secret, *and he betrays it to* Herod, *who ſurprizes them in their Eſcape.* Herod *contrives the drowning of* Ariſtobulus; *who is univerſally lamented.* Alexandra *diſguiſes her Affliction. A ſplendid* Funeral, *and* Herod *ſets up for the chief Mourner.*

Ananel *being now depoſed;*

THE King immediately depos'd *Ananel* from the *Pontificate*, being a Foreigner, as we have ſaid before, and of the Race of thoſe *Jews* that were formerly carry'd away by the *Syrians* beyond the *Euphrates*, whereof many thouſands took up their Habitations in *Babylon*. He was, in Truth, of a *ſacerdotal Extraction*, and of *Herod*'s old Acquaintance; who, upon his coming to the Crown, had created him *High-Prieſt*, and afterwards *depoſed* him, (though *contrary to Law*) for the Peace of his Family; for otherwiſe the *High-Prieſthood* is an Office for Life, and not to be taken away again where it is duly conferr'd. The firſt that brake in upon that Rule was *Antiochus Epiphanes*; who removed *Joſhua* to make Way for his Brother *Onias*. *Ariſtobulus* was the ſecond, who ſupplanted *Hyrcanus*, and aſſumed the Dignity to himſelf. The third was *Herod*; who put *Ariſtobulus* into the holy Function, while *Ananel* was yet living.

Herod *is ſtill jealous of* Alexandra.

He *ſets Guards and Spies upon her.*

She *writes to* Cleopatra *for Help and Advice.* Cleopatra *gives her and her Son an Invitation into* Ægypt. *She and her Son are convey'd away privately thither.*

Æſop *tells* Sabbion *the Secret, and he betrays it to* Herod.

Herod *ſurprizes him in the very Act of their Eſcape.*

By this Expedient they thought to ſet all Right in the Family; but, as it prov'd, the Conſequence was not ſo clear yet, as after ſo ſolemn a Reconciliation a Body would have expected: For it ran in *Herod*'s Head ſtill, that *Alexandra* would be no longer quiet, than till ſhe had an Opportunity of compaſſing her Ends by being troubleſome. In this Humour he confin'd her to the Palace, and abſolutely forbad her medling in any publick Buſineſs; ſetting ſo many Guards and Obſervers upon her over and above, that ſhe did not the leaſt Thing in the World, but the King had Notice of it. This odious Way of Proceeding went to the very Heart of her; for being a Woman of Birth, Senſe, and Stomach, nothing could have touch'd her ſo to the Quick, as to find her ſelf thus watch'd, and ſpy'd upon: Inſomuch that ſhe reſolved, in Short, rather to endure any Thing than the Plague of ſo ſcandalous a Jealouſy, and under the Title of a Woman of Honour, to lead the Life of a Slave, in Fear and Miſery. In this Diſtreſs of Thought, ſhe put the whole State of her Caſe in a Letter to *Cleopatra*, together with an Application to her for Advice and Relief; who gave her for Anſwer, an Invitation to get away privately with her Son, and to come over to her into *Ægypt*. She could not but approve of the Counſel, and ſo bethought her ſelf of this Way of putting it in Execution. She order'd two Coffins to be provided, and her ſelf, and her Son, to be put up in them; appointing the Servants that were privy to the Contrivance, to ſee them carry'd out by Night, and put a-board a Ship that lay ready near at Hand to tranſport them into *Ægypt*. There was one *Sabbion*, who was look'd upon to be *Alexandra*'s Friend, and ſo mortal an Enemy of *Herod*'s, that he was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been a Party in the Plot for the poyſoning of *Antipater*. A Servant of *Alexandra*'s, whoſe Name was *Æſop*, making no Doubt of *Sabbion*'s being privy to the Deſign, blabb'd the whole Story to him; and the other, being glad of this Occaſion for the redeeming of his Credit with *Herod*, went and acquainted him with the whole *Intrigue*: Who let them go on without any Noiſe, till they came to the Point of Execution, and then ſurpriz'd them in the very Act of making their Eſcape. *Herod* was yet ſo over gracious as to forgive her this Attempt, not out of any Motion of Tenderneſs and Generoſity, but for Fear of *Cleopatra*'s Power with *Anthony*, in Caſe he ſhould provoke her to a Revenge. Nay ſo far was he from putting her to any Extremity, that with a Kind of Oſtentation of Magnanimity and Good Nature, he rather out-did it the other Way, by appearing more indulgent than in Truth (all Things conſider'd) it was poſſible for him to be. But after all this external Fairneſs toward *Alexandra*, the Death of the young Man ſome Way or other was a Thing reſolv'd upon; only it was to be a Work of Time to prevent Suſpicion or Diſcovery.

The *Feaſt of Tabernacles* now drawing on, (being one of the moſt celebrated and *ſolemn Feſtivals* we have) *Herod* diſpos'd himſelf to his good Humour, and to rejoyce and make merry with the People: But while this paſt, there fell out an unlucky Circumſtance, that put him upon the Execution of his murderous Purpoſe, ſooner than he intended. *Ariſtobulus* was at this Time betwixt ſeventeen and eighteen Years of Age, tall and lovely to Admiration; and in one Word, the very Picture of his Grandfather: And as he was advancing toward the *Altar* in his *pontifical Robes*, to officiate according to the Law, he diſcharg'd his Part with ſo wonderful a Grace having all the perſonal Advantages of Beauty and Stature, and the Dignity of a great Soul in the very Face of him, that the Eyes and Hearts of the Spectators were all ſet upon him: Inſomuch that they could not forbear expreſſing the Love, Honour, and Eſteem they had for him, in a thouſand good Wiſhes, Prayers and Acclamations, and thoſe Indications of their Joy and Affection, accompany'd alſo with large Acknowledgments of the many Obligations they had to that noble Family. Now they never conſider'd that the magnifying of the one, was a kind of derogating from the other, and that *Herod*'s Envy would underſtand it ſo, which effectually it did; and the Jealouſy he contracted upon it, haſten'd the young Man's Ruine. Upon the breaking up of the *Feſtival*, *Herod* took his Part of a Treat with *Alexandra* at *Jericho*, where he took *Ariſtobulus* aſide, as in Point of Complaiſance, and to bear him Company in his little Diverſions and Pleaſures. The Weather was too hot for any ſtirring Exerciſe; ſo that they quickly gave over their Play, and withdrew into the Cool of the Shade, by certain large Fiſh-Ponds there at Hand, where ſeveral of their Acquaintances and Servants were bathing themſelves. *Ariſtobulus* was tempted by *Herod* to make one of the Party, and ſo plunging into the Pool for Company, ſome of *Herod*'s Inſtruments that lay ready upon the Catch, took the Opportunity of ducking and dipping him ſo long, under a Pretence of only paddling and fooling with him, that in the End they kept him down, and drown'd him. This was the deplorable End of *Ariſtobulus*, in the eighteenth Year of his Age, and the firſt of his Office, which was then immediately reſtor'd to *Ananel*. When this tragical Diſaſter came to be known to the Women, never was ſo diſmal an Alteration in the Face of Things; never ſo paſſionate a Lamentation over the Body of any Creature; nor ever ſo inconſolable a Sorrow. It was ſo publick a Loſs, that the whole City was in Tears for it, and not a Family but had their Part in't. But the chief Mourner of all was *Alexandra*, and it was an Aggravation of her Calamity, that though ſhe was convinc'd of the malicious Treachery of the Fact, ſhe was yet glad to keep her Tongue in her Head for Fear of a worſe Miſchief. Such was the Outrage of her Deſpair, that ſhe was many Times about to lay violent Hands upon her ſelf; but ſtill check'd her Paſſion, in Hope that if ſhe could but ſurvive the Senſe of that barbarous and flagitious Murder, without diſcovering what ſhe knew of the Contriver of it, ſhe might yet live to the Opportunity of a Revenge; wherefore ſhe carry'd it fair in Appearance, and without ſeeming to underſtand any Thing of the Matter: But *Herod* made it his Buſineſs of all Things in the World to poſſeſs People that he had no Hand in't; and in his Looks, Words, and Behaviour, acted the Part of a forlorn, ſorrowful Wight, ſo to the Life, that a Body would have thought his very Heart had been breaking in good Earneſt. And who knows at laſt yet, but betwixt Humanity and Conſcience, he might come to have ſomewhat of a true Remorſe for his Wickedneſs in ſpilling the innocent Blood of ſo angelical a Creature, in the Prime of his Youth and Beauty: but the Death of the one was neceſſary, he thought, for the Security of the other; beſide that his main Point was to keep himſelf clear of being ſuſpected of ſo baſe a Crime. As to the Matter of Pomp and Expence toward the Solemnity of the Funeral, there was nothing left undone either in the adorning of the Herſe, or in the embalming of the Body, that might advance the Magnificence of the Ceremony; and this Courſe he took, as the moſt likely Way to make the Women ſoft and eaſy.

Ariſtobulus *drown'd in a Pool by the Practice of* Herod.

An univerſal Sorrow for the Loſs of Ariſtobulus.

Alexandra *keeps her Affliction to her ſelf.*

Herod *himſelf in Appearance the chief Mourner.*

A moſt expenſive and magnificent Funeral.

CHAP. IV.

Alexandra *ſends* Cleopatra *the Story of the Murder*; *who preſſes* Anthony *for* Juſtice *upon the* Murderer. Anthony *ſends for* Herod, *and* Joſeph *adminiſters in his Abſence*; with Orders to put *Mariamne* to Death, in Caſe *Anthony* deſtroys *Herod*. Joſeph *diſcovers the Project at unaware*. Herod *values himſelf much upon* Anthony's *Favour, and is jealous of* Mariamne *for* Joſeph. Joſeph *put to Death, and* Alexandra *impriſon'd*. Cleopatra *governs* Anthony *at Pleaſure. Her lew'd Practices.*

Alexandra *ſends* Cleopatra *the Story of the perfidious Murder.* Cleopatra *preſſes* Anthony *for Juſtice upon the Murderer.*

Anthony *ſends for* Herod *to anſwer for himſelf.*

Herod *appears. His Uncle* Joſeph *adminiſters in his Abſence; with Orders, if* Anthony *put him to Death, he ſhould immediately deſtroy* Mariamne.

BUT there was no Working upon the embitter'd Spirit of *Alexandra*, by ſuch Amuſements as theſe: Neither was the Sourneſs of her canker'd Melancholy capable of any other Relief than that of a Revenge. With this Proſpect in her Head, ſhe ſent *Cleopatra* an Account of *Herod's* perfidious Practice upon the Life of her miſerable Son. *Cleopatra*, who had ever been ready and forward to ſerve her, contracted ſo generous a Compaſſion for her upon this Occaſion, that ſhe eſpouſed her Intereſt as her own; preſſing and plying *Anthony* with perpetual Importunities, to ſee Juſtice done upon the Author of ſo barbarous a Murder. She laid before him, *The Baſeneſs of the Thing, and how diſhonourable it would be for him to ſuffer a King of his own making, and the Uſurper of another Man's Right, to commit ſo horrid an Outrage upon the lawful Heir of the Government, and to come off at laſt unpuniſh'd.* *Anthony* laid the Thing to Heart; and ſo coming to *Laodicea*, he ſent for *Herod* to know what he had to ſay for himſelf, about the Death of *Ariſtobulus*; for he could not but have a Horror for the Action, even though *Herod* himſelf ſhould have been the Doer of it. *Herod* was too conſcious to caſt himſelf voluntarily upon the Merit of his Cauſe, and then he conſider'd on the other Hand, that *Cleopatra* would never leave teizing *Anthony* againſt him; but at all Hazzards however, he reſolv'd to appear, and in Truth there was no avoiding it. So that committing the Care of the Government in his Abſence, to his Uncle *Joſeph*, he gave him privately in Charge, if *Anthony* ſhould put him to Death, he ſhould immediately deſtroy *Mariamne*: For he doted upon his fair Wife, to that Degree, that it was worſe than Death to him to think of any other Man's enjoying her when he ſhould be gone; beſide, that he look'd upon her Excellencies as the Sources of his Misfortune. *Anthony* had long ſince profeſs'd a Paſſion for her upon the very Fame of her Beauty. Having diſpatch'd his Orders, away he went to *Anthony*; but with a ſad and a foreboding Heart.

Joſeph *diſcovers the Secret at unawares.*

While *Joſeph* was in the Adminiſtration, he took Care of his Truſt, and made frequent Viſits to *Mariamne*; partly, upon Buſineſs, and partly out of Reſpect. *Joſeph*, as they were together, would ever and anon be taking Occaſion to extol *Herod*, as the moſt tender, uxorious Husband upon the Face of the Earth. The Women ſhook their Heads at it to ſee him ſo poſitive, *Alexandra*, eſpecially; but *Joſeph* grew ſo over zealous upon it, to make good the Character, that he betray'd a Secret he was entruſted with, before he was aware; inſiſting upon it as an infallible Argument of his Affection, that *as he found he could not live without her, ſo he was reſolv'd that Death it ſelf ſhould never part them.* Now the Women did not underſtand theſe Words as an Evidence of his *Love*, but as an Intimation of a *tyrannical* Purpoſe he had taken up, in Caſe of his own Death, not to ſuffer them to ſurvive him.

There was at this Time a Rumour rais'd and put about the Town by ſome Ill-Willers to the King, that *Anthony* had cauſed *Herod* to be put to the Queſtion; and after that, to Death. The whole Court was ſtartled at it, and the Women above the reſt: inſomuch, that *Alexandra* put it to *Joſeph* to fly for Protection to the *Roman Legion* under *Julius*, that was then quarter'd without the City, and to take them along with him. For if there ſhould come to be any Broils in the Palace, the *Romans* would take Care of them; or if ever *Mariamne* ſhould but come into the Sight of *Anthony*, he would deny her nothing that ſhe ſhould ask him, though it were the Kingdom it ſelf, and all the royal Privileges ſhe could pretend to.

Herod *has more Credit with* Anthony *than* Cleopatra.

Herod *boaſts of* Anthony's *Favours.*

While this Affair was under Deliberation, in come Letters from *Herod* that quite daſh'd the former Intelligence; for *Herod*, it ſeems was no ſooner come to *Anthony*, but by the Force of Preſents, and fair Words, he brought him ſo far over to his Intereſt, that *Cleopatra* had no longer any Power with him to the Diſadvantage of *Herod*: for *Kings*, ſays *Anthony*, *are to be unaccountable for their doings, they are no Kings elſe; for that's but the Privilege of all crowned Heads: And it would be well*, ſays he, *if* Cleopatra *would not trouble her ſelf ſo much how other Princes govern.* *Herod* made Oſtentation in his Letters alſo, of the Honours *Anthony* had done him; how he call'd him to his *Councel*, and to his *Solemn Feaſts*, in Deſpite of all the Calumnies of *Cleopatra*, that had a Deſign upon the Government her ſelf, and did all ſhe could in the

World to ruin him: But *Anthony*, he ſaid, was a Prince of Honour and Juſtice, and that they might expect him back again in a ſhort Time better eſtabliſh'd in the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, and in the Aſſurance of *Anthony*'s Friendſhip than ever: *Cleopatra* being quite taken off, by the Acceptance of *Cœle-Syria* as a Preſent from *Anthony*, upon Condition never to trouble him again about *Judæa*.

This Anſwer put an End to the Deſign they had of ranging themſelves under the Protection of the *Romans*, which was not kept ſo ſecret yet, but *Herod* had got an Inkling of it: Who, ſo ſoon as *Anthony* was advanced upon his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, returned to *Jeruſalem*, where his Siſter *Salome*, and his Mother inform'd him of the whole Matter. Nay, and his Siſter went ſo far, as to charge her own Husband, *Joſeph*, and *Mariamne*, with the Privacy of a *Love-Intrigue* together: But this was out of an old Grudge to her, being a high-ſpirited Woman, for reproaching her in a Wrangle once about the Meanneſs of her Birth. This put *Herod* into ſo furious a Tranſport of *Jealouſy* and *Indignation*, (for he lov'd *Mariamne* as he did his own Soul) that he had much ado to forbear laſhing out into open Extravagancies, and contain himſelf within the Compaſs of Sobriety and good Diſcretion. But, upon ſecond Thoughts, he took *Mariamne* aſide, and put her to the Shrift about this Familiarity with *Joſeph*. She purg'd her ſelf by all that was poſſible for an innocent Woman to ſay in her own Defence; that ſhe was clear, not only as to *Joſeph*, but to the whole World, of any Thing that did but look like criminal or diſhonourable in her Converſation. The King, in Fine, betwixt the Power of his *Wife's Charms*, and that of his own infinite *Paſſion*, ſoften'd by little and little, to ſuch a Degree, that he not only acquitted her of the Calumny, but acknowledg'd himſelf convinc'd of her unſpotted Integrity, deſiring her Pardon over and above, for the Raſhneſs of his Credulity, in giving any Sort of Credit to ſo ſcandalous a Rumour; intermixing all Sorts of Tenderneſs in his Diſcourſe. Theſe Endearments, in Concluſion, brought them to Tears and Embraces (as it falls out commonly in theſe *Love-Encounters*) and the more diffident *Mariamne* appear'd of the good Faith of *Herod*'s Affection, the more ſolicitous was he ſtill to confirm her in the Aſſurance of it. *Yes, yes*, ſays ſhe, *a notable Sign of a loving Husband indeed, to order the putting of his innocent Wife to Death, in Caſe he ſhould happen to die himſelf!* At theſe Words, he flung himſelf out of her Arms in a Rage; tearing his Hair, and crying out like a Mad Man. *It is now as clear as the Sun*, ſays he, *that* Joſeph *has corrupted my Wife; for nothing leſs than the Power of ſuch a Confidence could ever have extorted from him a Secret that was committed to him with ſo much Caution and Truſt.* In this Impotency of Paſſion, he had it in his Thought to ſtrike *Mariamne* to the Heart; but having ſome Wamblings of his old Kindneſs about him ſtill, he overcame, though with ſome Difficulty, that Provocation. As for *Joſeph*, he commanded him immediately to be put to Death, without ſo much as hearing him; and *Alexandra*, at the ſame Time to be impriſon'd, as the Root of all this Miſchief.

Herod *jealous of* Mariamne *for* Joſeph.

Joſeph *put to Death, and* Alexandra *impriſon'd.*

There were Troubles about this Time in *Syria*, promoted chiefly by the Practices of *Cleopatra*, who had an abſolute Power with *Anthony*, and employ'd it wholly to Miſchief: Teizing him perpetually againſt the great Men of the Country, till ſhe had worm'd them out of their Governments, and then begg'd them for her ſelf. Her Avarice, and Ambition, in Fine, were ſo inſatiable, that ſhe made a Conſcience of nothing ſhe might get by. In the firſt Place ſhe diſpatch'd her Brother out of the Way; a Youth of ſome fifteen Years of Age, and the next in Succeſſion to the Kingdom. She then prevail'd with *Anthony* to have her Siſter *Arſinoe* taken off at *Epheſus*, in the Temple of *Diana*, even at her very *Devotions*: So that neither *Temples*, *Sepulchres*, nor *Sanctuaries* 'ſcap'd her, where there was *Money* or *Spoil* to be gotten by a *ſacrilegious Violation* of them: But right or wrong; ſacred or prophane, all was a Caſe to her, ſo ſhe might be a Gainer by it. In one Word; the Treaſure of the whole World would have been too little to ſatisfy the expenſive Pride and Vanity of this voluptuous Woman. So that being of this Humour, it was no Wonder to ſee her ſo preſſing upon *Anthony* to take from others, when it was all deſign'd for her ſelf: And ſhe had no ſooner ſet Foot into *Syria* with him, but ſhe fell to projecting immediately how to make her ſelf Miſtreſs of it. *Lyſanias*, the Son of *Ptolemy*, was a Friend, ſhe ſaid, to the *Parthians*, and ſo ſhe procured him to be put to Death upon that Account. She begg'd alſo of *Anthony*, *Judæa* and *Arabia*, out of the Hands of the Kings that had them in Poſſeſſion. *Anthony* was, in Short, ſo much at the Command of this Woman, as if ſhe had not only captivated, but bewitch'd him: Yet there were ſome Indignities ſo groſs, that he could not comply with them, without proclaiming himſelf the ſcandalous Slave of an infamous Woman. In few Words, being loth to diſoblige his Miſtreſs on the one Hand, by denying her any Thing, and as much aſham'd on the other, to publiſh himſelf for the meaneſt Creature alive, in granting all her Askings; he compounded the Buſineſs by

Cleopatra *has now an abſolute Power over* Anthony.

The lewd Practices of Cleopatra.

by giving her ſome certain Parts of both Provinces, and all the Cities from the River *Eleutherus* to *Ægypt*, ſave only *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which had been always free: But this did not hinder her from purſuing *Anthony* ſtill, with violent Importunities, to caſt them in over and above.

CHAP. V.

Cleopatra *received with great Honour by* Herod *at* Apamia *and* Ptolemais. *A luſtful, ſhameleſs Woman.* Herod *is for putting her to Death, but his Friends oppoſe it: So that he ſpeaks her fair, and carries her Part of her Way for* Ægypt. Anthony *ſubdues* Armenia, *and complements* Cleopatra *with Priſoners and Preſents. A Tax of two hundred Talents a Year given to* Cleopatra.

Cleopatra *honourably received by* Herod *at* Apamia *and* Ptolemais.

A Woman luſtful and ſhameleſs.

Herod *is for putting* Cleopatra *to Death; but his Friends againſt it.*

WHEN *Cleopatra* had ſettled her Affairs, and ſeen *Anthony* as far as *Euphrates*, upon his Expedition into *Armenia*, ſhe came back again, and took *Apamia* and *Damaſcus* in her Way to *Judæa*, where ſhe was honourably received by *Herod*; who treated with her for the Revenue of that Part of *Arabia* and *Jericho*, that had been granted her: The latter being a Place famous for *Balſam*, which is the moſt precious of all Gums, and likewiſe for the faireſt *Palm-Trees* in the World. Upon this Occaſion, ſhe ſet all her Wits and Arts at Work to engage *Herod* in an *Amour*; and being a Woman naturally luſtful and ſhameleſs, ſhe did as good as meet him half Way, toward the ſtriking up of a Bargain: But Love was the Pretence all this while, though 'twas likely enough ſhe might have ſome farther treacherous Reach in't. Now *Herod*, that knew *Cleopatra* already for one of the ſpitefulleſt Creatures living, was as good as fortify'd againſt her before-hand; but when he came to ſee the proſtituted Impudence of her Behaviour, it gave him ſuch a Horror, that he reſolved, if ever it came to the Point, directly to turn her off, and affront her. *The Queſtion was now (and he conſulted his Friends about it) whether it might not be his beſt Courſe to make ſure of this vile Woman while he had her; for it would be both a Satisfaction to thoſe ſhe had abus'd heretofore, and a Security to thoſe ſhe might otherwiſe abuſe hereafter: Nay, and* Anthony *himſelf would be the better for it too, for ſhe was the common Enemy of all Mankind, and would be falſe to himſelf too, if ever he ſhould come to ſtand in Need of her.* Herod *was abſolutely for taking her off; but thoſe about him, no leſs poſitive againſt it, as a Thing below the Dignity of a Prince to run ſo great a Hazzard for. Wherefore they beſought him by all Means to bethink himſelf, and to do nothing raſhly; for* Anthony, *they ſaid, would not bear it, let it be never ſo much to his Advantage; beſide that the loſing of his Miſtreſs by Force, or ſecret Practice, would but enhance the Value he had for her before, and irritate him to a Revenge. And then for the excuſing or palliating of a Violence upon the Perſon of a Princeſs of her illuſtrious Blood and Quality, there would be no Room left for't: And let the Benefit he might reap by her Death be never ſo conſiderable, the Outrage upon the Honour and Inclinations of* Anthony *would be yet unpardonable. They laid before him alſo the mortal Confuſions that would inevitably follow, both in the Kingdom, and in the Royal Family, upon the Execution of what he had in his Thought. As for the laſcivious Importunities of the Woman, there could be neither Harm nor Danger in rejecting them; and as to other Matters, he had no more to do than to act according to the Reaſon of the preſent State of Things.* His Friends, in Fine, betwixt the Strength of their Arguments, and the Credit of their Counſels, brought *Herod* over to an Acknowlegdment of his Miſtake, and ſo diverted him from his deſperate Intent: Upon which Change of Mind, he complemented *Cleopatra* with rich Preſents, and conducted her to *Ægypt*.

Herod *ſpeaks* Cleopatra *fair, and ſets her Part of her Way for* Ægypt. Anthony *ſubdues* Armenia, *and complements* Cleopatra *with Priſoners and Preſents.*

Armenia being now over-run by *Anthony*, he ſent *Artabazes*, the Son of *Tigranes*, a Priſoner into *Ægypt*, with the Princes, his Sons, and made a Preſent of them to *Cleopatra*; together with the whole precious Booty he had taken there. *Artaxias*, the eldeſt Son of *Artabazes*, who fled out of the Country at the breaking out of the War, ſucceeded to his Father; but was afterward driven out again by *Archelaus*, and the Emperour *Nero*, who put up *Tigranes*, the youngeſt Brother of the Family, into his Place.

A Tax of 200 Talents a Year given to Cleopatra.

As to the Revenue of the Country that *Anthony* had given to *Cleopatra*, *Herod* made punctual Payment of it; for he well knew that Women were not to be provok'd; and that it was his Intereſt to keep Touch with her. The *Arabians*, conſidering that *Herod* had the levying of the Tax, made due Payment for ſome Time, at the Proportion of *two hundred Talents a Year*: But this did not laſt long, for they fell off by Degrees, till it fell in the End to leſs than Half.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Auguſtus *and* Anthony *Competitors for the Empire.* Herod *marches with an Army to join* Anthony; *who bids him fall upon the* Arabians. *A bloody Battle, and the* Jews *get the better of it. The* Arabians *had another great Army at* Cana *in* Cœle-Syria; *and they routed that alſo: But* Athenion *falling upon the* Jews *afterward, when they were ſpent and weary, gave them a total Overthrow.*

HEROD would certainly have reveng'd himſelf by a War upon the *Arabians* for this Contempt and Breach of Faith, if the Civil Broils of the *Romans* had not prevented him; for the Battle of *Actium* was now drawing on, which in all likelyhood would put an End to the Competition that was then a Foot betwixt *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*, for the Empire. This happen'd in the *Olympiad* 187. *Herod* having been now a long Time (by the Favour and Bounty of *Anthony*) the Maſter of a rich and populous Country in Peace and Plenty, with Men, Money, Corn, Cattle, *&c.* in Abundance, he levy'd a powerful Army out of Hand, and march'd with it toward the Aſſiſtance of his Patron; but *Anthony* telling *Herod* that he had no Need of it himſelf, appointed him rather to march back with it againſt the *Arabians*, whom he look'd upon to be a falſe and a faithleſs People. Now this was carry'd by the Counſel and Direction of *Cleopatra*, who play'd her own Game in ſetting the *Jews* and the *Arabians* together by the Ears. *Herod*, upon this Order, drew off his Army back again, and ſoon after fell into *Arabia* with a formidable Body of Horſe and Foot; taking his March toward *Dioſpolis*; where the *Arabians* having Intelligence of his Motions, were ready to encounter him. The two Armies engaged, and after a bloody Battle, the *Jews* carry'd the Day. After this a while, they got together another great Army at *Cana* in *Cœle-Syria*. *Herod*, upon Notice of their March, drew the greater Part of his Troops that Way too; propoſing to encamp and fortify, and there to wait the firſt fair Opportunity of breaking in upon the Enemy. But the Soldiers were ſo animated with their former Succeſs, and ſo well aſſur'd of the Reſolution, State and Condition of their Army, that Expectation (they cry'd) was but ſo much Time loſt, and nothing would ſerve them but they muſt fall on immediately. Nay ſuch was their Impatience, that there was no keeping them in Order without it. The King was ſo well pleas'd with the preſſing Forwardneſs and Alacrity of his Men, that he reſolv'd to encourage the good Humour while it was upon them, and to ſtrike while the Iron was hot. So he put himſelf immediately in the Head of his Army with Sword in Hand; gave the Word of Command to march and fall on, and only to act after his Example. They advanced upon this, with ſo much Fierceneſs and Bravery, that the *Arabians* were ſtruck at the very Sight of it, before ever it came to the Shock. They made ſome little Shew however of a faint Reſiſtance upon the firſt Encounter; but preſently gave Way, and finding they were not able to abide the Impreſſion, the greater Part of them fled.

Auguſtus *and* Anthony *Competitors for the Empire.*

Herod *marches with an Army to join* Anthony. Anthony *bids him fall rather upon the* Arabians.

The Jews *overthrow the* Arabians *in a bloody Battle.*

The Arabians *with another great Army at* Cana *in* Cœle-Syria.

The Jews *put them to the Rout.*

This Rout, in Short, had done the *Arabians* Buſineſs once for all, if *Athenion*, *Cleopatra's General* in that Quarter, had not taken Advantage of that Diſorder. This *Athenion* had a mortal Averſion to *Herod*, and ſtood in a kind of Neutrality, but with his Men in Order and drawn up, attending the Iſſue of the Battle. If it had gone for the *Arabians*, *Athenion* would have been quiet; but finding them to be worſted, and the *Jews* not only ſpent and weary'd out with the Action, but careleſs alſo and ſecure in the Confidence of a certain Victory, *Athenion*, with a conſiderable Body of the Natives, took the *Jews* off their Guard and attack'd them by Surprize; diſperſing them without much Difficulty; and in the Purſuit over Bogs and Crags, which the *Jews* were not acquainted with, did great Execution. Upon this Defeat, the *Arabians* took Heart; rally'd and re-inforced the Battle, following the Chace with ſo terrible a Slaughter, that a very ſmall Party of this great Body got off. The King finding the Caſe deſperate, and his Troops overborn with Numbers, poſted away with all poſſible Speed for Relief; but before he could bring it up, the *Jews* Camp was taken and pillag'd: So that here was a Victory gain'd beyond all Hope or Imagination, and a powerful Enemy deſtroy'd, both in one, by the Means of an unexpected Surprize. *Herod* was forced after this Diſaſter, to betake himſelf to Depredations and Incurſions upon the *Arabians*, and to encamp in the Faſtneſſes of the Mountains, without daring to expoſe his Army to the Fate of a Battle; but this was not Time utterly loſt however, for the keeping of his Men in Breath and Exerciſe, and inuring them to all the Duties of military Diſcipline, he put them in Condition to atone in ſome Degree for the Honour they had loſt.

Athenion *falls upon the* Jews, *tir'd and careleſs, and gives them a total Overthrow.*

CHAP. VII.

A dreadful Earthquake in Judæa. *The* Jews *ſue for a Peace, and the* Arabians *put their Embaſſadors to Death.*

A dreadful Earthquake in Judæa.

IN the ſeventh Year of the Reign of *Herod*, and the Year of the famous Battle of *Actium*, there happen'd in *Judæa* the moſt dreadful Earthquake that ever had been heard of. It devour'd a great Number of their Cattle; and there periſh'd ten thouſand Men in their Towns by the Ruins of the Houſes that were overturn'd; but the Soldiers in the open Air 'ſcap'd better, becauſe there was nothing over their Heads to fall upon them. It is not to be imagin'd, how proud and inſolent the *Arabians* grew upon the News of this Calamity; which, how dreadful ſoever in the *Truth*, was yet further aggravated in the *Report*, for they computed upon it that *Judæa* was totally depopulated, their Cities and their People ſwallow'd up, and the Nation no longer in Condition to make Head againſt them. In this Diſtreſs, they ſent their Embaſſadors to the *Arabians* to ſue for a Peace; who not only ſeized and put them to Death, but ſoon after advanced with an Army againſt them. The *Jews* were ſo broken-hearted in the Senſe of the deplorate and hopeleſs State of their Affairs, that they gave all for loſt, publick and private, without either minding what became of the Government, or daring to ſtand their Ground upon the Approach of the Enemy. The King did all that was poſſible, to ſupport and encourage them in this abandon'd Deſperation, by courting and cajoling them into a neceſſary Reſolution of defending themſelves. There were ſome, even of the more generous Sort of his People, that while the Wound was freſh and green, were not to be dealt withal by Council or Reaſon: But *Herod*, having brought them to a more tractable Temper, by this frank Way of proceeding, deliver'd what he had to ſay by Way of Comfort and Encouragement to the Army, in Words to this Effect.

The Jews *ſue for a Peace, and the* Arabians *put their* Embaſſa*dors to Death.*

CHAP. VIII.

Herod's *Speech to the Army; with a State of the War, and of the Caſe. The* Jews *take Courage, and beat the* Arabians *out of the Field. The* Arabians *in a miſerable Diſtreſs for Want of Water: And they deliver up themſelves to* Herod *for Protection.*

Herod's *Speech to the Army.*

YOU *cannot be ignorant,* ſays he, *my brave fellow Companions and Soldiers, of the Difficulties and Misfortunes we have encounter'd of late, to our very great Diſappointment; and in Truth, it is no Wonder to ſee, even the greateſt Reſolutions ſtagger'd at it; but conſidering that the War is inevitably brought Home to our Doors; and that there is nothing as yet has befall'n us, but may in ſome Degree, be repair'd by Valour and Conduct, I look upon it to be my Part to raiſe and enliven your Spirits, and to lay before you the Means of recovering your primitive Virtue.*

The State of the War, and of the Caſe.

To begin with the War; *you are to conſider, firſt, the Juſtice of it, and then the moſt injurious Provocations to it; two of the moſt powerful Impulſes in Nature to Men of Honour and Courage. I ſhall then ſhew you that our Misfortunes are not ſo hopeleſs and inſuperable as they may appear to be. To ſpeak in the firſt Place, to the firſt Article; that is to ſay, the Juſtice of the Cauſe: Be your ſelves the Judges and the Witneſſes of what I am about to ſay. As to the* Arabians, *you know them very well to be an impious and a barbarous Generation of People, without either Truth or Honeſty; and that they lye under this Character wherever they have to do. But they have been ſo to us in a tranſcendent Manner, as if we had been ſingled out for the Mark of their Avarice and Envy, above all others. To paſs over their Ingratitude* for other *Obligations, what was it but my Intereſt with* Anthony *that prevented their falling under the Yoke of* Cleopatra? *And it was for my Sake again, that* Anthony *was otherwiſe ſo eaſy to them out of a Tenderneſs he had, not to do any Thing that I might take ill: And ſo for the Portions of Land out of both Provinces, that* Cleopatra *obtained from* Anthony; *what was it but my Induſtry there alſo that ſettled the whole Matter, partly by the Preſents I made him at my own Coſt, and partly the* two hundred Talents *I undertook to pay my ſelf, and* two hundred more *that I gave Security for? Notwithſtanding that ſeveral Parcels of the Land that pay their Parts toward this Tribute, and are at preſent in their Poſſeſſion, do of Right belong to the* Jews; *who in Equity ought to pay no Tribute at all, eſpecially upon the Account of the* Arabians *that ſtand indebted to us, even for their very Preſervation. But it ſeems more unreaſonable yet, for a Nation that enjoy their Liberty by our Favour, as they have confeſs'd it over and* *over with a thouſand Thanks, to refuſe us a juſt Debt now at laſt in a Time of Amity and Peace, and to violate that Faith to their Friends, which has hitherto been held ſacred even among Enemies. But theſe are a Sort of People by themſelves, that underſtand no Honeſty but Profit, and account nothing a Crime that's done for Gain. What is there more in our Caſe now, than the unqueſtionable Liberty of calling a faithleſs Enemy to an Account by a juſt War? Now this is but according to the Will and Precept of God himſelf, who gives us both Command and Authority to right thoſe that ſuffer wrongfully under the Power of Violence and Oppreſſion; eſpecially in a State of Hoſtility, not only juſt, but neceſſary: As what could be more horrid, or a greater Affront to humane Society, even in the Judgment of both* Greeks *and* Barbarians, *than that execrable Outrage of theirs upon the Perſons of our* Embaſſadors, *a miniſterial Order of Men, whoſe Character is every where held ſacred and inviolable, and with the* Jews *as much as any other; for what are the Angels, and the Meſſengers of God from whom we have received the Knowledge of his bleſſed Will and Commandments, but a glorious Sort of Embaſſadors? And it is by this Way of Mediation that we are brought to the Knowledge of our Duty to our Maker, and to the Means of living peaceably one with another. Judge now, if any Thing can be more brutal than to deſtroy the only competent Proviſion God hath given us for the Well-Being and Quiet of Mankind, and to cut off thoſe neceſſary Miniſters in the very Execution of their Office. How can theſe People now ever expect either to proſper in War, or to be happy in Peace, after ſuch an Uſurpation upon the natural Equity and common Privileges of humane Society? For my own Part, I cannot find that they have one Word to ſay for themſelves. If it ſhall be ſuggeſted, that they that have the Right on their Side, may make their beſt on't ſo long as the other have the Power. This is not a Fancy to paſs upon People that have been better taught; and that know wherever* Juſtice *is,* God *is; and that Numbers and Strength can never prevail againſt him.*

But extraordinary Caſes apart: Let us reaſon the Matter a little upon the Square, and ſet Force againſt Force. In the firſt Battle, we were too hard for them; and in the ſecond they preſently gave Way and fled before us, upon the very firſt Shock. When we were abſolute Maſters of the Field, in came Athenion *upon us, contrary both to Law and Honour; for there was no War declar'd. Will you give this Action now the Name of Valour, or of Perfidy; or make any Thing more of it than a ſucceſsful Iniquity? That is not a Time to ſink in our Courage, when we have ſo much Ground for Hope. Why ſhould we be afraid now of thoſe that we have always beaten whenever we had to do with them, upon fair and honourable Terms? Men that never pretended to a Victory but by Fraud and foul Play. But put the Caſe now that they were valiant indeed, that very Conſideration ſhould be a Spur to Men of Honour to encounter them: For there's no Reputation to be gotten by the baffling of a Scoundrel; but it is the Glory of one brave Man to overcome another. If any of you ſhould be ſtagger'd at the Thought of our domeſtick Broils, or the Judgment perhaps of our late Earthquake; 'tis a main Point that the* Arabians *will find themſelves mightily miſtaken in the Opinion of, and in reckoning upon the Calamity to be much greater than it was: Neither is there the leaſt Colour of Reaſon in the World, why any Thing ſhould diſcourage us, becauſe it emboldens them; and they have no Ground in Nature for their Confidence, but that they take us to be broken hearted and deſponding: So that we have no more to do to bring down their Stomachs, than generouſly to bear up againſt our own Misfortunes; and the more conſiderable we make our ſelves, the leſs conſiderable we ſhall find the Enemy. Neither are we ſo deſpicable as we are ſuppos'd to be; for our Diſappointment has nothing in it that looks like a Fatality; but we are to reckon upon it among the common Chances of War. If God brought this Evil upon us, it is as certain that he remov'd it from us too, according to his merciful Method of puniſhing Sinners, without deſtroying them: But for a more convincing Argument of God's Approbation of our Proceeding in this War, do but obſerve what a ſignal Evidence he has been pleas'd to give us in Favour of it. What clearer Manifeſtation of God's diſtinguiſhing Goodneſs toward you could you deſire, than that when ſo many thouſands of other People up and down the Province, were taken away by this devouring Earthquake, not one Soldier ſuffer'd in't: And who knows, if the whole Nation had been engag'd in the ſame Cauſe, but the Piety of it might poſſibly have averted the Judgment? Keep this Providence in your Thought, with this further Comfort and Aſſurance; that you have the Almighty for your Protector; and take this along with you too, that you have Right on your Sides, and a moſt impious Generation of Men to deal withal; a People faithleſs to Friends and Allies, private and publick; bold only in* ſacrilegious *and unmanly Murders, and not the Heart to look a reſolute Enemy in the Face.*

This *Harangue* of *Herod*'s ſet the *Jews* a Fire to be in Action: So that taking them in the fighting Humour, he *ſacrificed* in Form, and march'd away immediately toward the *Arabians* beyond *Jordan*, where he encamped. There was a Caſtle betwixt the two Armies, which both Parties (it ſeems) had an Eye upon, as a Place of great Advantage, in Caſe either of decamping, or of a Battle. The firſt Point in

The Jews *take Courage, and beat the* Arabians *out of the Field.*

Diſpute was the gaining of this Poſt, which began in a Skirmiſh at a Diſtance, with Darts and Launces; but drawing nearer one another by Degrees, it came in the End to a cloſe Engagement with Loſs of Men on both Sides, 'till in the Concluſion the *Arabians* turn'd their Backs and quitted the Field. This Succeſs put the *Jews* in ſuch Heart, finding the *Arabians* ſo cow'd, that they puſh'd them to their very Trenches; where for a While they made a Show in a diſorderly Way, of ſome Sort of Reſiſtance; but it was ſo faint that there was not to be ſeen either in their Looks or Actions, the leaſt Hope of prevailing. They fought it however after their Way, partly encourag'd by their Numbers, and partly forced upon it by the inevitable Neceſſity of either fighting or dying, till at laſt, after a long Conteſt and a great Deal of Blood ſpilt, they were put to a total Rout; and with ſo terrible a Slaughter, that betwixt thoſe that fell by the Enemy's Swords and their own, and thoſe that were trod to Death in the Croud, they wanted five thouſand of their Number: The Reſt making away to their Camp, but with a miſerable Proſpect before them, for they had neither Meat nor Drink to keep Life and Soul together. And in this deplorable Condition, the *Jews* coop'd them up ſo cloſe, that there was no Room left either for Relief or Eſcape.

Their miſerable Diſtreſs for Want of Water.

In this Extremity, they ſent out a Requeſt to *Herod* by their Deputies, that he would either grant them a Peace, or but the Charity of cold Water to quench their parching Thirſt: But *Herod* was ſo bent upon his Revenge, that he would not ſo much as hear of any Thing of *Embaſſadors* or Preſents from them, nor gratify them in any Thing whatſoever that they deſir'd. Within the Compaſs of five Days after this, a Matter of four thouſand of them came out, and offer'd themſelves to Captivity and Chains to avoid the more inſupportable Calamity of a raging Drought. On the ſixth Day all the reſt made a Sally by Conſent and attack'd the Beſiegers; chuſing rather a preſent Certainty of Death, than to expoſe themſelves with Infamy to the lingring Torment of it. In this Deſperation, they iſſu'd out of their Camp, but without either Spirits, or Strength anſwerable to the Pretence of ſuch an Action: Only they ſought their Death as the only Eaſe their Condition was capable of. There fell ſeven thouſand of them upon the firſt Encounter; and this Overthrow taught them to their Coſt, that *Herod* was a great Captain, and not to be treated at that Rate, and thereupon they deliver'd themſelves up to his Protection.

They deliver up themſelves to Herod's Protection.

CHAP. IX.

Herod *puff'd up with a cheap Victory.* Anthony *defeated at* Actium. Herod *is for taking* Hyrcanus *out of the Way: A ſoft eaſy Prince.* Alexandra, *an aſpiring turbulent Woman, writes to* Malichus *to meet her with a Party at the Lake of* Aſphaltites. Doſitheus *ſhews* Herod *the Letter; and after that, the Anſwer.* Hyrcanus *is examin'd upon it, and put to Death. The whole Story thought to be a Contrivance of* Herod's. *The Hiſtory of* Hyrcanus. Herod *goes preſently to* Cæſar, *and commits his Government to his Brother* Pheroras: *Leaves his Relations in* Maſſada, *and his Wife in* Alexandrion: Joſeph *and* Sohemus *their Keepers.*

Herod puff'd up with this Victory.

Anthony's Defeat at Actium.

Herod is for taking Hyrcanus out of the Way.

Hyrcanus, a ſoft, eaſy Prince.

THIS Victory elevated *Herod* to ſuch a Degree of Vanity in his own Thoughts, and of Reputation in the World for a great Man at Arms, that away he went back again to *Jeruſalem*, in the full Poſſeſſion of his uttermoſt Wiſhes: But in the very Rapture of this imaginary Eſtabliſhment of his Fortune, there came ſuch a Cooler to him in the News of *Anthony*'s being defeated at *Actium* by *Auguſtus*, that he gave himſelf for a loſt Man upon't; and it was not his Thought alone neither, but Friends and Foes were all of the ſame Opinion; and that *Auguſtus* would never forgive any Man that had been ſo great a Friend to *Anthony*. The former were ſo plain with him, as not to diſguiſe the Apprehenſion they had of his Ruine; the other, under a Pretence of condoling with him, were nevertheleſs heartily glad at the hopeful Proſpect they had of better Things. It ran in *Herod*'s Head, that *Hyrcanus* being the only ſurviving Branch of the Royal Family, it would be much for his Intereſt to have him taken out of the Way, whatever might become of himſelf, with a Reſpect to *Cæſar*; for whether he ſcap'd his Diſpleaſure, or fell under it, he did not think it ſafe to have ſo fair a Pretender betwixt himſelf and the Government; beſide that on the other Hand, he gratify'd his End by cutting him off from the Succeſſion. While he was caſting about in his Thoughts what to do, the very Family of *Hyrcanus* furniſh'd him with an Occaſion to bring him to a Reſolution. This ſame *Hyrcanus* he knew to be a Man of a ſoft eaſy Nature; one that had ever been averſe to Buſineſs, leaving all Things to Chance, and a contented Creature in all Conditions; but his Daughter

Alexandra *of an aſpiring turbulent Spirit.*

She appoints Malchus *to meet her with a Party, at the Lake* Aſphaltitis.

Doſitheus *ſhews it to* Herod; *carries it forward,*

And brings Herod *the* Anſwer.

Herod *examines* Hyrcanus, *and ſhews him the Letter.*

Hyrcanus *put to Death upon it.*

The whole Story ſuſpected for a Practice of Herod's.

Alexandra, on the contrary, was a Woman of an aſpiring turbulent Spirit; impotent in her Paſſions, and manifeſtly over-joy'd in the Hope ſhe had of a Change. This Woman was ſtill preſſing and tampering with her Father to bethink himſelf of ſome Way to deliver his Family from the Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of *Herod*, and to provide in Time for his own Security, in the Proſpect and Contemplation of his better Fortune. Her Advice was, that he ſhould write to *Malchus*, at that Time Governour of *Arabia*, deſiring him, if there ſhould be Occaſion, to receive him into his Protection. For if it ſhould be *Herod*'s Hap to fall under the Diſpleaſure of *Cæſar*, he could not fail of being reſtor'd to his Dignity, having an indiſputable Right of Title, and the Good Will of the People, clearly on his Side. *Hyrcanus* hung off for a good while; but being ply'd Day and Night to the ſame Tune with hopeful Encouragements on the one Side, and the treacherous Practices of *Herod* on the other, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be overborn in the End, by the Importunity of a Woman; and ſo wrote to the *Arabian*, and committed the Charge of the Letter to one *Doſitheus*, in Subſtance, to this Purpoſe: That he would ſend him a Party of Horſe-men to the Lake *Aſphaltitis* ſome *three hundred Furlongs from* Jeruſalem. This Letter was the rather entruſted to *Doſitheus*, as a Confident both of *Hyrcanus* and *Alexandra*; and in Regard that he was look'd upon as an Enemy to *Herod*; not only for the putting of his Kinſman *Joſeph* to Death, but for the Sake of his Brothers that were diſpatch'd ſome Time before by *Anthony* at *Tyre*. But all this was not enough yet to keep *Doſitheus* true to his Truſt: So that he rather choſe to make an Intereſt with the preſent King, and went and ſhew'd him the Letter, who gave him Thanks for the good Office; deſiring only one Thing farther of him, which was that he ſhould make it up again and ſeal it, and ſo carry it forward to *Malchus*, and receive his Anſwer; for it would much concern him, he ſaid, to ſee how the other behav'd himſelf upon it. *Doſitheus* acquitted himſelf punctually of his Commiſſion, and brought back with him the *Arabian*'s Anſwer, which was to this Effect: *That he was ready to entertain himſelf and his Family; and that if he brought the whole Party of the* Jews *along with him, that were in that Intereſt, they ſhould be all welcome; and that he would ſend him a Convoy for their Safety; and, in Fine, that he was ready to ſerve him to all Manner of Purpoſes.* *Herod*, upon the Receipt of this Letter, called *Hyrcanus* to him, and ask'd him the Queſtion, Whether he held any Intelligence with *Malchus* or not; who ſaid, *None at all:* And thereupon *Herod* produc'd the Letter; had it read publickly, and order'd *Hyrcanus* to be put to Death. This is the Story as we find it in *Herod*'s Commentaries, though 'tis reported ſeveral Ways. Some will have it, that he was put to Death for a Conſpiracy, and not for the Crime that is here ſuggeſted. But it goes, that Herod *put it to* Hyrcanus *once at an Entertainment, and without any Shew of Suſpicion; whether he had received any Letters from* Malchus. He ſaid, *Yes indeed he had: But they were only Letters of Courſe and common Civility.* Herod *went then a little farther with him, and ask'd if he had never receiv'd any Preſents from him.* He ſaid, *Yes he had; but they were only four Horſes for his Pleaſure.* The King would have this to be *Treaſon*, and Corruption, and had him preſently taken away for't and executed. Many are of Opinion after all this yet, that he dy'd innocent, and upon very good Grounds too; for he was known to be one of the mildeſt unmeddling Creatures that ever was heard of: So modeſt and temperate, that he was not guilty of one raſh Action in the whole Courſe of his Life: No not ſo much as in the Liberties of his Youth, or the Exerciſe of his Authority, for he govern'd altogether by the Advice of *Antipater*, the Father of *Herod*. He was now upward of eighty Years of Age: *Herod* ſafe in the Eſtabliſhment of his Power, and himſelf on the wrong Side of *Euphrates*, having left his Friends behind him, and all this in Submiſſion to his Dominion. Now for *Hyrcanus* to attempt a Thing in Appearance ſo *impracticable*, and otherwiſe ſo contrary to his *Genius* and *Inclination*, no Mortal can pretend to believe; or that there was any Thing more in the whole Story, than a mere Practice and Contrivance of *Herod*'s.

The Hiſtory of Hyrcanus.

This was the End of *Hyrcanus*, after a ſtrange Variety of Fortune in a long and a troubleſome Life. He was advanced to the *Pontificate* in the Reign of his Mother *Alexandra*; upon whoſe Deceaſe, after nine Years Execution of his Office, he ſucceeded to the Government. In three Months after this, he was driven out by his Brother *Ariſtobulus*; but reſtor'd after that, by *Pompey*, to the Poſſeſſion of all his Dignities, which he enjoy'd for the Space of forty Years. He was once again then dethron'd by *Antigonus*; had his Ears cut off, and carry'd away Priſoner to the *Parthians*. He had not been there long, but he was ſet at Liberty, and came back again; promiſing himſelf mighty Matters from the Friendſhip of *Herod*; who was ſo far from anſwering his Expectations, that on the contrary, after ſo many Turns and Croſſes of a vexatious Fortune, he cauſed him to be put to an infamous Death in the Extremity of his old Age. He was, in Fine, a Man of eminent Candour, Juſtice, and Moderation;

ration; but a Lover of his Eaſe, and ſo conſcious to himſelf of his own Inſufficiency for the Offices of a publick Adminiſtration, that for the moſt Part he entruſted the Charge into other Hands. This Facility of *Hyrcanus* was the making of *Antipater's* and *Herod's* Fortunes, and it was ſo order'd, that this Goodneſs of his, without any Colour of Law, or Equity, coſt him his Life.

Herod *goes away preſently to* Cæſar.

So ſoon as *Herod* had made ſure of *Hyrcanus*, he went his Way preſently to *Cæſar*, but without any Thought of Favour from him, toward a Man that had ſo heartily eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Anthony*. He had a ſtrong Suſpicion of *Alexandra*; and not knowing what Advantage ſhe might make of his Abſence, toward the ſtirring up of the People to a Rebellion, he lodg'd the Government in the Hands of his Brother *Pheroras*; diſpoſing of his Mother *Cypris*, with the Siſter, and other Relations, into the Caſtle of *Maſſada*, appointing his Brother, in Caſe any Miſchief ſhould befal him, to maintain his Poſt, and continue the Adminiſtration in his own Name. As to his Wife *Mariamne*, he placed her in *Alexandrion*, with her Mother *Alexandra*, there being ſo great a Feud betwixt his Wife, his Mother and his Siſter, that there could be no Thought of their living quietly together. He put the Government of the Fort into the Hands of a Couple of try'd and truſty Friends, *Joſeph* his Treaſurer, and *Sohemus* an *Ituræan*, under a Pretext of doing Honour to theſe Princeſſes; but with private Order over and above, ſo ſoon as ever they ſhould come to be certainly inform'd of any Violence upon his Perſon, immediately to deſtroy them both; and to the uttermoſt of their Power, ſecure the Government to his Sons, and to his Brother.

He commits his Government to his Brother Pheroras: *Leaves his Relations in* Maſſada; *his Wife in* Alexandrion.

Joſeph *and* Sohemus *their Keepers.*

CHAP. X.

A generous Speech of Herod's *to* Cæſar; *which is extremely well receiv'd, and he himſelf reſettled in his Government.* Herod *intercedes for* Alexander; *but* Auguſtus *had bound himſelf up by a Vow: So that nothing could be done in it. He waits upon* Cæſar *at* Ptolemais, *where he had a moſt magnificent Reception.*

SO ſoon as *Herod* had given all neceſſary Orders, he haſten'd away to *Rhodes* to find out *Cæſar* there. Upon his Arrival, he took off his Crown, and laid it aſide; but for the reſt of his royal Robes, he kept them, without ſhifting them. Upon *Cæſar's* admitting him to his Audience, he gave a noble Teſtimony of the Greatneſs of his Mind; and without any Submiſſions, Excuſes, or Supplications, as is common in ſuch Caſes, he made a frank Report of Matter of Fact, without the Formality of any crouching Preface, or Apology.

A frank and a generous Speech of Herod to Cæſar.

I am not come hither great Cæſar, ſays he, *to diſown the Sacredneſs of a Friendſhip I have ever had for* Anthony; *and I ſhall take a farther Freedom to declare, that he ſhould have been Maſter of the World, if I could have made him ſo. 'Tis true, I was not perſonally in the laſt Battle with him; for my Commiſſion call'd me away againſt the* Arabians; *but at the ſame Time, I ſerv'd him to the uttermoſt of my Power with Money and Proviſions; and I was ſorry I could do no more too; for ſuch was the Tenderneſs I had for* Anthony, *and ſuch my Obligations to him, that I reckon'd my Life as much a Debt to him; and it was effectually as much at his Devotion, as my Fortune: But ſince I could not be with him at* Actium, *I muſt yet juſtify my ſelf, that I had ſtill the ſame Affection for his Perſon and Cauſe, after that fatal Day, that I had before: Neither did I ſo much as waver, at this Change of Fortune, toward the changing of my Party. Nay, in thoſe Occaſions, when I could not aſſiſt him with my Arms, I never fail'd to ſerve him with my Advice, which was to cut off* Cleopatra *in Time, and ſeize her Kingdom into his own Hands, as the only Courſe in Nature to preſerve him. And if he had taken this Precaution, I dare appeal to* Cæſar *himſelf, whether he would not have thought it reaſonable to have treated with him at this Inſtant upon fairer Terms; but he choſe rather to go another Way to work; and for Want of Conſideration, advanced your Intereſt inſtead of his own. Now if you ſhall think the worſe of me for taking Part with* Anthony, *becauſe you were his profeſs'd Enemy, this ſhall not hinder me yet from owning and juſtifying the Services I have done him, and the Reſpect I have ever had for him. But if you ſhall be pleas'd now to conſider the Quality, the Friendſhip, abſtracted from the Circumſtances of the Perſon, you will find in the Faith and Gratitude of the Caſe, ſomewhat perhaps that may encourage you to make Tryal of it your ſelf; for whether it be to* Cæſar, *or to* Anthony, *the Dignity of the Character will be ſtill the ſame.*

Cæſar *treats him with a ſingular Reſpect;*

Theſe Words of *Herod's* were deliver'd with an Air ſo generous, and accompany'd with ſo moving a Grace, that *Auguſtus*, who had in him naturally a Greatneſs and Benignity of Mind, was not able to reſiſt the Charms of his very Defence: Inſomuch, that treating him with ſingular Inſtances of Humanity and Eſteem, he had him take up his Crown again, and be the ſame Friend for the future to himſelf, that he had formerly been to *Anthony*; giving alſo to underſtand that [a] *Capidius* had made him ſenſible of the good Offices *Herod* had done him in the Matter of the *Gladiators*. When *Herod* came to find theſe fair Words follow'd with anſwerable Effects; as the re-inſtating of him in his Kingdom, with a *Decree* of the *Senate*, to ſecure him in the Poſſeſſion of it; and all this done by the ſpecial Favour and Procurement of *Cæſar*, which was a Felicity ſo much beyond *Herod*'s Expectation, that nothing could be more ſurprizing to him. Upon this Eſtabliſhment, he attended *Auguſtus* into *Ægypt*, treating himſelf and his Friends upon the Way with a Magnificence of Pomp and Preſents, ſuitable to the Perſon and the Obligation; and every Way anſwerable to the Largeneſs of his Heart. He did what he could with *Cæſar* on the Behalf of *Alexander*, a Friend of *Anthony*'s, toward the gaining of his Pardon; but *Auguſtus* having ty'd himſelf up by a ſolemn Vow not to ſpare him, his Requeſt could not be granted.

and ſettles him in his Government by a Decree *of the* Senate.

Herod *intercedes for* Alexander; *but being under a Vow not to ſpare him.*

The *Jews*, that upon this Turn, gave *Herod* for loſt, were in ſuch an Amazement at his coming back greater than he went out, that they look'd upon him as a Perſon under the Care of a peculiar Providence, that turn'd all his Perils and Diſgraces to his Advantage.

When *Cæſar* was now upon his Return out of *Ægypt*, *Herod* went out to meet him at *Ptolemais*, where he treated him with an incredible State and Expence; and not only himſelf, but his whole Army too, whom he ſupply'd with all Manner of Neceſſaries. Upon this Occaſion, *Cæſar* took him, in a friendly Way of Familiarity, with him; inſomuch that they two rode together commonly, while their Troops were drawing out. *Herod*, having at Hand a Train of a hundred and fifty Perſons, richly habited, and perfectly well inſtructed in the Province that was committed to their Charge, it was their Buſineſs to attend the Service of *Cæſar* and his Friends in their Paſſage, and to provide, that neither himſelf nor his Army ſhould want either Wine or Water, let the Ways be never ſo dry and barren: Which gave him a mighty Reputation among the Soldiers. He preſented *Cæſar*, in Fine, with *eight hundred Talents*, and gave ſo univerſal a Satisfaction, that they paid a greater Veneration to the Dignity of his Mind than to that of his Crown. Upon this Generoſity of Behaviour, in the Improvement of ſo ſignal an Opportunity to ſhew himſelf; and afterward, the ſame Manner of Reſpect over again to divers others of the eminent *Romans*, in their Paſſage out of *Ægypt*: All People gave him the Character of the moſt illuſtrious Prince under the Cope of Heaven.

Herod *waits upon* Cæſar *at* Ptolemais, *and treats him with all Magnificence and Splendour.*

CHAP. XI.

Herod's *Family in a wretched Diſorder; his Wife and Mother Priſoners. His Order to* Joſeph *about deſtroying* Mariamne, *ran in her Head.* Sohemus, *the Women's Keeper, reveals the Plot to* Mariamne: *Whoſe Heart being ſet againſt her Husband, makes him raging mad; and the Mother and Siſter enflame it. The Death of* Anthony *and* Cleopatra. Herod *poſts away to* Auguſtus *in* Ægypt, *and finds himſelf more in* Cæſar's *Favour than ever.* Herod *an unhappy Man ſtill, in all his Glory.* Mariamne, *a Woman of ſingular Honour and Virtue.* Herod *courts* Mariamne, *and ſhe deſpiſes him. A Plot upon her Life.* Herod *puts* Sohemus *to Death.* Mariamne *try'd alſo, ſentenc'd and executed.* Mariamne's *Conſtancy to the laſt.* Herod's *Horror of Conſcience. A raging Plague in* Jeruſalem. Herod *under a* judicial Diſtemper. Alexandra *contrives the getting of ſome ſtrong Forts into her Hands: She is diſcover'd and executed.* Herod's *outragious Cruelties.* Coſtobarus *and others charged with a Conſpiracy againſt* Herod, *and all deſtroy'd. A Plot upon* Herod *in the* Theatre, *diſcover'd by a Spy. The Conſpirators own the Plot. They are put to Death; and the Informer torn to Pieces. A Diſcovery extorted by Torments.* Herod *fortifies* Samaria.

HEROD at his Return to his Kingdom, in the very Height of all his Glory, found a diſorder'd Family, and his Wife and Mother-in-Law miſerably out of Humour; for they look'd upon themſelves rather as Priſoners in that Caſtle (which in Truth they were) than as there depoſited for the Security of their Perſons; and it went to the Heart of them alſo to conſider, that they had not the Command there of any Thing in the World. *Mariamne* was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with an Opinion that all her Husband's Countenances of Love to her, were only Diſguiſe and Pretext for his own Convenience. But the Thing at laſt that ſhe took the moſt heinouſly, was her

Herod's *Family in great Diſorder. His Wife and Mother-in-Law no better than Priſoners.*

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[a] Caſaubon *ſhews that the true reading is* Q. Didius, *or* Bentidius, *and that inſtead of* μονάρχας *in the Original, it ſhould be* μονομάχοις. *See Exercit.* I. *Ann.* DCCXXIV. *See* the Wars of the Jews, *l.* I. *c.* 15.

Herod's *Order to* Joſeph *for deſtroying* Mariamne *runs in her Head.*

The Women make fair with Sohemus *their Keeper.*

Sohemus *diſcovers the Plot upon* Mariamne's *Life, and turns her Heart againſt her Husband.*

Husband's Reſolution not to ſuffer her to ſurvive him in Caſe of his Death. It ran ſtill in her Head, the bloody Order her Husband had given to *Joſeph:* So that ſhe had no other Way of Safety left her, unleſs ſhe could ſweeten her Keepers; *Sohemus* eſpecially, for her Life was manifeſtly in his Hands. He ſtood his Ground a while at the Beginning, and kept true to his Truſt; but upon the Women's plying him with little Favours, and fair Words, he gave Way by little and little; and in the End, out comes the whole Story of *Herod*'s Inſtructions. Now he look'd upon *Herod* at this Time, as a Man out of Play: So that, thought he, *there's no Danger of him on the one Hand, and I ſhall be ſure of the Princeſſes to be Friends on the other; and by this Means ſecure my ſelf againſt all Chances: Or put the Caſe*, ſays he again, *at worſt; and that* Herod *ſhould ſucceed in every Thing to his Wiſh, he has, to my Knowledge, ſo doting a Paſſion for* Mariamne, *that he will never do any Thing without her.* Upon theſe Conſiderations, he blabb'd the whole Secret. Now the Thought of theſe repeated Practices, one after another upon the Life of *Mariamne*, gave her ſuch a Diſguſt for her Huſband, that ſhe made it her daily Prayer he might never come alive back again; ſuch was the Dread and Horror ſhe had at the very Thought of living with him: And this was no more than ſhe own'd a while after barefac'd, when ſhe could diſguiſe the Matter no longer.

Herod *himſelf carries his Wife the firſt Tidings of his Preferment.*

Mariamne *makes him a cold and a careleſs Return.*

This Indifference made Herod *raging mad.*

Herod was ſo full of his new and unexpected Honour and Preferment, that he thought the Time long (as he had Reaſon) till he brought *Mariamne* the firſt Tidings of it himſelf; which he did with all the Tenderneſſes of Kiſſes and Embraces, as the Woman of the World he had the greateſt Value for. But while he was amplifying upon the Story of his good Fortunes, his Wife was looking careleſly about her all the while, without giving any Heed to what he ſaid. The Slight indeed was a little too open; but ſhe being a Woman of Candor and Sincerity, gave to underſtand in her Countenance, that *Herod*'s good News and Careſſes were rather troubleſome to her, than agreeable. So that he was no longer tormented with a *Jealouſy*, but it was now come to a demonſtrative Certainty of what he fear'd; for his Wife's Averſion to him was by this Time ſo manifeſt, that what with Indignation to ſee his Love ſo deſpis'd, and what with the Confuſion he was in betwixt the Tranſports of his Rage, and his Affection, ſuch was his Diſtraction under the Violence of theſe two Extremes, that he was like a Man torn to Pieces upon the Competition, while his Tenderneſs drew him this Way, and his Reſentments hurry'd him that: So that he could not gratify the one without giving Offence to the other. But the Thing he moſt of all dreaded was this, leſt in taking a preſent Revenge upon his Wife, he might draw a worſe Miſchief upon his own Head in the Conſequence, when he ſhould come to find afterward that he could not live without her.

The Mother and Siſter inflame that Rage.

The Death of Anthony *and* Cleopatra.

Herod *poſts away to* Auguſtus *in* Ægypt.

Sohemus *has the ſame Commiſſion about* Mariamne *as before.*

Herod *more in* Cæſar's *Favour than ever.*

While *Herod* was labouring in this reſtleſs Anxiety of Thought how to behave himſelf toward *Mariamne*, his Mother and Siſter could not have wiſh'd for a fairer Opportunity of blowing the Coal, and of interpoſing by Calumnies and other ill Offices, to inflame the outragious, jealous Humour of her Husband againſt her. They ply'd him, in ſhort, with ſuch Suggeſtions, as though he could not abſolutely reject, yet neither could he ſo thoroughly believe them as irrevocably to deſtroy a Perſon he had ſo great a Kindneſs for upon the Credit of that Evidence. *Herod* however became every Day more and more uneaſy; and by Degrees harſher to her: And as *Mariamne* on the other Hand made no Difficulty of diſcovering her Diſcontents, ſo *Herod's extreme Affection* came by little and little to be tranſported into an embitter'd Hatred: Inſomuch that he might probably have put her to Extremities out of Hand, if it had not been for the News juſt at that Inſtant of the Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, and of *Cæſar*'s being at that Time in the Poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*. Upon this Intelligence, *Herod* haſten'd away to *Auguſtus*; leaving Things at this Paſs in his Family, and recommending *Mariamne* to *Sohemus* over again, with Acknowledgments of his former Care and Fidelity, and the Grant of a Command in *Judæa* for a Gratification. Upon this Congreſs in *Ægypt*, *Cæſar* treated *Herod* at another Rate of Freedom and Confidence than before, and with divers Inſtances of a ſingular Eſteem and Reſpect: As he preſented him with the *four hundred Gauls* that had been of *Cleopatra*'s *Guards*; putting him into Poſſeſſion of that Part of the Country that *Anthony* had beſtow'd upon *Cleopatra*; with the additional Government of *Gadara*, *Hippen*, and *Samaria*; and toward the Sea, of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and the *Tower of Straton*, which was no ſmall Acceſſion of Power and Splendor to his royal State.

Herod *returns to* Jeruſalem, *a miſerable Man in all his Glory.*

When he had waited upon *Cæſar* as far as *Antioch*, he went back again to *Jeruſalem*, where he found himſelf as miſerable at Home, as he had been fortunate Abroad; and that the dazzling Satisfactions of a Crown were not ſufficient to balance the Mortifications of an unhappy Marriage; eſpecially being a Match that he had ſet up his Reſt upon, as the greateſt Bleſſing of his Life; for no Mortal ever doated upon a

Woman

Mariamne *a Woman of Honour and Virtue, but humorous.*

Herod *takes* Mariamne *into his Cloſet.*
She treats his Dalliances with Scorn: And upbraids him with the Death of her Father and Brother.

A Plot upon Mariamne's *Life, betwixt* Salome *and the* Butler.

Herod *in a Fit of Jealouſy, puts* Sohemus *to Death; and tries* Mariamne *for her Life, before a Court of his own Creatures.*

Mariamne *receives Sentence: And at the Inſtance of* Salome, *is put to Death.*

Woman as he did upon *Mariamne*, and with an honourable Paſſion too. Not but that ſhe was a Perſon loyal all this while to the higheſt Degree of a ſcrupulous Chaſtity: But withal ſo freakiſh by Fits, that ſhe forgot all Reſpect for her Husband's Patience, Authority, or Power; even to the reproaching of him ſometimes beyond Meaſure. But he carry'd every Thing temperately and fair, notwithſtanding all the Provocations of hitting his Mother and his Siſter in the Teeth at every Turn, with the Meanneſs of their Families; and this ſo publickly too, that the Fewd it rais'd among the Women, was implacable; beſide that it kept up the malevolent Humour of Calumnies and Scandals. Theſe Jealouſies went forward for a whole Year after *Herod*'s coming back from *Cæſar* and encreaſing daily, till in the End this following Contrivance was put in Execution. The King took an Occaſion once in the Heat of the Day to retire into his Cloſet to repoſe himſelf, where a kind Fit taking him, he call'd for *Mariamne*: She went in to him, and upon his careſſing of her, made no other Return to all his Dalliances, Importunities and Prayers, than that of a contemptuous ſcornful Repulſe; minding him at the ſame Time with Bitterneſs of the Death of her Father and her Brother. *Herod* was ſo incenſed with the Indignity of this Affront, that ſtarting up in a Rage, he had much a-do to forbear laying violent Hands upon her. His Siſter hearing a Kind of Buſtle, kept the Butler in Readineſs to diſcharge himſelf of a Commiſſion that ſhe had given him ſome Time before; which was to go to the King with a Story, how *Mariamne* had been dealing with him to aſſiſt her in the preparing of a *Love-Potion* for him: Directing him, if the King ſhould ask what was in it, he ſhould only ſay, that it was of *Mariamne*'s ordering, and for the Ingredients, that he knew nothing of them, his Part being only to preſent it; but in Caſe the King made no further Enquiry, he ſhould ſay nothing neither, and there would be no Hurt done. The Butler having his Inſtructions at his Fingers Ends, did every Thing according to his Order, and ſo addreſſing himſelf to *Herod* with a Face of Gravity and Buſineſs, he gave him to underſtand that *Mariamne* had been tempting him with Money and Rewards to provide a *Philtre* for him. The Butler finding the King to be ſtartled at it, told him further, that having ſuch a Potion offer'd him, and not knowing what might be in it, he thought it the ſafeſt Way, both for his Majeſty and for himſelf, to wait upon him with this Information. *Herod* was ſufficiently nettled already; but the Surpriſe of this Diſcourſe made him directly outragious: So that he order'd immediately the putting of a particular Confident of *Mariamne*'s to the Torture, taking for granted that there was not any Thing little or great, that ſhe would do without his Privity. As to the Points he was queſtion'd upon, there was nothing to be extorted from him; but letting fall ſome Words in the Anguiſh of his Pains, hinting that it was ſomewhat *Sohemus* had told *Mariamne*, that made her ſo uneaſy; *Herod* burſt out into an Exclamation while the Words were yet betwixt his Lips: *That* Sohemus *who had ever been ſo faithful a Subject and a Patriot to his Prince and to his Country, would never have betray'd ſuch a Secret as this was, but in the Confidence and Endearments of a laſcivious Embrace.* In this very Inſtant, he appointed *Sohemus* to be ſeiz'd and put to Death; ſummoning his Wife to anſwer for her ſelf in *a Court of Juſtice*, before a Cabal of his own Creatures for her Judges. The Charge exhibited againſt her was a pretended Conſpiracy to poyſon the King. *Herod* was fiercer and fouler upon her, both in Words and in Actions, than ſtood with the Dignity of *a Tribunal of Juſtice*: And perceiving how he ſtood affected, they all pronounced her guilty after his Example. But yet, the Sentence notwithſtanding, neither *Herod* himſelf nor the People about him, were of Opinion for precipitating the Execution, but rather to keep her in a Priſon, than to take away her Life; only *Salome* and her Faction were Tooth and Nail for diſpatching her out of Hand, and the King was the more eaſily prevail'd upon to agree to't, for Fear of a Revolt, as they ſuggeſted, when the People ſhould underſtand that the Queen was yet living. This was the pretence that brought *Mariamne* to her End.

Alexandra's *Heart fails her to a moſt ſcandalous Degree.*

Alexandra, after this Proceeding upon her Daughter, might reaſonably enough expect that her own Turn ſhould be next: So that for Fear of the worſt, ſhe abandon'd her Reputation to ſave her Skin, and fell ſo low, that her Behaviour was become a Scandal to her Character. She was ſo over zealous to purge her ſelf of any Confederacy with her Daughter, that ſhe made it her Buſineſs to blacken her in all Companies, as the moſt wicked and ungrateful of Women, and to celebrate the Juſtice of rewarding her according to her Deſert, for ſo barbarous a Practice upon ſo indulgent a Husband. Nay the Hypocriſy was ſo groſs, that every Body look'd upon it as ridiculous in the forced Affectation of ſo many extravagant Outrages; as flying in the Face of her Daughter, and the like: But *Mariamne* ſtill, as they were leading her to her Execution, paſs'd by all theſe Intemperances without one Word of Reply, *Mariamne's Conſtancy to the laſt.*

ply, or the leaſt Sign of Perturbation, more than in her Countenance, for the ſhameful Part her Mother had in ſo extravagant and frantick a Scene. She demeaned herſelf all the Way, in ſhort, with a ſerene Conſtancy of Spirit, and without ſo much as changing Colour upon the Approach or Apprehenſion of Death. She dy'd, in Fine, as great as ſhe liv'd, firm and fearleſs, to her laſt Gaſp.

This was the End of that virtuous, generous Princeſs; a Creature without Exception, had ſhe not been a little too hot perhaps and haughty. The Charms of her Beauty, the Graces of her Perſon, and the agreeable Majeſty of her Converſation, were not only ſuperiour to the Excellencies of the reſt of her Sex, but even beyond Expreſſion too upon the Compariſon. Now theſe advantagious Gifts and Qualities were in a great Meaſure the very Cauſe of her Misfortune, in the uneaſy Life ſhe led with her Husband; for he ador'd her like a Goddeſs; denying her and croſſing her in nothing, ſhe did what ſhe liſted, and took what Liberty ſhe pleas'd; nay greater perhaps than ſhe ſhould have done, in the frequent Reproaches ſhe caſt upon him, without ever conſidering that this World was not to laſt always. By this heedleſs Way of an inconſiderate Freedom, ſhe made her ſelf hateful to her Husband's Mother and Siſter, and in Concluſion to himſelf too, whom ſhe thought ſhe could never have loſt.

The Horrors of Herod's *Conſcience.*

A raging Plague in Jeruſalem.

Herod *ſeiz'd with a judicial Diſtemper.*

The Paſſion *Herod* had for *Mariamne* in her Life-Time (which we have ſpoken of before) was become much more unruly and importunate, now ſhe was dead and gone; for he did not love his Wife at the common Rate of other Husbands, but with ſuch a Paſſion of Dotage too, over and above the Tye of conjugal Affection, that he grew rather fonder and fonder of her, the worſe ſhe us'd him. In his Reflexions now upon what he had done, he brake out not only into *unkindly*, but *unmanly Exclamations*, with *Mariamne's Name* ſtill in his Mouth, and her *Blood* crying for *Vengeance*. In the Agony of this Horror, he did all that was to be done by Wine, Company, Feaſting and Variety of other Entertainments to divert his Melancholy; but when he ſaw all would not do, he threw up the Care of his Government; fell by Degrees to be light-headed and talk idly; and in his raving Fits, he would ever and anon be calling for *Mariamne* to be brought to him; his Fancy running upon her as if ſhe were yet alive. While he was in this Diſtemper, there brake out a terrible raging Plague in *Jeruſalem*, that from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſwept away all Sorts of People; and every Body look'd upon it as a juſt Judgment for the Murder of the innocent Queen. The King growing worſe and worſe, withdrew himſelf into a ſolitary Retreat out of the Way, and had it given out that he was gone a Hunting. He had not been long in this Retirement, but he fell into ſo deſperate an Illneſs, with a violent Inflammation and a deadly Pain in the Head, that he ſcarce knew what he did. The common Methods of Remedy they found did him more hurt than good: Inſomuch that his Caſe, in one Word, was little leſs than deſperate. So that conſidering the Difficulty of the Diſeaſe, the Condition of the Patient, and that there was no Place for any regular Courſe of Preſcription; his Phyſicians found it to no Purpoſe to tamper any further with him, and ſo gave him over to be his own Doctor; bidding him call for what he had a Mind to, and committing the Event to Providence. This was at *Samaria*, now called *Sebaſte*.

Alexandra *contrives the getting of ſome ſtrong Forts into her Hand.*

She moves it to the Governours.

Achiab *ſends* Herod *Word of the Propoſal; and ſhe is immediately put to Death.*

When *Alexandra*, who was at this Time at *Jeruſalem*, came to underſtand how it was with *Herod*, ſhe ſet her Wits at work, how ſhe might get ſome of the ſtrong *Forts* into her Hand; and ſhe had an Eye upon two of them above the reſt: The one joyning cloſe to the *Temple*, the other in the *City*; conſidering that whoever is poſſeſs'd of theſe Towers, has the whole People at Mercy. For the *Jews* will rather part with their Lives than with their Religion; and as they cannot live without their daily Sacrifices, ſo whoever commands theſe Turrets hath it at Choice, whether they ſhall have any Sacrifices or no. *Alexandra*, in Purſuance of her Deſign, apply'd her ſelf to the Governours of theſe Forts after this Manner. *You well know*, ſays ſhe, *that the King is at this preſent in a miſerable Extremity; and therefore pray be pleaſed to deliver theſe two Fortreſſes into the Poſſeſſion of the King's Wife's Mother and the Children of* Herod *and* Mariamne; *for otherwiſe the Succeſſion may come to be tranſported into another Family; and in Caſe of his Recovery, the Government cannot be lodg'd in ſafer Hands than thoſe of his neareſt Relations.* They could not be prevail'd upon to take this for a reaſonable Requeſt; partly out of a Senſe of Duty to their Truſt; but principally out of the Hatred they bare to *Alexandra*, beſide the Scruple they made of prejudging and pronouncing upon the King's Life, with whom they had entertain'd a Friendſhip of long ſtanding; and one of them, whoſe Name was *Achiab*, being *Herod's own Nephew*. The firſt Thing *Achiab* did after this Propoſal, was to ſend *Herod* Word of it, who commanded her immediately to be put to Death.

This Fit of Sickneſs wrought ſuch a wonderful Effect upon *Herod*'s Body and Mind (for with much ado he got over it at laſt) that his Humour was ſo outragious and bloody after his Recovery, that every Trifle put him upon the moſt inhumane Extremities; and Friend or Foe was all a Caſe to him, if they fell in his Way. As for Inſtance. There was *Coſtobarus*, *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater* otherwiſe called *Gadia*, and *Doſitheus*, upon theſe Pretexts following. *Coſtobarus* was one of the greateſt Men in *Idumæa*, and of a Family whoſe Anceſtors had formerly officiated as *Prieſts of Coze*, a Deity that they had in great Veneration, till they came in the Days of *Hyrcanus* to embrace the *Worſhip* of the *Jews*. *Herod* was no ſooner come to his Kingdom, but he gave this *Coſtobarus* the Commands of *Idumæa* and *Gaza*, with his Siſter *Salome* to Wife, whoſe Husband *Joſeph*, he himſelf (as we have ſaid elſewhere) had cauſed to be ſlain. This was a Promotion ſo much beyond any Hope or Pretence of *Coſtobarus*, that he grew proud and inſolent upon it, to the Degree even of diſputing the Authority of his Maſter; looking upon it as an unworthy Deſcenſion for the *Idumæans* to own themſelves the Subjects of the *Jews*, in Conſequence of embracing their *Ceremonies* and *Worſhip*. He ſent, upon this, an Embaſſy to *Cleopatra*; minding her that *Idumæa* had been ſtill under the Adminiſtration of her Forefathers, and that ſhe ſhould do well to make her Application to *Anthony* for the Command; profeſſing himſelf likewiſe to be at her Devotion. Now he did not propoſe this Addreſs out of any Deſire he had to have *Cleopatra* for his *Miſtreſs*; but to the End that by the weakening of *Herod*, he might the more eaſily ſeize the Government of *Idumæa* to himſelf: For he had two fair Encouragements to the Hope of ſucceeding in this Enterprize; that is to ſay, the Honour of his Extraction, and mighty Sums of Mony which he had rack'd together without any Scruple of either Honeſty or Conſcience, provided he might but gain his End; and after all this, his Ambition was as notorious as his Avarice. *Cleopatra* try'd her Intereſt with *Anthony* for *Idumæa*, but it would not do; and this coming to *Herod*'s Ear, *Coſtobarus* had loſt his Life for it, if the Mother and the Siſter had not interceded for him; but he had his Pardon upon Condition at laſt never to be truſted again. There was a falling out afterwards betwixt *Coſtobarus* and *Salome*, and the Wife ſent her Husband a Bill of *Divorce*, though directly againſt the Cuſtom and Practice of the Country, and a manifeſt Uſurpation of the Man's Privilege, who has a Right to diſcharge the Woman, and ſhe not to marry again, but with Leave of her former Husband. *Salome*'s Will however paſs'd for a Law, and ſo ſhe parted, and betook her ſelf to her Brother, with this Complement, that her Duty to him was dearer to her than that to her Husband, and that ſhe came to tell him that *Coſtobarus*, with *Lyſimachus*, *Antipater* and *Doſitheus* were in Conſpiracy againſt him: Enforcing the Credit of her Information with an Inſtance of his Kindneſs to the Sons of *Babas*, whom he had now kept twelve Years under his Protection. This was ſo ſurprizing a Truth, that it made an Impreſſion upon him more than Ordinary; for he had taken up a Reſolution long ſince of having them diſpatch'd out of the World, as the known Enemies of his Intereſt; but ſomething or other came in the Way ſtill, and put it out of his Head. Now the Ground of the Offence was this.

Herod's *outragious Cruelties.*

Idumæa *and* Gaza *given to* Coſtobarus.

A falling out betwixt Coſtobarus *and* Salome *his Wife.*

Salome *charges* Coſtobarus *and* Lyſimachus, Antipater *and* Doſitheus *with a Conſpiracy againſt* Herod.

When *Herod* was before *Jeruſalem*, in the Time of *Antigonus*, the People were ſo tir'd out with Streights and Difficulties of the *Siege*, that the greater Part of them were for opening the *Gates*, and letting *Herod* into the *Town*. The Sons of *Babas* being Men of Credit and Authority in the Place, and Friends to *Antigonus*, were abſolutely for ſtanding it out, and maintaining the Government in the *Royal Line*. Upon taking the City ſoon after, *Herod* gave *Coſtobarus* in Charge to have an Eye upon all the Paſſages about the Town, and not to ſuffer one Creature to eſcape, that was of the Country Faction. The Sons of *Babas*, were generally taken Notice of to be the Darlings of the People, and conſequently the fitteſt Inſtruments to be made Uſe of in Caſe of any Attempt upon another Change. *Coſtobarus* play'd his own Game in ſaving them, and had them ſecretly convey'd away into a Place of Safety according to his Order. *Herod* was ſo quick upon him, that he ſuſpected the Matter at that very Inſtant, and queſtion'd him upon it; but the other diſcharg'd himſelf upon his Oath, that he knew not what was become of them. There was then publiſh'd a *Proclamation* upon this Subject with a Promiſe of Reward to the Diſcoverer, and twenty other Ways of Enquiry; but no Confeſſion yet: For after the firſt Denyal there was no retracting; ſo that the Concealment was now become a Point of Prudence, and Neceſſity, as well as of Kindneſs. But now, the whole *Intrigue* being laid open by the Help of *Salome*, the King ſent immediately to their *Hiding-Holes*, and had them all cut to Pieces, with their Complices and Abettors, and the whole Houſe of *Hyrcanus* by that Inroad totally extinguiſh'd: So that from this Time forward, the King did what he pleas'd without Oppoſition or Controul.

The Sons of Babas.

Coſtobarus *charg'd with entertaining the Sons of* Babas.

Salome *makes the Diſcovery, and they are all cut to Pieces, with the Houſe of* Hyrcanus.

Herod *changes old Laws and Cuſtoms for foreign Inventions and Innovations.*

Herod was no ſooner ſettled in the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Power, but he fell off by little and little from the wholeſome *Laws* and *Government* of our *Forefathers* that kept the People formerly in the Awe and Practice of their Duty; introducing foreign Inventions, and Innovations inſtead of them. As for Inſtance; he inſtituted the Spectacle of *Wreſtling-Matches*, to be celebrated every fifth Year in Honour of *Auguſtus:* Erecting a *Theatre* in *Jeruſalem* on Purpoſe to receive them. He built a ſtately *Amphitheatre* alſo, without the Walls of the City; which two Fabricks were of a wonderful Magnificence and Expence: But to the *Jews*, that had nothing to do with the Vanity of ſuch Games and Shews, they were of no Uſe or Satisfaction at all. Now for the greater Glory of theſe Entertainments, he cauſed them to be notified by *Proclamations* far and near with large Promiſes of Rewards to the Victors. By this Means, he drew in Competitors at all Sorts of Exerciſes, and from all Quarters in Abundance, and the moſt eminent Maſters alſo in their ſeveral Profeſſions: Not only *Wreſtlers*, but *Muſicians vocal* and *inſtrumental*, *Mimicks*, *Charioteers*, ſome for two Horſes, others for four; *Horſe-Racers*, &c. It was the King's Care, in Fine, that nothing ſhould be wanting that might contribute to the Pleaſure, Ornament, or Curioſity of the main Deſign. The Theatre was dreſs'd up round with Titles, Trophies, and Devices, to *Cæſar's Honour*, and in Memory of his Triumphs: The whole Work being ſet out and illuſtrated with Gold and Silver, and beautify'd with *coſtly Hangings*, *rich Habits*, and *precious Stones*. For the greater Variety of the Diverſion, he had a Proviſion alſo of *Lions*, *Tygers*, and ſuch other wild Beaſts as had any Thing in them more than ordinary, either for Fierceneſs and Vigour, or for any Thing ſingular in their Kind. Theſe Beaſts of Prey were turn'd looſe, ſome Time one upon another, other whiles to encounter condemn'd Criminals. Now this was a Spectacle that Foreigners were mightily pleas'd with; but the *Jews*, on the contrary, had a Horror for it, as an ignoble Cruelty, and not only a Violation of their Laws, but a Corruption of their Manners: For what can be more unmanly, than to take Delight in the brutal Entertainment of ſacrificing Men to Beaſts, and to ſpill humane Blood in Sport! Beſide the Folly and Madneſs of changing good old Cuſtoms for bad new Ones. The *Jews* lay, in ſhort, under a general Diſſatisfaction; but nothing went more againſt the Grain with them, than the Trophies, which they look'd upon to be the Images of Men cover'd with Arms, and conſequently a flat Contradiction to the Inſtitutions of their Country. They were ſo bold and extravagant in their Averſion to theſe Trophies, that *Herod* did not think it ſafe to deal with them by Force, but choſe rather to try if he could bring them by Reaſoning and fair Words, to a Sight of the Vanity of their Superſtition; but this was ſo far from convincing them, that they cry'd out with one Voice againſt the Indignity of his Proceeding. *They could bear any Thing elſe*, they ſaid, *but to bring Images into the City* (for ſo they call'd the *Trophies*) *or to ſubmit to the Guilt of ſo abominable a Wickedneſs; that was a Thing they would never give Way too. Herod*, finding this Diſtemper to go higher and higher, and that the People were not to be pacify'd by downright Authority or Perſuaſion, he took ſome of the chief of the Party along with him to the *Theatre*; ſhew'd them the *Trophies*, and asked their Opinion of them, and what they took them to be: So they all cry'd out that *they were the Images of Men*. *Herod*, upon this, cauſed them to be ſtript and undreſs'd, and finding only certain Stumps of Wood under the covering, the fierce Eagerneſs of their Suſpicion was turn'd into Ridicule; and upon the Quieting of this Tumult, the greater Part of them was prevail'd upon to ſwallow every Thing elſe: But there was ſome yet that perſiſted in the Abhorrence they had for the Admittance of foreign Cuſtoms, for Fear of the pernicious Changes of State they might probably draw after them; reckoning themſelves obliged, at what *Hazzard* ſoever, to aſſert their tottering Diſcipline, and not to ſuffer *Herod*, under the Name of a King, to act the Part of an Enemy, and break in upon their Conſciences and Liberties with unlawful Impoſitions.

A Plot upon Herod *in the Theatre.*

The People were ſo enflam'd with this Diſcourſe, that ten Citizens enter'd immediately upon it into a Conſpiracy againſt the Perſon of the King, in Defiance of all Dangers whatſoever that might attend the Enterpriſe; and there was one blind Man among the reſt, ſo tranſported at the Story of this Uſurpation and Oppreſſion, that though he was not in Condition to act any Thing for the common Good, he offer'd himſelf yet to bear a Part with his Companions in their Sufferings for it, let it be what it would; and this generous Encouragement did not a little ſettle them in their Determination. Having laid their Heads together upon this Matter, they put Daggers under their Coats, and went to the *Theatre*, with a full Reſolution to *ſtab the King himſelf*, if they could come at him, as they hop'd they ſhould; or however to make ſuch Havock of his Guards, that they promis'd themſelves this Comfort at worſt, in Caſe of a Miſcarriage, that their Death would make him odious, and that the Preſiden ſident of their Bravery in Vindication of their Religion and Diſcipline, would be an Incitement to others hereafter to follow their Example.

A Spy diſcovers the Conſpiracy.

Herod *ſends for the Conſpirators by Name.*

They own the Plot and ſhew the very Daggers.

They are put to Death.

The Informer himſelf torn to Pieces.

A Diſcovery extorted by Torments.

Herod *fortifies* Samaria, *alias* Sebaſte, *&c.*

As *Herod* was juſt entering the *Theatre*, one of his Spies prevented him with a Diſcovery of the whole *Intrigue*; whereupon being conſcious to himſelf of the invidious Hatred he lay under, he withdrew to his Palace, and ſent for the Conſpirators, every Man by his Name. Being now as good as taken in the Fact, and without any Poſſibility of eſcaping, they ſtood the Shock with an invincible Courage; owning and juſtifying the whole Matter charg'd upon them. This they did with an undaunted Conſtancy of Mind and Behaviour, producing the very Daggers that were to have done the Execution. *They were not engag'd*, they ſaid, *in any criminal Combination to gratify any Paſſion or Intereſt; but in a ſacred League for the common Good, and the Defence of their Laws, which all true Patriots and Profeſſors were bound to maintain with their Lives.* After this frank and glorious Declaration, they were hurry'd away, and put to Death by moſt exquiſite Torments. Neither did that execrable Wretch the Informer long out-live his Treaſon; for he was ſet upon, butcher'd, and torn to Pieces; and his Body thrown to the Dogs. This in the Sight too of I know not how many Lookers-on, and not one Man detected that had a Hand in the Exploit: Till in the End a Diſcovery was extorted by Dint of Torment from ſome certain Women that happen'd to be preſent at the committing of the Fact; whereupon the Actors in it, and their whole Families, were all immediately put to Death; the common People all this while, ſtanding firm in the Maintenance and Vindication of their Ordinances and Cuſtoms. When *Herod* came to conſider of the Danger of theſe mutinous Diſpoſitions, and to find that the People were not to be kept in Order but by main Force, it ſtood him upon, he thought, to do all he could in Time toward the preventing of a Revolt. Now having two Forts in the City already; his Palace in the one, and the other (*Antonia*) which ſerved for a Guard to the Temple, he fortify'd *Samaria* alſo (otherwiſe called *Sebaſte*) for a third, which lay conveniently to keep the whole Country in Obedience. It was about a Day's Journey from *Jeruſalem*, and commodiouſly enough ſeated for the diſappointing of Broils in the City. There was likewiſe another ſtrong Hold that lay very opportunely for his Purpoſe, formerly known by the Name of *Straton*'s *Tower*; but at that Time, *Cæſarea*. He built a Caſtle alſo in the *great Plain*, which he made a Horſe Quarter, and ſo *Gabala* in *Galilee*, and *Eſthmonitis* in *Peræa*. Theſe Fortifications were ſo advantagiouſly poſted up and down the Country, that it was impoſſible for the People to enter into any Plot or Practice againſt the State, but they would be upon them preſently; being ever at Hand, and in Readineſs, either to obviate Miſchief, or to cruſh it. He made it his firſt Buſineſs to ſettle Affairs in *Samaria*, as a Place naturally ſtrong and proper for his Purpoſe. To this End he drew a great Body of Troops into the City, both foreign and domeſtick, partly for the Temple's Sake, that he propounded to build there, and partly for the Reputation of the Work, but principally for his own Safety; which, under this Pretext of Magnificence, was abundantly provided for. He changed the Name of the Town of *Samaria* to that of *Sebaſte* as is ſaid already; and divided among the Inhabitants the Country about it; by which Means, the Lands being fruitful, they became quickly rich and eaſy. He ſurrounded it with a thick ſubſtantial Wall; and enlarged it in ſuch a Proportion, that it was reckon'd in the firſt Rank of famous Cities. It was five and twenty Furlongs about, and a Furlong and a Half of Ground in the Middle, which he reſerv'd for a Temple; and accordingly erected one; which, for the Magnificence both of the Dimenſions and Expence, and all Varieties of Curioſity and Ornament, was not inferior to any other Fabrick whatſoever. He went on likewiſe every Day more and more improving other Parts of the City at the ſame Rate, depending upon the Advantages of the Place for his Security, and gratifying his Ambition in the Proſpect of tranſmitting to Poſterity ſo laſting a Monument of his Greatneſs and Glory.

CHAP. XII.

Judæa *viſited with dreadful Calamities: As, a blaſting Drought, Famine, Plague, and other Diſeaſes.* Herod's *Wiſdom in providing for the People. He erects a glorious Palace.* Jeſus *depos'd from the* Pontificate, *and* Simon *the Son of* Boethus *advanced.* Herod *builds a* Caſtle: *The* Deſcription *of it. The Character of* Herod. *He builds* Cities *alſo, and* Temples.

Judæa *viſited with miſerable Calamities.*

IN this Year, the *thirteenth* of *Herod*'s Reign, *Judæa* was viſited with miſerable Calamities, whether by divine Vengeance, or according to the ſtated Courſe of natural

A blaſting Drought; a Famine; Plagues, and other Diſeaſes.

natural Providences, is not to be determin'd. The firſt Judgment was a long and a blaſting Drought, which was follow'd with ſuch a Sterility, that the Earth was lock'd up and brought forth nothing at all. The Want of Food, and the neceſſitated Change of Diet, brought on Plagues and Diſeaſes, and other Diſorders innumerable, one upon the Neck of another. And it was a farther Aggravation of their extreme Miſery, that the ſick were in a Manner abandon'd, and left without the Comfort of either Help, Food, or Remedy. And with all this, they dy'd ſo faſt, that the Survivors gave one another over, without ſo much as looking after them, in the Deſpair of doing them any Good. The laſt Year's Stores being all ſpent, and no Recruits appearing, the Caſe was deſperate, and their ſtarving Wants pinch'd them every Day more than other; for one Seaſon was already loſt and gone, and the Earth ſtill barren, without any Hope of Relief. Theſe Extremities however, in the mean Time, ſet all People's Wits at Work how to ſhift for themſelves.

Herod's wonderful Wiſdom in providing for the People.

A Grant for Exportation of Corn out of Ægypt.

An equal Diſtribution among the People.

Such, in Fine, was the general Diſtreſs, that the Revenue even of *Herod* himſelf how large ſoever, was not ſufficient to maintain him, for his Rents and Cuſtoms were all ſunk; his old Stock of Treaſure expended upon Buildings and Fortifications; together with an univerſal Deſolation, upon all Accounts; the outragious Hatred and Clamour of the People over and above, which, in all Caſes of popular Diſcontents, never fail of caſting the Blame upon the Government. His Thoughts were not idle yet upon the Main, how to obviate theſe Difficulties; but the particular Means of doing it was the Queſtion. As for his Neighbours that were in the ſame Condition with himſelf, there was no Supply of Proviſions to be expected that Way: And for Matter of Monies to procure Neceſſaries, his Stock was exhauſted, and he had not enough remaining to anſwer the Charge. But ſomewhat or other was to be done however in this Extremity of a common Cauſe. So that the King, upon bethinking himſelf, melted down all his Plate, Curioſities, and other ornamental Furniture, and Veſſels of Gold and Silver, to the Services for his own Table; put the whole Maſs into one Sum of Money, and ſent it away into *Ægypt*, where *Petronius* was at that Time Governour by a Commiſſion from *Cæſar*. *Petronius* was quite tir'd out with a Multitude of Applications and Importunities, upon the ſame Errand; but yet out of a particular Affection he had for *Herod* and conſequently for his Intereſt and People, he gave him in Preference to all others, a Grant for the Exportation of Corn, and aſſiſted him all he could in the very Price and Carriage, which turn'd exceedingly to the Account of *Herod*, and his Deſigns. For upon the importing of this Relief, he did not only redeem his Reputation among thoſe that before had a very ill Opinion of him, but made himſelf famous by his Care and Conduct for a Prince of a truly royal Wiſdom and Virtue. The firſt Thing he did after the Receit of this Succour, was, to make an equal Diſtribution of it in Proportion to the Number and Condition of thoſe that were to receive it; as he provided for the ſending of it to thoſe that could not fetch it, and appointed Bakers to aſſiſt thoſe that either through Age, Infirmity, or any other Impediment could not make their Bread themſelves; taking Care likewiſe in all other Reſpects that they might not want any Thing, either for the filling of their Bellies, or the keeping of them warm; ſupplying them with Garments and Coverings alſo as well as with Victuals, in the great Scarcity of Sheep and Wool, as well as of Corn for Food and Clothing. So ſoon as he had competently provided for his own People, his Charity carry'd him in the next Place to the Aſſiſtance of his Neighbours the *Syrians*, whom he furniſhed with a Quantity of Seed-Corn for the next Seaſon, which came to them in the very Nick of their Occaſions for it; and yielded ſo prodigious an Encreaſe upon the following Crop, that he ſent *fifty thouſand* Men, which he himſelf had preſerv'd from ſtarving, to help them in with their Harveſt. By this Foreſight and Induſtry of *Herod*'s, Matters were ſo well re-eſtabliſh'd (even when all was given for loſt) that every Thing ſucceeded to his Wiſh both at Home and Abroad, wherever he had to do; for no Man ever ſought to him in vain; Strangers, Soldiers, Citizens, Rich and Poor, or whatever they were: Inſomuch, that upon a clear Account he was out, *ten thouſand Cori of Wheat* to Strangers, reckoning every *Corus* at *ten Attic Medimni:* (a Meaſure of *ſix Buſhels)* And *fourſcore thouſand Cori* upon his own People.

This ſeaſonable and effectual Grace and Goodneſs of the King was ſuch a Charm upon the Hearts and Souls of the People, that paſt Unkindneſſes and Miſgovernments were all forgotten, and not one Word more of his Encroachments upon their Laws and Diſcipline; reckoning his generous Care and Liberality upon this Occaſion, as an ample Atonement for all his former Miſdeeds. Neither was his Character leſs venerable Abroad than at Home; for it ſo fell out, that his Misfortunes in the one Place enhanced his Reputation in the other, for upon this Inſtance of his compaſſionate Humanity toward Strangers, People made a Judgment of him from what they now found him, and not from what he had been.

Much about this Time he made *Auguſtus* a Preſent of five hundred choice Men out of his own Guards, which ſerv'd under [a] *Ælius Gallus* in the *Arabian* War with much Honour. The State of *Judæa* being now compos'd, *Herod* bethought himſelf of erecting a mighty and a glorious Palace, in the upper Part of *Jeruſalem*: Rooms large enough for a great Receipt of People; finiſhed with Seats and other Ornaments, of Gold and Marble curiouſly wrought, and bearing the Names of the Perſons they were deſign'd for; one inſcribed *Cæſar's Apartment*, another *Agrippa's*.

Herod *erects a glorious Palace.*

While *Herod* was intent upon this Building, a Fancy came in his Head to take a ſecond Wife, and by that Means to divert him from the looſe Liberties of wandering Amours. The Caſe, in Short, was this: There was one *Simon*, a Citizen of *Jeruſalem*, the Son of [b] *Boethus*, an *Alexandrian*, and a Prieſt of a noble Family; this *Simon* had a Daughter of ſo exquiſite a Beauty, that there was no Talk comparatively of any other Woman. *Herod* was firſt ſtruck with the Fame of this Lady, and then enamour'd upon the Sight of her; but yet reſolving to make no tyrannical Uſe of his Power, he only propounded the regular Way of taking her to his Bed as his lawful Wife. It was a Match, in Truth, below his Quality, but not inconſiderable neither, to the Degree of deſpicable; ſo that in ſome Sort to balance this Inequality, and to indulge his Paſſion, both in one, he had no better Way than by conferring ſome eminent Dignity upon *Simon*, to qualify him for the Honour he intended him. To this End he depoſed *Jeſus* [c] the Son of *Phabes* from the *Pontificate*; advanced *Simon* in his Stead, and then marry'd his Daughter.

Jeſus *depos'd from the* Pontificate.

Herod *advances* Simon *the Son of* Boethus, *and marries his Daughter.*

So ſoon as the nuptial Solemnities were over, he built a glorious Caſtle upon the Place where he formerly defeated the *Jews* in the War he had with *Antigonus*. This Fort was a Matter of ſixty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*; naturally ſtrong by the Situation, and capable of being made impregnable. The Hill riſes in a gentle Aſcent, as if it had been artificial; the Figure of it round, and the Caſtle encompaſs'd with ſeveral Towers; and two hundred Stone Steps up to't. The Lodgings in it rich and ſtately, and the whole Structure beautiful and firm. At the Bottom of this Mount, there are ſeveral Buildings worth the ſeeing in many Reſpects, and particularly for the famous *Aqueducts*, that with infinite Difficulty and Charge, were brought thither from a vaſt Way off. The Plain about it was cover'd with Houſes, to the Proportion of a conſiderable City: The Caſtle from above overlooking it like a *Cittadel* both for Command and Protection.

Herod *builds a Caſtle in Memory of his Victory over* Antigonus.

A Deſcription of the Building and Place.

Herod having by this Time ſettled his Matters to his Mind, he reckon'd himſelf out of Danger of any further Commotions and Tumults. He kept his People in Order, partly by Awe and Fear, and partly by Love and Intereſt; for he was a Prince of a moſt inflexible Severity where a Criminal was to be puniſh'd, and of as unbounded a Liberality, where the common Good of the Subject requir'd it. He kept himſelf upon ſuch a Guard, and every Thing in ſuch a Poſture of Security, as if it were to ſhew that the Prince and the People are to ſtand and fall together. He was humane and eaſy, indifferently to all Men, Strangers as well as others, and upon Occaſion moſt munificently generous to the great ones; for he had the Heart of an *Emperor*. By this Means he gain'd a general Love and Eſteem, to the great Advantage of his Affairs and Deſigns. But this ambitious Affectation of ingratiating himſelf with *Auguſtus* and the Noble Men of *Rome*, inveigled him away by little and little from the Diſcipline and Cuſtoms of our Forefathers, into the erecting of Cities and Temples to the Honour of his Patrons. This was not done, 'tis true, in the very Land of *Judæa* it ſelf; for the *Jews* would never have born an Abomination ſo expreſly forbidden, as the worſhiping of *Images* and *Idols*, after the Manner of the *Greeks*: So that he built theſe Cities only upon the Borders of the Province, and not within the Juriſdiction of it; excuſing himſelf upon the whole, that what he did was not any Act of his own, but purely in Obedience to the higher Powers. He got the good Will of *Cæſar* and the *Romans* however, by the Pretence of renouncing the Diſcipline and the Principles he was brought up in, for their Sakes: But all this apart, the Thing he aim'd at was his own Advantage, and the making of himſelf glorious to Poſterity, by theſe everlaſting Memorials of Magnificence and Bounty.

The Character of Herod.

Herod *builds Cities and Temples to the Honour of his Patrons.*

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[a] In the Verſion of *Rufinus* or *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, 'tis *Eliſæus*, and not *Ælius Gallus*.
[b] In the antient Verſion 'tis *Buzus*. [c] In the antient Verſion, *the Son of* Boethus.

CHAP. XIII.

Straton's Tower, (*Or*, Cæſarea,) *A* Port *as large as the* Pyræeum, *betwixt* Joppa *and* Dora; *with the Model of a* Mole *built there by* Herod. *A* Temple *dedicated to* Cæſar. *A* Stone-Theatre, *and a ſpatious* Amphi-Theatre; *the whole* Work *finiſh'd in twelve Years.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *ſent to* Cæſar; *who grants* Herod *three Provinces, and the Liberty of chuſing which* Son *he pleaſes for his* Succeſſor. *The* Trachonites *a Kind of* Free-Booters, *and* Zenodorus *goes ſhares with them. A Deſcription of their* Dens, *and their Manner of Living.* Herod *has a Commiſſion to ſuppreſs them. A Complaint againſt* Zenodorus; *and* Zenodorus *complains of* Herod. Herod *defends himſelf. The Deſperation of the* Gadarens. *The Death of* Zenodorus. Cæſar's *Bounty to* Herod. *He makes* Pheroras *a* Tetrarch *in* Judæa, *and erects a* Temple *to* Auguſtus. Herod's *Arts of making himſelf* popular. *His Kindneſſes to the* Phariſees *and* Eſſenes. *A ſtrange Prediction of* Manahem, *an* Eſſene.

Of Straton's Tower, *or* Cæſarea.

A Port as large as the Pyræeum.

The Situation of it betwixt Joppa *and* Dora.

The Model of a Mole *built there by* Herod.

A Temple dedicated to Cæſar, *and thence call'd* Cæſarea.

A Stone-Theatre, *and a ſpatious* Amphitheatre.

The Work of 12 Years.

THere was a certain Place by the *Sea-ſide*, formerly called *Straton's Tower*, which *Herod* look'd upon as a very commodious Tract of Ground to raiſe a City upon. He drew his Model; ſet People to work upon't and finiſh'd it. The Buildings were all of Marble; private Houſes as well as Palaces; but his Maſter-piece was the *Port*, which he made as large as the *Pyræeum*, and a ſafe Station againſt all Winds and Weathers; to ſay nothing of other Conveniences. This Work was the more wonderful, becauſe all the Materials for it were brought thither at a prodigious Expence from afar off. This City ſtands in *Phœnicia* upon the Paſs into *Ægypt*, between *Joppa* and *Dora*; two wretched *Sea Towns* where there's no riding in the Harbours with a South-Weſt Wind; for it beats ſo furiouſly upon the Shore, that Merchant-Men are forc'd to keep off at Sea many Times for Fear of being driven a Ground. To encounter theſe Difficulties of the Place, *Herod* order'd a *Mole* to be made in the Form of a *half-Moon*, and large enough for a Royal Navy to ride in. He directed alſo prodigious Stones to be let down there in twenty Fathom Water; Stones of fifty Foot in Length, eighteen Foot over, and nine Foot deep; ſome greater, ſome leſs. This *Mole* was two hundred Foot in Extent; the one Half of it to break the ſetting of the Sea; the other Half ſerv'd for the Foundation of a Stone Wall fortify'd with Turrets; calling the largeſt and the faireſt of them by the Name of *the Tower of Druſus*, from *Druſus* the Son-in-law of *Auguſtus*, who dy'd young. There were ſeveral arched Vaults alſo that ſerv'd for Seamens-Cabins. There was likewiſe a *Key* or *landing Place*, with a large Walk upon it around the *Port*, as a Place of Pleaſure to take the Air in. This *Port* opens to the *Northward*, which is the cleareſt Quarter of the Heavens. On the left Hand of the Entrance into it, there was a Turret erected upon a large Platform, with a ſloping Bank to ſhoot off the waſhing of the Sea; and on the right Hand, were two Stone-Pillars over againſt the *Tower* and both of a Height. The Houſes about the *Port*, were all uniformly built, of the moſt excellent Sort of Marble. Upon a Mount in the Middle, ſtood a *Temple* dedicated to *Cæſar*, which was of great Uſe to the Mariners, for a famous Sea-Mark. There were in this *Temple* two *Statues* or *Images*; the one of *Rome*, the other of *Cæſar*: And from hence the City took the Name of *Cæſarea*, which was no leſs celebrated for the Stuff than for the Workmanſhip. The Contrivance of the Vaults and Common-Shores was wonderful too, being laid at equal Diſtances one from another, and ſo diſcharging themſelves into the Sea. Only there was one Conveyance that went croſs all the reſt; and as it carry'd off all the Filth and Naſtineſs of the Town, ſo it made Way for the Tides to ſwill and waſh the Paſſages, and to make all ſweet and clean. *Herod* built alſo a *Stone-Theatre*; and upon the *South-ſide* of the Harbour, a ſpatious *Amphitheatre*, with a goodly Proſpect to the Sea-ward. He ſpared, in ſhort, for neither Money nor Pains; and in a Matter of twelve Years this Work was brought to Perfection.

Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *ſent on a Complement to* Cæſar.

Cæſar *grants* Herod *three Provinces, and which Son he pleaſes for his Succeſſor.*

After the finiſhing of theſe two Cities, *Sebaſte* and *Cæſarea*, *Herod* diſpatch'd away his two Sons, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, upon a Complement to *Cæſar*. *Pollio*, that was *Herod*'s particular Friend, provided Lodgings for them; which was more than needed, for *Auguſtus* had given Order for the entertaining of them in his own Palace. He received them, in Fine, with wonderful Humanity, and after the additional Bounty of conferring upon *Herod* the *three Provinces*, of *Trachon*, *Batanæa* and *Auranitis*, he gave him his Choice likewiſe, which of his Sons he would appoint for his Succeſſor to the Kingdom of *Judæa*. The Buſineſs was this.

The Trachonites *a Kind of* Free-Booters.

One *Zenodorus* had taken to Farm the Lands of *Lyſanias*, and not contenting himſelf with the lawful Advantage of his Bargain, went Snips with the *Free-booters* in *Trachon*; a Sort of Men that live in a great Meaſure upon the Spoil they take from the

People of *Damaſcus*. Now *Zenodorus* was ſo far from diſcountenancing theſe Robbers, that he went Shares with them in their Booty. The ſuffering Part of the Country, upon theſe Outrages, apply'd themſelves to [a] *Varro*, who was at that Time *Governour* of the Province, for a Letter to *Cæſar* againſt *Zenodorus*; whoſe Anſwer was, that he would have thoſe Thieves ſmoak'd out of their Holes like *Hornets*, and commit the Care and Command of that Province to *Herod*, to keep the *Trachonites* in Order for the future. Now they had neither Towns, Houſes, nor Poſſeſſions; but liv'd like Beaſts in Dens and Caves; and with ſuch a Proportion of Water and Proviſion about them, that it would be a hard Matter either to come at them, or to ſtarve them: Beſide that making a Livelyhood of the Trade, they would be loth to leave it. The Entrance into their Hiding-Places was ſo narrow, that there was no paſſing for above one at a Time; but the Receptacle within was large beyond Imagination; and the Roof over-head plain and flat. Take it altogether, it is but one ſharp and almoſt impaſſable Rock: Full of Difficulties and Turnings, and no finding the right Way into't without a Guide. In few Words, theſe are a People that ſtick at nothing; and rather than not keep their Hands in Ure, rob one another. So ſoon as ever *Herod* enter'd into the Poſſeſſion of his new Province, he took his Conductors and Inſtruments along with him; and hunting them out of their Retreats, ſet the Neighbourhood at Quiet. But *Zenodorus* was ſo irritated, whether out of Vexation for the Loſs of his Commiſſion, or out of Envy at *Herod*'s having it, that he poſted away to *Rome* with an Accuſation in his Mouth againſt *Herod*, but could do no Good on't.

The People complain to Varro *of* Zenodorus.

The Dens of these Thieves, and their Manner of Living.

Herod *has a Commiſſion to ſuppreſs them.*

Zenodorus *complains to* Cæſar *of* Herod, *but in vain.*

While Matters were in this State, *Auguſtus* ſent *Agrippa* into *Aſia* to take upon him the Command of the *Tranſmarine Provinces* there. He was *Herod*'s ſingular Friend and old Acquaintance; ſo that he met him upon the Way at *Mitylene*, and then went back again to *Judæa*. He was no ſooner arriv'd, but the *Gadarens* went preſently open-mouth to him with grievous Complaints againſt *Herod*; whereupon, without ſo much as giving them the Hearing, he ſent them to the King himſelf in Chains.

The Gadarens complain of him too: And the Arabians;

The *Arabians* at the ſame Time began to ſhew their Teeth upon the Score of an ancient Grudge they had to him, and truly the Pretence ſeem'd to have ſomewhat in it. *Zenodorus*, (the Perſon before-mentioned) finding himſelf ſinking, came to an Agreement with theſe *Arabians* for ſo much of his Eſtate in the Province of *Auranitis*, as they were to pay him fifty Talents a Year Rent for. Now this happening to fall within *Cæſar*'s Grant to *Herod*, the *Arabians* would not ſubmit to't; but conteſting the Matter one while by *Force*, other while by *Law*, they engaged alſo a Party of indigent Soldiers in the Controverſy; who, according to the Practice of other miſerable People in the World, were willing to mend their own Fortunes upon the Ruines of other Men. *Herod* knew well enough what they were a doing; but thought it good Diſcretion yet to deal with them by fair Means rather than by foul, for Fear of creating new Troubles. In the ſeventeenth Year of *Herod*'s Reign, *Cæſar* came into *Syria*, where he was entertain'd immediately with outragious Exclamations of the *Gadarens* againſt *Herod*, as a moſt inſupportable Tyrant and Oppreſſor, and this chiefly at the Inſtance and Inſtigation of *Zenodorus*, who it ſeems had bound himſelf by an *Oath* never to give over the Proſecution till they ſhould be quit of *Herod*, and under the Dominion once again of *Auguſtus*. This confident Undertaking of *Zenodorus* made them ſtill bolder and louder; eſpecially finding thoſe Priſoners that were deliver'd up to *Herod* by *Agrippa*, to continue unpuniſh'd. Now *Herod*, how inexorable ſoever toward Offenders of his own Party, was yet of all Men living perhaps the eaſieſt and the moſt remiſs in the Caſe of Injuries receiv'd from Strangers. The Miſdemeanours charg'd upon him were *Rapine*, *Oppreſſion*; the violating and the demoliſhing of *Temples*, and the like; and *Herod*, on the other Hand, offer'd himſelf as frankly to his Juſtification. *Cæſar* treated him never the leſs reſpectfully for the roaring Importunities of the Multitude, though for the firſt Day there paſs'd ſome Diſcourſe upon it; but there the Debate fell, and put an End to the Queſtion. It was ſo evident by this Time to the *Gadarens* how *Cæſar* and his Friend ſtood affected, that giving for granted it would be their Fate upon the Cloſe of the Matter, to be deliver'd up to *Herod*, ſome of them cut their own Throats the very next Night; others brake their Necks down Precipices, and ſome again drown'd themſelves for Fear of being put to Tortures: And *Cæſar* taking this Execution upon themſelves for a Self-Condemnation, acquitted *Herod* without any more ado. And there was yet another ſingular Piece of Providence attended him; which was the Death of *Zenodorus* by a violent *Dyſentery* at *Antioch* in *Syria*; whereupon *Cæſar* beſtow'd upon *Herod* a very conſiderable Eſtate belonging to him, that lay betwixt *Galilee* and *Trachonitis*, comprizing *Ulatha*, [b] *Panium*, and the Borders thereabouts; giving him alſo a ſovereign Command over the Governours of *Syria*, and appointing every Thing to be done ac-

Zenodorus *alſo, and upon what Grounds.*

Zenodorus *ſets the Gadarens againſt* Herod. Zenodorus *makes a Vow to remove him.*

The Charge againſt Herod.

Herod *defends himſelf.*

Divers of the Gadarens make themſelves away when they cannot gain a Point.

Zenodorus *dies of a Dyſentery at* Antioch. Cæſar's *Bounty to* Herod.

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[a] See *Caſaubon*'s Exercit. 1. n. 82.

[b] *Al.* Paneas. See *Harduin*'s Nummi Illuſtrati. p. 112.

Cæſar *makes* Pheroras *a Tetrarch in* Judæa.

Herod erects *a Temple to* Auguſtus.

cording to his Direction and Order. *Herod* was now advanced to ſuch a Point of Credit and good Fortune, that as *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* were the two ſupreme Adminiſtrators in the whole Empire, ſo *Herod* was the Man of the World that *Cæſar* lov'd next to *Agrippa*, and *Agrippa* next to *Cæſar*. By Virtue of this Intereſt, *Herod* obtained a *Tetrarch*'s Commiſſion in *Judæa* from *Auguſtus* for his Brother *Pheroras*; upon whom he beſtow'd the Revenue of a hundred Talents out of his proper Income, that he might have ſomething to truſt to in Caſe of the worſt, without being forced to a Dependence upon his Children. After this, he waited upon *Cæſar* till he ſaw him embark'd, and then went back again; erecting to the Honour of *Auguſtus*, and upon the Ground of *Zenodorus*, a moſt glorious *Temple* of white Marble, near the Cave that they call'd *Panias*, which is at the Bottom of a Mountain, famous for being the Source of the River *Jordan*. The Cavern is prodigiouſly deep, and Springs of Water in it perpetually bubbling; and the Mountain above is as eminent for a pleaſant Proſpect, but more remarkable ſtill for this *Temple* of *Cæſar*'s than for all the reſt.

He makes himſelf popular, to atone for his Apoſtaſy from Religion and good Manners.

His Care to prevent Tumults.

The King took an Occaſion at this Time to ingratiate himſelf with his People, by eaſing them of a third Part of their Taxes, under Pretence of a Tenderneſs for their Sufferings by the Diſtreſs of the Famine; but in Effect to ſweeten ill Humours: For they were ſo diſguſted at many Things the King did, to the Scandal of *Religion*, and *good Manners*, that every Body's Mouth was open againſt him for it: So that he was fain to make Uſe of other Ways yet to keep his Subjects quiet, by tying up every Man to his own Buſineſs; prohibiting *Cabals*, *Clubs*, and other *publick Meetings*; planting *Spies* upon all Companies; and Officers every where at Hand to take into Cuſtody all Offenders againſt theſe Orders; as there were ſeveral committed to the Fort *Hyrcania*, publickly as well as privately, and there puniſh'd with the uttermoſt Rigour. The very Roads, Streets, Paſſes, and Avenues were all beſet and way-laid: All Meetings, upon what Account ſoever, watch'd and obſerv'd. Nay ſuch was the Care he took, that he would many Times ſlip out by Night himſelf in a Diſguiſe among the Rabble, to fiſh out what Opinion the Multitude had of him. Wherever he met with any Man that was bitter and malicious, he had no Mercy of him, and for the moderate Sort, he put them to *an Oath of Allegiance*, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. By this Means he brought the Majority, out of Fear, to a Compliance with him; and for thoſe that had the Courage to ſtand upon their Terms, and to diſpute the Point, he never fail'd of ſome Device or other to remove them out of the Way. This Oath was put to *Pollio* the *Phariſee*, and to *Sameas*, with their *Diſciples*, as well as to the reſt; but they

Herod's *Kindneſs for the* Phariſees *and* Eſſenes.

refuſing it, *Herod*, out of the Reverence he had for *Pollio*, preſs'd them no farther to the taking of it. And he was as kind to the *Eſſenes* too; a Sect ſomewhat like the *Pythagoreans* among the *Greeks*. We have ſpoken a great Deal of them elſewhere already: But it will not be amiſs however to ſay ſomewhat farther in this Place; and how *Herod* came to have ſo tender an Eſteem for theſe People.

The Prediction of one Manahem *an* Eſſene.

There was one *Manahem*, an *Eſſene*, who, over and above the Virtue and the Character of an exemplary Probity of Life, was likewiſe endu'd with the Spirit of *Prophecy*. This Perſon, upon the Sight of *Herod*, among his *School-Fellows*, when he was a *Boy*, greeted him with a Salutation of *Hail King of the Jews*. The Boy told him that he was not of a Family to be a King, and ſo took him up ſhort, either that he did not know him, or that he laugh'd at him. *Yes, yes,* ſays *Manahem*; *ſmiling upon him, and laying his Hand gently upon his Shoulder, you are to be a King, and you ſhall rule happily; for it is the Pleaſure of God that it ſhall be ſo: But keep theſe Words of Manahem in Mind now, which will give you to underſtand the Inſtability of your Fortune. It will be your Duty to govern with Juſtice, Conſcience and Equity; but I have a ſecret Impulſe which tells me, that you will never manage your Authority by theſe Meaſures. You will keep Touch neither with God nor Man; though in all other Reſpects a fortunate Perſon, and worthy of immortal Honour. Depend upon it, that God will find you out, and bring you to your End by a moſt deplorable Judgment.*

Herod gave little Heed to theſe Words, as a Matter that never enter'd into his Thought; but when he came afterward to the Throne, and to the higheſt Pitch of his Glory, he ſent for *Manahem*, and ask'd him *how long he thought he ſhould reign*? *Manahem* returning an uncertain Anſwer, *Herod* put it to him again; whether he thought he ſhould reign *ten Years*. *Yes, yes,* ſays *Manahem*, and *twenty*, and *thirty*: And there he ſtopt, leaving the preciſe Period undetermin'd; but *Herod* reſting ſatisfy'd with what he had heard, took a friendly Leave of him, and from that Time forward had always a great Eſteem for the *Eſſenes*. This may poſſibly appear incredible; but the Reader may conſider that we have many Inſtances of good Men to whom Almighty God has been pleaſed to reveal his ſecret Purpoſes and Counſels.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Herod *propoſes the Building of a* Temple: *The old* one *not to be touch'd till the* new one *is provided for.* Herod *prepares the Materials, and enters upon the* Work. *The* Front *of the* Temple; *the* Galleries; *the* Temple-Walls; Baris *or* the Tower; *the* Fort Antonia; *a* Plan *of the* Temple, *or the* firſt Encloſure; *another* Encloſure. *The* middle Encloſure. *The whole perfected in eighteen Months. The Dedication of the* Temple. *A privy Paſſage from* Fort to Fort.

AFter ſo many great and glorious Actions, and the finiſhing of ſo many magnificent and pompous Buildings, *Herod* bethought himſelf in the eighteenth Year of his Reign, of erecting a *Temple* to the *holy God,* in all Reſpects larger, and more ſtately than the *former,* and a Work that he made Account would redound more to the Honour of his Name and Memory, (as in Truth it did) than all he had ever done before; but yet leſt the People ſhould ſtumble at the Difficulty of the Undertaking, he call'd them together to try what might be done by Reaſon and Diſcourſe, to the removing of that Rub out of the Way.

It would be Time loſt, ſays he, *my Friends and Countrymen, to give you the Hiſtory of my Doings ſince I came to the Crown; wherefore let it ſuffice that I have more attended to your Benefit and Security than to my own particular Reputation. You know very well what Care I have taken for you in your greateſt Extremities, and without any Regard to my own Profit; and you know likewiſe that you your ſelves have had the greateſt Share in the Advantage of all the mighty Works, which by God's Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance I have brought to Perfection: Inſomuch that* Judæa *is in a better State at this Day than ever it was: Wherefore, as I was a ſaying, there will be no Need of running into the particulars of the Cities, Caſtles, Palaces,* &c. *that I have either built, fortify'd, or repair'd in* Judæa, *and the* tributary Provinces. *But the ſhort Sum of my preſent Buſineſs is Matter of* Worſhip *and* Religion, *and what concerns the Reputation of your Country. You ſhall do well to obſerve, that this Temple that was erected by our Forefathers at their Return from* Babylon, *wants ſixty Cubits of the Height of* Solomon's; *and this was no Fault of our Anceſtors neither: For it was not long of them that it came not up to the Proportion of the firſt; being raiſed according to the expreſs Model of* Cyrus *and* Darius *the Son of* Hyſtaſpes, *under whoſe Dominion they then liv'd, as afterward under the* Macedonians: *So that they had it not in their Power to advance that Monument of their Piety and Zeal up to the Meaſures of the* Original. *But ſince God hath been now pleaſed in his gracious Providence to put the Government into my Hands, and at the ſame Time to furniſh me with all neceſſary Means for the accompliſhing of my End; as Peace, Leiſure, ready Money, a large Competency of Revenue: And which is more than all the reſt, the Maſters of the whole World to Friend:* (that is to ſay, the Romans) *It ſhall be my Care and Buſineſs now to ſupply thoſe Defects which it was not poſſible for our Predeceſſors under their Circumſtances to prevent; and to do that Right, in Fine, to the Glory of God, which we have hitherto been ſhort in, with all due Reverence to his holy Name, and with a Gratitude ſuitable to the Mercies we have receiv'd.*

Herod *propoſes the erecting of a Temple, with a* Salvo *to all Objections.*

The People were ſo ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Diſcourſe and Declaration, that it put them all to their Wits End to conſider what would come of it; beſide the anxious Dread they had of having the *old Temple pull'd down,* before they were ſure of *another* in the Place of it; which, in Truth, they deſpair'd of, as an Enterpriſe next to impracticable. This put them to a Stand; but the King finding what it was they ſtuck at, bad them reſt ſatisfy'd that the *old Temple ſhould ſtand firm and untouch'd, till all the Stuff for the new one ſhould be prepar'd;* and he was as good as his Word.

The old Temple not to be touch'd till the new one is provided for.

He provided a hundred Carriages for Stones and other Neceſſaries; ten thouſand Artiſts in all Handicrafts, the beſt of every Sort that were to be gotten. A thouſand Prieſts that [a] underſtood Maſons and Carpenters Work, to overlook them, which he furniſhed with ſacerdotal Robes and Veſtments at his own Charge. The Artificers, Stones, Timber, and all the preparatory Materials being now in Readineſs, the firſt Work they ſet upon was the clearing of the old Foundation and the laying of a new one; upon which *Baſis* they raiſed the Superſtructure of a Temple a hundred Cubits in Length and a hundred and twenty in Height; but the odd twenty Cubits ſinking afterwards, it fell ſo much ſhort of the firſt Deſign; which our Anceſtors in the Days of *Nero* had ſome Thought of ſupplying. The whole Fabrick was made of durable white Stone five and twenty Cubits long, eight in Height, and twelve over.

Herod *prepares the Materials, and enters upon the Work.*

The Front of this wonderful Pile had the Reſemblance of a *Palace;* much higher in the Middle than on the Sides, and looking with ſuch a Proſpect into the Fields as was very agreeable to thoſe that either liv'd directly over againſt it, or were travel-

The Front of the Temple.

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[a] See *Cotelerius*'s Notes upon the 2d Vol. of his *Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr.* p. 545.

ling towards it: And this View extended ſeveral Furlongs into the Country. [a] The *Porch* was a Curioſity anſwerable to the Artifice of the reſt; the upper Part of it ſet out with Variety of rich Tapeſtry, and delicate purple Flowers, with Pillars interwoven, and a golden Vine creeping and twining about them; the Branches of it laden with Cluſters of Grapes that hung dangling down from the *Corniſhes*: A Piece of Maſtery, no leſs valuable for the Skill than the Matter.

The Galleries.

Round about the *Temple* were *large Galleries*, not inferior to the reſt of the Work, in *Magnificence*; but much exceeding all that ever was before them for *Grace* and *Beauty*. *Two* of theſe *Galleries* were ſupported by *two ſtrong Walls*; a Work of as ſingular an Excellency as any we have ſeen yet.

The Temple Walls.

There was a ſteep rocky Hillock, but with a gentle Deſcent to the *Eaſtward* of the City, which *Solomon*, a long Time before by God's ſpecial Direction, encompaſs'd with a Wall, and the lower Part of it was ſurrounded with another Wall, and a deep Valley under it toward the *South*. This Wall was compacted of mighty Stones cramped together with Irons, including the whole, and reaching down to the Bottom of the Hill. The Form of the Work was Square, and conſidering the Depth and the Magnitude of it, an incomparable Piece. The vaſt Bigneſs of theſe Stones was beſt ſeen on the Outſide, being joynted within, one into another, to keep them firm againſt all Weathers.

When this Wall was run up to the Top, the Space betwixt that and the Hill, was all fill'd up till it came to a Level, and then *four Galleries*, reckoning every *Gallery* to be a Furlong over. There was alſo within the Square, another Stone Wall, carry'd round the Top of the Hill, with a double Porch to the *Eaſtward* facing the Portal of the Temple, that ſtands in the Middle. This Portal was glorioully adorn'd by the Royal Bounty of ſeveral Princes; and round about the Temple it ſelf, were the Spoils and Trophies that had been taken from the *Barbarians*, which *Herod* dedicated over again, with the Addition of others of later Date, that he himſelf had taken from the *Arabians*.

Baris, or the Tower.

Upon one of the Angles on the *North-ſide*, ſtood a ſtrong well fortify'd Building, the Work of ſome of the *Aſmonæans*, a Family that for a long Time executed the Authority both of *Prince* and *High-Prieſt*. They call'd this Place *Baris*, or the *Tower*, and there they kept the *pontifical Habits*, which according to Cuſtom were never to be taken out, but when the *High-Prieſt* was juſt about to officiate. *Herod* apply'd it alſo to the ſame Uſe; but after his Death, it came to be lodg'd in the Hands of the *Romans*: And there it reſted till the Time of *Tiberius*; in whoſe Reign, *Vitellius* being made Governour of *Syria*, and going to take Poſſeſſion of his Command, was ſo honourably treated at *Jeruſalem*, that in Acknowledgment of their Affection and Reſpect, he prevail'd with *Cæſar* on the Behalf of the *Jews*, and at their earneſt Requeſt, that they might have the keeping of the *ſacred Depoſitum*, or the *Stola Sacerdotalis*, to themſelves. This Petition being granted, it continu'd in their Cuſtody till after the Death of King *Agrippa*: At which Time *Caſſius Longinus*, the Governour of *Syria*, and *Cuſpius Fadus*, Lieutenant of *Judæa*, order'd the depoſiting of the *holy Habits* in the *Fort Antonia*: Inſiſting upon it, that they ought to be ſtill in the Power of the *Romans* as they were formerly. Hereupon they ſent away their Deputies immediately to *Claudius Cæſar* to ſollicit this Affair. The young King *Agrippa*, happening to be then at *Rome*, begg'd of *Cæſar* the Charge of theſe Habits, which was forthwith granted him, and Orders ſent to *Vitellius* to deliver them. The ſacred Robes were formerly kept under the Seal of the *High-Prieſt* and the *Treaſurer* of the *Temple*; who, upon the Eve of their ſolemn *Feſtivals*, apply'd themſelves ſtill to the Commander in Chief of the Fort for the *Romans*; ſhew'd him their *Seal* and took out the *Stole*; and then when the *holy-Office* was over, carry'd it back again to the ſame Place, and there in the Preſence of the *Governour*, *ſealed it up and left it*. I ſhould not have been ſo particular in this Point, but for the many Changes that have happen'd in this Proceeding. This Fort was a Place of great Strength already; but *Herod* ſtill fortify'd it more and more, and in ſo doing he fortify'd the Temple alſo; giving it the Name at laſt of *Antonia*, in Honour of his great Friend *Anthony* once Emperour of the *Romans*.

The Fort Antonia.

A Plan of the Temple, or the firſt Encloſure.

On the *Weſt-ſide* of the Wall there were four Gates: One led to the Court, croſs a Valley that lay betwixt; two to the Suburbs, and the laſt to the City: With a Deſcent of a great many Steps down to the Valley, and an Aſcent on the other Side of as many Steps up to the Top. The City ſtood juſt over againſt the Temple, with the Appearance of a Theatre, bounded toward the *South* with a deep Valley. In the Middle of that Square was another Gate juſt equi-diſtant from the two Angles, with a triple ſtately Gallery, ſtretching from the *Eaſt-ſide* of the Valley to the *Weſt*; which was the uttermoſt Length the Place would bear. There was never any Thing under the Sun more confounding than this Spectacle: For the Valley was of ſo prodigious a Depth, and the Height of the Building over it, ſo ſtupendious, that it turn'd a Body's Eyes and Brain to look down from the Top to the Bottom of it. Theſe Galleries reſted upon four Rows of Pillars equally diſtant one from another; and a Stone Wall wrought up betwixt thoſe of the fourth Rank. The Pillars themſelves were as much about as three Men could fathom; ſeven and twenty Foot in Length, and upon a double Baſe. The Number of them was one hundred ſixty two in the whole; the *Chapiters* fair and curious to a Miracle; and the Sculpture *Corinthian* Work. Between theſe four Rows of Pillars were three Galleries, two of them alike; that is to ſay, thirty Foot broad a Piece, upward of fifty in Height, and a Furlong in Length: But that in the Middle was Half as broad again as the other, and twice as High. In the Wainſcoting, there was great Variety of curious Figures. The Roof of the middle Gallery, was ſupported with Stone Work, ſo delicately wrought and cemented together, that it look'd like one entire Stone.

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[a] See Selden *de Jure Naturæ & Gentium* l. 3. c. 8.

Another Encloſure.

This may ſerve for a Deſcription of the firſt Encloſure, and there was another not far off with a Stone Wall, and ſome two Steps up to't, with a Partition of Stone, and an Inſcription upon it; prohibiting any Strangers to enter there, upon Pain of Death. This inward Encloſure had three Gates toward the *South* and *North* of an equal Diſtance one from the other: And to the *Eaſtward*, another much larger, where Men that were puriſy'd had Admittance with their Wives; but the Women were not permitted to paſs any further.

The middle Encloſure.

There was another Place in the Middle betwixt the other two, where it was lawful only for the Prieſts to enter; and that was it where the Temple was erected, and before it, the Altar, where they offer'd up their Sacrifices. Now *Herod* durſt not preſume to enter into that Place himſelf, becauſe not being a Prieſt, he ſtood prohibited by the Law: So that he committed the Care of this Part of the holy Work to the Prieſts themſelves; which they finiſh'd in eighteen Months, when he himſelf had been eight Years a finiſhing the Reſt.

The Work finiſhed in 18 Months.

The People were overjoy'd to ſee ſo great a Work over in ſo ſhort a Time, giving God Thanks for his Bleſſing upon the Undertaking, and extolling the King to the Heavens, for the Zeal he had ſhewn to God's holy Worſhip. The Reſtauration of the Temple was now celebrated with an univerſal Joy, a Sacrifice of three hundred Oxen upon the King's Account, and ſo for the Reſt in their Proportion; which amounted to a Number, in the whole, hardly to be computed. And the Solemnity was as much beyond Expectation too; for the Dedication of the Temple, and the *Anniverſary* of *Herod*'s coming to the Crown, falling out upon the ſame Day, doubled the Solemnity. Among other of his *Temple Works*, the Vault muſt not be forgotten, that *Herod* cauſed to be carry'd under Ground from the *Fort Antonia* to the *Eaſt-Gate* of the Temple, where he erected another Fort; this Vault being deſigned for a private and ſafe Retreat, either for himſelf or his Succeſſors, in Caſe of any ſeditious Practice againſt the Government. There goes a Tradition, that it never rain'd in the Day Time all the while this Temple was a Building, but only in the Night, out of a divine Care (as it was interpreted) not to interrupt the Progreſs of the Work. This Story hath been handed down to us from Father to Son, and it conſiſts well enough with the Methods of God's Providence, where his Worſhip is concern'd. But let this ſuffice as to the Reſtauration of the *Temple*.

The Dedication of the Temple.

A privy Paſſage of Communication from Fort to Fort.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES,
BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3955, to 3961.

CHAP. I.

A Law *againſt* Houſe-Breakers. *The People murmur at it.* Herod *takes a Journey to* Rome. Cæſar *entertains him very graciouſly; and reſtores him his* two Sons. Herod *takes them back with him to* Jeruſalem. Salome *and* Mariamne *ſtartled at it.* Herod *not to be wrought upon by Calumnies.*

A Law againſt Houſe-Breakers.

The People murmur at it.

Herod *takes a Journey for* Rome.
Cæſar *graciouſly receives him, and reſtores him his two Sons*

Herod *takes his Sons back to* Jeruſalem.

Salome *and* Mariamne *ſtartled at it.*

Herod *not to be mov'd by Calumnies.*

THE King taking it for a Duty belonging to his Office, to ſee Juſtice done indifferently both in Town and Country, and private as well as publick, made a new Law for the puniſhing of Houſe-Breakers, to this Effect: *That all Offenders in that Kind ſhould be ſold for Slaves, to any that would purchaſe them;* without Exception, even to Strangers. Now the People did not take this ſo much for an Animadverſion upon the Malefactor, as for an Encroachment upon the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation; for the ſubjecting of People to the Impoſitions of Men, that liv'd by other Rules and Meaſures, does not ſo much Hurt to the Criminal in the Penalty, as to Religion it ſelf in the Example: And therefore *our antient Laws have made a good Proviſion in the Caſe, by condemning the* Felon *to a four fold Reſtitution, if he be worth it; or if inſolvent, to be ſold, but not to Strangers, nor into perpetual Slavery; and at the End of ſeven Years to be diſcharg'd.* The Conſtruction, in Fine, that they made of this *new Law*, was, that it was *unkingly, tyrannical* and *unjuſt; and a deliberate Contempt upon the eſtabliſh'd Practice and Diſcipline.* At this Rate of Liberty did every Body talk of the King. Much about this Time *Herod* took a Voyage into *Italy*, to make his Court to the Emperour, and to look after his Sons there, whom he found every Way accompliſh'd, in the Underſtanding both of Letters and Buſineſs. *Cæſar* treated him with ſingular Humanity and Honour, and deliver'd the young Princes back to their Father in much better Circumſtances than he receiv'd them. They were well made, tall and graceful, and gave to underſtand in their Converſation and Behaviour, that the Excellency of their Minds was not inferior, in Proportion to the Agreeableneſs of their Perſons: And taking all together, there appear'd ſomewhat of a Royal Dignity in whatever they did. When *Herod* had paid his Complement, he took Leave of *Cæſar*, and went back with his Charge; where they were no ſooner arriv'd, but all People were gazing upon them with Joy and Admiration. This did not pleaſe *Salome* the King's Siſter, nor any of the Complices in the Ruin of *Mariamne*; for they looked upon them with Jealouſy and Envy in their Hearts, and as Inſtruments that Providence had preſerv'd, and rais'd up to revenge the Death of their Mother. With theſe Thoughts in their Heads they improv'd the Matter they had to work upon, by ſcandalous Calumnies and Suggeſtions. *The Sons*, they ſaid, *would never endure the Converſation of their Father, after the dipping his Hands in the innocent Blood of their Mother.* They found in ſhort, no good to be done upon the Father againſt the Sons, but by ſlanderous Inſinuations; and that was the Courſe, therefore they reſolved to put in Ure. It muſt not be ſuppos'd that they talk'd at this Rate to the King himſelf; but they left the Poyſon to work, rather in wandering Hints and Rumours among the People, making no Doubt, but ſome Way or other it would come to the King's Ear at laſt, and probably create in him ſuch an Averſion to his Sons, as would utterly deſtroy the natural Affection of a Father.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Herod *marries* Ariſtobulus *to* Berenice, *and* Alexander *to* Glaphyra. Agrippa *gives* Herod *a Viſit*.

THIS *Conſpiracy* of *Salome* and the reſt had wrought nothing as yet upon the Confidence and paternal Affection of *Herod*; but he continu'd open, kind, and eaſy to his Sons as poſſible, and without any Suſpicion or Reſerve. The firſt Thing he did was to match them into princely Families; *Ariſtobulus* to *Berenice* the Daughter of *Salome*; and *Alexander* to *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*.

Herod *marries* Ariſtobulus *to* Berenice, *and* Alexander *to* Glaphyra.

Being given to underſtand by this Time, that *Marcus Agrippa* was gone back again out of *Italy* into *Aſia*, he went over to him with a generous and a friendly Tender of all Service and Reſpect, and earneſtly beſought him for the Honour of a Viſit. This Requeſt being granted, there was nothing wanting on *Herod*'s Part that might contribute to *Agrippa*'s Welcome and Satisfaction. He ſhew'd him all the glorious Cities and Palaces that he had lately built, or repair'd; carrying him to *Sebaſte*, the Port of *Cæſarea*, and the Forts of *Alexandrion*, *Herodion*, *Hyrcania*, &c. where he treated *Agrippa* and his Friends with all the Splendor and Magnificence imaginable. After this *Tour*, he conducted him to *Jeruſalem*, where he was received by the whole Multitude with the Joy, Pomp, and Acclamations of a ſolemn Feſtival: *Agrippa*, to crown the Work, dedicating to God the Sacrifice of a *Hecatomb*, and feaſting the People. He was ſo well pleas'd with his Journey, and his Entertainment, that he would fain have ſtaid longer; but Winter coming on, and thoſe Seas being dangerous, he embark'd with his Troops for *Ionia*, laden with Honours and Preſents.

Agrippa *gives* Herod *a Viſit*.

CHAP. III.

Herod *takes Shipping for* Lesbos; *but is forced by contrary Winds upon* Chios. *He finds* out Agrippa *at* Sinope, *a City of* Pontus. *The Greeting of the* two Princes; *who paſs together to* Samos. *The good Offices* Herod *did* Agrippa *by the Way*.

WHEN *Herod* had paſs'd the Winter at Home, he took another Voyage upon the opening of the Spring to find out *Agrippa*; who according to his Intelligence was gone with an Army toward the *Boſphorus*. *Herod* took Shipping for *Leſbos*, where he ſuppoſed he might meet with him; but after he had paſs'd *Rhodes* and *Coos*, he was driven by a North-Wind upon the Iſle of *Chios*, where he was forc'd to lye by for ſome Days. In this Voyage he had many Viſits made him *Incognito*, which he anſwer'd with ſuitable Preſents in Return; and taking Notice of his ſhort Stay here, of ſeveral publick Buildings that lay yet in Ruines ever ſince the *Mithridatick War*, for Want of Money to repair them, he gave them Credit for a Sum ſufficient to do the Work, with an expreſs Charge to put it in Hand, and finiſh it the firſt Thing they did.

Herod *takes Shipping for* Lesbos, *in hope to find* Agrippa *there; driven by contrary Winds upon the* Chios.

He repairs the buildings that were ruin'd by Mithridates.

The Wind coming now about, *Herod* ſet ſail, firſt to *Mitylene*, then to *Byzantium*; and hearing that *Agrippa* had already paſs'd the *Cyanean Rocks*, he made after him with all the Speed he could, and joyn'd him at *Sinope*, a City of *Pontus*, *Agrippa* little dreaming of ſuch a Friend, and ſuch a Fleet ſo near him. His coming, in Short, was ſo ſeaſonable, and the Greeting of the two Princes reciprocally ſo tender and hearty, that nothing could be more demonſtrative of an honourable Faith and Friendſhip, than for one Prince to poſtpone his own Buſineſs, and upon ſuch a Pinch of Time too, for the Service of another. So that *Herod* and *Agrippa* were, in Effect, all one, in their Arms, Labours, Hazzards and Counſels: And they were both as one in their Delights and Pleaſures too: In Difficulties, out of Kindneſs; and in their Diverſions, out of Reſpect. When *Agrippa* had diſpatch'd what he came for in *Pontus*, he took his Way back again over Land, and ſo they paſs'd through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and the *Greater Phrygia*, to *Epheſus*, and thence by Sea to *Samos*. *Herod*'s Magnificence and Generoſity was remarkable by the many good Offices he did upon the Way; as well by the Power he had with *Agrippa*, as by large Donatives and Charities, at his own Expence wherever there was Occaſion for it. There was hardly a Town they paſs'd, but *Herod* prevail'd with *Agrippa* for ſomewhat or other in their Favour: Upon whoſe Mediation nothing was deny'd. *Agrippa*, 'tis true, was in his own Diſpoſition a Friend, even to Mankind, where he could oblige any one Man without wronging another; but it was not amiſs yet, to have ſuch a Remembrancer and In-

He finds out Agrippa *at* Sinope *a City of* Pontus. *The tender Greeting of the two Princes.*

Herod *and* Agrippa *both as one.*

They paſs together to Samos.

The good Offices Herod *did by the Way.*

terceſſor as *Herod* was, at *Agrippa*'s Elbow; over and above the natural Biaſs of ſo friendly an Inclination. At the Inſtance of *Herod*, *Agrippa* pardon'd the *Ilienſians*, againſt whom he was highly provoked. He paid an *Arrear* for the People of *Chios*, that they had incurr'd to the Emperour; procured them Privileges; and in one Word, he did all the Good he could wherever he came.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews *in* Ionia *complain of the* Natives. Agrippa *gives them a* Hearing, *and aſſigns them* Counſel: Nicolaus *being entertain'd for the* Jews. *The Grievances complain'd of. Several Decrees of the* Senate *in Favour of the* Jews. *They argue upon* Cæſar's *Merit, and* Agrippa *declares for them.*

The Jews *in* Ionia *complain againſt the Natives.*

UPON their coming into *Ionia*, there was a mighty Concourſe of *Jews* of that Province gotten together upon that Occaſion, with Complaints againſt the Natives for breaking in upon them in the Exerciſe of their *Laws* and *Worſhip*; their Officers dragging them from their Meetings to their Courts of Juſtice; and putting a Stop to the holy Treaſure that ſhould be ſent to *Jeruſalem*; forcing them to bear Arms and pay publick Duties out of their bare Subſiſtence-Money; contrary to common Faith, and to the Liberties and Exemptions granted them by the *Romans*. *Herod* laid hold of this Opportunity of doing the *Jews* a Service, and ſo prevail'd with *Agrippa* to grant the Plaintiffs a Hearing; aſſigning them one *Nicolaus*, a particular Friend of his, for their Counſel. There was a Court call'd upon this Occaſion, *Agrippa* himſelf being preſent, together with a Bench of honourable *Romans*, ſeveral Princes, and other great Men; the Advocate opening the Cauſe after this Manner.

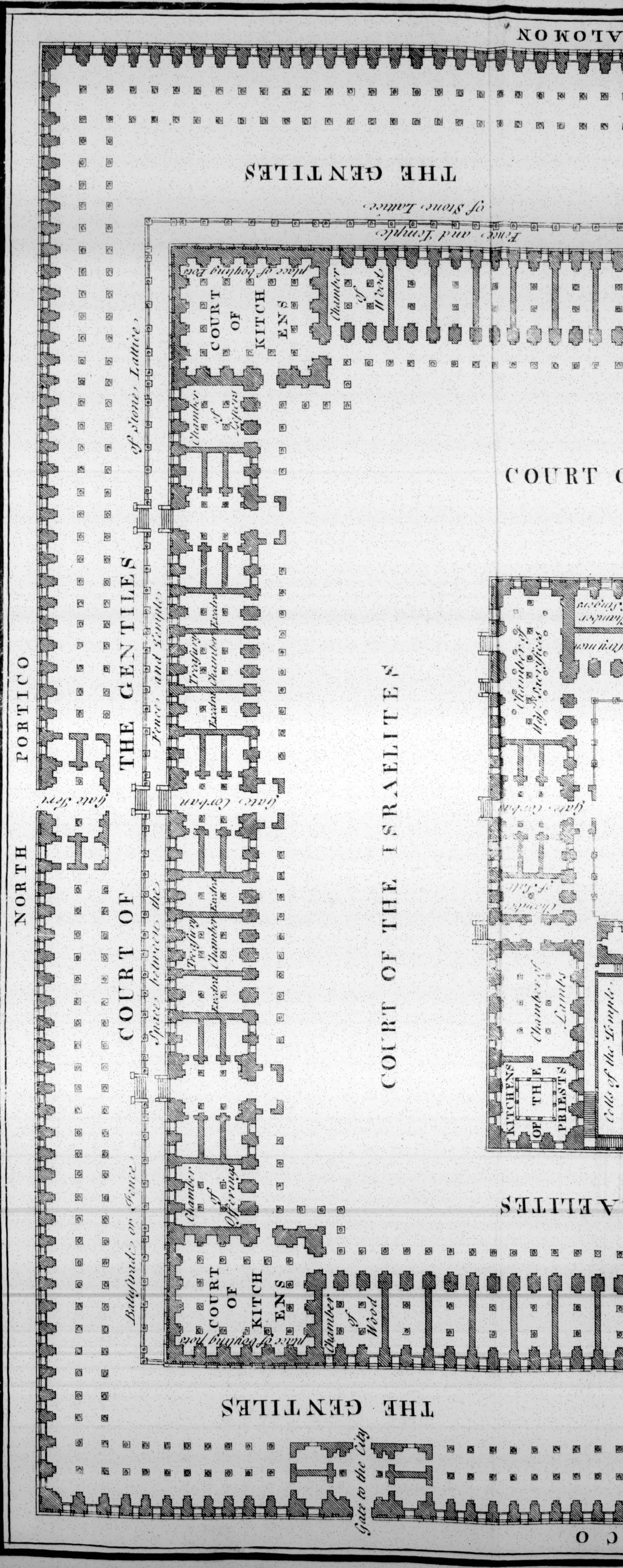
Agrippa *grants them a Hearing, and aſſigns them Counſel.*

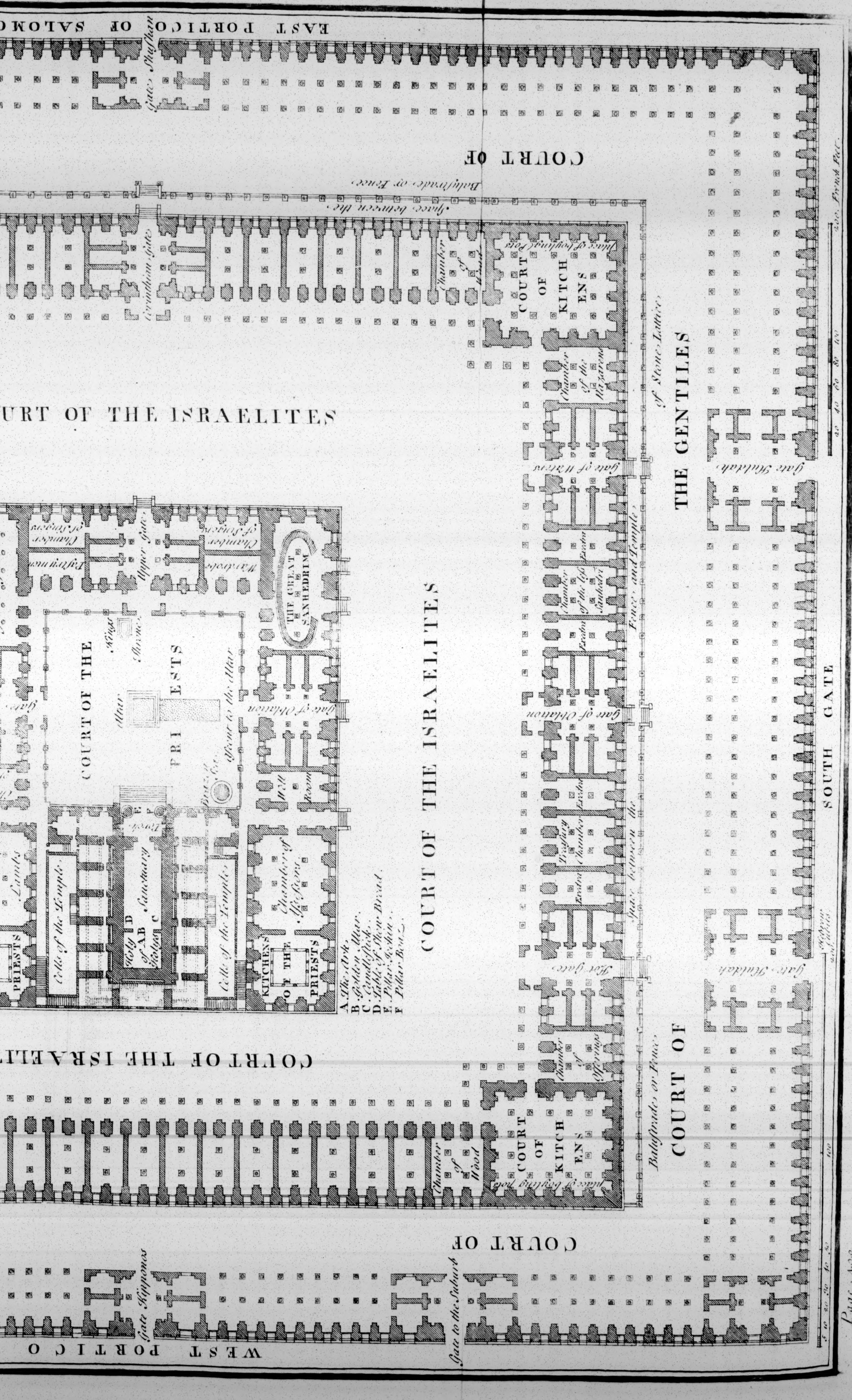
Nicolaus *of Counſel for the* Jews.

Whither, moſt illuſtrious Agrippa, *ſhould the miſerable and oppreſſed fly for Sanctuary and Relief, but to thoſe Princes that are able to protect and to relieve them? This is the Caſe of your humble Supplicants; and we muſt preſume to appeal from your Authority to your Juſtice, in a full Confidence of your royal Goodneſs; for we have nothing more to deſire at preſent, than the Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of what you your ſelves have granted us already, and which our* Fellow-Subjects *are now endeavouring to take from us. If the Favours we enjoy be great, we doubt not but you will now think us as worthy to keep them, as you found us before to receive them. If the Benefit be ſmall, it reflects upon your Honour to imagine that you are not able to make it good: Neither is this a greater Injury to us, than it is an Indignity to your ſelves in the Contempt of your Judgment, and in the Diſappointment of your pious Intentions. If it were put to theſe very People, whether they would rather part with their Lives, or with their Laws, Cuſtoms, Diſcipline, Sacrifices, Feſtivals, &c. in Honour of their Gods, I think, with Submiſſion, that a Body may ſafely anſwer for them, they would chuſe the former. It is a common Thing to take up Arms for Religion: And what is the great Bleſſing of the Peace and Freedom the World enjoys under the Ro*man Empire, *but that every honeſt Man may live and worſhip after his own Way? What Pretence is there for People to impoſe that upon others, which they will not ſubmit to themſelves? As if it were not all one whether we hinder another Man frow doing his Duty, or neglect our own. It is a Thing farther to be conſider'd that there is no City, People or Nation extant, that does not depend upon the Adminiſtration, and the Power of* Rome, *for all the Happineſs they can pretend to? Will any Thing now but a Madman, reckon it his Intereſt to fruſtrate your Bounties, when every Man living, ſome Way or other ſhall be a Loſer by it? Our Enemies are not aware of it, that while they labour to invalidate our Rights, they deſtroy their own: For why ſhould the ſame Conceſſions be good to them, and void to us; and that ineſtimable Privilege among the reſt, of living at Eaſe and Liberty, under the Protection of the* Roman Emperours, *while ſeveral other Nations lie groaning in a State of Servitude at the Mercy of rigorous Kings? Neither is ours, at the beſt, a Condition to be envy'd; for as to other Matters, we deſire nothing more than a common Share of Advantage with the reſt of our Fellow-Subjects; provided we may but be allow'd to worſhip God after the Manner of our Forefathers: Which, as it is innocent in it ſelf on the one Hand, ſo it is for the Service of thoſe that permit it, on the other: For God does not only love thoſe that worſhip him themſelves, but thoſe alſo that encourage the Worſhip of him in others. What is there in our Way of holy Offices that any ſober Man can take Offençe at? Or in Truth, that is not in all Reſpects agreeable to Piety and Juſtice? We make no Difficulty of owning the Rules and Precepts of our Lives and Profeſſion.* The ſeventh Day *is a Day of* Reſt *from all our Labours, and a Day that we ſet apart for the Study of the* Law, *as a Diſcipline that much conduces to the rectifying of our Manners. Now theſe Cuſtoms of ours are not only blameleſs in themſelves, even upon the ſtricteſt Examination of them, but venerable even for their Antiquity; (all Cavils to the contrary notwithſtanding) ſo that there can*

be

Ichnography or Plan of the TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.


NORTH PORTICO
Gate Levi
COURT OF THE GENTILES
THE GENTILES
Space between the Fence and Temple
Fence and Temple of Stone Lattice
Balustrade or Fence
COURT OF KITCHENS
place of boyling Pots
Chamber of Wood
Chamber of Offerings
Treasury
Eastern Chamber
Gate Corban
COURT OF THE ISRAELITES
ISRAELITES
COURT O
Chamber of Lambs
KITCHENS OF THE PRIESTS
Cells of the Temple
Gate to the City
SALOMON


EAST PORTICO OF SALOMO
Gate Shushan
COURT OF
Space between the
Ballustrade or Fence
Corinthian Gate
Chamber of Wood
Place of boyling Pots
COURT OF KITCHENS
Chamber of the Nazarene
of Stone Lattice
THE GENTILES
URT OF THE ISRAELITES
Gate of Waters
Chamber of Singers
Upper Gate
Parvaimon
Wardrobe
THE GREAT SANHEDRIM
Fence and Temple
Chamber of Abtinas
Chamber of Lepers
Kings Throne
COURT OF THE PRIESTS
Altar
Ascent to the Altar
Gate of Oblation
COURT OF THE ISRAELITES
Salt Room
Laver
Porch
Lamb
Sanctuary
Holy of Holies
Cells of the Temple
Chamber of Rinsing
Treasury
Chamber of Vestments
Space between the
KITCHENS OF THE PRIESTS
PRIESTS
A. The Ark
B. Golden Altar.
C. Candlestick.
D. Table of Shew Bread.
E. Pillar Jachin.
F. Pillar Boaz.
SOUTH GATE
Gate Huldah
Fire Gate
Chamber of Offerings
Ballustrade or Fence
COURT OF
COURT OF THE ISRAELITES
Chamber of Wood
Place of boyling Pots
COURT OF KITCHENS
COURT OF
Gate to the Suburb
Gate Kipponos
WEST PORTICO
Hebrew Cubits
200 French Feet
20 40 60 80 100
5 10 20 30 40 50 100
M. V^r Gucht Sc.

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be no Place of controverting the Authority of Laws that have ſtood the Teſt of ſo many Ages. The Injuries we complain of are theſe. They ſacrilegiouſly *make Seizure of* Monies *dedicated to* holy Uſes: *They impoſe* Taxes *upon People that ought in Right to pay none. They hurry them up and down to* Courts of Juſtice *and other* common Attendancies, *upon our Days of* Solemnity *and* Religious Worſhip: *And for no other End, but to turn out Piety and Devotion to Scorn: And theſe Practices they know in their Hearts to be all unwarrantable and cauſeleſs. Your Wiſdom conſults indifferently the common Welfare of all your People, in the promoting of Peace, and the preventing of Feuds. It is againſt theſe Injuries, moſt excellent* Agrippa, *that we crave to be relieved, and that we may be allow'd the ſame Liberty hereafter in our Lives and Converſations, that we have enjoy'd heretofore; and that our Adverſaries may have no more Advantage over us than we pretend to over them. We take this to be a Juſtice, not only in the Reaſon of the Thing, but in the Right which your Goodneſs has given us to it by declaring in our Favour; to which Purpoſe, there are at this Day to be ſeen in the* Capitol *ſeveral* Decrees of the Senate *in* Tables of Braſs, *for the perpetual Memory of the Thing. Theſe monumental Records were undoubtedly grounded upon the Experiment of our Faith and Loyalty to the State; beſide that the Obligation would be yet ſacred and inviolable, even without any antecedent Merit on our Part; for your generous Goodneſs hath been ever ſo far from leſſening or revoking the Bounties you have once beſtow'd (and that not only to us, but to all Mortals) that it hath been your Practice, rather to amplify and enlarge them, even beyond all Thought and Expectation, as I could give Inſtances abundantly, if my Time would bear it. But not to value our ſelves too much upon our own Services, let our royal Maſter's good Offices ſpeak for us. Where did he ever fail, to the uttermoſt of his Power, to oblige your Nation? Has not his Faith and Zeal for your Intereſt been try'd over and over? Has he not made the advancing of your Honour his Buſineſs and his Study? Were your Affairs ever in any Difficulty, and he not eſpouſe them as his own? So that if it were but for our King's Sake, we might pretend to ſome ſort of Conſideration. We muſt not forget the Services of his Father* Antipater *neither, nor the Enforcement of* two thouſand Auxiliaries *that he brought to* Cæſar *in* Ægypt, *where his Behaviour was ſo ſignally brave, and ſo much to the Advantage of the Empire, that he had the Reputation of being not inferiour to any Man living, either at Sea or at Land, for Conduct and Courage. We might appeal to the glorious Preſents that* Cæſar *made him, or rather to the Letters recommendatory that he wrote to the* Senate *in his Favour, upon this Occaſion, by which he obtained for him the* Privilege *of a* Citizen *of* Rome; *with other additional Honours. This ſingle Argument, great Prince might be ſufficient, even of it ſelf, to evince that thoſe Favours were at firſt well beſtow'd, which we are now imploring may be confirm'd: Beſide that conſidering the preſent League of Friendſhip betwixt your ſelf and our Royal Sovereign, we do rather hope for an Augmentation of your Bounty, than fear any Abatement of it. I might enlarge upon your holy Vows and Sacrifices at* Jeruſalem; *the Splendor of your Entertainments, and the Satisfaction you were pleaſed to own in the reciprocal Exchange of Offices of Hoſpitality and Reſpect, which were all evident Proofs of an affectionate Tenderneſs, and an amicable Underſtanding betwixt the* Jews *and the* Romans, *confirm'd and ratify'd under the very Roof of the King himſelf. Now our final Requeſt to the Majeſty of* Agrippa, *and in the Preſence of the* King *of the* Jews *too, is only this; that we may reap the Fruits of your own Bounty, without being made a Prey to others.*

The Grie[illegible]

Several Decrees of the Senate in Favour of the Jews.

The Counſel argues upon Herod's *Merit.*

This Diſcourſe of *Nicolaus* went off without any Reply from the *Greeks*; for it was not a *judicial Tryal* of *Right*; but a *petitionary Complaint* only, to get the Grievance remov'd. They could not deny the Fact; but the *Jews*, they ſaid, were Strangers, and would be a Burden to them; who inſiſted upon it on the other Hand, that they were no Strangers, but a People that liv'd in their own Way without Offence to God or Man.

When *Agrippa* came to underſtand how they were oppreſs'd, he declar'd himſelf in their Favour, as well for the Juſtice of their Cauſe, as out of the Reſpect he bare to *Herod*: And that he thought their Deſires ſo reaſonable, that if they had been much larger he ſhould have comply'd with them, ſo far at leaſt as would have conſiſted with his Duty to the State of *Rome*. *But ſince I find them ſo moderate*, ſays he, *in their Demands, as to content themſelves with the Ratification of what is already conferr'd upon them, I do here pronounce a Confirmation of the Claim they make to theſe Privileges; and take it further upon my ſelf, that ſo long as they keep themſelves within the Bounds of their Diſcipline and Profeſſion, they ſhall have no more Trouble of this Kind for the Future.* With theſe Words he diſmiſs'd the Convention, and upon the Breaking of it up, *Herod* gave *Agrippa* infinite Thanks in the Name of the whole Nation; and ſo with an Interchange of mutual Tenderneſſes and Embraces betwixt the two Princes, they both left *Lesbos*.

Agrippa *declares for the* Jews, *confirming their Claims, and aſſuring them of Protection.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Herod *embarkes for* Cæſarea. *He calls an* Aſſembly *at* Jeruſalem, *and tells the People what hath been done for them in* Aſia.

Herod *embarkes for* Cæſarea. *He calls an Aſſembly at* Jeruſalem, *and tells the People what had been done for them in* Aſia.

HEROD upon parting, put to Sea with a fair Wind for *Cæſarea*; and in a few Days, from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where he called the *Jews* immediately together, Strangers as well as Citizens, and gave them an Account of his Expedition, and the great Things he had done for their Friends in *Aſia*, where they were at that Time free and eaſy in their Perſons and in their Religion. He did not forget to mind them neither, how they had proſper'd under his Government; and that he had no Intereſt in what he did, but the Well-being of his Subjects. And for a further Inſtance of his Goodneſs, he did at the ſame Time diſcharge them of a fourth Part of their Tribute. Theſe fair Words, as they were attended with ſuitable Effects, chear'd the Hearts of the People, and ſent them away with Acclamations in their Mouths, and the Wiſhes of all Glory and Proſperity to the King.

CHAP. VI.

Salome's *Plot upon the* two Princes. *Two Factions countermining one another. Artificial Calumnies.* Salome *and* Pheroras *irritate* Herod *againſt his* own Son. Herod *treats* Antipater *as his next* Succeſſor. Antipater *endeavours to ſupplant his* Brothers. Herod, *open and credulous, and the Brothers unwary.* Herod's *Revenge upon* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. *The Mother of* Antipater *ſent for to* Court. Antipater *waites upon* Agrippa *to* Rome.

Salome's *Plot and Practice upon the two Princes.*

Who were not ſo wary as they ſhould have been.

Two Factions countermining one another.

Artificial Calumnies againſt the two Brothers.

WHile this was a doing abroad, Grudgings and Heart-Burnings were fomented at Home by the Practice of *Salome* upon the *two young Princes*, whom ſhe hated mortally: And taking Courage from the Succeſs of her Calumnies upon the Mother, ſhe proceeded with the greater Confidence in her Deſign upon her Sons, and with a Reſolution not to leave any Thing alive that might be in a Condition to revenge the Blood of that innocent Lady. And the Plot was not carry'd on without ſome ſort of Colour neither; for the young Men did not behave themſelves ſo reſpectfully toward their Father as they ſhould have done; partly out of an Indignation for the Violence upon the Perſon of their Mother, and partly out of an Ambition to get the Rule into their own Hands. The Factions were now at Work, betwixt reviving old Grudges and creating new ones. The Sons railing in downright Scurrility at *Solome* and *Pheroras*; and they on the other Side as ſpitefully, but more ſlyly undermining the Brothers: So that though there was no Love loſt, they had differing Ways yet of expreſſing their Hatred: For the Princes in Heat of Blood, and in the Simplicity of their Hearts, bolted out at a Venture, whatever came at their Tongue's End: But the other made Way to the Execution of their Malice by Artifice and Diſguiſe, provoking the young Men to Extravagancies of Language on Purpoſe to entrap them. *They took it for an Honour*, they ſaid, *to be the Sons of ſuch a Mother*: Inſiſting upon it ſtill that ſhe was baſely murder'd. Now theſe Words were a ſufficient Ground for a calumnious Jealouſy to work upon; for they would bear the Conſtruction of deliberating upon a Revenge with their own Hands. This was now become the Talk of the whole Town; and while every Body elſe pity'd the young Men for the dangerous Liberties they took of talking at that deſperate Rate, *Salome* made her Advantage of their Indiſcretions, and improv'd them to her own Ends. They would be ſaying commonly in the Heat of their Impatience for the Loſs of their Mother, that *next to the miſerable Fate of that unhappy Princeſs, they look'd upon their own Circumſtances to be the moſt deplorable of all others, in the Neceſſity of cohabiting with the Murderers; and in ſome Meaſure becoming Partakers of the Crime by communicating with the Company.*

Salome and Pheroras *caution* Herod *againſt his own Sons. And inſinuate a Conſpiracy againſt the Father's Life.*

Herod's being out of the Way all this while, was a great Advantage to the Managers of this *Intrigue*. But ſoon after his Return now, and the *Harangue* to the People that I told you of, *Salome* and *Pheroras* were preſently at work upon him with Cautions and Inſinuations of the Danger he was in from his own Sons; and how they made their publick Braggs that the Murderers of their Mother ſhould never carry it off ſo. They patch'd up a Story of *Archealus*, the King of *Cappadocia* too; and how they depended upon his Intereſt with *Cæſar* to aſſiſt them in the Proſecution of their Father. This wrought the more ſenſibly upon *Herod*, becauſe he heard the ſame

Things over and over again from ſeveral Hands. Upon this Occaſion he could not but call to Mind the Miſeries he had already endured by Factions in his Family, even to the depriving him of his beloved Friends, and the deareſt Wife in Nature. With theſe Reflections in his Head, and taking this Meaſure of Things to come, by Things paſt, the Proſpect before him was ſo confounding, that he had no longer the Uſe of his Reaſon. He was, in ſhort, fortunate abroad, beyond all Thought or Imagination; and no leſs wretched at Home: Inſomuch that conſidering both Extremes, it may be a Queſtion whether the Glory of his proſperous Condition in the World was ſufficient to balance the Calamity of his Family-Diſtempers; and whether he might not have been a happier Man in a private State betwixt both.

While he was now caſting about what Courſe to ſteer, he bethought himſelf of taking another Son he had, that he brought up privately, into his Family, and there to entertain him with Honour and Reſpect; propoſing by this Means to take down the Stomachs of the Brothers: His Name was *Antipater*. Now *Herod* had no Thought as firſt of putting the Government into this young Man's Hand (as out of a fond Facility afterward he did;) but he betook himſelf to this Expedient by Way of Tryal, to ſee if he would put a Check upon the Inſolencies of *Mariamne*'s Children, and bring them to better Reaſon, when they ſhould find that, let them do what they would, the Government ſhould not want a Succeſſor. In this Contemplation *Herod* treated *Antipater* with a Countenance of Authority and Truſt; and as the next Pretender to the Crown; making no Doubt, all this while, of reducing his other Sons by this Means, within the Bounds of Modeſty and Duty. But it fell out quite otherwiſe, for they reſented it as an Affront; ſo that inſtead of a Curb, it prov'd a Provocation. *Antipater*, when he had now got Footing, and ſo much beyond his Expectation too, was not a Man to quit his Ground; but on the Contrary, labour'd with all his Might by Tales and Calumnies to ſupplant his Brothers in the Affection of their Father; who was in Truth ſo credulous, and open, to thoſe ill Offices and Impreſſions, that he eaſily gain'd his Point to his own Wiſh, and wrought him into an Averſion that grew every Day more implacable than other. His Heart was ſo ſet upon this Project, that he ſcarce minded any Thing elſe; but only to keep himſelf upon his Guard, without ſo much as one hard Word of his Brothers: For he menag'd his Deſign by ſuch other Inſtruments as he knew the King would give Credit to, and as he might ſafely depend upon himſelf. *Antipater* was now look'd upon as the riſing Son, and Court made to him accordingly; as the ready Way to Preferment; his Party covering the whole Practice ſtill, with a pretended Zeal for the Service of *Herod*. The Confidents of this Secret being all true to the Plot, made Advantage of the young Men's Impotences in Heat and Paſſion, who laid themſelves now opener than before: breaking out by Fits into Tears and Exclamations; fierce Remonſtrances of the intolerable Wrongs and Affronts that they endur'd; calling out in the Bitterneſs of their Hearts upon the Ghoſt of their innocent Mother, and charging their Father, in plain Terms, with manifeſt Injuſtice. Now all theſe Intemperances were watch'd and obſerv'd by the Complices of *Antipater*, and then carry'd to *Herod*, with Improvements and Additions to widen the Breach. Theſe Incendiaries had ſo exaſperated the King, that he reveng'd himſelf upon *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by heaping more and more Honours and Favours upon *Antipater*; who in the Concluſion ſo far prevail'd upon *Herod* that he got his Mother ſent for to Court, and recommendatory Letters to *Cæſar*, for himſelf, much to his Credit and Advantage. And finally, upon *Agrippa*'s Return to *Rome*, after ten Years Adminiſtration in *Aſia*, *Herod* made a Voyage by Sea, to complement him upon the Way, and took only *Antipater*, of all his Sons, along with him, together with many rich Preſents: And upon parting, he begg'd the Favour of *Agrippa*, that his Son might wait upon him to *Rome*, and be there introduced by him to *Cæſar*. This was to ſhew that all was done now by *Antipater*, to the Excluſion of his two Brothers.

Herod *treats* Antipater *as his next Succeſſor.*

Antipater *endeavours to ſupplant his Brothers.* Herod's *Credulity and Jealouſy.*

The Brothers warm and paſſionate.

Herod *revenges himſelf upon* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *by being kind to* Antipater.

The Mother of Antipater *ſent for to Court.*

Antipater *waits upon* Agrippa *to* Rome.

CHAP. VII.

Herod *appeals to* Cæſar *in the Caſe of his* Son. *The tender and generous Behaviour of the* Brothers.

THIS Voyage of *Antipater* to *Rome*, eſpecially accompany'd with his Father's Letters and Commendations to all his Friends there, turn'd exceedingly to his Honour and Advantage. The only Thing that troubled him was, that being now out of the Way, he could not ſo conveniently impoſe upon his Father with *ſlam Stories* againſt his Brothers, as when he was at his Elbow; which gave him not a little Trouble

Antipater's *Journey to* Rome *much to his Honour and Advantage.*

Herod *appeals to* Cæſar *in the Caſe of his Sons.*

ble for Fear he might poſſibly come to change his Mind, and be brought over to Terms of more Moderation toward the Children of *Mariamne*. This ran in his Head; but he purſu'd his firſt Point ſtill: And what he could not now do by Word of Mouth, he ſupply'd by ſpiteful Letters to keep up the evil Humour, upon the Pretext of being wonderfully in Pain for his Fathers Safety, when he was, in Truth, working his Way all this while by under-Hand Practices to poſſeſs himſelf of the Government; having already tranſported *Herod* to ſuch a Degree of Diſpleaſure, that his Sons had not in the World a greater Enemy. But this unnatural Rigour was not yet without ſome Intervals of Reluctancy; ſo that for Fear of doing any raſh Thing in his Anger, eſpecially in the Caſe of a Father and his Children, *he took up a Reſolution of another Journey to* Rome, *and there openly to exhibit an Accuſation againſt his Sons to* Cæſar; *but miſſing him at* Rome, *he follow'd him to* Aquileia: *Where* Herod, *upon an Application to him for* Leave *to bring an unhappy Cauſe before him, produced his two Sons, and charg'd them, not only with Inſolence; but an Attempt to poyſon him: Aggravating the Malice and the Horror of the Wickedneſs to the Degree of a Conſpiracy againſt the Crown and Dignity of their Father. And all this, notwithſtanding the Licence* Cæſar *had given him to leave the Succeſſion to which of the Sons he pleas'd; or to him of the two that he ſhould find moſt dutiful. Nay and in Caſe of their failing of the Sovereignty themſelves, they would be content, even with the ſingle Death of their Father, though with the uttermoſt Peril of their own Lives in the procuring of it: So inhumane ſays he, and ſo impious is the Rancour that is ſettled in the Minds of theſe young Men.* And ſo he went on, *how long he had born theſe Indignities: Which he was now at laſt enforced, even againſt Duty and good Manners, to obtrude upon* Cæſar's *Ear and Patience. But what have I done, ſays he, to deſerve this? Whom have I wrong'd? Or with what Face ſhall any Man pretend to diſpoſſeſs a Prince ſo long ſettled in the Exerciſe of a Power acquired by ſo many Hazards? Or to bar him the Liberty of leaving it, when he goes off, to him that ſhall by his faithful Piety beſt deſerve it? This would be reaſonable, if it were but to provoke a generous Emulation, and to make Virtue the Way to Honour: Eſpecially when 'tis againſt Religion, and Nature, ſo much as to entertain ſo lewd a Thought. For whoever wiſhes himſelf on his Father's Throne, wiſhes the other dead; in Regard that the one cannot ſucceed, while the other's living. Can they pretend,* ſays he, *that ever I was wanting to them in any Office becoming a gracious Prince, or an indulgent Father; either in Matter of State, Retinue, Curioſities, or the like? Have I not match'd them to Princeſſes of the firſt Quality?* Ariſtobulus *to the* Daughter *of* my own Siſter, *and* Alexander *to the* Daughter *of King* Archelaus: *Nay, which is more than all the Reſt, when I might have puniſh'd them by my own Authority, I have rather appealed to* Cæſar, *the common Patron and Benefactor of us all: And ſetting aſide the Authority of a Prince, and of a Father, over theſe treacherous Violators of their Duty, I have now ſet my ſelf upon a Level with my Subjects and Children, to be determin'd by* Cæſar; *only with this Requeſt to his imperial Majeſty, that ſo enormous a Wickedneſs may not paſs unpuniſh'd; and I my ſelf ſtand condemn'd to ſpend the Remainder of my Days in a reſtleſs Anxiety of Apprehenſion. Theſe Wretches deſerve certainly never to ſee the Light again, after ſo audacious an Affront, upon the moſt ſacred Rights of Society and humane Nature.*

The tender and generous Behaviour of the Brothers.

When *Herod* had deliver'd his Charge (and with Warmth enough too) the young Princes that could not but weep now and then, more or leſs, as he was a ſpeaking, burſt out into a Flood of Tears, upon the finiſhing of his Diſcourſe; not as conſcious of any Crime, but out of an honourable Senſe of Piety to ſee their Father their Accuſer; with this Proſpect before them, that they muſt either conteſt the Cauſe, or abandon their own Integrity; the former being undecent, and the other unſafe. In this Heſitation and Suſpence, they betook themſelves to Sighs and Tears, without one Word ſpeaking: And this Silence, they were afraid, would be taken for Guilt, when in Truth, it was only Want of Practice and Aſſurance, being unwonted to ſpeak before ſuch an Auditory. *Cæſar* made a right Judgment of the Matter, and ſo did the whole Aſſembly; who were all mov'd, to the higheſt Degree of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, and the Accuſer himſelf among the Reſt.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander's *Addreſs and Defence. The two Brothers clear'd.* Herod *preſents* Auguſtus; *and* Auguſtus *preſents* Herod *in Return.* Herod *goes back with his Sons to* Judæa, *and meets* Archelaus *at* Eleuſa. *He calls a Council at* Jeruſalem, *and declares his* Succeſſor.

IT was by this Time evident, that *Cæſar* and *Herod* were both tenderly affected to theſe unfortunate Princes; inſomuch that ſeveral there preſent wept in Pity for them. So ſoon as they came to take Notice of this favourable Diſpoſition, *Alexander*, the elder of the two, addreſs'd himſelf to his Father upon the Subject of their Charge, as follows.

Alexander's Addreſs and Defence.

Sir, we cannot but take it for a clear Evidence of your good Intentions toward us, that you have brought us to this Place before ſo great and juſt a Judge, and ſo gracious a Prince, for the Deciſion of our Cauſe, without employing either your regal or your paternal Power over your own Children and People. But in transferring us to Rome, *and by Way of an Appeal to* Cæſar *too, it is given manifeſtly to underſtand that you have a Deſire and Purpoſe to preſerve us; for Men do not uſe to carry thoſe to* Temples *and* Altars, *that they intend to* deſtroy. *But yet after all this, for an Aggravation of our Misfortune, we are conſcious to our ſelves, that we are not worthy to live; if we had but done any Thing that looks like Diſloyalty or Ingratitude toward ſo good a Father; and we had much rather dye innocent than ſurvive the Scandal of ſuch a Suſpicion. If Providence ſhall enable us to defend the Truth, the Proof of our Innocence will be a much greater Comfort to us than the Deliverance of our Perſons; but if Calumny ſhould prevail, a Life under thoſe infamous Circumſtances would be worſe than a thouſand Deaths. The Pretext of an ambitious Deſign upon the Government, is well enough accommodated to the intemperate Heats of young Men; and the Inſtance of our unfortunate Mother furniſhes more Colour for it. But whoſe Caſe, I beſeech you, Sir, may not this be as well as ours; and why may not the Children of all other Princes under our Circumſtances, be charged with the ſame Deſign, if Suſpicion ſhall paſs for a Proof? For here is only an invidious Accuſation, without the leaſt Shadow of any Evidence of Preſumption, or ſo much as a Probability to ſupport it. Why is not the Poyſon it ſelf, or the Complices and the Inſtruments of the Practice produced? Where are the Conſpirators; the Conſpiracy, the Bribery, or the defamatory Letters? But the whole Story, in Fine, is Invention and Slander, without any Countenance to give it Credit. A divided Court, 'tis true, is a great Misfortune; but the Hope of Preferment, which you are pleaſed to call the Reward of Virtue, proves an Incentive many Times to all Sorts of Wickedneſs. Nay, we inſiſt ſo far upon our Integrity, that we defy the whole Earth to diſprove us. As for Scandals, there's no refuting them, where the Ear is open to the Calumny and deaf to the Defence. If we have talk'd at large, it was not meant againſt your ſelf, Sir; (which would have ill becom'd us) but againſt your Tale-bearers. If we have paſſionately lamented the Loſs of our dear Mother, it was not purely for the Death it ſelf; but out of a Zeal to the Honour of her Memory, which we found blaſted where ſhe leaſt deſerv'd it. And to what End again ſhould we aſpire to the Government in the Life-time of our Father? For if we do already enjoy the Honours belonging to the Royal Family, (as effectually we do) what have we farther to ſtruggle for? Or if we are at preſent barr'd of our Right, may we not yet preſume to wiſh and hope for't? Can it be imagin'd that ever the Murderers, in ſuch an Inſtance as this, ſhould ſet up for Succeſſors, when Sea and Land, after ſo flagitious a Villany, would conſpire to ruine them? How would it conſiſt with the Piety of the Subjects, or with the Religion of the Country, to ſet up Parricides for Kings; and to ſee the holy Temple that you your ſelf erected to the great God, prophaned by the baſeſt of Aſſaſſins? Or all other Conſiderations apart, how ſhould any Man think to deſtroy* Herod *the* Emperour *yet living, and not fall under the Power and Juſtice of* Cæſar? *We are not ſuch* Fools *and* Profligates *as we are ſaid to be, but the* Misfortune *of our Family rather than the* Scandal. *Now if there appears nothing againſt us, upon any colourable Pretence; where is the Ground of the Accuſation that expoſes us for ſuch impious Wretches? As to the Death of our Mother, 'tis a Conſideration to make us rather cautious than outragious. We might multiply Words endleſly; but there's no Need of excuſing a Thing that never was done. Wherefore we have only this now to beg of the mighty* Cæſar; *and at preſent* our ſovereign Judge, *that if you can, Sir, in your Conſcience, diſcharge us of any farther Suſpicion for the future, we may be allow'd to live, how miſerable ſoever; for what can be more grievous than to lye under the Imputation, even though falſely, of the moſt horrid of Crimes! But if you go on ſuſpecting us, the Torments of our own Thoughts will do our Buſineſs, without your Help: For we are not ſo fond of Life, as to think of preſerving it to the Trouble of him from whom we receiv'd it.*

The Accuſation was ſo extravagant, that *Cæſar* had no great Faith in it from the very beginning; but when he came to reflect upon the Honeſty and Frankneſs of *Alexander*'s Defence, and the Change of Countenance he obſerv'd in *Herod*, he was more and more confirm'd in an Opinion that it was not fair Dealing. The whole Court, in Short, was mightily in Pain for the young Princes, and not without hard Thoughts of the King himſelf, for ſo raſh and violent a Proſecution: So that what with the *Nonſenſe* of the Story, and the Trouble they were in to ſee the Lives of two ſuch lovely Youths in Danger, they reſolved, one and all, to do them the beſt Offices they could; eſpecially after ſo ſober a Reply to ſo provoking a Charge: The Princes ſtill continuing in the ſame Poſture of Modeſty and Sadneſs, with down-caſt Eyes, waiting for the Iſſue; which was not altogether hopeleſs in the Concluſion. For the King himſelf diſcover'd a Kind of conſcious Confuſion in his Looks; as who ſhould ſay, *What a Madman was I to bring ſuch a Cauſe as this upon the Stage, without better Proof!* *Cæſar* took Notice of all theſe Things; and after a ſhort Pauſe to bethink himſelf, came to this Reſolution upon the whole Matter, that is to ſay; *that the Sons were in ſome Sort to blame to give their Father any Cauſe of Jealouſy; but that, upon the main, he acquitted them ſo far, that he pronounced them innocent; deſiring* Herod *at the ſame Time to forgive and forget, without any farther Diſtruſt: And ſo to make a final End of the Controverſy, as being a moſt unreaſonable Thing for a Father to encourage ill Offices againſt his own Children; telling him farther, that Things would mend in Time, and Friends piece again, if they could but come to a mutual Confidence once, and a fair Underſtanding one with another.* After this Declaration of himſelf, upon that Occaſion, he beckon'd to the Brothers to come forward, and as they were advancing with Tears in their Eyes, and Submiſſion in their Hearts, and upon the very Point of caſting themſelves at their Father's Feet, the King with infinite Tenderneſs took them into his Arms, one after the other, and prevented them. The Surprize of this unexpected Encounter drew Tears of Joy from the whole Company; after which Greeting, and the Payment of their dutiful Acknowledgments to *Auguſtus*, *Herod* and *his two Sons* went their Way together, taking *Antipater* along with them; the moſt joy'd Man in the World, as he pretended, at this Reconciliation.

The two Brothers clear'd.

Herod *preſents* Auguſtus; *and* Auguſtus *preſents* Herod, *in Return.*

Some few Days after this, *Herod*, while *Auguſtus* was treating the People with *Spectacles* and *Doles*, made *Cæſar* a Preſent of three hundred Talents; who in Requital beſtow'd upon him one Moyety of the Profits of the *Mines* of *Cyprus*, and the Diſpoſition of the other, with ſeveral honourable Bounties and Commiſſions, over and above. He gave him Liberty alſo to appoint which of his Sons he pleas'd for his Succeſſor; or otherwiſe to divide the Government betwixt them which he lik'd beſt. Now *Cæſar* finding him ready to comply, put only this Bar upon him, that he ſhould not part with it in his own Life-time; but keep his Kingdom in his Power as well as his Children.

Herod *goes back with his Sons to* Judæa.

He meets Archelaus *at* Eleuſa.

He calls a Council at Jeruſalem, *and declares his Succeſſor.*

This was the Poſture of Affairs when *Herod* returned with his three Sons for *Judæa*. The People at *Trachonitis*, a conſiderable Part of that Kingdom, had in his Abſence revolted, it ſeems; but by the Vigilance and good Government of the Officers he had left behind him, they were reduced to their Duty. As *Herod* and his Sons were upon their Voyage, coming to *Eleuſa* a City of *Cilicia*, now called *Sebaſte*, whom ſhould they find there but *Archelaus*, the King of *Cappadocia*; who was even overjoy'd to ſee *Herod* and his *Sons* ſo well together again, and to underſtand that his Son-in-Law *Alexander* had acquitted himſelf upon his Tryal with ſo much Honour. *Archelaus*, in Fine, received *Herod* with all Humanity imaginable; and ſo after a reciprocal Exchange of Endearments and Preſents, the two Kings parted. *Herod* immediately upon his Arrival at *Jeruſalem*, call'd the People together into the Temple, and there entertain'd them with an Account of his Expedition: And when he had run through the Hiſtory of the Honours *Cæſar* had done him, and other Paſſages that he had a Mind they ſhould know, he turn'd his Diſcourſe at laſt to his Sons, with a particular Recommendation of Peace and Unity, as well to the Court as to the common People; *declaring to them in Form, that he appointed his Sons to be his Succeſſors;* Antipater, *in the firſt Place; and after him,* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *in their Order. But during my Life,* ſays he, *you are to own no other Lord and Maſter than my ſelf. I ſpeak this to my Family with my Officers and People of all Sorts, whether military or civil. Make this the Meaſure of your Allegiance, as ever you hope for one happy Hour. I ſhall grow in Years, 'tis true, but that will be rather an Advantage than an Incapacity; for Age brings Experience, and Experience teaches Men Wiſdom, which can only fit a Man for the Functions of Government; eſpecially accompany'd with other neceſſary Circumſtances for a political Adminiſtration.* With theſe Words he finiſh'd his Speech, and diſcharg'd the Meeting. Some were well enough pleas'd with it; others as much the contrary; for upon the caſting of this Bone of Emulation among the Pretenders, Matters look'd already toward a Change.

CHAP. IX.

Cæſarea *finiſhed. The Solemnity of the* Dedication. *The* Certamen Quinquennale. Herod *builds* Capharſaba, Cypron, Phaſael, *&c*; *rebuilds the Temple of the* Pythian Apollo, *and ſettles an* Annuity *for the* Olympick Games. *The Character of* Herod.

Cæſarea *finiſh'd. The Dedication of it celebrated with all Manner of Plays, Spectacles, and Games.*

THE City of *Cæſarea* was now finiſh'd, in the tenth Year from laying the Foundation of it, the 28*th.* of *Herod*'s Reign, and in the *Olympiad* one hundred ninety two. The Dedication of it was celebrated with all the Magnificence and Splendor imaginable: Maſters procur'd from all Parts, and the beſt that could be gotten too in all Faculties and Exerciſes; as Muſicians, Wreſtlers, Swordſmen, and the like; and theſe in their ſeveral Profeſſions, to play their Prizes. They had their Horſe-Races alſo, and ſeveral Sorts of wild Beaſts, with all other Varieties of Spectacle and Entertainment that were in Vogue, either at *Rome* or *elſewhere*. This Solemnity was inſtituted to the Honour of *Cæſar*, under the Appellation of *Certamen Quinquennale*; and the Ceremony to be exhibited every fifth Year. It was a prodigious Charge that the King was at for the furniſhing of this pompous Shew, in Curioſities from all Quarters far and near; beſide what *Julia*, the Wife of *Cæſar* contributed toward it upon her own Account, and in expenſive Rarities out of *Italy*, computed at about five hundred Talents upon the whole: Over and above the vaſt Multitudes of People that flock'd thither upon this Occaſion, and divers Embaſſadors from abroad out of a Complement to *Herod*, which were all entertain'd, treated and diverted at the King's Coſt, with Spectacles by Day, and ſumptuous Feaſting and Jollities by Night to the infinite Reputation of his Character for a generous and a magnanimous Prince. He made it all his Buſineſs, in Fine, to out-do himſelf, and by the Splendor of every ſucceeding Action, to darken the Glory of the Former: Inſomuch that both *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* had been often heard to ſay, what Pity it was that both *Syria* and *Ægypt* was not caſt into his Province; for the Command and Revenue of *Judæa* was too narrow for his Soul.

The Certamen Quinquennale.

Herod *builds* Capharſaba, Cypron, Phaſael, *&c.*

When the Solemnity of this Feſtival was well over, he ſet himſelf to the building of another City, upon a Plain call'd *Capharſaba*, a Spot of Ground that was moſt deliciouſly wooded and water'd; a pleaſant River about it, and a Grove with a delicate Plantation of curious Trees near the Place. He gave this Town the Name of *Antipatris* from *Antipater*, his Father: And he built after this a Caſtle beyond *Jericho*, which he call'd *Cypris*, from the Name of his Mother; a ſweet delightful Seat well built and fortify'd: Not forgetting his beloved Brother all this while; to the Honour of whoſe Memory he dedicated ſeveral glorious and monumental Structures; as in the firſt Place a Tower in the City itſelf, not inferior for Strength and Largeneſs to the *Alexandrian Pharos*, to which he gave the Name of *Phaſael*, after which he erected a Town upon the *North-ſide* of the Valley of *Jericho*, which he called by the ſame Name. By this Means, the Country round about, that was before abandon'd, came to be peopled again, and was called the Province of the *Phaſaelites*.

It would be endleſs to run thorough the Hiſtory of all his Bounties in *Syria*, *Greece*, and in Truth, wherever he came by giving his Aſſiſtance to ſome; advancing publick Works for others; and ſupplying Monies elſewhere, for the perfecting of what ſome had begun, and could not go thorough with.

He rebuilds the Temple of the Pythian Apollo.

But to come to the moſt magnificent and illuſtrious of all his Undertakings, there was the Temple of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Rhodes*, that he rebuilt upon his own particular Account, and I know not how many *Talents*, of *free Gift* to the *Rhodians* for the building of ſo many Ships. Another vaſt Sum to the repairing and finiſhing of ſeveral publick Edifices in the City of *Nicopolis*, which was erected by *Cæſar*, near *Actium*. He built two Galleries in *Antioch* (which is the largeſt City of *Syria*) that went quite croſs the Town, with a Walk betwixt them. Theſe Galleries were glorioully adorn'd, and the Streets pav'd with a ſmooth poliſh'd Stone, both for the Ornament of the Place, and for the Convenience of the Inhabitants.

and ſettles an Annuity for the Olympian Games.

He ſet apart alſo a yearly Allowance out of his own Revenue toward the Maintenance of the *Olympick Games*, which began now to ſink in their Reputation, for Want of a Maintenance to bear the Charge of *Sacrifices* and *pompous Expences*, ſuitable to ſuch a Meeting: By which Munificence he got the Name of a perpetual *Maſter of the Revels*.

The Character of Herod.

But after all this, there never was any Man perhaps made up of ſo many ſeeming Contradictions. Take him in the General, for his Liberality and the external Appearance of a Diſpoſition to do good to all Men, one would have concluded him the beſt natur'd Creature under the Sun: But then to conſider, on the other Hand, the extreme Rigour and Injuſtice of his Practices, even upon his neareſt Relations, as well as upon his Subjects at large, it is not to be deny'd but that he was harſh and inexorable, without either Pity or Shame. Now upon this View, a Body would take him to be a Man divided within himſelf; but I am rather of Opinion that he was *uniform* and *ſteady* to the ſame Meaſure and Principle. As he was greedy of Honour, and a Perſon wholly abandon'd to that impotent Vanity, he was conſequently magnificent, in Order to the compaſſing of his End; and according to the Proſpect he had either of a glorious Life or of an honourable Memory. This made him profuſe beyond his Fortune, and burdenſome to his Subjects; for there was no ſupplying of his extravagant Expences by fair and warrantable Means. He was then ſenſible of the ill Will he had drawn upon himſelf by his Oppreſſion, and of the Difficulty of allaying thoſe ſeditious Diſcontents: Which he ſaw was a Thing not to be done, without either retrenching his Diſburſements or ſhortening his Revenue. So that he had no Way left now, but to improve the People's Spite to his own Benefit; which he did, firſt by provoking Men beyond all Patience, and then treating them as the worſt of Enemies for grumbling: And this was the Courſe he took, without Diſtinction of Perſons, whether Friends or Relations; being reſolved to aſſert his Dignity in all Caſes whatſoever. But he gave to underſtand by the Honours he paid to others what he expected to himſelf; as to *Cæſar* and *Agrippa* and the Reſt of his illuſtrious Friends; and that he intended the one ſhould be exemplary to the other. This was enough to ſhew the Bent and Biaſs of his Inclination. Now *Herod*'s Way of doing Homage to Superiors, was no Precedent for the *Jews* to follow; but a flat Contradiction to their Laws and Practice; being train'd-up to Principles of Obedience for *Conſcience*, without any Regard to *Intereſt*, or *Power*. This Reſtraint was exceedingly to their Loſs, for they might otherwiſe have inſinuated themſelves by the pompous Dedications of *Temples*, and *Statues*, into the good Graces of the King; and with other ſuch like Flatteries have gratify'd the Vanity of an ambitious Man. This, in Fine, do I take to be the true Reaſon of *Herod*'s exceſſive Generoſity and Bounty toward Strangers; and no leſs, of his inexorable Cruelty toward his own Subjects.

CHAP. X.

The Greeks *petition* Cæſar *againſt the* Jews. Cæſar *confirms them in their* Privileges. *Several* Decrees *highly in their Favour.*

The Greeks *petition* Cæſar *againſt the* Jews.

Cæſar *confirms them in their Privileges.*

THE *Jews* of *Aſia* and thoſe of *Cyrene* in *Africa*, were at this Time ſo ill treated by the *Greeks*, and without any End or Meaſure, upon a Pretence that they carry'd their Mony out of the Country, and where in other Reſpects a Grievance to them, that having a Grant from former Kings, of free Privileges and Immunities, in common with the reſt of the Citizens and the Natives themſelves, they ſent their Embaſſadors, upon this Occaſion, with a petitionary Complaint and Appeal to *Cæſar*; who thereupon wrote back to the *Provinces*, that *it was his Will and Pleaſure the* Jews *ſhould continue in the Enjoyment of their Exemptions:* The Copy of this *Edict* I have here ſubjoyn'd, for the better Authority of our Pretence, and to ſhew the World what Opinion the *Emperours* of former Times had of the *Jews*.

Cæſar Auguſtus, High-Prieſt and Tribune of the People, hath decreed this.

Several Decrees highly in Favour of the Jews.

Whereas the Jews *have ever been a People faithful, and well affected to the* Romans, *eſpecially to* Cæſar, *my imperial Father, in the* Pontificat *of* Hyrcanus, *and remain to this Preſent in the ſame Diſpoſition of Faith and Good-Will as formerly, we have deemed it reaſonable, with the Advice and Conſent of the* Senate *and the People of* Rome, *to permit unto the ſaid* Jews *the free Exerciſe of their own Laws and Rites, in as ample Manner as they enjoy'd them formerly in the Days of* Hyrcanus, *the* High-Prieſt of the great God; *we do likewiſe permit their* Temples *ſtill to continue* Sanctuaries, *and Places of* Refuge; *Their Contribution-Mony toward* holy Uſes *to be committed to the Treaſury of* Jeruſalem, *by ſuch Perſons as they ſhall appoint, without any Let or Moleſtation: That they be not forced upon Appearances before the Magiſtrates on the Day of their* Sabbath, *or after nine of the Clock on the* Eve before: *That it be made* Sacrilege, *and* Confiſcation of Goods, *to ſteal out of their* religious Places *any of their* holy Books *or* Treaſure. *And we do further require, out of the Tenderneſs and Reſpect we bear to all Mankind, that the Addreſs or Memorial now preſented us by* Caius Marcius Cenſorinus *on the behalf of the* Jews, *together with this* Decree, *be ſet up in that eminent Place at* [a] Ancyra, *which was dedicated by*

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[a] See *Caſaubon*'s Notes upon *Aurelius Victor*. p. 25. *Ed. Traject.*

by the whole People of Aſia *to the Honour of our Name. And let no Man do any Thing contrary to the Tenor hereof, at his uttermoſt Peril. There was this following Inſcription alſo upon one of the Pillars of the* Temple.

Cæſar *to* Norbanus Flaccus, *Greeting. Let no Man preſume to hinder or interrupt the* Jews *in any Place whatſoever, in the ſending up of their* Money *to* Jeruſalem *for* holy Uſes, *according to their ancient Cuſtom.* Thus far *Cæſar.* And *Agrippa* afterward wrote a Letter on the *Jews* Behalf in like Manner too, as follows.

Agrippa to the *Magiſtrates, Senate* and *People* of *Epheſus,* Health. *It is our Will that the* Jews *in* Aſia *have the keeping and diſpoſing of the* Money themſelves, *that they ſend up to* Jeruſalem, *according to* ancient Uſage *for the Service of their* Temple *and their Worſhip: And in Caſe any of that ſacred* Treaſure *ſhall be ſtollen, and the Criminal fly to the* Altar *for* Sanctuary, *let him be taken away by Violence, and deliver'd up to the* Jews *to be baniſh'd as a* ſacrilegious Perſon *and out of Protection.* The ſame *Agrippa* wrote alſo to the *Prætor Syllanus,* againſt hurrying the *Jews* upon the *Sabbath-Day,* before their Courts of *Juſtice.* And once again:

Marcus Agrippa *to the* Magiſtrates *and* Senate *of* Cyrene, *Greeting. Whereas the* Jews *of your Parts have written complaining Letters to me, of the vexatious Practices of ſome Pick-thank People among you, that take upon them to put a Stop to the tranſmitting of their* Monies *to* Jeruſalem, *under Pretext of being in an Arrear of* Tribute, *which is not ſo neither: And all this, notwithſtanding the poſitive Letters and Orders from* Auguſtus *to* Flavius, *the* Prætor *of* Libya, *and the* other Magiſtrates *of* that Province; *not to give them any Interruption, in ſending up their Money as formerly; it is my Command that they be left wholly to their own Way and Liberty, as heretofore: And that Commiſſioners be appointed for reſtoring to the* Jews *as much of their Treaſure as ſhall be found either conceal'd or miſapply'd.*

Caius Norbanus Flaccus, Proconſul, *to the* Magiſtrates *of* Sardis, *Health. Being commanded by an Expreſs from* Cæſar, *to take Care that no Obſtruction be given to the* Jews *in the collecting and ſending up of Monies to* Jeruſalem *to ſuch Purpoſes as they have formerly done; this is to acquaint you that* Auguſtus *will have it ſo, and that I expect his Orders ſhall be obey'd.*

Julius Antonius, Proconſul, *wrote alſo to the* Magiſtrates, Senate *and* People *of* Epheſus *to the ſame Effect,* i. e. *The* Jews *of* Aſia *(ſays he) as I was upon the Bench in a Court of Juſtice at* Epheſus *in the* Ides *of* February laſt paſt, *gave me to underſtand that* Auguſtus Cæſar *and* Agrippa *had granted them the Freedom of their own Ways and Ceremonies, and Liberty to diſpoſe of their Firſt Fruits, as they thought fit among themſelves: And ſo to carry the Money to* Jeruſalem, *without any Interruption or Controul, and there to dedicate it to the Temple of the High God. So they made their Application to me,* ſays he, *for a Ratification of theſe Privileges. This is therefore to inform you, that I do abſolutely* ſubſcribe *to the* Reſolution *and Determination of* Cæſar *and* Agrippa: *And I do farther require, that no Trouble or Vexation be given them in any Sort whatſoever, either to diſtract or to diſappoint them in the peaceable Exerciſe of theſe Immunities.*

We have the rather cited theſe Inſtances and Preſidents, to ſhew the *Greeks* upon the Peruſal of theſe Papers, the Honour that has been done us by Antiquity, and the Privileges in Matter of Cuſtom, Diſcipline, and Worſhip, that have been from Time to Time allow'd us by the ſovereign Powers, even to the Degree of *tolerating* our *Religion* it ſelf, in the Service of the *true God.* And I do the more inculcate theſe Notices and Hints, becauſe I would ſoften Strangers, and deface, if poſſible, the Impreſſions of a moſt unreaſonable Averſion and Prejudice. It is no new Thing, for whole Nations as well as particular Places, to change Humours and Manners; but Juſtice is with all People, and in all Times and Places, evermore the ſame; a Bleſſing that extends indifferently even to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; the very Reaſon and Foundation of all our Laws: So that if we do but maintain them ſacred; that Virtue alone will both endear us, and make us Friends to all Mankind: Wherefore it ſhould be my Requeſt to the whole World, that People would not hate one another for differing in the Way of Living, ſo long as they agree in the main End and Buſineſs of Life. Virtue, in Fine, is common to all Men, and humane Society can never be happy without it. But I ſhall return now to my Text.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Herod *rifles divers* Sepulchres, *of* Plate, *&c. Two of his Guards conſumed by Fire in the* ſacrilegious Attempt. *Upon this Judgment*, Herod *walls up the Paſſage. He and his Family are puniſhed for't. The Hypocriſy of* Antipater. Herod *offers his Daughter to* Pheroras; *who refuſes her: And then he offers his other Daughter*, Cypras. Pheroras *breaks his Oath and Promiſe.* Salome *takes the Children of* Mariamne, *and makes a* Spy *of her own Daughter. The Privacies of Man and Wiſe betray'd.* Herod *ſaid to be in Love with* Glaphyra. Alexander *tells* Herod *the Story.* Herod *calls* Pheroras *to an Account about it.* Pheroras *ſays he had it of* Salome. Salome *denies and outfaces it.* Salome *ſuſpected for the* Authoreſs *of the Report.* Obodas, *King of* Arabia. Syllæus *his prime Miniſter; and in Love with* Salome. *An* Intrigue *betwixt them.* Herod *ſets a* Spy *upon them.* Syllæus *propoſes a* Match. Salome *conſents; but they break off upon* Religion. *A* Match *between* Pheroras's *Son and* Herod's *Daughter. The Confeſſion of* three Eunuchs *againſt* Alexander. Herod's *Jealouſy. The falſe Witneſſes brought to* Juſtice. Andromachus *and* Gemellus *baniſh'd.* Antipater *governs* Herod. *An Information upon the Torture againſt* Alexander. Alexander *made a Priſoner. His Friends and Confidents* tortured. *Falſe Evidence upon the* Torture. *The Bravery and Conſtancy of* Alexander. *A generous Defiance of* Herod. Ptolemy *and* Sapinnius *named in the* Conſpiracy. Herod *miſerable and reſtleſs.*

Herod *rifles divers Sepulchres, of Plate and Veſſels; but finds no ready Money.*

Two of his Guards conſum'd by Fire in the ſacrilegious Attempt. Herod *walls up the Paſſage, upon this Judgment.*

HEROD had ſquander'd away vaſt Sums of Money both at Home and Abroad; and hearing that his Predeceſſor *Hyrcanus* had fetch'd *three thouſand Talents of Silver* out of *David*'s *Sepulchre*, and that there was enough left behind there to anſwer any Occaſion whatſoever: This Fancy ran in his Head a long Time before he could come to any Reſolution upon it. But at laſt, taking ſome few of thoſe he could beſt truſt along with him, he convey'd himſelf by Night into the *Sepulchre*; but with all Care imaginable to keep it from the People. He found a World of *rich Plate*, and *Veſſels*, both *Gold* and *Silver*, and took it away with him; but for the *ready Money* that he expected, there was none to be found; for *Hyrcanus*, it ſeems, had been before-hand with him. This Succeſs however, ſuch as it was, gave him an Encouragement to make a ſtricter Search: So he advanced farther in, till he came to the very *Coffins* where the Bodies of *Solomon* and *David* were depoſited. The Story ſays, that he loſt two of his Guards there by a Flaſh of Fire that brake out of the Receſs, which was interpreted as a Judgment upon the Temerity of the Undertaking. The Prodigy put *Herod* into ſuch a Fright, that in a Fit both of Terror and of Conſcience, he quitted his Deſign; and to expiate in ſome Meaſure for the Sacrilege, he erected a moſt ſumptuous Monument of Marble to bar up the very Entrance into the Sepulchre. *Nicolaus* an Hiſtorian of thoſe Times, makes Mention of this Work; but ſays nothing of the *King's Adventure*, which he look'd upon to be ſo *impious* and diſhonourable, that he choſe rather to ſuppreſs it; for being co-temporary with the King, and writing his own Story to his Face, he was to ſpeak only pleaſing Things that might redound to his Glory, without ever ſo much as touching upon his Failings. And the Courſe he took was either to palliate and diſguiſe his moſt notorious and extravagant Cruelties, or in ſome Caſes perchance, to ſay nothing of them at all. How does he colour the Murder of *Mariamne*, and the horrid Indignities put upon her *two Sons*, with a Brand of *Incontinency* in the one, and of a *Practice* upon the Life of their Father in the other! And this is his Way throughout, to elevate to the Skies, what the King did well, and either to paſs over or extenuate what he did amiſs. But he has this to ſay for himſelf however, that he wrote *Panegyrick* rather than *Hiſtory*; and not ſo much for the Information of Poſterity, as for the gratifying of his Patron. But for my own Part now, having in my Veins the royal Blood of the *Aſmonæan Family*, and the Dignity likewiſe of the *Pontificate*, I have no more to do but to report Matters plainly as I find them, with all Reverence to the Deſcendants of that Prince; but by their Leave yet, with a greater Reſpect to Truth: For I would not willingly blaſt the Reputation of my Character with one falſe Word.

Herod *and his Family puniſhed for the Sacrilege.*

The Artifice and Hypocriſy of Antipater.

From the Time that *Herod* brake in moſt ſacrilegiouſly upon this *Sepulchre*, Things went ſtill croſſer and croſſer in his Family, whether upon a judicial Vengeance upon that Part of it that was before ill affected, or by the Calamity of a Seaſon that look'd ſo like the Puniſhment of a flagitious Wickedneſs. The Fewd was a Kind of civil War in the Houſe, and carry'd on by ſome Sort of Competition, betwixt Outrage and Calumny. But the Maſterpiece of the whole Story was the Artifice and Hypocriſy of *Antipater*; who at the ſame Time while he was on the one Hand ſuborning of Practices againſt his Brothers, acted the Part himſelf on the other Hand, of an Advocate with *Herod* to *defend* them: Under this Diſguiſe, the better to ſecure their Ruin. *Antipater* wrought ſo far upon the King by theſe Wiles, that he look'd upon him as the only zealous Friend in the World that took Care of him. Inſomuch that he recommended his chief Miniſter *Ptolemy*, to adviſe with *Antipater* ſtill, about the State of the Government; who immediately conferring Notes upon it with the Mother, made every thing go their way, ſo that the King's Love, or Hatred, was managed for the Better or the Worſe, according as it ſerv'd their Intereſt.

Alexander and *Ariſtobulus*, on the other Side, being Men of Honour and Spirit, ſtomach'd this way of proceeding beyond all Patience, to ſee themſelves degraded ſo much below their Birth, and trampled upon by their Inferiours; and their Wives labour'd under the ſame Paſſions too; for there was no Love loſt betwixt *Glaphyra*, *Alexander*'s *Wife*, and the *Daughter* of the King of *Cappadocia*: Betwixt her, I ſay, and *Salome*; whom the other mortally hated, both out of the Love ſhe bare her Husband, and out of a womaniſh Fret to ſee her Daughter that was marry'd to *Ariſtobulus*, ſit upon the ſame Level with her ſelf.

There fell in likewiſe at the ſame time, another unlucky Circumſtance, that engaged *Pheroras*, the King's Brother, in the Controverſy, and it was improv'd, in the Concluſion, to a high Degree of Jealouſy and Hatred. *Herod* made an Offer to *Pheroras* of his Daughter in Marriage; who excuſed himſelf, that being deſperately in Love with his own Maid, he could not marry any body elſe. The King could not but lay this Refuſal to Heart, eſpecially from a Brother that he had been ſo kind to, even to the Degree of ſharing his Government with him. But, in ſhort, finding himſelf ſo ill-requited, the Honour he offer'd him rejected, his good Intentions diſappointed, and that there was no way of bringing him to Reaſon, he marry'd this Daughter, upon it, to the Son of *Phaſael*, his elder Brother. *Herod* by the Time that the Love had cool'd a while, went to *Pheroras* once again, and when he had ſchool'd him ſufficiently about the Affront of his former Repulſe, as a freſh Inſtance of his Affection, he made yet another Offer of his other Daughter *Cypras*. *Pheroras* went preſently upon this Propoſal to adviſe with *Ptolemy* about it; who told him, that if he were not a Madman, he would cloſe with his Brother, and not hazard his Fortune as well as his Quiet, in the Loſs of the King's Favour, which would make him an Enemy inſtead of a Friend; and all this for the Freak of a ſcandalous Amour: *Pheroras* could not but approve this, and he embrac'd the Counſel; begg'd the King's Pardon; and diſcharging himſelf of the firſt Woman, by whom he had one Child, he promis'd the King within a Month to marry the other Daughter; binding himſelf by an Oath to make good his Word, and never to have any thing more to do with her he had now renounced. In this while, *Pheroras* relaps'd into his old Fit of Dotage again, took the former Woman home to him; and when the Month was out, without any Regard to his Oaths and Promiſes, moſt ſhamefully brake Faith with his Brother. The Provocation of this Affront, put *Herod* ſo far out of the Government of himſelf, that he could not forbear laſhing out into Intemperances of Language againſt his Brother: There were Make-bates enough to lay hold of this, and to improve the Diſtemper into an Occaſion of making further Miſchief. So it was, in fine, that there ſcarce paſs'd a Day, or an Hour, without bringing ſome new Trouble or other into the Family, by the inflaming of Piques and Jealouſies, and ſetting the neareſt, and the tendereſt of Friends and Relations, one againſt another. Nay, ſo deadly was the rancorous Hatred of *Salome* to the Sons of *Mariamne*, that ſhe would not ſuffer her Daughter to enjoy ſo much as the conjugal Converſation of her own Husband, *Ariſtobulus*; but was ſtill pumping of her and tampering, to fiſh out the moſt ſacred Privacies that paſs'd betwixt them; or if they happen'd at any Time to be out of Humour one with another, as that's a common Caſe, ſhe never fail'd of blowing the Coal, and doing her Part toward the enflaming of the Diſcontent. By this Means ſhe div'd into all her Secrets; and as ſhe ſaw Occaſion, caſt in a Bone betwixt the Wife and the Husband. She got out of her what the Brothers ſaid of *Mariamne*, when they were by themſelves: At how coarſe a Rate they talk'd of their Father; and how they threaten'd all the Sons he had by other Women, if ever they came to the Throne, to make Country-Scriveners, or Pariſh-Clerks of them, as a Profeſſion that beſt ſuited with their Way of Education: And ſhe had heard them talk further, ſhe ſaid, that if ever they ſhould ſee any of *Herod*'s *Wives* ſet out with their Mother *Mariamne*'s *Jewels*, they would, without any more ado, put them into Sackcloth, and lay them up where they ſhould never ſee the Sun. *Salome*, by this, thought the Time long till the King had the Story, and ſo away ſhe carried it her ſelf to him immediately. He was ſufficiently nettled upon the main; but inclining yet, to try if he could ſet Things right by fair Means, rather than by foul. In one word, they ply'd him ſo hard with hammering Jealouſies and Whimſeys into his Head, that they brought him at laſt

Herod *offers his Daughter to* Pheroras, *and he refuſes her.*

He offers him his other Daughter Cypras.

Pheroras *breaks his Oath and Promiſe.*

Salome *hates the Children of* Mariamne *mortally.*

She makes a Spy of her own Daughter againſt her Husband.

The private Confidences of Man and Wife betray'd.

laſt to a hankering after Tales and Calumnies; and to ſuch a Degree of Credulity, that he ſwallow'd whatever was told him; but contenting himſelf however, for the preſent, with a ſevere Rebuke to his Sons; and upon their Anſwer he came pretty well to himſelf again.

A Story from Pheroras *to* Alexander, *of* Herod'*s being in Love with* Glaphyra.

Alexander *grows* jealous *upon it, and tells* Herod *the Story.*

Herod *calls* Pheroras *to account about it.*

But this was not the worſt on't yet; for *Pheroras* took an Occaſion to ſpeak to *Alexander*, the Husband of *Glaphyra*, of an odd Kind of Story that *Salome* had told him; which was, that *Herod* was fallen paſſionately in love with *Glaphyra*, and that he could not be quiet for it. The young Man, that was naturally hot-headed and jealous, was ſo gall'd at this Diſcourſe, that whatever *Herod* did, day after day, in Favour of *Glaphyra*, for his Son's ſake, was ſtill interpreted in Confirmation of his Suſpicion. This Phancy, in ſhort, had made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion upon him, that when he could bear the Importunity of it no longer, he went directly to his Father, with Tears in his Eyes, and told him what had paſs'd betwixt him and *Pheroras*. If he was outragious before, this made him ſtark-mad, to ſee himſelf ſo baſely calumniated for the fouleſt of Crimes, and this out of his own inſenſible Family too, in Return for all the good Offices he had done them. In this Heat, he ſent for *Pheroras*, and read an angry Lecture to him in Terms to this Effect. *How ſhould it come into thy Head or mine*, ſays he, *thou vileſt, and moſt ungrateful of Mortals, to report, or but ſo much as to think me guilty of ſo horrid a Wickedneſs! But the Malice of the Deſign is only this, under the Colour of an Office of Confidence to my Son, to incite him to ſome treacherous Practice upon the Life of his Father; for what Son that were not reſtrain'd by a ſpecial Providence, would put up ſuch an Indignity from a Father, unreveng'd! Where's the Difference, at this Rate, betwixt the putting of a Jealouſy in the Head of this Son of mine, or a Sword in his Hand againſt his own Father? But what would you be at? For you hate both alike; and at the ſame time, with fair Words to my Face, make the lewdeſt Wretch in Nature of me behind my Back. Go, go, thou moſt unthankful of Men, to ſo tender a Brother; but I ſhall rather deliver you up to your Conſcience for your Tormentor, and endeavour to be better than my Relations, in not returning* Evil *for* Good, *after your Example; but on the contrary, Good for Evil.*

Pheroras *ſays he had it of* Salome. Salome *denies and out-faces it.*

Salome *ſuſpected for the Authoreſs of this Report.*

This was ſo clear a Caſe againſt *Pheroras*, that he had no way to come-off but by diſcharging himſelf upon *Salome*, and laying the Scandal at her Door, as the Original of the Story. *Salome* happening to be within hearing, brake out, with a Stage-Face and Action, into violent Exclamations, *That it was all a Lie, and only a malicious Practice and Conſpiracy, for the taking away of her Life in Revenge of the Zeal and Affection ſhe had expreſs'd for the ſaving of the King's*; who, at that *Inſtant*, ſhe ſaid, *was in greater Danger than ever.* Pheroras, ſays ſhe, *abhors me to Death; for it was I that preſs'd him to turn off the Slut he doated on, and marry the King's Daughter. This is the thing he hates me for*, ſays ſhe, *tearing her Hair, and beating her Breaſt, with a Rage ſo to the Life, that never was a Part better acted. Pheroras* was all this while in the greateſt Pain imaginable, betwixt two inextricable Difficulties; for he could neither deny what he told to *Alexander*, nor prove what *Salome* ſaid to him. They were at it *Pro* and *Con* however a good while; but the King grew ſick on't at laſt, and being now late, ſent them both away, and ſo went to Supper; *Herod* highly commending the Moderation of his Son, and the generous Candour of his Nature, in coming ſo frankly to him with the Story. This Squabble brought *Salome* under the Scandal of being thought the Authoreſs of this Calumny, and the King's Wives were ready enough to ſet it forward; for the Woman being ſour, fickle, and unequal, kind and croſs by Fits, as the Toy took her, they did not like her Humour at all; and in this Diſguſt, they were perpetually ringing ſomething or other in *Herod*'s Ear againſt her; and this Diſpoſition was aſſiſted by an Accident as pat as could be to their Purpoſe.

Obodas, *King of* Arabia. Syllæus *his prime Miniſter.*

Syllæus *in Love with* Salome.

An Intrigue obſerv'd betwixt them.

Herod *ſets a Spy upon them.*

Obodas was at that time King of *Arabia*; a lazy, ſloathful Prince, that minded nothing but his Eaſe. Now there was one *Syllæus*, that menag'd under him; a Man of Brains, and Addreſs, in the Prime of his Years, and a well-made graceful Perſon. This ſame *Syllæus*, coming to *Herod* about Buſineſs, as he was once at Supper with him, and *Salome* in the Company; he took a particular liking to this Princeſs: Inſomuch, that hearing ſhe was a Widow, he ventur'd to make her ſome Kind of Overture toward Marriage. The Woman finding herſelf every day more and more uneaſy with her Brother, and being well enough pleas'd with the young Man too; laying thoſe Things together, was not averſe to the Propoſal: And upon further Converſation, and better Acquaintance, (for they were often together) People came to take Notice by Countenances, Hints, and twenty little Love-tricks, that the Amour advanc'd on both Sides. This went all to the King; and the Women made themſelves merry with it; but *Herod* was not yet thoroughly ſatisfy'd with what the Women told him, till he ſet *Pheroras* for a Spy upon them; who brought him Word, that by what he gather'd ther'd from the Intelligence of Looks and Signs, there was undoubtedly a concerted *Intrigue* betwixt them. *Herod* took it now for granted, and the *Arabian* went his Way Home again. Within ſome two or three Months after this, he returned upon the ſame Errand, and treated with *Herod* himſelf about the Match; enlarging upon it how advantageous it would be to his Intereſt, not only in the Point of Commerce, but in Reſpect alſo of his own Right and Pretenſions to a conſiderable Part of the Country already. The King immediately put the ſhort Queſtion to his Siſter, whether ſhe had a Mind to marry or not; and without any Difficulty ſhe anſwer'd him, *yes*. This was told *Syllæus*; and that if he would turn *Jew*, he might have her: But otherwiſe by the Law of the Country, it could not be. *Syllæus* reply'd on the other Hand, that if he ſhould fall off from his Religion, the *Arabians* would ſtone him to Death; and ſo the Treaty brake off. *Pheroras* took a Riſe from hence to be ſeveral times hinting to the King how *Salome* expos'd her Reputation; but the King's Wives carry'd the Liberties ſhe took with the *Arabian*, to the Degree of Incontinence it ſelf.

And he is convinc'd of the Amour.

Syllæus *goes back again; and returning ſoon after, propoſes the Match.*

Salome *conſents; but they break off upon Religion.*

Herod was now Half-reſolved, at the Importunity of *Salome*, to marry his own Daughter, that *Pheroras* had refuſed, to a Son of hers that ſhe had by *Coſtobarus*. But *Pheroras* put it off, by telling him that the young Man would never forgive his Father-in-law the Death of his Father, and adviſed him rather to give her to his own Son that was to ſucceed him in the Government. The King took his Counſel; gave her a hundred Talents for her Portion, and all paſt Miſunderſtandings with *Pheroras* laid aſide and forgotten.

A Match betwixt Pheroras's *Son and* Herod's *Daughter.*

But this was ſo far yet from compoſing the Diſorders of *Herod's Family*, that they went every Day from bad to worſe, and from diſhoneſt, ſhameful Beginnings, to tragical Ends. *Herod* had three handſome *Eunuchs* about him, that he had a mighty Kindneſs for; one ſerved him in the Quality of a *Cup-bearer*; another, in the Office of a *Steward*, and a third waited upon him in his *Bed-Chamber*; over and above, that he made further Uſe of them in Matters of State. Some Body had told *Herod*, it ſeems, that *Alexander* had been tampering with theſe young Men for a Sum of Money to betray him. Upon this Information, they were put to the Torture to make them diſcover what Communication had paſs'd betwixt them. They acknowledg'd they had been together; but for any treaſonous Deſign *Alexander* had upon the Life of his Father, they knew nothing of it. The Tormentors being of *Antipater's* Faction, preſs'd them ſtill harder and harder, till at laſt in the intolerable Anguiſh of their Pains, they extorted this Declaration from them, *i. e. That* Alexander *hated his Father mortally, and did what he could to ſeduce them from their Allegiance to him, as a Prince that was now good for nothing, old, and out of Date: Only he cover'd his Decays the beſt he could with Paint and Artifice. Now if they would come over to him, it ſhould be his Care,* he ſaid, *to ſee them preferr'd in a very ſhort time; for the Government was not only to deſcend to him in Courſe, but Matters were ſo laid, it was not in his Father's Power to diſappoint it: For over and above the Prerogative of his Title, every Thing was ripe and ready for the putting of him into the Poſſeſſion of his Pretences. He had made a great Party among the Officers of the Army,* he ſaid, *and the King's Friends, which were all reſolved to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.* This Confeſſion put *Herod* into a Fit of Rage, and Trembling, both at once; for there was Contempt and Menace in it; and in the Diſtraction of an Uncertainty, how to behave himſelf for Fear of an immediate Surprize, he could not reſolve, upon the ſudden, whether to avoid the Danger, or to encounter it. But the Reſult at laſt was this, to manage his Buſineſs by Spies and Informers, without the Pomp of any publick Enquiries. Whereever he ſuſpected, he conſequently hated; and he ſuſpected thoſe too that did not deſerve it, as well as thoſe that did, for his own Security depended upon it. And there was no End of this Jealouſy neither, for the nearer the Relation, the greater was his Apprehenſion of them, as Perſons that had it more in their Power to do him Miſchief. As for thoſe he never had any thing to do withal, the leaſt Word of an Informer's Mouth was certain Death to them; for he could never think himſelf ſafe while they were living. The Condition of his Domeſticks was yet more to be pitied than all the reſt, for they had no Way to ſave their own Lives, but by calumniating their Fellows; by which Practice, even when they ſucceeded in it, they drew upon themſelves ſuch an Envy and Deteſtation, that they ſeldom fail'd of being paid in their own Coin, and of receiving the ſame Meaſure themſelves that they meted to others. And ſo in the Caſe of private Grudges, they inform'd againſt one another by Turns, and were noos'd in their own Snares. Not but that the King was now and then touch'd in Conſcience, for putting ſo many to Death without Tryal and Conviction; but this did not yet hinder him from doing the ſame Thing over again. He was ſo fair however in the Concluſion, as after the Deſtruction of ſo many Innocents, to do Juſtice at laſt upon the falſe Witneſſes themſelves.

The Confeſſion of three Eunuchs againſt Alexander.

Herod's *Jealouſy ſpares neither Friend nor Foe.*

The falſe Witneſſes themſelves brought to Juſtice at laſt.

Andromachus *and* Gemellus *baniſh'd.*

The Court was at this Time in ſuch a Fright and Conſternation, that many of the King's moſt intimate Friends were baniſh'd his Palace and Preſence; and thoſe in the firſt Place that were generally reputed to have merited beſt at his Hands; as *Andromachus*, and *Gemellus* (two Favourites of an antient Standing) were turn'd off among the reſt. Theſe Miniſters had ſerv'd the King both Abroad and at Home, in Embaſſies and Counſels; the careful Education of his Sons; and in Places, in Fine, of the greateſt Confidence and Truſt. He renounc'd *Andromachus* for the Kindneſs *Alexander* ſhew'd to his Son *Demetrius*, and then he diſcarded *Gemellus*, for the Love he bare to *Alexander*; having been a Kind of Governour and Tutor to him, as well as a Companion in his Travels to *Rome*. Nay, in all likelihood, he would not have ſtopt here neither, if the popular Reputation of the Perſons had not kept him in ſome Sort of Awe; ſo that he contented himſelf with putting them out of Office, and ſending them away, that he might be the more at Liberty in their Abſence, to rage and ſwagger without Controul.

Herod *govern'd by* Antipater's *Counſels.*

An Information upon the Torture againſt Alexander.

Alexander *made a Priſoner.*

His Friends and Confidents tortur'd.

A falſe Evidence upon the Torture.

The firſt, and the chief Author of all this Miſery, was *Antipater*, who finding *Herod* fearful and ſuſpicious, inſinuated himſelf into his Counſels, and apply'd to his Humour; enflaming him to Fierceneſs and Cruelty; and inculcating this Maxim to him, as a *State-Maſterpiece*, to make ſure of all thoſe that had it in their Power to do him any Miſchief. And this was the Way that *Herod* went to work; for when he had expell'd *Andromachus*, and the reſt of his Friends that had the Honeſty and Courage to be plain and free with him, he put all the Confidents of *Alexander* to the Queſtion, concerning treaſonous Plots and Commotions, who dy'd upon the Torture, having nothing to confeſs. This generous Conſtancy being taken for Obſtinacy, they encreaſed the Torments; in great Admiration, that with all this Extremity, they were not able to extort ſo much as the Shadow of one diſloyal Thought. Now *Antipater* craftily took the Matter by another Handle, and made it a Point of Honour in them, rather to deny the Truth in queſtion, than to violate the Faith and Truſt repoſed in them by their Friends and Maſters. So that he was for putting more and more ſtill to the Torture, making no doubt, as he pretended, but ſome or other of them would confeſs at laſt; and in the End one faint-hearted Wretch, that ſhrunk under the Pain, declared that upon occaſion of Peoples commending *Alexander* for a goodly Perſon of a Man, an excellent Markſman, and other laudable Qualities, he had heard him ſay divers Times, that theſe natural Advantages were rather Misfortunes to him than Benefits; for his Father bare him ſuch an envious Hatred for them, that when they were walking together, he was fain to go ſtooping for Fear of over-topping him: And ſo at the Chace, he durſt not ſtrike the Mark; for his Father he knew could not endure to ſee him do any thing well, or to hear him well-ſpoken of. Upon this pretended Diſcovery, they reſpited the poor Man's Torment, and ſo he went on with his Tale, *How* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *enter'd into a Conſpiracy once to take away their Father's Life, when he was abroad a Hunting: And if they ſucceeded* Alexander *was to fly to* Rome *to demand the Succeſſion.* There were certain Letters alſo produced from him to his Brother, complaining of his Father for giving away two hundred Talents a Year in Land, to *Antipater*. *Herod* look'd upon all this together to be a ſufficient Evidence to confirm the Suſpicion he had of his Children: And upon this he fell into another raging Fit againſt his Son *Alexander*, and made him a Priſoner upon it: Not that he himſelf gave much Credit to what he heard, for what Intereſt could they have to deſtroy their Father? Or what ſhould they go to *Rome* for, after ſo notorious a *Parricide?* There might be ſomewhat, I confeſs, in the turbulent and childiſh Heats among the young ambitious People about *Antipater*, and that was all. But in the mean Time however, *Alexander* being clap'd up, and no Body knowing for what, *Herod* could not think himſelf ſafe, without giving the World ſome better Satisfaction in the Reaſon of it: So that he put divers of *Alexander's Confidents and Friends of the beſt Quality, firſt to the Torture, and afterwards to Death*, the better to colour the Pretence of *Alexander's Guilt*; but they confeſs'd nothing. While the Palace was in an Uproar, and nothing to be ſeen or heard of in it but Tumult, Terror, and Torments, a certain young Man that had been tortur'd it ſeems beyond his Strength and Reſolution, told a Story, how *Alexander had written to ſome Friends of his at* Rome, *to inform* Cæſar *that there was a Conſpiracy againſt him, and that if he were but ſent for thither, he could diſcover it; for that his Father had abandon'd the Intereſt of* Rome; *to treat with* Mithridates, *the King of the* Parthians; *adding withal, that there was a Poiſon in Readineſs that he had gotten prepar'd at* Aſcalon. This Invention had ſuch Credit with *Herod*, that he preſently order'd the ſtricteſt Enquiry after the Poiſon that could be made; but there was no ſuch Thing to be found. His Paraſites all this while at his Elbow, to comfort him in his Calamity, and juſtify the Sobriety of his Conduct.

Alexander was ſo far from ſinking under this Oppreſſion, that he ſcorn'd to Trouble himſelf with ſo much as one Word, either of Denial or Defence, partly to exaſperate his Father by the Contempt of theſe Outrages, and partly to put him out of Countenance for giving an Ear to ſuch Traſh: Or otherwiſe, in Caſe he ſhould go on to ſwallow Flams and Fables at that credulous Rate, he took up a Reſolution to give him and his whole Family enough on't. He ſent him four Pieces in writing, wherein he gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not need to torture any more People upon *Interrogatories*, to learn the Truth of Things; for he did aſſure him there was a Conſpiracy againſt his Life; and that *Pheroras*, and ſeveral others that he leaſt ſuſpected were in the Bottom of it. He told him how *Salome* ſtole to Bed to him one Night, and lay with him, and would not be ſaid Nay; telling him likewiſe, that in ſhort, all People were agreed upon the abſolute Neceſſity of making him away; for there was no Freedom or Happineſs to be expected without it: Naming *Ptolemy*, and *Sapinnius* (the two Men of the World that he moſt confided in) among the *Conſpirators*. The Court was by this Time rather a *Mad-Houſe*, or a Medly of *Wild-Beaſts*, than a Society of *reaſonable* Men; the greateſt Friends in Nature one Day, and tearing out one another's Throats the next: And no Time or Place left for Argument or Proof; for the Puniſhment went before the Judgment. Some were put in Chains; others kill'd outright, and the reſt in a Deſpair more painful than Death itſelf. There was nothing to be ſeen in the Palace of what it had been; but inſtead of the Gayety and Splendor of it in former Times, there was little now but Heavineſs of Heart and inconſolable Sorrows. Nay *Herod* himſelf was as weary of his own Life, as he had made other People of theirs; for there was no Body he could truſt; his preſent State was miſerable; and no Proſpect before him, but of Confuſion and Horror. He never took any Reſt either ſleeping or waking for hideous Frights and Imaginations. One while he would fanſy his Son with a Dagger at his Heart; another while ſomewhat elſe; and in one Word, he was upon the whole Matter little better than a Mad-man.

The Bravery and Conſtancy of Alexander.

A generous Defyance of Herod.

Salome *charged with Incontinence.*

Ptolemy *and* Sapinnius *named among the Conſpirators.*

The Palace rather a Mad-Houſe than a Court.

Herod *reſtleſs, and miſerable, and no Creature to truſt to.*

CHAP. XII.

Archelaus *moves* Herod *to be Friends with* Alexander, *who palliates the Matter with an artificial Mediation.* Pheroras *asks* Herod *Pardon, and all is well.* Archelaus *in great Eſteem with* Herod. *He goes to* Rome, *and reconciles* Titus *to* Archelaus.

WHile *Herod* lay in this Anguiſh and Torment of Thought, *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*, reckon'd it the Part, both of a Father, and of a Friend, to make him a Viſit, and to do the beſt Offices he could toward the ſetting of Things right betwixt *Herod*, and his *Daughter* and *Son in-Law*; for whom he had an exceeding Tenderneſs and Compaſſion. Matters went very ill, he heard, and upon his Arrival, he found them rather worſe then he imagin'd; but he thought it would not do well however to pick a downright Quarrel with him for his Temerity, and for taking ſo many ſenſeleſs Shams as he did, upon Truſt. A Conteſt he thought would look like a Reproach, and do more Hurt probably than good; ſo that inſtead of falling upon *Herod*, himſelf, he laid the Blame upon *Alexander*; *for the King*, he ſaid, *had done nothing but what was honourable and juſt*; *and that for his Part, he would tear the Marriages to Pieces, and never own* Glaphyra *again for his Daughter, if he ſhould find that ſhe was privy to the Plot, and did not diſcover it.* This paſſionate Pretence and Zeal of *Archelaus*, for the Vindication of *Herod*, brought him upon ſecond Thoughts, to a more conſiderate Senſe of what he had done, and by little and little to the Softneſs of a Father again. In this merciful Humour, the King, that before took any Man for his Enemy that gave *Alexander* a good Word, fell now directly into Tears to hear *Archelaus* ſpeak againſt him, begging of him that he would not break off the Match, and tranſport himſelf to that Degree for the Folly of a young Man. When the *Cappadocian* had now brought *Herod* into a more practicable Temper, he palliated the Miſtake as well as he could, by laying the Fault in ſome Meaſure upon *evil Counſel*, and the Company he kept. *He might be tractable, indeed*, he ſaid, *but truly he never found him malicious. He might perhaps be miſled and corrupted*; *and ſo by a ſide-Wind he ſlunted all the Way upon* Pheroras. Now *Pheroras* was come by this Time ſufficiently to underſtand how deſperately he had loſt himſelf in the Opinion of *Herod*; and reflecting upon it that no Man was ſo proper for him to make Uſe of as *Archelaus*, he made his Addreſs to him in Mourning, and with the Humility of a moſt penitent Supplicant, implor'd his Interceſſion for him to the King. *Archelaus* was not wanting to him in any Matter of Reſpect, but he told him withal, that *Herod*'s Diſpleaſure

Archelaus *makes* Herod *a Viſit to reconcile him to* Alexander.

An artificial Way of Mediation.

Archelaus *palliates the Matter.*

Pheroras *asks* Herod's *Pardon, and all's well again.* Herod *highly ſenſible of the good Offices of* Archelaus.

Herod *goes to* Rome, *and reconciles* Titus *to* Archelaus.

was not ſo eaſily remov'd as he might imagine: But if he were to be his Adviſer, he ſhould rather go and humble himſelf to his Brother, and owning himſelf the Cauſe of all the Calamities of the Family, crave his Pardon. Such a Confeſſion might perchance [a] work upon him, and make Way for a Mediation. He follow'd the Advice, and it ſucceeded both Ways; for *Alexander*, beyond all Expectation, was diſcharg'd of his pretended Crime; and *Herod* at the Inſtance of *Archelaus*, reconcil'd to his Brother. *Herod* was now ſo ſenſible of the Obligations he had to *Archelaus* in his Extremity, that he look'd upon him as the beſt Friend he had in the World: The other returning into *Cappadocia*, charg'd with rich Preſents, and no leſs Satisfaction in the Succeſs of his Voyage. They were now agreed upon it that *Herod* ſhould go to *Rome* to inform *Cæſar* of the preſent State of his Family, having written formerly to him upon the ſame Subject. They went together to *Antioch*, where *Herod* reconcil'd [b] *Titus* the Governour of *Syria* to *Archelaus*, and ſo return'd to *Judæa*.

CHAP. XIII.

In Herod's *Abſence, the* Trachonites *revolt. The* King's Troops *give them an Overthrow.* Syllæus *receives and protects them.* Herod *breaks into* Trachon, *and addreſſes to* Saturninus *and* Volumnius *to deliver up the* Robbers. Syllæus *ſays, there are none in* Arabia. Saturninus *and* Volumnius *order Satisfaction to be given to* Herod.

In Herod's *Abſence the* Trachonites *revolt to the* Arabians.

The King's Troops give them an Overthrow. Syllæus *receives, and protects them.*

Herod *breaks into* Trachon,

and addreſſes to Saturninus *and* Volumnius *to deliver up the Robbers; and an Arrear of* 60 *Talents.* Syllæus *denies the having any in* Arabia. Saturninus *and* Volumnius *order Satisfaction upon both Points.*

WHen *Herod* had been at *Rome*, and was come back again, there brake out a War with the *Arabians*, upon this Occaſion. The Inhabitants of *Trachon* (a Province that *Cæſar* took away from *Zenodorus*, and gave to *Herod*) when they could no longer exerciſe their old Trade of *Free-booting* betook themſelves to Planting and Tillage; a Courſe of Life that yielded them neither Satisfaction nor Profit. But yet for a while, at firſt, *Herod*, to his Honour, kept them in pretty good Order, and without any barbarous Inroads upon their Neigbours; but upon the King's going into *Italy* to accuſe *Alexander*, and recommend *Antipater*; and a Rumour ſpread at the ſame Time, of the Death of *Herod*, the *Trachonites* revolted, and betook themſelves to their former Courſe of Life; but they were quickly broken and ſuppreſs'd by the King's Troops; only *forty* of the Heads of them made their Eſcapes and fled into *Arabia*; where *Syllæus* (who had not as yet diſgeſted the Refuſal of *Salome*) gave them Entertainment and a ſafe Retreat, with a ſtrong, and a well fortify'd Place for their Habitation: From whence they did not only infeſt *Judæa*, and *Cœle-Syria*, and carry away Booty and Cattle into their Holes; but they committed all theſe Outrages, without Oppoſition, or Controul. When *Herod* found at his Return from *Rome*, what Spoil the Robbers had made, and that he was ty'd up from meddling with them ſo long as they were under the *Arabians* Protection, the Affront went ſo near the Heart of him, that without any more ado he preſently made an Incurſion into *Trachon*, where he put whole Families of theſe People to the Sword. This tranſported the reſt into ſuch a Rage, being obliged by a Law of their own Country not to paſs over ſuch an Indignity unrevenged, that in Contempt of all Danger and Oppoſition, they would never let *Herod* be free from the Vexation of their perpetual Incurſions. Under theſe Circumſtances, he apply'd himſelf to *Cæſar*'s *Governours* of thoſe Provinces, *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, to deliver up thoſe Vagabonds into his Hands. This Complaint made them madder and madder: So that getting a Matter of a thouſand of them into a Body, they ranged up and down in Parties; ravaging Town and Country, and killing whatever they could come at: So that, in fine, theſe Encounters had the Face rather of a War than of a Scuffle; *Herod* inſiſting upon the delivering up of the Thieves, and the Repayment of the ſixty Talents (ſome Time ſince due) which *Herod* by the Hand of *Syllæus* lent to *Obodas*. *Syllæus*, who had now uſurped the Government of *Obodas* to himſelf, flatly deny'd any of the Thieves to be in *Arabia*, and ſhuffled off the Payment of the Mony till *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* order'd the full Satisfaction of the Debt, within the Compaſs of thirty Days; and that the Fugitives ſhould be deliver'd up on both Sides. This Article diſcover'd the Fraud of *Syllæus*; for there was not ſo much as one *Arabian* that took Sanctuary with *Herod*, but a World of the Robbers were found with the *Arabians*.

[a] *See* Cotelerius's *Notes upon the* 2d. *Vol. of his* Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. *p.* 578.

[b] Caſaubon *reads* Titius *for* Titus; *but Biſhop* Montague *defends the vulgar Reading. See* Caſaubon's Exercit. *Ann.* DCCXLI. *and* Montague 4. apparat.

CHAP. XIV.

Syllæus *breaks his Word.* Herod *gets Leave to right himſelf by Force. He takes* Repta *by Aſſault. The* Arabians *defeated, and their General ſlain.* Herod *marches with* three thouſand Idumæans, *to* Trachon.

WHen the Time came for the Payment of the Money, *Syllæus* would not ſtand to his Agreement, but went his Way to *Auguſtus*; *Herod* preſſing hard, both for the Debt and for the Article of delivering up the Thieves. But finding the *Arabians* falſe and ſtubborn, he got Leave of *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, to Attempt the Recovery of his Right by Force. Having obtained their Permiſſion, he fell with an Army into *Arabia*, and in three Days march'd ſeven Stages. Coming at laſt to the Caſtle, by Name, *Repta*, whither the Robbers had withdrawn themſelves, he took it at the firſt Attack, and then demoliſh'd the Fortifications, without doing any other Damage to the Inhabitants. While this paſs'd, *Nacebus* the *Arabian General* march'd away to the Succour of his Party, and brought it to an Encounter, where there were few or none of the *Herodians* loſt: Five and twenty of the *Arabians*, together with their *General*, ſlain upon the Place, and the Remainder of them ſcatter'd and put to Flight. The King having now taken his Revenge upon the *Thieves*, he march'd with *three thouſand Idumæans* into *Trachonitis*, to keep the Rovers there within Compaſs. *Herod* ſent a Narrative of this Proceeding to the *Roman Governours* alſo in *Phœnicia*, giving them to underſtand, that he had done nothing without Leave, in fighting with a Party of rebellious *Arabians*: And this Account upon a further Enquiry, the Governours found to be true.

Syllæus *refuſes both the Money and the Thieves.* Herod *gets Leave to right himſelf by Force.*

He marches to Repta, *where the Thieves were ſhelter'd, and takes it by Aſſault.*

The Arabians *defeated, and* Nacebus *their General ſlain.* Herod *marches with* 3000 Idumæans *to* Trachonitis.

CHAP. XV.

Syllæus *receives falſe Intelligence at* Rome, *and preſents* Cæſar *with the Contents of his* Packet. Cæſar *writes a ſharp Letter to* Herod. *The inſolence of the* Arabians. Cæſar *denies Audience to* Herod's Embaſſadors. Obodas *dies, and* Aretas *ſucceeds him.* Syllæus *endeavours to ſupplant* Aretas. *Letters from* Aretas, *with* Embaſſadors *and* Preſents. *Audience deny'd a ſecond Time.* Herod *ſends* Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus, *of a* third Embaſſy.

THis was the naked Truth of the Matter; but the *Arabians* Report of it to *Syllæus* at *Rome*, as it was dreſs'd up in their Way of Amplification and Diſguiſe, was quite another Thing. *Syllæus* had already ſo far inſinuated himſelf, as to be perſonally known to *Cæſar*; and as he was walking before his Palace, an Expreſs brought him a Packet; whereupon he ſhifted his Clothes immediately, and in a mourning Weed, with Tears and Lamentations, carry'd the ſad Story to *Auguſtus*: How *Herod* had enter'd *Arabia* with an Army; overturn'd the Government, and totally ruin'd the Country; kill'd two thouſand five hundred noble *Arabians* upon the Place, with his Friend and Kinſman, *Nacebus* their General among the reſt; pillag'd *Repta* of a vaſt Treaſure that was laid up there: And all this by the Advantage *Herod* took of the Weakneſs and Neglect of *Obodas*, who had neither Troops in Readineſs to oppoſe him, nor a General in his Abſence that was fit to command them. *Syllæus* ſaid further, that he ſhould never have undertaken this Journey to *Rome*, but in Confidence that *Cæſar* would provide for the publick Peace of all his People; and that if he himſelf had been upon the Place, *Herod* ſhould have paid dear for the Undertaking. This unlucky Buſineſs made *Cæſar* very uneaſy, and put him upon enquiring from one to another among *Herod*'s Friends as well as his own that came lately out of *Syria*, whether or no *Herod* had been any where with his Army out of his own Juriſdiction. When he ſaw this could not be deny'd, he took all the reſt for granted, and without any more ado ſent away immediately a ſharp menacing Letter to *Herod*, with a Direction to this Purpoſe; *formerly to my Friend, hereafter to my Subject.* *Syllæus* wrote alſo to the *Arabians* at the ſame Time. When they came to find by theſe Letters, that *Herod* was in Diſgrace with *Cæſar*, they grew ſo inſolent upon it, that there was no dealing with them. They would neither deliver up their Malefactors, nor pay their Debts; no not ſo much as their Rents, nor do any Thing elſe, according to the Rules of common Faith and Contract. The *Trachonites* made the ſame Advantage of this Occaſion too, againſt *Herod's Idumæan Garriſons*, by joyning with the *Arabian Ravagers*: Tearing all into Pieces, and ſpoyling and pillaging, not ſo much for Profit, as for Revenge. But *Herod* having now loſt *Cæſar*, was fain to put up all this and more; for his Courage as

A falſe Report ſent to Syllæus *at* Rome. Syllæus *preſents* Cæſar *a Packet.*

The Contents of the Packet.

Cæſar *writes a ſharp Letter to* Herod.

The Inſolence of the Arabians.

well

Herod's *Embaſſadors to* Cæſar *deny'd Audience.*

well as his Credit fail'd him. He made two Tryals to purge himſelf by his *Embaſſadors*; but *Cæſar* would not ſo much as ſee them the firſt Time, nor take any Notice of their Buſineſs the next. *Herod* had a terrible Apprehenſion of *Syllæus* all this while, who never fail'd of improving *Cæſar*'s Tears and Diſtractions to his own Benefit; for being ſtill within Diſtance of making the beſt of Opportunities, and finding him ductile and credulous, he could wind and turn him which Way he pleas'd; beſide that he had far greater Matters now in Proſpect.

Obodas *dies, and* Æneas (*or* Aretas) *ſucceeds him.* Syllæus *endeavours to ſupplant* Aretas.

Letters to Cæſar *from* Aretas, *with Embaſſadors and Preſents.*

Cæſar *denies theſe Embaſſadors Audience alſo.*

Herod *ſends* Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus *upon a third Embaſſy.*

King *Obodas* being by this Time dead, *Æneas* ſucceeded him by the Name of *Aretas*: *Syllæus* doing all that was to be done by Calumnies, Court-Bribes, and large Promiſes to *Auguſtus*, toward the outing of him again, and engroſſing the Power to himſelf. The Thing that encourag'd him to this Attempt, was the Diſguſt that *Cæſar* took to *Aretas*, for entering upon the Adminiſtration, without his Privity and Conſent. This new King complemented *Cæſar* by his *Embaſſadors*, with Letters and magnificent Preſents; one above the reſt being *a Crown of Gold* of a prodigious Value. Now theſe Letters were in Subſtance a flat Accuſation of *Syllæus* for poyſoning his Maſter *Obodas*, after the uſurping of his Authority in his Life-time: For *debauching the Wives of the Arabians*, and taking up vaſt Sums of *Money* to make Way to his Pretenſions. But *Cæſar* deny'd theſe Embaſſadors Audience as well as *Herod*'s; rejected their Preſents, and ſent them away without their Errands. During this Diſtemper, Matters in *Judæa* and *Arabia* went every Day worſe than other: A general Confuſion, and no Body to compoſe it; one of the Kings not being as yet eſtabliſh'd in his Government, and the other as little Maſter of his People; for *Herod*'s Condition was ſuch, that he could not defend himſelf without affronting *Auguſtus*: So that he lay under a Kind of Neceſſity of crouching and ſubmitting to all Indignities. But being now brought to the laſt Extremity, he took up a final Reſolution of making the beſt Intereſt he could to *Cæſar* by his Friends, and trying the Fortune of a third Embaſſy to *Rome*, employing *Nicolaus of Damaſcus* upon the Commiſſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Deadly Fewds in Herod's *Family.* Eurycles *makes an Acquaintance with* Herod. Alexander *makes* Eurycles *his Confident.* Eurycles *carries Stories to* Antipater *and* Herod. Herod *preſents him with* fifty Talents. *He gets Money out of* Archelaus. Eurycles *baniſh'd out of* Lacedæmon. Herod *credulous and jealous.* Jucundus *and* Tyrannus *baniſh'd the* Court; *and forced by Torture to accuſe* Alexander. *The Governour of* Alexandrion *put to the Queſtion.* Counterfeit Letters *produc'd againſt* Alexander. *The* Brothers *and the* Witneſſes *brought to* Jericho. *The People* Stone *the* Witneſſes. Salome *betrays* Ariſtobulus. *The* Brothers *proſecuted upon* Salome's *Information.* Glaphyra *examin'd alſo, and likewiſe* Alexander. *They all deny the Charge. The Subſtance of* Archelaus's *Anſwer.* Cæſar *reconciled to* Herod. Syllæus *accuſed*; *the Articles of his Charge.* Nicolaus *charges* Syllæus, *and defends* Herod. Syllæus *breaks his* Word *and his* Oath. Syllæus *condemn'd to* die. *Inſtructions to* Olympus *and* Volumnius. Cæſar *writes* Herod *a condoling Letter.*

The Fewd in Herod's *Family higher than ever.*

Eurycles makes an Acquaintance with Herod.

Alexander *makes* Eurycles *his Confident.*

HEROD's *Family* was a Houſe always divided againſt it ſelf by *inteſtine Jealouſies*, which are the Plague of all Courts; but the Fewd at this Time ran much higher yet than ever, and it was upon this Occaſion. *There was one* Eurycles, *a* Lacedæmonian; *a Man nobly born, but of a peſtilent Diſpoſition*; *ſenſual and glorying to Extremity*; *but ſo artificial a Diſſembler, that there was nothing to be ſeen in him of either. This* Eurycles *made an Acquaintance with* Herod; *enterchang'd Preſents and other good Offices with him in the Houſe of* Antipater; *and by that Means (being often together) became familiarly acquainted with* Alexander: *And he would be often ſaying what a wonderful Friendſhip there was betwixt him and* Archelaus, *King of* Cappadocia, *and how great an Honour he had for* Glaphyra. *So that under the Semblance of the moſt unconcerned indifferent Perſon in Nature, he lay upon the Catch for every Thing that was ſaid or done, and never fail'd of ſome pick-thank Story or other to carry away with him. He had,* in Fine, *ſo obliging a Way of dividing his good Humour, that wherever he apply'd himſelf, he had the Faculty of making People believe that he lov'd nothing elſe, and that it was only for their Sakes and Service, if he had any Thing to do with others.* By this Addreſs he gain'd ſo far upon the Affection and Eſteem of *Alexander*, that he made Choice of him for the ſingle Confident of all his Secrets, and the only Man that he could ſafely Truſt. So he up and told him the whole Hiſtory of his Misfortunes; the Unkindneſs of his Father, the Death of his Mother; *Antipater*'s Credit with the Kings. This Oppreſſion, he ſaid, was not to be endur'd; for the Averſion was now come to that Paſs, that he could neither eat nor talk with his Children. Theſe Privacies were ſafe, he thought, in the Breaſt of a Friend; but *Eurycles* however carry'd every Word that paſs'd to *Antipater*. *Theſe are Things*, ſays he, *that do not concern me; and truly in Matters of ſo dangerous a Conſequence, I cannot but adviſe you to look to your ſelf, and to have a Care of* Alexander; *for he is grown ſo confident, I perceive, that he does not think it worth his while to mince the Matter; but without any Scruple throws out the very Bottom of his Heart in Words at Length; and the Deſign he has upon the Perſon of his Father.* *Antipater* took this from *Eurycles* as ſo ſingular an Inſtance of a Reſpect and Friendſhip, that he could not but acknowledge it with ſome very conſiderable Preſents; and was prevail'd upon in the End to diſcourſe the Matter with *Herod*. The King was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with a Diſpoſition to believe any ill Thing of *Alexander*, that what with that Prejudice, and other ambiguous Hints and Circumſtances of Diſcourſe, he contracted a Hatred far more implacable than ever, as was given to underſtand ſoon after. *Herod*, in Fine, made him a Preſent of fifty Talents for the generous Office he had done him; and ſo away went *Eurycles* to *Archelaus* with a thouſand fine Things in his Mouth, of his Son *Alexander*; and not forgetting the Honour he had done himſelf upon ſeveral Occaſions toward the ſetting of Matters right betwixt him and his Father. So that he got Money of *Archelaus* too on the other Hand; and carry'd it all off before the Myſtery of this Impoſture was detected. *Eurycles* was now gone back into his own Country, where he kept to his old Trade ſtill, till he was brought to Juſtice upon the Diſcovery, and baniſh'd *Lacedæmon*.

Eurycles *carries the Story to* Antipater *and* Herod.

Herod *preſents him fifty Talents for the good Office.*

Eurycles *gets Money out of* Archelaus *too.*

Eurycles *baniſh'd out of* Lacedæmon.

Herod not was now of a Humour as formerly, to content himſelf with lending an Ear to Calumnies againſt his Sons, and wait till the Slanders were brought to ſeek him; but his Suſpicions did the Office of Tale-bearers, and his particular Scrutinies and Enquiries ſav'd him the Need and Trouble of any other Accuſation: Not but that his Ear was ſtill open to all Informations againſt the Brothers, let them come whence they would; neither was there any Thing more welcome to him than thoſe Stories: As he was told of one *Evaratus* of *Cous*, that was ſaid to be a Confederate with *Alexander*.

Herod *credulous and jealous.*

It was now come to a Kind of Strife and Competition, who ſhould do moſt Miſchief, the worſe the Office appear'd to the Sons, the more acceptable it was to the Father; the Care of the King's Safety being the main Pretence. The young Princes fell at this Time into the moſt deſperate Calamity that had yet betided them. There were two Perſons, by Name, *Jucundus* and *Tyrannus*, formerly of *Herod's Life-Guard*, and Men of mighty Credit with him for Strength and Stature; but ſomewhat or other they had done that they were baniſh'd the Court for. *Alexander* knowing theſe Men to be very brave; took them into the Guard of his Perſon, and was a bountiful Maſter to them. The King took ſuch a Freak upon this, that he had them put to the Queſtion about the Conſpiracy: And when they had ſtood it out as long as Fleſh and Blood could live under the Torments, they yielded in the End to this Confeſſion, that *they had been ſolicited by* Alexander *to take an Opportunity of killing the King ſome Time or other while he was a hunting; which might be eaſily ſhifted off, under the Colour of a Fall from his Horſe upon his own Arms; eſpecially having narrowly ſcap'd ſuch a Danger once before. They made a farther Diſcovery of Money hid in the Stable, and ſome of the King's Lances and Darts deliver'd out by the Maſter of the Game, to the Servants of* Alexander *by his own Order.*

Jucundus *and* Tyrannus *baniſh'd the Court;*

And forc'd by Fortune to accuſe Alexander.

The next Man they put to the Torture was the *Governour* of *Alexandrion*, upon the Queſtion of promiſing to receive the Brothers into the Caſtle, and of putting into their Hands the King's Treaſure that was there depoſited. The Governour deny'd the Charge; but his Son declar'd it, and produc'd Letters under *Alexander*'s Hand, as he pretended, to this Effect. *You ſhall be ſure to hear of us, God willing, ſo ſoon as ever we are ready for you: Wherefore remember to take us into the Caſtle according to your Promiſe.* After theſe Letters, *Herod* made no longer Doubt of the Conſpiracy; but *Alexander* all the while, inſiſted upon the whole Story to be only a Contrivance of *Antipater*'s, and a Forgery of the Secretaty *Diophantus*; who was a Man famous for ſuch Exploits, and taken afterward in the very Act, and puniſh'd for it.

The Governour of Alexandrion *put to the Queſtion.*

Letters produc'd under Alexander's *Hand.*

Alexander *affirms them to be Counterfeits betwixt* Antipater *and* Diophantus.

Herod, being now at *Jericho*, after the tormenting of the Witneſſes, had them brought thither to accuſe his Sons before the People: Where the Multitude ſton'd them to Death, and in this Fury would have done as much for *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, if *Herod*, by the Means of *Ptolemy* and *Pheroras*, had not prevented it. They were however committed cloſe Priſoners; Spies ſet upon them to obſerve every Thing they did or ſaid, and given over for dead Men by every Body elſe, as well as by themſelves.

The Brothers and the Witneſſes againſt them brought to Jericho.

The People ſtone the Witneſſes, and would have ſton'd Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *if* Ptolemy *and* Pheroras *had not prevented it.*

Ariſtobulus *makes* Salome *his Confident, and ſhe betrays him to* Herod.

The Brothers bound, and exa-min'd upon Salome's *Information.*

In this Extremity *Ariſtobulus* bethought himſelf of trying if he could work *Salome* his Aunt and Mother-in-Law into ſome Commiſeration of his Diſtreſs, and to a juſt Indignation for the Author of it. *Madam,* ſays he, *can you think your ſelf ſafe under an Accuſation of holding a private Intelligence with* Syllæus *about the King's Affairs in Hope of marrying him? Salome* carry'd this to her Brother, who in a Rage forthwith commanded his Sons to be both bound, and laid apart one from another; and there to ſet down ſeverally in Writing the Particulars of their treaſonous Deſign. They wrote as they were order'd, and both agreed in the ſame Story, that they were in no Conſpiracy at all, and never ſo much as thought of any. They had ſome Thoughts indeed of making an Eſcape, they ſaid; for the Life they led under perpetual Jealouſies was worſe than Death.

Mela, *an Embaſſador from* Archelaus *to* Herod.

There came at this Time upon an Embaſſy to *Herod* from *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, one *Mela*, a Perſon of eminent Quality in that Country. *Herod* was ſo fond of giving *Archelaus* to underſtand how ill he took ſomething at his Hands, that he ſent for *Alexander* out of the Priſon, and examin'd him over again in the Preſence of *Mela* about his Eſcape, whither he intended to go, and what he meant to do with himſelf. His Anſwer was, that he propoſed to go to *Archelaus*, his Father-in-Law, upon his Promiſe to convey him to *Rome*; and this is all, ſays he, that ever we were guilty of toward our Father, whatever theſe *Falſaries* and *Knights of the Poſt* may pretend to the contrary. He wiſh'd, he ſaid, that *Tyrannus* and his Companions had but been a little more particularly examin'd; but it was *Antipater*'s Buſineſs to have them put out of Danger of telling Tales as ſoon as he could; and ſo upon the Inſtigation of his Inſtruments, they were hurry'd to Death by the Rabble.

Glaphyra *examin'd alſo before* Alexander, *and* Mela.

The ſame Queſtion put alſo to Alexander.

They agree in the Denial of the Charge.

Herod *ſends* Olympus *and* Volumnius *to* Archelaus *with Letters and Inſtructions.*

The Subſtance of Archelaus's *Anſwer.*

Herod, in this very Inſtant, order'd *Alexander* and *Mela* to be carry'd to *Glaphyra*, and to have her put to the Shrift too to diſcover what ſhe knew of this abominable Treaſon againſt *Herod*. They were no ſooner come within View of the *Princeſs*, but upon the firſt Sight of *her Husband in Chains*, ſhe fell to tearing of her Hair, with other Violences upon her ſelf; and into ſuch Groans and Paſſions (the Prince bearing her Company alſo in her Lamentations) that the People ſtood at Gaze, as if they had been Planet-ſtruck, at ſo ſurprizing a Spectacle, without knowing what they did, or what they came for: But *Ptolemy*, at laſt, that had the Guard of the Prince, put it to him to know whether or no his Wife was concern'd in his Plot. *Why you need never doubt that*, ſays *Alexander*; *for wherever I am, ſhe is; a Woman as dear to me as my Life and Soul, and the beſt Wife, and the beſt Mother both in one, upon the Face of the Earth.* No no, ſays the Princeſs, my Conſcience acquits me; but yet if my owning of a Guilt might be any Eaſe to my Husband, I would frankly declare it, though I were ſure to die with that Lye in my Mouth. *No no, again,* ſays *Alexander*, *we are guilty of nothing that's charg'd upon us, and we have deſerv'd better Things at their Hands too that ſuſpect us. As to the Thought we had of getting away to our Father, and thence to* Rome, *if that be Treaſon, we are both to anſwer for it: And* Glaphyra *confeſs'd as much.* There was Matter enough againſt *Archelaus* in this Paſſage, for a jealous Head to work upon; ſo that *Herod* preſently ſent away *Olympus* and *Volumnius* with Letters to him, with Orders to call at *Eleuſa*, a City in *Phœnicia*, and there to deliver them. They had farther Inſtructions alſo to expoſtulate with him, upon a ſtrong Preſumption of his being engaged with his Sons, in the Confederacy. Their Orders were, after the Delivery of theſe Letters, to ſail forward for *Rome*; and in Caſe they ſhould find by *Nicolaus* of *Damaſcus*, that *Cæſar* was any Thing more tractable now than formerly, they were to preſent another Expreſs to him with the Proceedings againſt *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and *Copies* of the *Evidence* whereupon they were convicted. *Archelaus*, in his Anſwer, own'd his Willingneſs indeed to receive the young Men, and that he undertook it as the beſt Service he could do both the Father and Sons; for he was in Truth afraid, leſt *Herod*, in that violent Heat of Wrath and Jealouſy, might put them to Extremities: But affirming, upon the main, that he had no Thought, after all, either of ſending them to *Cæſar*, or of ſupporting them againſt their Father.

Cæſar *reconciled to* Herod.

A formal Accuſation againſt Syllæus.

The Articles of his Charge.

Olympus and *Volumnius*, upon their coming to *Rome*, finding *Cæſar* reconciled to *Herod*, deliver'd their Letters according to their Order. They were framed by the Addreſs of *Nicolaus*, who manag'd his Commiſſion after this Manner. So ſoon as ever he came to *Rome*, and to the *Emperor's Palace*, over and above the Inſtructions that he had in Charge, he drew up a formal Accuſation againſt *Syllæus*, having gotten unqueſtionable Proofs upon him from the *Arabians* themſelves, (who were then miſerably divided) of the moſt flagitious Practices that could be imagin'd: As the Murder of *Obodas*, and ſo great a Part of his Family, for one; and this was all to be made out undeniably by intercepted Letters under his own Hand. Now this *Nicolaus*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſet *Herod* right again with *Cæſar*, took this providential Diſcovery by the right Handle, and improv'd it to the Advantage of his Principal.

If, ſays he, *I ſhould now begin my Application with an Excuſe or Defence of* Herod, *it would ſtrike too point-blank upon the* Emperour; *but if I make my Way to my Matter by the* Side-wind *of a previous Charge upon* Syllæus, *the King's Juſtification will fall in by the by.* So that the Cauſe being brought on, and a Day appointed for the Hearing, *Nicolaus*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Agents of *Aretas*, advanced an Accuſation againſt *Syllæus*, as *the Murderer of his Lord and Maſter the King, and greater Numbers of the* Arabians; *a Man that took up extravagant Sums of Money toward the embroiling of the Publick Peace; a profligate Corrupter of Women both at* Rome *and in* Arabia: *Beſide the moſt audacious Affront of impoſing with Lies and Calumnies, upon* Cæſar himſelf. *As for Inſtance, the Account he gave of the Action of* Herod, *which was all falſe from one End to the other.* They proceeded upon the Whole till they came to the laſt Article, and there *Cæſar* interpoſed with a Command to *Nicolaus* to paſs over all the reſt, and ſpeak to that ſingle Point. *Tell me* (ſays the Emperour) *as to that Particular of* Herod: *Did not he come with an Army into* Arabia? *Did he not kill Two Thouſand Five Hundred Men there? Did he not carry away Priſoners and ravage the Country? Nicolaus* made Anſwer, that no Body could give a better Account to theſe Queſtions than himſelf. And, *ſays he*, there is little or nothing true in this whole Story, as he has reported it. Neither, with Submiſſion, was *Herod* any thing to blame upon that Occaſion. This was ſuch a Surprize to *Cæſar*, that with very great Attention, he heard him forward. And ſo in order, he told him *firſt*, of Five Hundred Talents *that* Herod *had lent him upon his Bond; the Time of Payment elaps'd, and the Law on his ſide for the recovering of the Debt upon his Country.* He told further, *that this Body of Men that* Syllæus *calls an Army, was no more than a Strength barely competent for the putting of a legal Claim fairly in Execution. And he did not yet proceed raſhly neither, though the Time of Payment being expir'd, he might put the Bond in Suit when he pleas'd. But he rather apply'd himſelf in the firſt Place to* Saturninus *and* Volumnius *the* Governours *of* Syria: *And upon this Appeal* Syllæus *in their Preſence at* Beritum, *obliged himſelf upon his Oath, by the Fortune of* Cæſar, *to make Payment of the Money to* Herod, *and deliver up all Refugees to him in thirty Days. The Time came, but no News of either Money or Fugitives: So that* Herod *was forced to addreſs to the* Governours *once again, who gave their Opinion that he might do himſelf Right by Diſtreſs. Now this was the Occaſion of his going into* Arabia; *and this the War that his Adverſaries have complain'd of, with ſo much Aggravation. But how can this be taken for a War, that was done by the Approbation and Permiſſion of the* Governours, *in Proſecution of a lawful Right and Compact, and after a perjurious Violation of a ſacred Oath, both in the Name of the* Gods *and of* Cæſar?

Cæſar *puts one ſingle Queſtion to* Syllæus.

Nicolaus *charges* Syllæus, *and defends* Herod.

Syllæus *ſwears to make all good.* Syllæus *breaks his Word.* Herod *gets Leave to right himſelf.*

But to come now to the *Priſoners, there were firſt a matter of Forty of the Heads of the* Trachonite-Robbers, *and after them a great many more, that when they had broken into* Judæa, *and made Havock in the Country, fled from* Herod *into* Arabia *for Sanctuary; where* Syllæus *did not only entertain them, though the common Enemies of Mankind; but gave them Lands alſo and Protection, and went Shares with them in their Booty. Theſe were the Men now that* Syllæus *bound himſelf by Oath to reſtore, together with the* borrow'd *Money, within the Time prefix'd: And, Sir, I can with Modeſty defy any Mortal now, to ſay, that* Herod *took any other Priſoners in* Arabia *than theſe* Free-booters: *Nay, and there were ſeveral of theſe that 'ſcap'd too.*

But now after this odious Sycophant-Story of the *Priſoners*, let *Cæſar* only vouchſafe to hear one Impoſture more that is yet behind, and ſtill more ſcandalous and provoking than all the reſt. *I do affirm, that at the Time when we were invaded by a Band of* Arabians, *and that ſome few of our Men fell;* Herod *in his own Defence was forced to make Head againſt them; and upon defeating them, that their General* Naccbus *was kill'd, and Five and Twenty of his People with him, and not one Man more. Now this Number* Syllæus *has enlarged, and made every Man a hundred. Cæſar* was ſo mov'd at this Relation, that turning toward *Syllæus*, he asked him with a fierce Countenance how many *Arabians* were ſlain in that Action? He pauſed a while upon it, and confeſs'd himſelf ſomewhat miſtaken in the Number. After this, they read the *Conditions* of the *Bond*, and the *Arbitrations* of the *Governours*, and the *Remonſtrances* of the Cities and Towns, complaining of the Robberies. *Auguſtus* being by this Time fully inform'd in the whole Matter, paſs'd a Sentence of Death upon *Syllæus*; took *Herod* into Favour again, and not without Acknowledgment of his Miſtake, in hearkening to thoſe Calumnies that tranſported him to ſuch Severities againſt him; telling *Syllæus* that nothing but the audacious Impudence of his Lies and Slanders could ever have tranſported him out of a Reſpect for his Friends. It came, in fine, to this, that *Syllæus* was order'd back into *Arabia*, there to pay his Debts, and after that to be put to Death. As for *Aretas*, his preſuming to *uſurp Royal Authority*, without the *Emperour's Leave* and *Conſent*, ſtuck in *Cæſar*'s Stomach ſtill: Inſomuch that he was thinking to tranſfer the Government of that Province to *Herod*; but upon reading the Letters

Syllæus *condemn'd to die.*

Inſtructions to Olympus *and* Volumnius.

ters which *Olympus* and *Volumnius* brought him, all full of Invective and Bitterneſs againſt his own Sons, *Cæſar* chang'd his Purpoſe. Now their Inſtructions were, in caſe they found *Cæſar* pacify'd, to deliver him thoſe Letters, which they did accordingly; and *Cæſar*, upon the reading of them, conſidering his Age, Paſſion, and Miſfortunes, retracted his Reſolution, and thereupon called for the Embaſſadors of *Aretas*, and gave them Audience, with a Check for the Temerity of their Maſter in aſſuming *Sovereign Power* to himſelf upon his own Account; and after this Preface, to their great Admiration, he accepted of their Preſents, and confirmed *Aretas* in his Authority.

Cæſar *writes* Herod *a condoling Letter.*

Cæſar, upon this Reconciliation, wrote *Herod* a condoling Letter for the Mortification he had in two ſuch Sons; giving him free Leave and Power to proceed againſt them as *Parricides*, if he found them engag'd in ſo unnatural, and impious a Conſpiracy; but if there ſhould be no more in it at laſt, than the bare Contrivance of an Eſcape, it would become him, he ſaid, to content himſelf with ſome more moderate Animadverſion. The Advice he gave him upon the whole, was to call a *Council* at *Berytus*; a Place where there were a great many *Romans*; and there with the Aſſiſtance of the *Governours* of the *neighbouring Provinces*, together with *Archelaus*, the King of *Cappadocia*, and Men of Quality, to hear and determine upon the whole Matter, and to bring the Point to a *final Deciſion*. This was the Subſtance of *Cæſar's* Letter.

CHAP. XVII.

Herod *outragious in his Proſperity. He ſummons a* Convention *to* Berytus. Herod *charges his* Son *with Rage and Bitterneſs. The Power of* Parents *Reſolved, that* Herod *may diſpoſe of his* Children. Saturninus *is for* puniſhing, *but not to* Death. Volumnius *preſſes it for Death, and ſo he was* condemn'd. Herod *goes for* Tyre, *and takes* Nicolaus *with him, to* Cæſarea. Tyro'*s generous Reſolution, and his Expoſtulation with* Herod. Tyro *committed.* Tryphon'*s Information againſt* Tyro. *Divers tortured about it.* Three Hundred Captains, Tyro *and his* Son *torn to Pieces.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *ſtrangled at* Sebaſte. *The Caſe of* Herod *and his* Sons. Herod'*s inhumane Cruelty.*

Herod *more outragious in his Proſperity, than Adverſity.*

He ſummons a Convention to Berytus.

Herod *charges his Sons before 150 Perſons.*

A Charge of Rage and Bitterneſs.

THis Letter of *Cæſar*'s was joyful News to *Herod*, upon two Accounts; firſt, as an Aſſurance that he was in Favour again; and ſecondly, as it left him at Liberty to do with his Sons what he thought fit. It is remarkable, that though he had been formerly in the Time of his Proſperity a very ſevere Father, he never appear'd in thoſe Days yet, to be raſh and bloody toward his Children, where Matter of Life was the Queſtion: But now upon this Change and Re-eſtabliſhment of his Fortune (how it came to paſs I know not) he abandon'd himſelf to an outragious and unbridled Degree of Hatred, more extravagant than ever. He ſent a Summons to all the Members of the *Convention* that were to meet at *Berytus*, according to *Cæſar*'s Appointment, ſave only to *Archelaus*; perhaps out of an Averſion to the Man, or otherwiſe, for fear he ſhould croſs him in his Deſign. When they were altogether according to the Summons, he would not bring his Sons up to the Council; but rather kept them a little way off at *Platane*, a Village in *Sidon*, within Diſtance of appearing if they ſhould be call'd. The *Aſſembly* being now met, *Herod* advanced into the *Counſel-Chamber* alone, and there deliver'd an Accuſation againſt his Sons, in the Preſence of a Hundred and Fifty Perſons; but without any Prologue to the Story upon the Subject of his own Misfortunes, or the Neceſſity of ſuch a Proceeding. It was a Charge, in fine, of Rage and Bitterneſs, that very ill became the Mouth of a Father, and accompany'd with Words, Countenances, and Behaviour, that were all menacing and violent, and not without ſuſpicious Symptoms even of a furious Madneſs. His Reaſonings were confuſed and inconſiſtent; his Diſcourſe fluttering backward and forward, and dubious; no Proofs produced for the guiding of the Court; but every thing to be taken upon the Credit of the Accuſer, and the Bench rather made Parties, than Judges, and of Counſel with the Proſecutor againſt the Priſoners. There were ſome Letters of the young Princes read, 'tis true; but not one Syllable of Treachery or Malice in them. The Crime was their conſulting how to get away, and here and there a word in them that imported ſome Diſſatisfaction and Offence. And when *Herod* came to that part of the Letters, how did he exaggerate the Matter with Clamours and Outcries, that there never was a clearer Proof of a Conſpiracy; backing thoſe Exclamations alſo with Oaths, that the very Words were worſe to him than Death?

Death. *I might* (ſays he) *inſiſt upon the Power I have received over my own Children both from* Nature *and from* Auguſtus; *to ſay nothing of an expreſs Proviſion for it by the Law of my own Country, that* if a ſtubborn and rebellious Son ſhall be accuſed by his Parents, and they lay their Hands upon him, the Men of the City ſhall ſtone him with Stones that he die, Deut. Chap. 21. *But I ſhall yet rather decline my Privileges in this Cauſe, and leave the Matter to your further Conſideration, not as Judge, whether it be ſo or no, in a Caſe ſo indubitably manifeſt; but to take your Opinions along with mine in the Juſtification of the Sentence: And for an inſtructive Document to Poſterity, that ſuch exemplary Impieties ought not to 'ſcape unpuniſh'd.*

A Speech upon the Power of Parents over Children.

The Convention plainly perceiv'd by this way of Menage, and the ſhuffling up of Things *Hand over Head,* without ſo much as ſuffering the Brothers to ſpeak for themſelves, that the Buſineſs was already reſolv'd upon, and hopeleſs; and ſo in a Deſpondency they gave their Votes *that* Herod *might diſpoſe of his Children as he pleas'd.* The firſt Man that ſtood up was *Saturninus,* a Perſon of *conſular Authority*; and one that had diſcharg'd many honourable Commiſſions. *He was,* 'tis true, *for puniſhing the Priſoners; but not to* Death, he ſaid; *for having Children of his own, he was the more ſenſible of the Caſe; and would be loth, after ſo many Calamities that* Herod *had endur'd already, to oppreſs him with the heavieſt of all at laſt.* His three Sons (as his Deputies) ſpake next in Courſe, and went along in Opinion with their Father: But *Volumnius* exclaimed, that nothing elſe but *Death* would ſatisfy for ſo horrid a Crime; and the Majority ſtriking in with him, carry'd the Queſtion.

Reſolv'd that Herod *may diſpoſe of his Children.* Saturninus *for puniſhing, but not with Death.*

The Sons of Saturninus *give their Vote with their Father.* Volumnius *is for nothing leſs than Death, and ſo they were condemn'd.*

The Sentence was no ſooner paſs'd, but away went *Herod* to *Tyre,* taking his Sons along with him; and meeting *Nicolaus* in his Return from *Rome,* he firſt gave him an Account of what had paſs'd at *Berytus*; and then aſk'd him how Squares went at *Rome,* and what his Friends there ſaid of his *Sons. Nicolaus* told him that every Body blam'd them for their lewd Practices, and ſaid they deſerv'd to be laid in Chains for what they had done: Nay, and to be put to Death too, if the Conſpiracy ſhould be made out unqueſtionably clear againſt them: For People would be apt to ſay elſe, that this Proſecution had more of Freak or Paſſion in it, than of Juſtice or Reaſon. But however, if *Herod* found himſelf otherwiſe diſpos'd, he might do well to ſet them at Liberty, without plunging himſelf into a Difficulty never to be recall'd. This he ſaid was the Diſcourſe and Judgment of his Friends at *Rome. Herod,* upon theſe Words, ſtood a good while pauſing and thoughtful without one Word ſpeaking; and in the End, bad *Nicolaus* put to Sea with him, and ſo they went together to *Cæſarea.*

Herod *goes for* Tyre, *and meets* Nicolaus *in his Way.*

Herod *takes him along with him to* Cæſarea.

When they came thither, they found the whole Town full of the Story of *Herod* and his *Sons,* and every Body in Pain, and ſolicitous to think where that Proſecution would end: Moſt People fearing the worſt, and that ſo inveterate a Rancour would very hardly be ſatisfy'd without the Death of the Brothers. They pity'd them with all their Hearts, but durſt not either ſay ſo much themſelves, or hear it from others: So that they were fain to ſmother all their Reſentments, as well of Grief as of Compaſſion.

Only there was one *Tyro,* a *Veteran Soldier* of the King's, and a very brave Fellow, who, having a Son of about *Alexander's Age,* and his particular Friend made no Difficulty of ſpeaking out, and at Liberty, thoſe Truths that others ſuppreſs'd and kept to themſelves, crying out publickly many Times, that there was neither Truth nor Juſtice left upon the Face of the Earth; but Juggling and Malice govern'd in their Places; and ſuch a Miſt caſt before the Eyes of all Mortals, that they could no longer diſcern Right from Wrong, or Good from Evil. This was a dangerous Freedom; but withal, ſo generous an Inſtance of his Virtue and Courage, in ſuch a Time as this, that every Creature was pleas'd with it; and thoſe that durſt not venture ſo far themſelves, had yet a Reverence for his Hazzards; and the Man, in Truth, muſt have been inſenſible and inhumane, that was able to ſuppreſs his Commiſeration in ſuch a Caſe as this: Nay, and he did not reſt here neither, but march'd up boldly to the King himſelf, with a Requeſt to have a little private Diſcourſe with him; which being granted, he deliver'd himſelf as follows.

Tyro *generouſly vindicates theſe unfortunate Princes.*

Sir, ſays he, *I muſt either break my Heart, or give it Vent, at what Rate ſoever; for I know the Danger of the Province I am to undertake, and of the Words I am now about to utter: Danger, I ſay, as to my ſelf; but on the other Hand of as great a Service and Advantage to* Herod, *if he pleaſes. Pray give me leave to enquire, Sir, what is become of your Senſe of Things and your Underſtanding; that Magnanimity of Mind and Reſolution, that in Time paſt hath carry'd you through ſo many Difficulties? What have you done with all your Friends and Relations? Have you none left? For I do not reckon thoſe People in that Number, that can ſee ſuch horrid Things done in your once happy Court and Family, and ſtand idle Spectators and unconcern'd? Where are your own Eyes all this while?*

Tyro's *Expoſtulation with* Herod.

Do you not ſee what is a doing? Are you reſolved then to deſtroy the Children of once ſo dear a Wife, and a Pair of ſuch matchleſs hopeful Youths too? Can you think at this Time of Day, of truſting your ſelf in the Hands of an ambitious young Man, and of thoſe very Perſons of your Relations that you your ſelf have ſo often doom'd to Puniſhment? Do you not find your ſelf tacitly condemn'd, and your Sons lamented by the very Multitude, in the profound Silence and Aſtoniſhment of the People? And ſo for the military Men, both Officers and common Soldiers; they have all aking Hearts for the young Princes, and lie curſing the Authors of their Miſery.

He tells him it makes the Officers and Soldiers Hearts ake.

So far as *Tyro*'s Diſcourſe ran upon the Subject of his Maſter's Calamity, and the Treachery of his Domeſticks, *Herod* took his Liberty well enough; but when he came to paſs the Bounds of Diſcretion and good Manners, in a bold, blunt, monitory Way of Expoſtulation; This Freedom look'd liker a Reproach than a Caution: And *Herod* taking it that Way, ask'd him who thoſe Officers or Soldiers were that he ſpake of. *Tyro* nam'd the Men, and the King immediately order'd them all, together with *Tyro* himſelf, to be taken up and committed.

Herod *bids* Tyro *name them, and then commits them with* Tyro *himſelf.*

Tryphon's *Information againſt* Tyro. *Several tortur'd about it.*

Upon this Occaſion, *Tryphon*, the King's *Barber*, went to *Herod* with an Information againſt *Tyro*, for tempting him ſeveral Times with Promiſes of *Money* and *Alexander*'s Favour, to cut the King's Throat when he was a ſhaving him. Theſe Words were no ſooner out; but the *Barber*, *Tyro* and his *Son* were all put to the Torture. The Son ſeeing his Father ſo unmercifully tormented, and ſo reſolute in his Pains, and no Hope of Mitigation from ſo cruel a Prince, call'd out to the Tormentors to take him and his Father off, and he would tell them the whole Truth of the Matter: So upon Promiſe of Eaſe, he declar'd that his Father having private Acceſs to *Herod* by himſelf, had reſolved to kill him with his own Hand, what Risk ſoever he ran for the Service of *Alexander*. Upon this Declaration, his Father was deliver'd from that lingering *Torture*; but whether this Confeſſion was a Truth, or only a pretended Shift to get preſent Eaſe, it does not as yet appear.

The Evidence doubtful, whether true or falſe.

Herod was now finally reſolv'd to proceed to the Execution of his Purpoſe, without any further Doubt or Deliberation about it; (if ever he had made any Difficulty of it before) and to leave no Place for Repentance. So that calling the People together, there were brought forth three hundred Captains, *Tyro* and his Son, and the *Evidence Barber*; and upon his Accuſation of them to the Multitude, the Rabble tore them all to Pieces to a Man: But *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* were ſent away to *Sebaſte*, where they were ſtrangled by their Father's Order; and their Bodies depoſited at *Alexandrion* in a Sepulchre, with their Grandfather by their Mother's Side, and divers others of their Progenitors.

300 Captains, Tyro *and his Son torn to Pieces by the Rabble.* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *ſtrangled at* Sebaſte.

The Caſe of Herod *and his Sons agitated.*

There was no great Wonder in it perhaps, for an Averſion of ſo long Growth and Continuance, to extinguiſh in *Herod* all Senſe of Humanity and natural Affection; but it may be yet a Queſtion where to lay the Blame; whether upon the young Princes forcing their Father by a continu'd Courſe of Provocations to ſo implacable a Diſpleaſure, or to the Hardneſs of the King's Heart; and ſo inſatiable a Thirſt of Glory, and abſolute Power, as not to bear any Competition. Or ſhall we rather impute it to the irreſiſtible Power of Fortune, which no humane Wiſdom can pretend to controul? For my own Part, I am fully perſuaded that all humane Actions are determin'd into a neceſſary Train of Conſequences; and that *providential Power* we commonly call *Fate*, which orders every Thing we do; though not without aſcribing ſomewhat to our own Endeavours, and the Freedom of ſearching into the Cauſes of the Variety of our Actions: But this is a deep Point, and we ſhall only touch upon it; the Subject being handled more at large in the Books of our Laws: But now for the two firſt Motives, as to what concerns the Sons; they might perhaps in their Heat of Blood, be too bold and imperious; over-eaſy to entertain ill Reports of their Father, and partial Judges of his Life and Practice; ſpitefully ſuſpicious; intemperate in their Diſcourſes, and ſo laying themſelves open to Spies and Informers that ſought for Matter againſt them to work upon. But then on the other Hand, what could be more ſcandalous and unpardonable, than for *Herod*, without any Proof, or Conviction of a treaſonous Deſign, or ſo much as the Preſumption of any ſuch Contrivance, to indulge an impotent Paſſion in the putting of his own Sons to Death: Perſons ſo excellent at all Points for their Bodies and Minds; all Manner of Exerciſes for Sports, as well as War; their Skill in Letters and the like; *Alexander*, the elder, eſpecially. If nothing leſs than a Condemnation would content him, why were they not rather impriſon'd, or baniſh'd? There would have been no Fear of Treachery under thoſe Circumſtances; and as little of any open Force either, under the Patronage of the Power of *Rome*. Now the taking away their Lives thus in ſuch a Hurry, to gratify an ungovernable Phrenzy, what was it but an Inſtance of an impious, and a tyrannical Outrage; and at ſuch an Age too as admitted no Plea of Ignorance or Want of Experience? Neither does the Delay in putting it off thus long, make it one Jot the more excuſable; for the Deliberation aggravates the Crime; and it would in ſome Degree have extenuated the Horror of the Wickedneſs, if it had but been committed in hot Blood; or upon the Surprize of ſome enflaming Provocation. But to meditate, and conſider ſo long upon ſo daring an Affront to God and Nature, and at laſt to go thorough with it, nothing but a barbarous and abandon'd Profligate could ever have done it. But he liv'd to make this, and the remaining Part of his Life all of a Piece; for he ſpared none of the reſt of his Relations, though never ſo dear to him. They were the leſs to be pity'd, 'tis true, becauſe they periſh'd deſervedly; but his Cruelty was never the leſs however, as will be ſeen further in what follows.

Herod's *Cruelty to all People made his Life all of a Piece.*

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3961, to 3973.

CHAP. I.

The Death *of the* Sons *leads to the* Murder *of the* Father. Antipater *univerſally hated.* Herod *had the* Name, *but* Antipater *the* Power. Antipater *ſticks at nothing. He pretends to* Salome, *and ſhe countermines him.* Salome *in Love with* Syllæus. Herod *forces him to marry* Alexas. *He ſends* Glaphyra *back to her* Father. *Whom* Herod favours, Antipater hates. *The People's Tenderneſs for the* Princes *was a Heart-break to* Antipater. Herod *diſſolves certain Contracts.*

The Death of the Sons, a Step to the Murder of the Father.

Antipater *univerſally hated.*

Herod *had the Name of King; but* Antipater, *the Power.*

Antipater *ſticks at nothing to advance his Intereſt,*

He pretends to Salome, *and ſhe countermines him.*

A*NTIPATER* had now made a large Step toward the compaſſing of his impious Deſign upon the *Life* of his *Father*, in the *abominable Murder* of his *Brothers*; but his Ambition ſpurring him on, Things did not yet advance ſo faſt as he would have had them: For there were other Obſtacles yet in the Way. After this Remove, there was no Body left, 'tis true, betwixt him and Home: So that there was no longer any Fear or Danger of Competitors; but he had yet a greater Difficulty to encounter, before he could gain his Point. That is to ſay, the mortal Hatred of the People, and (what he dreaded more than all the reſt) that of the Soldiery, the only Safeguard and Support of Princes againſt Factions and Tumults. Theſe Miſchiefs he drew upon his own Head, fooliſhly as well as wickedly, by the Deſtruction of the Princes; for if the Exerciſe of Power would have tempted him, it was effectually *Antipater* that govern'd at that Time, though *Herod* ſat upon the Throne, and every Thing was committed to his Menage: Nay, the very Crime that he deſerv'd to die for, paſs'd for an Inſtance of his Affection and Reſpect; as if he had only conſulted the Safety and *Preſervation* of the *King* in the *Death* of the *Princes:* Whereas he gratify'd his Averſion to the *Father* in what he did, as well as to the *Sons*; and ſuch was his peſtilent Malice, that he deteſted them even for their Father's Sake. It was his Buſineſs, in ſhort, not to leave one Soul alive that could either give Evidence of his Treaſon, or oppoſe him in the Execution of it, or that might be in Condition to protect *Herod* againſt him. But the Project being now a-foot, he was upon his utmoſt Peril to go thorough with it. He look'd upon the Government as his own, 'tis true, after the Death of *Herod*; but then Delays he thought might be hazardous; for if he ſhould come, betwixt this and that, to be detected to his Father, it would be his Undoing for ever: Wherefore, he ſpared for no Coſt or Pains, to gain the Good-will of his Father's Friends, by all the courtly Ways of Civil Offices, and magnificent Preſents that are uſual in thoſe Caſes, even to the Degree of overcoming Unkindneſſes with Benefits: His Friends at *Rome* eſpecially, and in the firſt Place, *Saturninus* the Governour of *Syria*, with his Brother. He was not without Hope neither of bringing over *Salome* to his Intereſt, the Wife of a particular Friend and Confident of *Herod*'s. Now *Antipater* was a Man of *Addreſs*, and none better skill'd perhaps in the Ways and Arts of obliging; beſide that for a fair Outſide to diſguiſe a falſe Heart, no Man upon Earth was beyond him: But *Salome*, his Aunt, that ſaw thorough him all this while, was not to be impos'd upon; but, countermining him with Trick for Trick, kept a watchful Eye upon him through all his Diſguiſes; though he had ſo order'd it, that her *Daughter*, the Widow of *Ariſtobulus*, was marry'd to his *Uncle* by the *Mother's Side*, and the *other Daughter* to *Callæas*. But neither the one Affinity, nor the other, was ſufficient, either to cover the Wickedneſs of his Intent; or to extinguiſh the *Odium* he had moſt juſtly incurr'd. *Salome* her ſelf was all this while up to the Ears in Love with *Syllæus*; but *Herod*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Empreſs *Julia*, put her upon marrying *Alexas*; the Empreſs charging her not to oppoſe it upon any Terms, unleſs ſhe had a Mind to break with her Brother for ever, who had bound up himſelf with a ſolemn Oath, never to own her for his Siſter, after ſuch a Refuſal. *Salome* could not ſay but it was wholſom Counſel, and ſo yielded to the Match.

Salome *in Love with* Syllæus. Herod *forces her to marry* Alexas.

Herod, at the ſame Time, ſent away *Glaphyra*, the *Widow* of his Son *Alexander*, and the *Daughter* of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, back to her Father again, together with the Portion he had in Marriage with her, that there might be no farther Cauſe of Controverſy; and, upon the whole Matter, he took great Care for the Education of his Grand-Children. *Alexander* had *two Sons* by *Glaphyra*; and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Salome*, had *three Sons*, and *two Daughters*. *Herod* would be now and then ſpeaking kindly of theſe Children to his Friends, deploring the Misfortune of his Sons, and putting up Ejaculations to God, to preſerve their Children from the like Calamity, and that they might grow up in Grace, as well as in Years, and live to acknowledge their Obligations to their Parents. He deſign'd the Daughter of his Brother *Pheroras* for Wife to the eldeſt Son of *Alexander*; and the Daughter of *Antipater* to the eldeſt Son of *Ariſtobulus*; and to the Son of *Antipater*, one of *Ariſtobulus*'s Daughters: The other Daughter to his Son *Herod*, that he had by the Daughter of the *High-Prieſt*; for *Polygamy* is among us allowable. The principal Deſign the King had in theſe Alliances, was in Pity to the Orphans, to oblige *Antipater* by this Affinity, to treat them with the greater Tenderneſs. But when all was done, he had juſt as much Kindneſs afterward for the Children, as he had for their Fathers before; and *Herod*'s Commiſeration was ſo far from ſoftening *Antipater*, that on the contrary it made him fierce and jealous; and the more the King favour'd them on the one Hand, the more *Antipater* hated them on the other, for Fear of an After-Game, when they ſhould come to ſet up for themſelves: Eſpecially with the Aſſiſtance of *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the *Tetrarch*, whoſe Son at that Time ſtood fair to marry one of the Daughters. It was another Heart-breaking Vexation to him, to ſee the Compaſſion the People had for the Caſe and Memory of the unfortunate Princes; and with what Deteſtation they look'd upon the Contrivers of their Ruin; waiting all this while over and above, for an Opportunity of expoſing *Antipater* for his malicious Practices againſt his Brethren. And it vex'd him to the Soul again, to think, according to the preſent State of Matters, how fair his Nephews ſtood to put in for Shares in the Government; and no Way to ſecure himſelf but by prevailing with *Herod* to diſſolve the aforeſaid Contracts; which, with much Importunity, he obtained, and got the Promiſe of the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus* for himſelf; and for his Son, the Daughter of *Pheroras*, whereupon the former Marriage Agreements were all made void.

He ſends Glaphyra *back to her Father.*

Alexander *had two Sons by* Glaphyra; *and* Ariſtobulus *had three Sons and two Daughters by* Berenice.

Herod *intends well for theſe Orphans.*

The more Herod *favours them, the more* Antipater *hates them*

The People's Tenderneſs for the murder'd Princes was a Heart-breaking to Antipater.

Herod *prevail'd upon to diſſolve certain Contracts,*

Herod had now *nine Wives*; the *firſt*, was the *Mother* of *Antipater*; the *ſecond*, the Daughter of *Simon* the High-Prieſt, by whom he had a Son, whom he call'd by his own Name. The *third* was the *Daughter* of his Brother; and the *fourth* his *Couſin-German*, by which two he had no Iſſue. The *fifth*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had two Sons, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*, and one Daughter call'd *Olympias*, which was afterwards marry'd to *Joſeph* the King's Kinſman. *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brought up at *Rome* by a particular Friend. His *ſixth* Wife was *Cleopatra* of *Jeruſalem*, by whom he had *Herod*, and *Philip*, which *Philip* was alſo bred up at *Rome*. The Name of his *ſeventh* Wife was *Ballas*, by whom he had *Phaſael*. His *eighth* was *Phœdra*; and the *ninth*, *Elpis*, by whom he had two Daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As to his two Daughters, the Siſters of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Mariamne*, (thoſe that *Pheroras* refus'd in Marriage:) He marry'd one of them to *Antipater*, the Son of his Siſter *Salome*; and the other (as we have ſaid already) to the Son of his Brother *Phaſael*: And let this ſuffice for the Family of *Herod*.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, *a* Jew, *plants in* Syria. Herod *invites him to* Bathanæa. Herod *ſecures the* Jews *in their Profeſſion and Liberties.* Philip *levies ſome ſmall* Taxes. Zamaris *dies.* Jacimus *dies*; *and leaves his Son* Philip, General *of his Army.*

HEROD was now at Work to make all ſafe againſt the *Trachonites*; and to that End he reſolv'd upon the Building of a large ſpacious Village in the Middle of the Country: And a ſtrong Garriſon in it, that might ſerve both to ſecure that Quarter

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Antipater *ſticks at nothing to advance his Intereſt,*

He pretends to Salome, *and ſhe countermines him.*

A*NTIPATER* had now made a large Step toward the compaſſing of his impious Deſign upon the *Life* of his *Father*, in the *abominable Murder* of his *Brothers*; but his Ambition ſpurring him on, Things did not yet advance ſo faſt as he would have had them: For there were other Obſtacles yet in the Way. After this Remove, there was no Body left, 'tis true, betwixt him and Home: So that there was no longer any Fear or Danger of Competitors; but he had yet a greater Difficulty to encounter, before he could gain his Point. That is to ſay, the mortal Hatred of the People, and (what he dreaded more than all the reſt) that of the Soldiery, the only Safeguard and Support of Princes againſt Factions and Tumults. Theſe Miſchiefs he drew upon his own Head, fooliſhly as well as wickedly, by the Deſtruction of the Princes; for if the Exerciſe of Power would have tempted him, it was effectually *Antipater* that govern'd at that Time, though *Herod* ſat upon the Throne, and every Thing was committed to his Menage: Nay, the very Crime that he deſerv'd to die for, paſs'd for an Inſtance of his Affection and Reſpect; as if he had only conſulted the Safety and *Preſervation* of the *King* in the *Death* of the *Princes*: Whereas he gratify'd his Averſion to the *Father* in what he did, as well as to the *Sons*; and ſuch was his peſtilent Malice, that he deteſted them even for their Father's Sake. It was his Buſineſs, in ſhort, not to leave one Soul alive that could either give Evidence of his Treaſon, or oppoſe him in the Execution of it, or that might be in Condition to protect *Herod* againſt him. But the Project being now a-foot, he was upon his utmoſt Peril to go thorough with it. He look'd upon the Government as his own, 'tis true, after the Death of *Herod*; but then Delays he thought might be hazardous; for if he ſhould come, betwixt this and that, to be detected to his Father, it would be his Undoing for ever: Wherefore, he ſpared for no Coſt or Pains, to gain the Good-will of his Father's Friends, by all the courtly Ways of Civil Offices, and magnificent Preſents that are uſual in thoſe Caſes, even to the Degree of overcoming Unkindneſſes with Benefits: His Friends at *Rome* eſpecially, and in the firſt Place, *Saturninus* the Governour of *Syria*, with his Brother. He was not without Hope neither of bringing over *Salome* to his Intereſt, the Wife of a particular Friend and Confident of *Herod*'s. Now *Antipater* was a Man of *Addreſs*, and none better skill'd perhaps in the Ways and Arts of obliging; beſide that for a fair Outſide to diſguiſe a falſe Heart, no Man upon Earth was beyond him: But *Salome*, his Aunt, that ſaw thorough him all this while, was not to be impos'd upon; but, countermining him with Trick for Trick, kept a watchful Eye upon him through all his Diſguiſes; though he had ſo order'd it, that her *Daughter*, the Widow of *Ariſtobulus*, was marry'd to his *Uncle* by the *Mother's Side*, and the *other Daughter* to *Callæas*. But neither the one Affinity, nor the other, was ſufficient, either to cover the Wickedneſs of his Intent; or to extinguiſh the *Odium* he had moſt juſtly incurr'd. *Salome* her ſelf was all this while up to the Ears in Love with *Syllæus*; but *Herod*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Empreſs *Julia*, put her upon marrying *Alexas*; the Empreſs charging her not to oppoſe it upon any Terms, unleſs ſhe had a Mind to break with her Brother for ever, who had bound up himſelf with a ſolemn Oath, never to own her for his Siſter, after ſuch a Refuſal. *Salome* could not ſay but it was wholſom Counſel, and ſo yielded to the Match.

Salome *in Love with* Syllæus. Herod *forces her to marry* Alexas.

Herod, at the ſame Time, ſent away *Glaphyra*, the *Widow* of his Son *Alexander*, and the *Daughter* of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, back to her Father again, together with the Portion he had in Marriage with her, that there might be no farther Cauſe of Controverſy; and, upon the whole Matter, he took great Care for the Education of his Grand-Children. *Alexander* had *two Sons* by *Glaphyra*; and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Salome*, had *three Sons*, and *two Daughters*. *Herod* would be now and then ſpeaking kindly of theſe Children to his Friends, deploring the Misfortune of his Sons, and putting up Ejaculations to God, to preſerve their Children from the like Calamity, and that they might grow up in Grace, as well as in Years, and live to acknowledge their Obligations to their Parents. He deſign'd the Daughter of his Brother *Pheroras* for Wife to the eldeſt Son of *Alexander*; and the Daughter of *Antipater* to the eldeſt Son of *Ariſtobulus*; and to the Son of *Antipater*, one of *Ariſtobulus*'s Daughters: The other Daughter to his Son *Herod*, that he had by the Daughter of the *High-Prieſt*; for *Polygamy* is among us allowable. The principal Deſign the King had in theſe Alliances, was in Pity to the Orphans, to oblige *Antipater* by this Affinity, to treat them with the greater Tenderneſs. But when all was done, he had juſt as much Kindneſs afterward for the Children, as he had for their Fathers before; and *Herod*'s Commiſeration was ſo far from ſoftening *Antipater*, that on the contrary it made him fierce and jealous; and the more the King favour'd them on the one Hand, the more *Antipater* hated them on the other, for Fear of an After-Game, when they ſhould come to ſet up for themſelves: Eſpecially with the Aſſiſtance of *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the *Tetrarch*, whoſe Son at that Time ſtood fair to marry one of the Daughters. It was another Heart-breaking Vexation to him, to ſee the Compaſſion the People had for the Caſe and Memory of the unfortunate Princes; and with what Deteſtation they look'd upon the Contrivers of their Ruin; waiting all this while over and above, for an Opportunity of expoſing *Antipater* for his malicious Practices againſt his Brethren. And it vex'd him to the Soul again, to think, according to the preſent State of Matters, how fair his Nephews ſtood to put in for Shares in the Government; and no Way to ſecure himſelf but by prevailing with *Herod* to diſſolve the aforeſaid Contracts; which, with much Importunity, he obtained, and got the Promiſe of the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus* for himſelf; and for his Son, the Daughter of *Pheroras*, whereupon the former Marriage Agreements were all made void.

He ſends Glaphyra *back to her Father.*

Alexander *had two Sons by* Glaphyra; *and* Ariſtobulus *had three Sons and two Daughters by* Berenice.

Herod *intends well for theſe Orphans.*

The more Herod *favours them, the more* Antipater *hates them*

The People's Tenderneſs for the murder'd Princes was a Heart-breaking to Antipater.

Herod *prevail'd upon to diſſolve certain Contracts.*

Herod had now *nine Wives*; the *firſt*, was the *Mother* of *Antipater*; the *ſecond*, the Daughter of *Simon* the High-Prieſt, by whom he had a Son, whom he call'd by his own Name. The *third* was the *Daughter* of his Brother; and the *fourth* his *Couſin-German*, by which two he had no Iſſue. The *fifth*, a *Samaritan*, by whom he had two Sons, *Antipas* and *Archelaus*, and one Daughter call'd *Olympias*, which was afterwards marry'd to *Joſeph* the King's Kinſman. *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brought up at *Rome* by a particular Friend. His *ſixth* Wife was *Cleopatra* of *Jeruſalem*, by whom he had *Herod*, and *Philip*, which *Philip* was alſo bred up at *Rome*. The Name of his *ſeventh* Wife was *Ballas*, by whom he had *Phaſael*. His *eighth* was *Phœdra*; and the *ninth*, *Elpis*, by whom he had two Daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As to his two Daughters, the Siſters of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, by *Mariamne*, (thoſe that *Pheroras* refus'd in Marriage:) He marry'd one of them to *Antipater*, the Son of his Siſter *Salome*; and the other (as we have ſaid already) to the Son of his Brother *Phaſael*: And let this ſuffice for the Family of *Herod*.

CHAP. II.

Zamaris, *a* Jew, *plants in* Syria. Herod *invites him to* Bathanæa. Herod *ſecures the* Jews *in their Profeſſion and Liberties.* Philip *levies ſome ſmall* Taxes. Zamaris *dies.* Jacimus *dies; and leaves his Son* Philip, General *of his Army.*

HEROD was now at Work to make all ſafe againſt the *Trachonites*; and to that End he reſolv'd upon the Building of a large ſpacious Village in the Middle of the Country: And a ſtrong Garriſon in it, that might ſerve both to ſecure that

Zamaris *a* Jew *paſſes the* Euphrates *with* 500 *Horſe-men to plant in* Syria.

Herod *invites him to* Bathanæa, *on certain Conditions.*

The Jew *accepts of* Herod's *Terms, and ſettles at* Bathyra: *And ſecures the* Jews *in the Practice of their Profeſſion.*

Quarter from Inroads, and upon any Occaſion, to ſally out upon the Enemy. While *Herod* had this Project in his Head, ſome Body happen'd to tell him of a certain *Jew* that came out of *Babylon* with *five hundred Horſe-Men*, with *Bows and Arrows*, and near a fifth Part of them of his own Relations: And that with theſe Troops he paſſed the *Euphrates* to plant himſelf about *Daphne* in *Syria*, where *Saturninus* the Governour gave him a Caſtle called *Valatha*, not far from *Antioch*, for his Habitation. *Herod*, upon this Intelligence, ſent an Invitation to the *Jew*, and all his People to come over to him, with a Promiſe of Lands, and other Conveniencies in the Territory of *Batanæa* upon the Borders of *Trachonitis*, with Privileges of *Exemption* from all *Duties* and *Tributes*, for the *Lands* as well as for the *Men*, and a Commiſſion only to defend that Quarter againſt the Incurſions of *Vagabonds* and *Robbers*. *Zamaris* the *Babylonian* was well enough pleas'd with the Conditions; accepted the Offer, and built Forts upon the Ground that was allotted him, together with a Town that he called by the Name of *Bathyra*; and in this Poſt he did not only protect the *Inhabitants* againſt the *Free-Booters*, but ſecur'd the *Jews* alſo in their Proceſſions from *Babylon* to *Jeruſalem*, according to the Duty and Practice of their Profeſſion.

They enjoy their Liberties during Herod's *Reign.*

Philip *levies ſome ſmall Taxes:* Agrippa, *and the* Romans *afterwards augment them; but their Perſons free.*

Zamaris *dies, and leaves a virtuous Iſſue.*

Jacymus *dies, and leaves his Son* Philip *General of his Army.*

Upon this Proviſion, there joyn'd with him vaſt Numbers of ſuch of the *Jews* as made a Conſcience of the Laws and Religion of their Forefathers, peopling the Country to Admiration for the Sake of the Advantages and Immunities above mentioned, which they enjoy'd quietly, and without any Controverſy, during *Herod*'s Reign: But *Philip* indeed that ſucceeded him, charged them with ſome ſmall Impoſitions; but they did not laſt long. *Agrippa the Great*, and his Son after him, of the ſame Name, burden'd them with heavy Taxes, 'tis true, and ſo did the *Romans* after them; but ſtill their Perſons were left at Liberty, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. As for *Zamaris* the *Babylonian*, that *Herod* put into the Poſſeſſion of this Command, after a long and a virtuous Life, he left Children behind him, that inherited the honourable Qualities of their Father. And among others, there was *Jacymus* a Cavalier that had the Reputation of a Man of his Hands, and no Man braver; and one that had ſerv'd the Kings of *Babylon* in their *Guards*. This *Jacymus* dy'd at a great Age, and left behind him a Son, *Philip*; who for his exemplary Valour and Probity, was in ſuch Eſteem with King *Agrippa*, that he made him General of his Army.

CHAP. III.

The Government lodg'd in Antipater. Pheroras *hates, but flatters the* Women; *who are all of a Piece. The* Conſpirators *cautious.* Salome *diſcovers all. The* Women *take Part with the* Phariſees; *who refuſe the Oath of* Allegiance. *A Fine ſet upon the* Phariſees; *and* Pheroras's *Wife pays it.* Bagoas *and other* Phariſees *put to Death. An Information againſt the Wife of* Pheroras. Pheroras *refuſes to part with his Wife.* Antipater *and his Mother forbid coming together.*

The whole Truſt of the Government lodg'd in Antipater.

None ſo great as Antipater *and* Pheroras.

Pheroras *hates the Women; but makes fair with them.*

The Women all of a Piece.

WHILE *Herod*'s Affairs were in this Poſture, as above, and himſelf poſſeſs'd with ſuch a Confidence of the Faith, Zeal, and Affection of his Son, the Menage and Authority of the whole Government was effectually lodg'd with *Antipater*, which Truſt, however, he did moſt abominably abuſe; but daubing over the Foulneſs of his Hypocriſy with ſuch ſpecious and artificial Pretences, that all paſs'd with his Father for Truth, and good Faith, in every Word he ſaid: So that in Effect he was not leſs dangerous for his Craft, than for his Power. But none ſo great in Appearance, after all, as *he* and *Pheroras*; the latter being circumvented, and drawn into the Snare by the Women that were in the Faction with the other. For *Pheroras* durſt not diſoblige, either his Wife, his Mother-in-Law, or his Siſter; though in his Heart he hated them all mortally, for the Indignities they had put upon his Virgin Daughters. But theſe were not Things to break upon, with People ſo neceſſary to the main Buſineſs; and privy, over and above, to ſo many dangerous Secrets, and conſequently one to another: Beſide that *Antipater* was inward with them to the higheſt Degree, both upon his own Account, and his Mother's; for theſe four Women were *all of a Piece*. But *Pheroras* and *Antipater* would be peeviſh one with another yet for Trifles: That is to ſay, at the Inſtigation of *Salome* that blew the Coal betwixt them, and was ſo particularly inform'd in the whole Train of the Deſign from End to End, that ſhe was juſt upon the Brink of diſcovering the Conſpiracy to *Herod himſelf*. Now the Complices finding their *Cabals watch'd*, and *obſerv'd*, their *Correſpondency ſuſpected* of *Myſtery* and *Intrigue*, and themſelves under the *Jealouſy* and *Diſpleaſure* of the *King*; they laid their Heads together, and came to a Reſolution, not

The Conſpirators manage with more Caution.

not to meet ſo publickly for the Time to come, but to pretend Janglings and Fallings out, and be talking one againſt another ſtill; eſpecially when either *Herod* himſelf, or any Body elſe that would be ſure to tell him again, was in Hearing: But for the *League* and *Confidence*, that was to go on ſtill in private; and at this Rate they manag'd. Now *Salome* ſaw thorough the Juggle from Point to Point; tracing every Step of it from the firſt Contrivance, quite through the whole Conduct of it; and finally to the Execution it ſelf: And ſtill as ſhe pick'd up any Thing to enflame the Miſunderſtanding, away ſhe went with it to her Brother, with Additions: As ſhe would be telling him every Foot of the *cloſe Intelligence* they held, their *ſecret Conſultations*, and how much it concern'd him to look well about him betimes, for no leſs than his Life was at Stake. As for their Brawls and their big Words againſt one another before Company, that was but all a *Blind*, ſhe ſaid; for they were very good Friends when they were alone; but Enemies undoubtedly to all thoſe, to whom ſhe would have that Friendſhip carry'd as a Secret. She made the beſt, in Fine, of her Diſcoveries, and all went to her Brother in Courſe, who, by this Time, had gotten ſome Inkling of the Matter; but kept his Thoughts to himſelf a while without taking all for granted that his Siſter told him, whom he knew to be ill-natur'd enough to make the worſt of every Thing.

Salome *diſcovers the Intrigue and the Cabal.*

The Women much addicted to the Phariſees.

This Set of Women were mightily devoted to a certain *Sect* among the *Jews* that valu'd themſelves upon their *legal Righteouſneſs*, and an Oſtentation of being *holier* than their *Neighbours*. Theſe People had the Name of *Phariſees*; an arrogant, crafty Sort of Men, that in the Pride and Vanity of their Hearts, make no Conſcience of affronting Kings, and trampling royal Authority under their Feet. As for Inſtance: When the whole Nation of the *Jews* were call'd upon to ſwear Allegiance to the *King* and to *Cæſar*, theſe were the only Refuſers, to the Number of above ſeven thouſand. And being condemn'd afterwards in a Sum of Money for this Refuſal, the Wife of *Pheroras* laid down the Fine. Theſe People having gotten to themſelves the Reputation of the Spirit of *Prophecy*, and the ſpecial Direction and Aſſiſtance of divine Revelation, gave it out in Requital for the good Office of paying the Fine, that God had determin'd the transferring of the Kingdom from *Herod* and *his Line*, to the *Princeſs*, and *her Husband Pheroras*, and *their Iſſue*. *Salome* gave the King Notice of this, and of the Bribery and Corruption that had been practis'd at Court in Favour of this Intereſt. Upon a ſtrict Search and Enquiry, there were ſeveral of the *Phariſees* taken up, and put to Death, as the principal Authors of this *ſeditious Preſage*; and among others there was *Bagoas* the *Eunuch*, and *Herod*'s Minion, *Carus*; a Youth that he doted upon for the Charms of his Perſon and Beauty: Beſide ſeveral others in his own Family that were convicted of the Conſpiracy, upon the Proof and Teſtimony of the *Phariſees* themſelves: Who held *Bagoas* in Hand, that he was to be celebrated as the Parent and the Benefactor of the *Prince* that was deſign'd for the *Throne*; for every Thing ſhould ſucceed well to the *new King*, and the Government be eſtabliſh'd to his Family in a legitimate Iſſue.

They refuſe to ſwear Allegiance to the King and Cæſar, *and are fin'd for it.*

Pheroras's *Wife lays down the Fine.*

The Phariſees *foretell the Translation of the Government to* Pheroras.

Salome *carries all this to* Herod.

Bagoas, *and other* Phariſees, *taken up and put to Death.*

Soon after the *Tryal*, *Conviction*, and *Execution* of the *Phariſees*, *Herod* call'd a Council of his *Friends*, and exhibited an Accuſation againſt the Wife of *Pheroras*; *alledging, That it was by her Counſel and Advice, that his Brother ſo contemptuouſly rejected the Tender of the royal Virgins to him in Marriage, and that ſhe had, moſt unnaturally and againſt all Law, fomented a Fewd betwixt Brethren to the uttermoſt of her Power, as well in Deeds as in Words: That ſhe her ſelf had ſided with the rebellious and contumacious* Phariſees, *in eaſing them of the* Fine *that he himſelf had impos'd upon them: And in Short, that ſhe was guilty, more or leſs, of the whole Conſpiracy. And therefore* Pheroras *ſhould do well, he thought, to caſt off that lewd Woman of himſelf, that had done ſuch diabolical Offices betwixt ſo near Relations, without waiting to be courted to it: Eſpecially conſidering the Caſe to be now come to this Point, that either* Pheroras *muſt diſown that Woman for his Wife, or never expect to be own'd by* Herod *for his Brother.*

Herod *exhibits Information againſt the Wife of* Pheroras;

and preſſes Pheroras *to put her away.*

Theſe paſſionate Expreſſions of *Herod* could not but touch *Pheroras* to the Quick; but yet with a ſaving to all the Duty and Reſpect that he ought, both to a *Prince*, and to a Brother; he made a publick Proteſtation that nothing in the World ſhould ever make him renounce his dear *Wife*, and that he would rather die than live without her. *Herod* ſufficiently reſented this Indignity; but kept his Anger to himſelf, only forbidding *Antipater* and his *Mother* any Communication with *Pheroras*, and barring the *Court Ladies* the Freedom of their uſual Converſations. They all promis'd that they would obſerve the King's Orders, but nevertheleſs kept up by Stealth their private Entertainments; *Pheroras* and *Antipater* eſpecially. People talk'd at that Time of an *Amour* betwixt *Antipater* and the Wife of *Pheroras*, and that the Mother of *Antipater* brought them together.

Pheroras *abſolutely refuſes.*

Herod *forbids* Antipater *and his Mother, &c. any Communication with* Pheroras.

But they meet ſtill by Stealth.

CHAP. IV.

Antipater *uneaſy. He gets himſelf ſent for to* Rome. Herod *ſends him with* Preſents, *and his* laſt Will *and* Teſtament. Syllæus *charg'd with* Treaſon, *and to be try'd at* Rome.

Herod's *ill Humour makes* Antipater *uneaſy.* Antipater *gets himſelf ſent for to* Rome. Herod *ſends him to* Rome *with Preſents, and his laſt Will and Teſtament.* Syllæus *charg'd with treaſonous Practices.*

A*NTIPATER* began now to be uneaſy under the ill Humour and Jealouſy of *Herod*; and not knowing where it might fall next, he wrote to his Friends at *Rome*, to get him ſent for in all Haſte to wait upon *Auguſtus*. This was done, and *Herod* ſent away *Antipater* with *rich Preſents*, and with his *laſt Will and Teſtament*; wherein he declar'd *Antipater* his Succeſſor; or in Caſe of his Deceaſe, his Son *Herod* that he had by the Daughter of the High-Prieſt.

The Cauſe to be try'd at Rome.

At the ſame Time, *Syllæus* the *Arabian* went alſo to *Rome*, not having performed, it ſeems, what *Cæſar* had order'd him. *Antipater* charged him there before *Auguſtus*, in like Manner as *Nicolaus* had done before. *Aretas* accuſed him alſo, for having put ſeveral Men of Honour to Death at *Petra*, contrary to his Will and Order, and among others *Sohemus*, a Man upon all Accounts eminent for his Virtue: And ſo likewiſe *Fabatus*, a Servant of *Cæſar*'s. The Buſineſs was this. There was a certain *Corinthian* in *Herod*'s *Guards*, that the King very much confided in. Syllæus *treated with this Man for a Sum of Money to kill the King*, and proceeded ſo far with him, that the Thing was agreed upon. *Fabatus* had this Account from the Mouth *Syllæus*, and forthwith went away with it to the *King*. The *Corinthian* was preſently put to the *Queſtion*, who upon a particular Scrutiny, acknowledg'd the Deſign, and brought two *Arabians* alſo, into the Plot; the one of them a Perſon of great Quality; and the other a ſingular Friend of *Syllæus*, who being likewiſe put to the *Torture*, confeſs'd that they came thither on Purpoſe to preſs the *Corinthian* to the Execution of what he had undertaken, and to aſſiſt him alſo in the Exploit, if there ſhould be Occaſion. The Informations were ſent by *Herod* to *Saturninus*, and by him to *Rome*, where the Cauſe was to be heard and decided.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras *ſent to his Government; who ſwears never to return, during* Herod's *Life.* Herod *falls ſick, and ſends for* Pheroras: *Who excuſes himſelf upon his* Oath. Pheroras *falls ſick and dies.*

Pheroras *ſent back to his Government; who takes an Oath never to return in* Herod's *Life.* Herod *falls ſick and ſends for* Pheroras. Pheroras *excuſes himſelf upon his Oath.* Pheroras *falls ſick ſoon after, and dies.*

WHEN *Herod* ſaw that *Pheroras* ſtood ſo firm to the Tenderneſs he had for his *Wife*, he ſent him back to his Government, and away he went very willingly, with an Oath never to return again during the Life of *Herod*; and he was as good as his Word; for the King ſoon after falling ſick, and he himſelf being call'd upon to give him a Viſit, and receive ſome ſecret Orders from him before he dy'd, *Pheroras* excus'd himſelf that he was under an Oath, and durſt not break it; but *Herod* lov'd his Brother ſtill as well as ever he did; and without following his Example, *Pheroras* himſelf falling ſick ſoon after, *Herod*, of his own Accord, made him a Viſit. This Diſtemper carry'd him off, and the King took Order for the tranſporting of his Body to *Jeruſalem*, where it was honourably interr'd. This Calamity was the Forerunner of great Miſchiefs to *Antipater*, though at preſent at *Rome*; for divine Juſtice call'd him afterward to an Account for the *Blood* of his *Brothers*. I ſhall now give the Story of it at Length, and in Order; for an exemplary Caſe to Mankind, and for a Caution to Poſterity, to govern themſelves in all Contingencies, by the Meaſures of Equity and Virtue.

CHAP. VI.

An Enquiry about the Death of Pheroras. *A* Poyſon *brought him by a Confident of* Syllæus's Miſtreſs. *The Siſter and Mother of* Pheroras's *Wife fetch it. Several Women tortur'd about it. The* Mother *of* Antipater *charged with it, and the Practice prov'd.* Doris *ſtript of her* Jewels, *and baniſh'd.* Antipater *in a Plot to* poyſon *the King.* Pheroras's *Widow diſcovers all.* Pheroras's *laſt Words in diſcharge of his Conſcience. More Witneſſes examin'd.* Herod *turns off one of his Wives.* Bathyllus *brings* Poyſon *from* Rome, *for* Antipater's *Mother and* Pheroras.

Enquiry about the Death of Pheroras.

P*HERORAS* being now *dead*, two of his *Trachonite-Freemen* that he lov'd extremely were very earneſt with *Herod* for a ſtrict Enquiry to be made how the

Matter

Maſter came to that miſerable End; and that in Caſe it ſhould be found a Practice, his Death might not paſs unreveng'd. They inform'd *Herod* (who laid a great Streſs upon every Word they ſaid) that the Night their Maſter was taken ill, he ſupp'd with his *Wife*, where he had an odd Kind of *mingled Drink*, given him, that ſtruck him to the Heart upon the very taking of it down. This was brought him by an *Arabian Woman* under the Name of a Love-Potion, but in Truth, a *mortal Poyſon*; as the *Women* of *that Country* are the beſt at it in the World. The Woman they charg'd it upon, was found to be an intimate Friend and Acquaintance of *Syllæus*'s *Miſtreſs*, the Mother and Siſter of *Pheroras*'s *Wife*, the Perſons that went to her for the *Poyſon*; and that they came back together, the Day before the adminiſtring of this *deadly Draught*. The King was ſo tranſported upon the hearing of this Story, that he preſently order'd ſeveral of the *Women* to be put to the *Torture*, *Free*, as well as *Slaves*. They ſtood mute a long Time; but one of them at laſt, in the Horror of her Pain, burſt out into this Exclamation: *Ah!* ſays ſhe, *that the Mother of* Antipater *were in my Place now; for that lewd Woman has been the Cauſe of all our Miſery*. This Diſcovery put *Herod* upon a Reſolution to extort out of them every particular of the *Intrigue*, and ſo to run thorough the whole Hiſtory of the Menage from Point to Point: As all their ſecret Meetings, Collations, cloſe Conſultations and Cabals; ſeveral occaſional Diſcourſes that paſs'd betwixt *Herod* and *Antipater*, were made common talk among the Women, even to the very Talent that was given to keep Things from the Knowledge of *Pheroras*. The *Women Witneſſes* farther enlarged upon the Hatred he had for his Father, and how he would be often complaining to his Mother, that *he thought the old Fellow would never dye*; when yet at the ſame Time, he was ſo far in Years himſelf, that if the Government had dropt into his Mouth, he could hardly have reliſh'd it; beſide ſo many Sons, and Grandchildren in View, that he had a very uncertain Proſpect of the Succeſſion: Nay, and as Matters ſtood at preſent, the Kingdom was to deſcend to his Brother, not to his *Son*, in Caſe he himſelf ſhould be taken out of the Way. The Witneſſes ſpake farther to his common Practice of inveighing againſt his *Father* for his Cruelty and Barbarity to his own Sons; inſomuch that he himſelf was forced away to *Rome*, and *Pheroras* to his Government to get out of his Reach.

A Poyſon brought him by a Confident of Syllaus's *Miſtreſs.*

The Siſter and Mother of Pheroras's *Wife fetcht it.*

Several Women tortur'd about it.

The Mother of Antipater *charged with it.*

The Practice prov'd to every Point.

This was alſo conſonant to what his Siſter had formerly told him, that without the Ceremony of any farther Doubt or Deliberation, *Doris* the Mother of *Antipater* was as good as convict of a moſt malicious Part of the *Treaſon*, and immediately ſtript of all her Jewels to the Value of many Talents, and expell'd the Palace: But for the Women of *Pheroras*'s *Family*, the King was gentler to them, for the Sake of their *Information*. There was Matter abundantly againſt *Antipater*; but the moſt provoking and unpardonable Article of his *Accuſation*, was drawn from the Confeſſion of *Antipater* the *Samaritan*, an Officer in a Place of Truſt under the other *Antipater*: Who, among other Things declared, that his Maſter had put a *mortal Poyſon* into the Hands of *Pheroras* for the King to take in his Abſence, when the Work might be done with the leſs Suſpicion. This Poyſon he ſaid, was brought out of *Ægypt* by *Antiphilius* a Friend of *Antipater*, whoſe Uncle *Theudion* the Brother of his Mother *Doris* ſent it to *Pheroras*, who gave it to his *Wife* to *keep*. *Herod*, upon this, took the *Woman* into *Examination*, who confeſs'd ſhe had it; and making a ſhew as if ſhe went to fetch it, ſhe caſt her ſelf down from one of the Palace-Galleries into the Court: But falling upon her Feet, the Bruiſe was not mortal. So ſoon as ſhe came to her ſelf again, the King promis'd both her, and her Family their Pardon, upon Condition that they declar'd the whole Truth; with Menaces of the uttermoſt Rigour of *Torments*, if either by Obſtinacy, or otherwiſe, they ſhould conceal any Part of the Deſign. Upon this *Pheroras*'s *Widow* bound her ſelf by a ſolemn *Oath* to tell the whole Matter of Fact without any Reſerve; and moſt People were of Opinion, that ſhe dealt clearly in her Story. *That Poyſon*, ſays ſhe, *was brought by* Antiphilius *out of* Ægypt, *and prepar'd by a Brother of his, that was a Phyſician there.* Antipater *bought it for the Deſign againſt your Majeſty.* Theudion *brought it to* Pheroras, *who deliver'd it to me. My Husband afterward falling ſick, had ſo pious and paſſionate a Senſe of your generous Friendſhip, in the charitable Viſit you were pleaſed to make him, that he called me to him, and told me: Wife*, ſays he, *here's* Antipater *has inveigled me into a moſt unnatural Plot for the poyſoning both my Brother and his Father; ſo that in the Senſe I have of the Steddineſs of the King's Affection to me, and of my own Condition as a dying Man, I am reſolved, God willing, never to carry into another World with me, the Guilt and Infamy of ſo baſe a Conſpiracy; wherefore let the* Poyſon *be immediately brought up and thrown into the Fire before my Face: Upon which Words* (ſays ſhe) *I fetcht it preſently and threw it into the Fire, as he had order'd me; ſaving only a very ſmall Remainder of it that I kept for my own Uſe, in Caſe it ſhould be my Lot after the Death of my Husband to be put to Extremities my ſelf.* With theſe Words, ſhe took out the *Poyſon* that

Doris *is ſtript of her* Jewels, *and baniſh'd.*

Antipater *in a Plot to poyſon the King.*

Pheroras's *Widow declares the whole upon Oath.*

Pheroras's *laſt Words to his Wife in Diſcharge of his Conſcience.*

More Witneſſes put to the Queſtion.

Herod *turns off one of his Wives.*

was left, with the Box it was in, and produced them both in the Court. In the next Place, the *Mother* of *Antiphilius*, and *another Brother* of his, were both put to the *Queſtion*, and confirmed the ſame Thing over again, with Evidence to the very *Box it ſelf*. There was an Accuſation exhibited alſo againſt *one of the King's Wives*, the Daughter of the *High-Prieſt*; but they got nothing out of her: *Herod* however, caſt her off, and ſtruck her Son of his own Name out of his Will, whom he deſign'd his *Succeſſor*, if *Antipater* had dy'd *before* him. He depoſed *Simon* alſo, his Father-in-law, and the Son of *Boethus*, from the *Pontificate*, and promoted *Matthias* of *Jeruſalem*, the Son of *Theophilus*, in his Stead.

Bathyllus *brought Poyſon from* Rome, *for* Antipater's *Mother and* Pheroras.

In this *Interim*, *Bathyllus*, one of *Antipater*'s Freemen, came from *Rome*, and being put to the *Torture*, confeſs'd that he brought *Poyſon*, for *Antipater*'s *Mother* and *Pheroras*, with an intent that if one fail'd, they might try the other. There came at the ſame Time certain Letters from *Rome*, to *Herod*; but of *Antipater*'s *Direction* and *Contrivance*; and menag'd likewiſe by his Friends; who in Preſents and Gratifications were well paid for their Pains. Theſe Letters inſiſted much upon the Liberties that *Archelaus* and *Philip* took at every turn, to talk ſo ſcandalouſly of *Herod* for the *Murder* of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, and of the Compaſſion they had for the *Poor innocent Brothers*; ſuggeſting alſo, that they themſelves were now call'd back again only to be treated after the ſame Manner with thoſe that went before them. This was all *Antipater*'s *Menage* from one End to the other, and not without fair Letters to *Herod* of his own too, over and above, for the better Colour of the Buſineſs. They were hot young Men, he ſaid, and the more excuſable, though perhaps not ſo temperate and reſpectful in their Words, as they might have been; with a great deal more of ſuch Stuff to the ſame Purpoſe. The Controverſy went on all this while with *Syllæus*; and *Antipater* had made as many Friends at Court as the Expence of *three hundred Talents*, in *Preſents*, and *Gallantries*, could procure him. It was a ſtrange Thing now, that in *ſeven Months Time* (for ſo long had this *Scrutiny* been *a foot*) *Antipater* ſhould never get the leaſt Inkling of the *Matter*; but what with the *Watches* and *Guards* that beſet the Paſſages, and the univerſal Malice of the People to *Antipater*, there was not a Man to be found that would run any Riſque for the informing, or the ſaving of him.

CHAP. VII.

Herod's Letters *to* Antipater. *The News of* Pheroras's *Death.* Antipater *goes to* Sebaſte; *where he is received with Curſes inſtead of Acclamations.* Quintilius Varus *in Council with* Herod *at* Jeruſalem. Antipater *comes in his* Robes *to the* Palace-Gates, *where himſelf is admitted, and his followers kept out.* Antipater *charg'd with* Fratricide *and* Treaſon; *to be* try'd *next Day, and* Varus *his* Judge. Salome, *the* Witneſſes *and* Diſcoverers, *all produced.* Herod's *Aggravation.* Antipater's *Defence; who offers himſelf to the Torture.* Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus *manages the Cauſe; adviſing* Varus *to do* Juſtice. Antipater *accuſed for dealing with* Wizzards. *His Character and Hypocriſy. An Experiment of the* Poyſon. Antipater *made a* Priſoner. *Letters intercepted from* Antiphilius *to* Antipater. *A Letter from* Acme. Forg'd Letters. Acme *a Penſioner to* Antipater. Antipater *names* Antiphilius *for a* Conſpirator. Herod *ſends a State of the Caſe to* Rome.

An artificial Way of Correſpondence betwixt Antipater *and* Herod.

Herod's *Letters came to* Antipater *upon the Way in* Cilicia. *The News of* Pheroras's *Death met him at* Tarentum. Antipater *doubts at* Celenderis *whether to go forward or no.*

A*NTIPATER*, having written to the King that he was upon ſettling his Affairs at *Rome*, and preparing for his Return, *Herod* adviſed him by all means, in a ſly temperate Way of Anſwer, to make what Haſte he could Homeward, for fear any Thing ſhould fall out amiſs in his Abſence: And not one angry Word in his Letter, more than ſome ſlight Glances upon his Mother, which would be eaſily made up again when they came together. This was all carry'd with mighty Profeſſions of Candour and Friendſhip, for if *Antipater* had phanſy'd a Trick in't, and delay'd his Journey upon it, he did not know what Intereſt he might make at *Rome* toward the ſupplanting of him in his Government. Theſe Letters came to *Antipater*'s Hand as he was upon the Way in *Cilicia*; but for thoſe that brought him Tidings of the Death of *Pheroras*, he received them at *Tarentum*, and with a ſorrowful Heart too, not for the Love of *Pheroras*, but for the Diſappointment of *poyſoning the King*, which he had undertaken for. Upon his coming to *Celenderis*, a City of *Cilicia*, he had a kind of Miſgiving upon him, that ſtagger'd him, whether he ſhould go forward or no. The Scandal that lay upon his *Mother* ran in his *Head*; and deliberating what to do, his Friends were divided upon the Queſtion. Some were for ſtepping aſide a while to ſee what would come of it; others, for haſtening all he could

Home again, making no Doubt at all but upon his Appearance he would clear himſelf to all manner of Purpoſes; for what was it, even at preſent, but his being out of the Way that gave his Adverſaries ſo much Advantage over him, by Tales and Calumnies! This Advice carry'd it: So that he continu'd his Courſe to *Sebaſte*, a Port that *Herod* had erected at an incredible Expence, in Honour of *Auguſtus*. By this Time, every Body read *Antipater's Fate*; for he that at his Departure was follow'd with *Benedictions*, *Vows* and *Acclamations*, had not ſo much as one Creature now to take any kind of Notice of him, or to bid him welcome; but for Curſes and Imprecations, he had them in abundance; the People crying aloud to Heaven for *Vengeance* upon him *for the Blood of his murder'd Brothers*.

His Friends are for it, and ſo he advances to Sebaſte; *where he is receiv'd with Curſes inſtead of Acclamations.*

Quintilius Varus, the Succeſſor of *Saturninus* in the Government of *Syria*, happen'd to be now at *Jeruſalem*, and at this very Time in Counſel with *Herod*. While they were ſitting upon publick Buſineſs, up comes *Antipater* in his *purple Robes*, to the *Palace Gates*, which were ſet open to him; but immediately ſhut again upon his Followers. This ſtruck him into ſuch a Damp (for he knew nothing as yet of the Matter) that he began now to think with himſelf whereabouts he was: But more eſpecially, juſt upon preſenting himſelf to his Father's Embrace, to be thrown off with Indignation, and with Reproaches of *Fratricide* and Treaſon; for theſe, they told him, were the Crimes would be charg'd upon him the Day following; and *Varus* there preſent to be his *Judge*: This Surprize daunted him as if he had been Thunder-ſtruck; ſo he went his Way, meeting his *Mother* and his *Wife* in his Paſſage. The *latter* was the *Daughter* of *Antigonus*, *Herod's Predeceſſor*, and having conferr'd Notes with them upon the State of the Cauſe, he prepared for his Tryal.

Quintilius Varus *in Council with* Herod *at* Jeruſalem.

Antipater *comes to the Palace Gates in his Robes,*

Himſelf admitted, but his Followers ſhut out.

Antipater *charged with Fratricide and Treaſon, to be try'd next Day, and* Varus *his Judge.*

He conſults his Mother and his Wife, and prepares for his Tryal.

Next Day there met a *great Council*; *Varus* and *Herod Preſidents*, and their Friends about them. *Salome* the King's Siſter, was cited thither alſo, with others of their Relations. There was likewiſe the *Diſcoverers* of the *Conſpiracy*; the *Witneſſes* that had been upon the *Torture*; and in the laſt Place, ſome of the *Domeſticks* of the *Mother* of *Antipater* that had been taken up a little before his Return from *Rome*, and *Letters* for him found about them to this Effect: Giving him Caution, *That he ſhould not upon any Terms come back; for the King knew all, and he had beſt have a Care how he fell into his Hands: Concluding, in Fine, that he had no Way in the World to come off, but by caſting himſelf upon* Cæſar's Clemency *and* Protection. Antipater *made it now his Requeſt to* Herod, *only to be admitted to his* Defence, *and not* condemn'd unheard. *The* King *preſently bad him riſe, and ſtand forth to take his Tryal.*

The Council meets; Varus *and* Herod *Preſidents.* Salome *the Witneſſes and Diſcoverers all produc'd.*

I am (ſays *Herod*) *an unfortunate Man to have been the Father of ſuch Children, and to fall at laſt in my old Age now into the Hands of ſuch a Wretch as* Antipater. *And ſo he amplify'd upon the Care he had taken for him in his* Inſtitution *and* Education; *and reproaching him, that he never ask'd, or ſo much as wiſh'd for any Thing out of his Fortune that he deny'd him. And what Return now for all this, but a Conſpiracy againſt his* Life, *in requital; and the ſeizing of a* Crown, *by an impious Violence, that by the* double Right *of both* Title *and free Gift, were to come to him in Courſe? I cannot imagine,* ſays he, *what Advantage he could propoſe to himſelf in the gratifying of ſo extravagant an Ambition; for he had made him a* Succeſſor, he ſaid, *by his* Will, *and effectually a* Partner *with him in Dignity, Glory and Power, even in his Life-time: Beſide the ſettling of fifty Talents a Year upon him for a Revenue, and an Allowance of three hundred more, for the Expence of his Journey now to* Rome. *As for his* Charge *upon his* Brothers, *either they were* Guilty, *and he himſelf at the ſame Time their* Imitator, *as well as their* Accuſer; *or on the other Side, if innocent, then was he again the* Calumniator *and the* Murderer. *For he had nothing againſt them,* he ſaid, *but out of his own Mouth, and ſo was the* Sentence *as well as the* Information: *So that in this Act he had acquitted his* Brothers, *and taken the execrable Impiety upon himſelf.*

Herod *aggravates* Antipater's *Ingratitude.*

Herod was overcome with ſo paſſionate a Fit of *Weeping* upon this tender Occaſion, that he could go no further; and ſo deſired *Nicolaus of Damaſcus*, his ancient and particular Friend, and one that was thoroughly inſtructed in this Matter, to proceed to the Examination of the *Criminals*, and to the *Conviction* of his *Son*. *Antipater* by Way of Prevention, apply'd himſelf to his *Defence*, and improv'd all the Inſtances of his Father's Kindneſs to the Juſtification of his own Piety and Deſerts, aſſuming to himſelf to have done his Duty to all Purpoſes. *What likelyhood,* ſays he, *that after the reſcuing of my Father from the Treacheries of ſo many other People, I ſhould at laſt turn Traytor to him my ſelf, and blaſt the Reputation of a try'd and an unſpotted Loyalty, with ſo foul a Blot in the Concluſion? What could I pretend, or but deſire to make me greater, or better than in Truth I was? Or how could I be ſuch a Fool, as under theſe ſplendid Circumſtances, to make my ſelf a ſcandalous Villain, only for Infamy and Loſs! For the* Succeſſion *was with all Formality of* Law *already ſettled upon me, and my ſelf ſo far admitted by the King's Bounty into a Share with him in the Exerciſe of his* Royal Power, *that I*

Antipater's *Defence.*

was effectually in the very Poſſeſſion *of the* Government, *rather than in the* Expectancy *of it; and no Creature either to controul, or to envy my Claim. Why ſhould I ſtruggle now for that with* Danger, *which my Virtue had put me in a* quiet *Enjoyment; and expoſe my ſelf by ſo doing, to a moſt certain Infamy, for the vain Flattery of an uncertain Hope; eſpecially conſidering how this Ambition ſped with my Brothers, whom I my ſelf accuſed, canvicted and puniſh'd? This I did,* ſays he, *and this I ſhall never repent of; but on the contrary, value my ſelf upon the Merit of that Service, as the higheſt Inſtance I could give my dear Father of a* filial *and* inviolable Love *and* Duty. *As to my Behaviour in the City of* Rome, *I dare Appeal to* Cæſar himſelf, *who is no more to be impoſed upon than an* Oracle, *and to ſeveral of his Letters that I could produce under his own Hand in my Favour. Pray'e would it not be hard now to ſet up the Calumnies of wicked Men, and profeſs'd Enemies againſt the Authority of theſe ſacred Evidences! A ſcandalous ſort of* Pick-Thanks, *that are never ſo well pleaſed as when they are embroiling the Royal Family; as they have now made Advantage of my Abſence for the poſſeſſing of People with falſe and defamatory Rumours againſt me, which they were never able to compaſs ſo long as I was within Diſtance of ſpeaking for my ſelf.* Toward the End of his Diſcourſe, he made a ſhort Digreſſion upon the *Reaſon* and *Cuſtom* of examining by *Torture; which was as likely a Way,* he ſaid, *to extort a Falſity as a Truth; for whether true, or falſe, the* tormented *muſt expect to be kept in Pain till he be brought to confeſs what the* Tormentor *would have him ſay:* And yet *Antipater*, after all this, offer'd himſelf to the *Queſtion*, and to abide the Iſſue of it. He deliver'd theſe Words with ſo paſſionate a Tranſport of Tone, Tears, Action, ſtriking his Head and the like, that the Council were extremely mov'd at it; and the greateſt Enemies he had in the World, could not but pity him: Nay *Herod himſelf* was obſerv'd to relent, notwithſtanding the utmoſt he could do to conceal it.

Antipater *offers himſelf to the Torture.*

Nicolaus *of* Damaſcus *takes up the Cauſe where the King left it.*

When *Antipater* had gone thus far, *Nicolaus* took up the Cauſe where the King left it; *ſcann'd and ſifted every Article; cited and ſumm'd up the Proofs; the Names of the Witneſſes, and the particular Confeſſions of thoſe that had been put to the Queſtion. He paſs'd then to the Subject of the King's Bounty, Care and Tenderneſs in the Education of his Children, and how ill it was anſwer'd. As for* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *while they were under the Dominion of* Ambition, *rather than Avarice, and hurry'd on by the intemperate Motions of* Youth *and* hot Blood, *it was not ſo much a Wonder for them,* he ſaid, *to be debauch'd by evil Counſel and lewd Company, into a Neglect or Contempt of their Duty; but as to the Caſe of* Antipater, *it was worſe than brutal, for in the very fierceſt of Beaſts themſelves, there is yet a Kind of natural Gratitude for their Keepers and their Feeders: Whereas this young Man was ſo far from being gain'd upon by the Goodneſs and Bounty of an indulgent Father, that as he was not to be deterr'd by the calamitous Example of his Brothers; ſo on the contrary, he valu'd himſelf upon an Emulation of their Wickedneſs and Cruelty. Was it not you your ſelf,* Antipater, ſays he, *that firſt diſcover'd their Deſign? Were not you then the Proſecutor? And you your ſelf again, the Director of the Sentence, and conſequently of the Puniſhment? This is not now to reflect upon your Zeal and Indignation in ſo juſt a Cauſe; but it ſtumbles me to find you ſo bitter againſt your Brothers, for the very ſame Thing that you do your ſelf: Which manifeſtly ſhews, that your Buſineſs was not ſo much the* Preſervation *of the* Father, *as the Ruine of the* Children; *and under Colour of a* ſevere Brother, *to get the Reputation of a* tender *and a* dutiful Son; *and ſo with the more Security, to ſtalk under that Cloak up to the King himſelf. And this was the Exploit you were now about. How came it to paſs elſe, that the* Brothers *were put to Death, and not their* Complices? *What could be the Meaning, or the End of this; but firſt, that you and they were agreed upon the Matter; and ſecondly, that ſo ſoon as the firſt Difficulty ſhould be over, they might be within Call to help you out with the next? So that you had a double Satisfaction in the Contemplation of your Wickedneſs; the one was by impoſing publickly upon the World in a moſt flagitious Impiety for an honourable and a meritorious Virtue; the other was in the carrying on, and the Hope of executing that inhumane Barbarity your ſelf, which you took upon you but now to revenge in others. If you had heartily deteſted that Malice, you would as well have abhorr'd the Imitation of it. But you, have had the Wit however, to take the beſt People out of the Way firſt; and to ſet your ſelf clear of Competitors, being reſolved to leave neither Rivals nor Witneſſes; and that being done, to crown the Murder of the* Brothers *with that of the* Father, *and by ſo doing, not only to 'ſcape the Puniſhment you have deſerved, but to bring your Parent to bear the Burden of your Crimes, in ſuch a* Parricide *as was never either heard or dreamt of before: For the Treaſon was not form'd againſt a Perſon of the common Rate of Fathers; but againſt a Parent, tender and indulgent to the higheſt Degree; the Conſpirator mark'd out for the Succeſſion already; a Half-Sharer in the Crown by Advance; ſettled beforehand in the preſent Enjoyment of his Greatneſs, and ſecure of the Reverſion of it by his Father's Will: But,* ſays Nicolaus, *your inſatiable Deſires were not to be bounded by his Goodneſs, but by ſuch Meaſures;*

ſures only as your own Ingratitude and Perverſeneſs ſhould preſcribe. Your own Half of his Right would not anſwer your End, unleſs you might have his Part too. Your Pretence *was the* ſaving *of him, when at the ſame Time the* Plot *was to* deſtroy *him: And the Lewdneſs was not all to your ſelf neither; but your* Mother *was made a Party to it; the whole Family embroil'd upon't, and the Brothers altogether by the Ears. And after all this, what d'ye think of the Impudence of calling your Father Beaſt; and ſo making your ſelf the arranter Brute of the two. But neither your Relations nor your Benefactors are to ſcape the Poiſon of your Scandals. And as if the Venom of your own Heart had not been ſufficient to inſtruct and irritate a Revenge, you have called to your Help, your* Guards, Councellors, *and* Suborners, *of* both Sexes, *to lay all their Heads together in a Confederacy againſt one antient Man: And now after the* torturing *of ſo many Men and Women; Free, and Slaves, one with another, upon your Account, and after ſuch a Cloud of undeniable Evidences, you have yet the Confidence to out-face the Truth, and to follow your Enterprize upon the Life of your Father, with an Attempt upon the Authority of the very* Law *that puniſhes ſuch Criminals; and this you do in Contradiction to the Equity of* Varus, *and to the univerſal Meaſures of* Natural Juſtice. *What is it that makes you diſparage extorted Teſtimonies, but becauſe you would derogate from the Credit of thoſe Proofs that lay open your Wickedneſs, and conduce to the Preſervation of your Father.*

Sir, ſays *Nicolaus to* Varus, *by the Majeſty of the* Roman Empire, *and by your own Honour, I adjure you that you vindicate the King from the Indignities of his own Fleſh and Blood, and deliver up this* Monſter *of an* Hypocrite *to Death; that under a Pretext of Reverence to his Father, hunts after the Blood of his Brothers; and if he had not been ſeaſonably detected, his Father's Turn ſhould have been next, to make his own Way to the Crown. You know very well, Sir, that* Parricide *is no* private Crime, *but a* Publick Affront *to the* Laws *of* Life, *and of our* reaſonable Being; *and ſo abominable a Pollution in the very Thought, as well as in the Act, that whoever ſuffers it to paſs unpuniſh'd, offers an Indignity to humane Nature it ſelf, in that Violence, and to the common Mother of us all.*

Nicolaus *adjures* Varus *to do Juſtice.*

Nicolaus had a Touch too upon ſome fooliſh Words, that the *Mother* of *Antipater* had let fall, it ſeems, in her blabbing talkative Humour; concerning *Prognoſticators, Wizzards*, and *Sacrifices*, that had been conſulted about the *Life* of the *King*, and the *Succeſſion* of the *Crown*. And then he had the Story of *Antipater's Wallowing*, and *beaſtly Debauches* in *Pheroras's Family, with his Cups and his Women*. There were ſeveral Particulars produced with *Proofs* to *every Article*; ſome *extorted*, others *voluntary*; ſome again deliver'd upon *Recollection*, and others upon *preſſing*, and *occaſional Neceſſities*: And theſe were by ſo much the more credible. For every Thing came out now to *Antipater*'s Condemnation, but they durſt not ſo much as mutter ſo long as he was in Favour. In ſhort, the People knew all Things by him, hated him, and told all.

Antipater *charg'd with dealing with Wizzards.*

His *Condition* was every Way *miſerable*; but the *Horror* of his *Conſcience* was yet the moſt *inſupportable* Part of his *Calamity*; having the *Blood* of his *Father* (in the Sight of God that knew his Intention) together with the *Diviſion*, the *Confuſion*, and the *Treaſon* of the *Family* to *anſwer* for. His *Kindneſs*, or his *Hatred*, was altogether ſteer'd by his *Intereſt*; and he never was, either a Friend, or an Enemy to any Man, but for his own Ends: And this narrow Soul of his was ſo well known, that all honeſt Men liv'd in a Kind of Oppoſition to him, as if it had been impoſſible to have an Eſteem for *Antipater* and for *Virtue* together: Inſomuch that ſo ſoon as ever they found him abandon'd by the Government, and expos'd for a Mark, People brought in their Informations againſt him in Huddles, and with *Outcries* for *Juſtice*; nor was there any *Room, Need* or *Pretence* for *Subornation* in the Caſe; there being no Place for a Court-Flattery on the one Hand, nor any Danger, if they ſhould have ſuppreſs'd the Truth, on the other: But Exclamations were brought in from all Parts againſt *Antipater*, and his vile Practices; as a Wretch, whoſe Death was not ſo neceſſary upon the ſingle Score of his *Father's Safety*, as for the Sake of *Mankind it ſelf*, in clearing the World of ſo abandon'd a Wretch. And his Accuſation was not grounded neither upon bare *Interrogatories*, whether upon the *Torture*, or the *good Faith* of the *Witneſſes*: But Multitudes came thronging in with Articles againſt him of their own Accord, and made the Matter ſo clear, that with all his Art and Impudence, he had not one Word to reply.

All Men's Mouths open againſt him.

When *Nicolaus* had done ſpeaking, *Varus* told *Antipater*, that if he had any Thing to ſay for himſelf, the Court was ready to hear him: And that his Father, and himſelf ſhould be the gladdeſt Men in the World to find him innocent. *Antipater* caſt himſelf immediately down upon the Ground, with this ſhort Prayer in his Mouth. *Lord*, ſays he, *Thou that art the Searcher of Hearts, I moſt earneſtly beſeech thee to vindicate my Innocence as to any Thought of Miſchief to my Father, by ſome ſignal Token from Heaven,*

Antipater's *Hypocriſy.*

Heaven, that may convince the World of my Integrity. This is the Way of Men harden'd in Impiety, firſt to caſt off the Fear of God in their *Practices*, and ſo, by Degrees, they come to renounce or affront him in their *Words*; and yet when their Wickedneſs hath brought them into Danger, they go on calling upon God ſtill, and appealing to that righteous Judge, with certain formal Pretences of Reſignation to his Will and Pleaſure. *Antipater*, that had gotten a *Habit* of this Way of Proceeding; and after he had led the Life of an *Atheiſt*, without any Regard to a Divine Power or Providence, came in the Concluſion to fall under the Stroke of a juſt Vengeance; and in that Diſtreſs, for want of humane Aid, either by Friends, or Laws, *he caſt himſelf*, he ſaid, *upon the Power and Goodneſs of the Almighty, who had preſerv'd him hitherto by Miracle, to take Care of the Life of his Father. Varus* ſeeing that he could get no direct Anſwer to any of his Queſtions, nor any thing but *Invocations*, and *Appeals* to Heaven, he found there would be no End of it that Way, and ſo call'd for the *Poiſon* to be brought out, and ſome Tryal made of the Force of it. It was fetch'd preſently, and given to a *condemn'd Man*, whom it kill'd immediately. Upon this Experiment, the Court roſe, and *Varus* went away the next Day to *Antioch*, the Place of his uſual Abode, in Regard that the Kings of *Syria* commonly made that their Reſidence.

An Experiment made of the Poiſon.

Herod and *Varus* having conferr'd upon the Matter, *Antipater* was made a Priſoner, the Reſolution not known; but moſt People imagining that what the King did was with the Advice of *Varus*. Soon upon *Antipater's Commitment, Herod* ſent away to *Cæſar* about him, both by Word of Mouth and by Writing, with the whole Hiſtory of his Caſe and Crimes. There happen'd at the ſame Time to be ſome Letters intercepted from *Antiphilus* out of *Ægypt*, to *Antipater*, wherein were theſe Words: *I have ſent you here a Letter of* Acme's, *and you know I run the Riſque of my Life in the doing of it; if I ſhould be laid at the Mercy of two powerful Families, and my deadly Enemies. Pray have a Care that nothing miſcarry.* This was the Subſtance of the Letter; but the King was at a Loſs ſtill for the other Letter of *Acme's*, and cauſ'd a ſtrict Search and Enquiry to be made after it; but none ſuch to be found; and the Servant of *Antiphilus*, upon Examination, abſolutely deny'd the Knowledge of any ſuch Letter. When they had been a pretty while bethinking themſelves, *one of the King's Friends* happen'd to ſpy a Seam in the Lining of the Servant's inward-Coat: (for he had two on) and it came into his Head, that perhaps the *Letter* they look'd for might be in *that Fold*: Which was well gueſs'd, for there they found the Letter; and this was the Tenor of it. *Acme* to *Antipater. I have written to your Father, according to your Direction; and I have put in a counterfeit Copy of a Letter, as if it came from* Salome *to the Empreſs, my Miſtreſs. I make no Doubt, but upon the Reading of it,* Herod, *without any more ado, will treat her as a Traytreſs.* This Letter that pretends to be from *Salome*, was the Project and Invention of *Antipater*, with *Salome's Name* to't; but dreſs'd up by *Acme*, who wrote to the King to this Effect. *Acme to King Herod. Out of the Care and Deſire I have to ſerve you, in acquainting you with any Thing that may concern the Safety of your Perſon, I have tranſcrib'd, and ſent you a Letter that I found of* Salome's *to my* Miſtreſs *the Empreſs, againſt you; deſiring her Leave for the marrying of* Syllæus. *Pray let it be torn to Pieces, for the Diſcovery would be as much as my Life is worth.* Now the Letter of *Acme* to *Antipater* laid open the whole Cheat, in ſhewing that ſhe did nothing but by his Order, writing to *Herod* and ſending a Copy of *Salome's Counterfeit-Letter* to her *Miſtreſs*, and a Plot in the Bottom of it. *Acme* was by Nation a *Jew*, in the Service of *Julia*, the Wife of *Cæſar*, and bought over to *Antipater's Intereſt* by a vaſt Sum of Money, to aſſiſt him in his Practices, both upon his *Aunt* and his *Father*. This Diſcovery expoſed *Antipater* for ſo turbulent an Incendiary, and ſo pernicious and dangerous a Wretch, to *himſelf* and his *Siſter* (to ſay nothing of his corrupting the Honour and Diſcipline even of *Cæſar's Roof* and *Family*) that *Herod* was within a very little of having him put to Death upon the very Inſtant; and *Salome* was not wanting neither to provoke him to it; breaking into extravagant Outrages, as beating her Breaſts, and other frantick Violences, and offering her ſelf to a thouſand Deaths, if they could but prove againſt her ſo much as the leaſt Colour for a Suſpicion of one diſloyal Thought. The King, upon this Occaſion, ſent for his *Son*, and bad him ſpeak the Word freely, if he had any thing to ſay in his own Defence. *Antipater* ſtood ſtone-ſtill a while, without one Word ſpeaking; and *Herod*, finding him in that Confuſion, put him to it once again, ſince he could not excuſe himſelf, to tell him at leaſt who were his Complices. He named *Antiphilus*, and went no further. *Herod* took this Way of trifling for ſuch an Indignity, that he was once thinking in a Paſſion to ſend him away to *Rome* to take his Tryal before *Cæſar*. But upon ſecond Thoughts, for Fear he might be reſcu'd upon the Way, or acquitted when he came thither, he kept him in Priſon as before: But ſent his *Em-*

Antipater *made a Priſoner: and the Court breaks up. Letters intercepted from* Antiphilus *to* Antipater.

A Letter from Acme.

A Copy of a forg'd Letter, as from Salome *to the Empreſs, encloſ'd in one to* Herod *from* Salome.

Acme, *a* Jew; *Julia's Servant, and in Penſion to* Antipater

Antipater *names* Antiphilus *for a Conſpirator.*

baſſadors however with *a State of the Caſe*; *Inſtructions* and *Copies* of the *Letters* given in *Evidence*; and in particular, with an Account of *Acme*'s being a *Party* in the *Plot*.

Herod *ſends a State of the Caſe to* Rome.

CHAP. VIII.

Herod *falls ſick*, *and makes his* Will. *A* Sedition, *and the Occaſion of it.* Judas *and* Matthias, *two eminent* Jews. Herod *given over.* Judas *and* Matthias *againſt the* golden Eagle. News *that* Herod *is dead.* *The* golden Eagle *thrown down.* Judas *and* Matthias *taken Priſoners.* *They juſtify themſelves.* *The King ſends them bound to* Jericho. Matthias *depos'd*, *and* Joazar *put in his Place.* *The* Mutineers *burnt alive.* Herod's *Sickneſs*, *a Judgment.* Herod *ſends for* Salome *and* Alexas. *A horrible Order of* Herod's *for a Farewel.*

WHile the *Embaſſadors* were now with their *Letters* and *Mandates* upon the Way toward *Rome*, *Herod* fell into a Fit of Sickneſs; made his *Will*; and being put quite out of Opinion with *Archelaus* and *Philip* by the Calumnies of *Antipater*, he declared his youngeſt Son his *Succeſſor*. He gave in *Legacies*, *a thouſand Talents to Cæſar*; to his *Wife Julia*, his *Children*, *Friends* and *Freemen*, *five hundred Talents more*. The *reſt* of his *Money*, with his *Lands* and *Revenues*, he gave to *his own Sons and Grand-Children*: And for his Siſter *Salome*, he bequeathed her a very conſiderable Fortune, in Acknowledgment of the Steadyneſs of her Affection to him. He was now in the ſeventieth Year of his Age; and his Illneſs increaſing upon him, paſt all Hope of Recovery: Cholerick, and furious as a Madman, and ſo miſchievouſly croſs-grain'd, that there was no Poſſibility of pleaſing him. The Thing that troubled him was the Haughtineſs of his Stomach, upon a Fancy that he was fallen into the Contempt and Hatred of the People, even to the Degree of their taking Pleaſure in his Miſery: Beſide that he was further confirm'd in this Opinion by a Commotion that ſoon after follow'd upon it, at the Inſtance and Inſtigation of ſome popular Men that headed the Sedition. The Thing was this.

Herod *falls ſick, and makes his Will.*

A Sedition, and the Occaſion of it.

There were *two Men* that had a mighty Reputation among the *Jews*, both for the Eminency of their *Learning* in *general*, and likewiſe for their *particular Skill* and *Excellence* in the *Law*. And they had yet further endeared themſelves to the People by the exceeding Care and Pains they took in the training up of their Children to the Knowledge and Practice of their Duty and Profeſſion, which they made effectually the main Buſineſs of their Lives: Their Names were *Judas* the Son of *Sariphæus*, and *Matthias* the Son of *Margalothus*. No ſooner was it come to the Ears of theſe two famous Men, that the *King* was given over, but they put it preſently in the Heads of the young Men to ſet upon a Reformation, and to deſtroy all thoſe new Works and Structures that the King had erected contrary to the Laws of their Country; giving them all Aſſurance that if they ſhew'd themſelves Champions for the Truth, they ſhould not fail of their Reward. They bad them further conſider, that all the Broils and Factions of the King's Family, and the deplorate Condition of the King's Sickneſs, were only *divine Judgments upon him for his Innovations*; which *Judas* and *Matthias* zealouſly inſiſted on. Among other Inſtances of a ſuperſtitious Magnificence, there was a *Dedication* of a *golden Eagle* ſet up over the *Portal* of the *Temple*, of a *prodigious Weight* and *Value*. Now this being a flat Contradiction to our *Laws*, that abſolutely forbid the Uſe and Ornament of *Images* in ſuch Caſes, theſe Doctors ſet their Diſciples at Work to pluck down the *Eagle*. *It would be an Enterprize of* Hazzard, *they told them*; *but withal, that a glorious Death was much more eligible than a Life of Pleaſure, and that their Blood could not be better ſpent than in the Vindication of the* Laws *and* Rites *of their* Country, *which would alſo make their Names immortal: whereas otherwiſe the brave, and the mean would lye undiſtinguiſhed in the ſame common Fate*; *wherefore all Men of Honour and Virtue ſhould do well*, they ſaid, *to improve the irreverſible Neceſſity of* Death, *by a right Choice of the moſt glorious Occaſion for it*; *and ſo to quit the troubleſome World with Comfort.* *It takes away the* Sting *and the* Terror *of* Mortality *it ſelf both at once, to die in the* Conſcience *of an* honeſt Action *and of a* good Life; *and to tranſmit both the Fame, and the Reward of it to thoſe that ſhall come after you.*

Judas *and* Matthias *two eminent* Jews.

Herod *given over.*

The People encourag'd to deſtroy Innovations againſt Law.

Judas *and* Matthias *inveigh againſt the golden Eagle*, &c.

and preſs the deſtroying of it.

Juſt upon the finiſhing of this *Harangue*, came a Rumour that the King was dead: So that betwixt the Diſcourſe and the Report, the People were ſo inflam'd to be upon Action, that they mounted the *Portal* at *Noon-day*; tore down the Eagle, and hackt it to Pieces with their Axes, in the Sight of a vaſt Multitude of Spectators in the Temple. The King's Commander in Chief immediately upon the News of this Uproar, haſten'd away to the Tumult with a ſtrong Body of Troops, to prevent further Miſ-

After this comes News that the King's dead. The People throw down the Eagle.

A Party of Horſe ſcatters them: Only Judas *and* Matthias, *with about* 40 *more ſtand their Ground, and are carry'd Priſoners to the King.*

They are charg'd with Inſolence, and juſtify what they have done.

The King ſends them bound to Jericho; *enters the Council in his Chair, and reaſons the Matter with them.*

chief; ſuſpecting the Matter, in Truth, to be much more conſiderable than he found it. For coming to the Place, there was no Enemy to be ſeen, but a rude undiſciplin'd Rabble, without either Order or Arms, which was eaſily broken and ſcatter'd upon the firſt Charge, only a Matter of forty of them with their Leaders, *Judas* and *Matthias* ſtood their Ground, upon a Point of Honour not to turn their Backs. Theſe were all taken and carry'd Priſoners to the King; who put it to them how they durſt preſume to lay violent Hands upon that ſacred Figure. *Their Anſwer was, that they had thought of it a long Time, and coming at laſt to a Reſolution, they did as became Men of Honeſty and Courage, in the putting of it in Execution; and that what they had now done was only in Vindication of the Honour of God, and of the Precepts of their great Maſter, whoſe Diſciples they profeſs themſelves to be; beſeeching* Herod *not to make it a Matter of Wonder, if they preferr'd the* Laws *that they had received from* Moſes, *and he from* God himſelf, *before any other Decrees whatſoever. They did not ſuffer, they ſaid, for evil Doing, but for Conſcience and Duty; and that they were ready to deliver up their Bodies in this Cauſe, either to Death, or to Puniſhment.* It was clear that their Tongues and their Hearts went together in all that they ſaid and did; and they were now ready to ſuffer with the ſame Conſtancy they acted with before. The King, after this, ſent them bound to *Jericho*, where he call'd a *great Council* of the *Jews*, and was himſelf (being ſick and weakly) carry'd in his Chair into the Aſſembly; where *he gave them to underſtand what unweary'd Pains and Labours he had undergone for the Service of the Common-wealth; his* rebuilding *their* Temple *at an immenſe Charge: A Work that the whole Race of the* Aſmonæan Family *had not been able to compaſs in a hundred and twenty five Years: Setting forth alſo that he had not only* re-edify'd *the* Fabrick, *but* beautify'd, endow'd *and* enrich'd *it with* Ornaments, Preſents *and* Donatives, *worthy of ſo magnificent an Undertaking. And now*, ſays he, *in the Concluſion, when I thought my ſelf ſure of ſurviving my own Funerals in the Fame of a happy Memory, and an everlaſting* Glory *for the good Offices I have done; there am I fleed alive, and pay'd with Indignities for all my Benefits and Reſpects; affronted in the Face of the Sun and of the People; my Gifts and Oblations torn from the very Temple, and an Act of* Malice *improv'd into a* Sacrilege; *for the* Injury *is to* God, *not to* me.

He depoſes Matthias, *and puts* Jozar *in his Place.*

The Mutineers burnt alive.

The leadiug Men of the Council not knowing how far *Herod's Cruelty* might tranſport him, thought it their ſafeſt Courſe to purge themſelves by Way of Prevention; which they did, *by Declaring, not only their Innocency of the Fact, but their Opinion alſo, that the Rioters deſerv'd to be ſeverely puniſh'd for it.* Theſe Words ſweeten'd him toward all the reſt. He took away the *High-Prieſthood* from *Matthias*, upon a Preſumption that he was no Stranger to the Contrivance and gave it to *Jozar* his Brother-in-law. It ſo happen'd that while [a] *Matthias* was in the Exerciſe of his Function, and upon the *Eve* to a *Faſting-day*, he dreamt that he lay with his Wife; by which Accident he became unquality'd for the next Day's Service; ſo that *Joſeph*, the Son of *Ellemus*, his near Kinſman was ſubſtituted for that Day to ſupply his Place. After *Herod* had deprived *Matthias* of the *Pontificate*, he gave Order for the burning of the other *Matthias*, the *Ring-leader* of the Sedition, and all his *Companions* with him *alive*. The *Moon*, as it fell out, was that Night in an *Eclipſe*.

Herod's *Sickneſs judicial.*

The King grew every Day worſe and worſe, and his Diſeaſe look'd like a *judicial Puniſhment* of his Wickedneſs. He was parch'd up with a faint inward *Fever*, that almoſt burnt his Heart out, and yet ſcarce ſenſible to the Touch. He was tormented with an inſatiable *Dog-Appetite*; *Ulcers* and *Colicks* in his *Guts*; *Phlegmatick Tumors* in his *Feet* and *Groin*; his *Privy Parts putrifying* and *crawling* with *Worms*; a noyſome and painful *Tentigo*; *Aſthma's*, *Cramps* and *Contractions* of the *Nerves*: All Men, in Short, of *Religion*, *Philoſophy*, or *Obſervation*, were agreed upon it, that the Hand of God was evidently upon *Herod* in this Viſitation. But ſtill in the hopeleſs Extremity of this his intolerable as well as incurable Miſery, he himſelf was the only Man that did not deſpair, but continu'd laying out every where for *Phyſicians* and *Remedies*. He went over the River *Jordan* himſelf, to the *hot Baths* at *Callirrhoe*, that empty themſelves into the Lake of *Aſphaltitis*. Theſe Waters, beſide their mineral Virtue, are no unpleaſant Drink. Upon his coming hither, his Phyſicians order'd him to be ſet up to the Shoulders in a Veſſel of Oyl, which put him into ſuch a Fit of fainting; that his Domeſticks giving him for dead, brake out into Lamentations and Outcries, that brought him to himſelf again. By this Time he found all his flattering Hopes of Life to be vain and idle; and therefore appointed a *Donative* of *fifty Drachma's a Man* to be diſtributed among the *Soldiers*; *large Sums* among his *Friends* and *Officers*, and ſo he return'd to *Jericho*; where the evil Humour ſo far prevail'd upon him, that he took up a final Reſolution for a Farewel; one of the horrideſt perhaps that ever enter'd into the Heart of any Man to imagine. He ſent out a Summons to all the eminent *Jews* of the Country to repair immediately to him at *Jericho*, and not to fail, on Pain of Death. Upon their Appearance, according to the Proclamation, they were all ſhut up in the *Circus*, or *Tilt-yard*, one with another, whether guilty, or innocent. He ſent in the next Place for his Siſter *Salome*, and *Alexas*, her *Husband*, and ſpake to them to this following Effect. *My Time*, ſays he, *is drawing on. I am oppreſs'd with Pains; and Fleſh and Blood muſt yield to Fate, which is no more than the common Lot of Mankind. It would be troubleſome, I muſt confeſs, to think of wanting any of the Funeral Honours that belong to crowned Heads. I know very well what Sort of Treatment I am to expect from the* Jews. *They hated me in my Life-time, and they'll be glad to ſee me dead. But it lies in the Power of you two*, ſays he, *to give me ſome Eaſe yet, even at my laſt Gaſp; and it is no more than what you owe me too. Do but follow my Counſel, and I dare yet promiſe my ſelf the moſt honourable Funeral-Solemnity that ever any Prince had under the Sun; the moſt to the Joy of my Soul; and for a Concluſion, an univerſal Mourning, without one ſingle Tear of Hypocriſy or Affectation. Wherefore ſo ſoon as ever the Breath is out of my Body, let the* Circus *be ſurrounded with Soldiers, and the Word of Command given to deſtroy every Man within the Encloſure: But not a Syllable of my Death, till the Work be done. In the due Execution of this Order you will lay a double Obligation upon me; one in the Performance of my Will; the other in the Celebration of my Death, with the Honour of a publick Mourning.* He accompany'd theſe Words with Tears and Lamentations, adjuring his Relations by all that was ſacred in humane Faith, Conſanguinity and Friendſhip, to be true to him in the punctual Diſcharge of all he had committed to their Truſt; which they promis'd to make good to him in every Particular.

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[a] *See* Cunæus *de* Rep. Hebr, *l.* 2. *c.* 6.

He ſends for Salome *and* Alexas.

A horrid Order given for a Farewell.

Some or other will pretend perhaps in the Hiſtory of this bloody Monſter's Barbarities, to his neareſt Relations in Time paſt, that there might be dangerous Jealouſies and Competitions perchance; and conſequently a Kind of Neceſſity upon him to be cruel in his own Defence. But in this laſt Action of his, he has laid himſelf open, even in his pure Naturals, for the veriest Brute that ever wore the Shape of a reaſonable Creature. When he could live no longer himſelf, he bequeathed Deſtruction to thoſe he left behind him, and took Care to make the whole Nation Mourners for him, by the Order he left for the deſtroying of one at leaſt out of every Family. And all this too, without any Injury, Provocation, Exception, or ſo much as any Reaſon given for the doing of it: Whereas among People that have but the leaſt Spark of Humanity or Religion, Death puts an End to all Controverſies, and reconciles even the greateſt Enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Acme *put to Death.* Antipater *left to* Herod's *Diſcretion.* Ahiab *prevents* Herod's *killing himſelf.* Antipater *gives the* King *for dead; and treats with the* Keeper *about his Eſcape. The* Keeper *tells the* King *of it, and the* King *orders him to be put to Death.*

WHile *Herod* was giving his laſt Orders to his *Kindred*, his *Embaſſadors* brought him an Anſwer from *Cæſar* to the Letters they carry'd to *Rome*. The Subſtance of it was briefly this; *That* Auguſtus *had put* Acme *to Death for a Correſpondence with* Antipater; *and that he left* Antipater himſelf *to the* King *his* Father, *either to be put to Death or baniſh'd, according to his Diſcretion.* It was a great Relief to *Herod* to find himſelf both reveng'd upon *Acme*, and at Liberty to do with his Son what he pleas'd: But he relapſed quickly again into his Pains; and in an outragious Fit of Greedineſs and Hunger, he call'd for a Knife and an Apple, it being uſual with him to pare his own Apples, and ſo eat them by little and little. He was obſerv'd to look ſuſpiciouſly about him, as if he had ſome Thought of ſtabbing himſelf; but his Nephew *Abiab* kept his Eye upon him, and in the very Inſtant of the Attempt catch'd hold of his Uncle's Right-Hand with an *Outcry*, and prevented it. This Noiſe put the Court now a ſecond Time into an Uproar, all People taking it for granted that the King was juſt then expiring. *Antipater* took all for granted; and making no Doubt at all but his Father was *dead*, he made as little alſo of procuring his *Liberty*, upon this Occaſion, and by that Means, clearing his Way to the Throne. In this Confidence, he treated with his Keeper about his Diſcharge; with large Offers and Promiſes, both of Rewards at preſent and of future Preferments, when he ſhould come to the Crown; but the Keeper was ſo far from complying with his Propoſals, that he went and diſcover'd the whole Practice to the King, who hated him ſufficiently before; but this Story of the Keeper's put him into ſo extravagant a Paſſion, that he ſtarted up, though in the very Agonies of Death, and laſhing out into violent Outrages upon himſelf,

Auguſtus *writes* Herod *Word that* Acme *is put to Death.*

Antipater *left to* Herod's *Diſcretion.*

Herod *call's for a Knife and an Apple.*

Ahiab *watches him, and prevents his ſtabbing himſelf.*

The Outcry puts the Court in an Uproar.

Antipater *gives the King for dead, and treats with the Keeper about his Eſcape.*

The Keeper tells the King of it

The King orders him immediately to be put to Death.

himſelf, both in Actions and Exclamations, he commanded one of his Guards in that very Moment to go and kill him, and order'd his Body to be buried privately in the Caſtle of *Hyrcania*.

CHAP. X.

Herod *alters his* Will, *and declares* Archelaus *his* Succeſſor. Herod'*s Character. His* Death *kept* ſecret. *The* Noblemen *diſcharg'd in the* Circus. *The* King'*s Death publiſh'd.* Archelaus *ſets up.* Herod'*s Funeral.* Archelaus *waits for the ratifying of* Herod'*s* Act.

Herod *alters his Will, and declares* Archelaus *his Succeſſor.*

HEROD, upon Change of *Mind*, chang'd his *Will* too, and made *Antipas*, whom he had deſign'd in his former Teſtament for *Succeſſor* to the Government, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee* and *Peræa*; but gave the *Kingdom* to *Archelaus:* The Provinces of *Trachon* and *Gaulon*, *Batanæa* and *Panias*, to his Son *Philip*, the Brother in-law of *Archelaus*, under the Title of a *Tetrarchy*. *Jamnia*, *Azotus* and *Phaſaelis*, he gave to his Siſter *Salome*, with fifty thouſand Pieces of minted Money, not forgetting his other Relations alſo, either in Land or Caſh. He left *Cæſar*, beſide *Gold* and *Silver Plate* and *rich Furniture* of all Sorts, *ten Millions of Pieces in ready Coin*; and to the *Empreſs Julia*, with her Friends, *five Millions* more of the ſame. Matters being thus ſettled, *Herod* departed this Life *five Days* after the Death of *Antipater*, *four and thirty Years* after the Expulſion of *Antigonus*, and in the *37th Year* from his being declar'd King of the *Jews* by the *Romans*. He was a Man inexorably cruel; a Slave to his Paſſions; his Will was his Law, and yet no Man in the general more fortunate than himſelf. He mounted the Throne from the Condition of a private Man; fell into many Difficulties, but ſurmounted them all, and liv'd at laſt to a great Age. As to his domeſtick Broils with his Children and Family, how unhappy ſoever he might be in my Opinion, he was yet fortunate in his own; for he ſtill got the better of his Enemies.

Herod'*s Character.*

Herod'*s Death kept ſecret.* Salome *and* Alexas *diſcharge the People in the* Circus *in the King's Name. The King's Death publiſh'd. The Soldiers ſummon'd to* Jericho; *and the King's Letters to the Army read* Archelaus *the King's Son and Succeſſor ſet up. The Teſtament read with a* Proviſo.

Herod being now *dead*, *Salome* and *Alexas* kept it for the preſent as the greateſt Secret in the World, and went directly to the Nobility that were ſhut up in the *Circus*, telling them in the King's Name, that they might go Home, and follow their own Buſineſs, for there was no further Occaſion for them. This Contrivance laid upon the *Jews* the higheſt Obligation imaginable. It was now a proper Time to make Publication of the King's Death; and the Soldiery being ſummon'd to meet, at the *Amphitheatre* at *Jericho*, *Herod*'s Letters to the Army were there read; full of gracious Acknowledgments of their paſt Faith and Services, and deſiring them to continue the ſame dutiful Affection to his Son *Archelaus* for the future, whom he had now declared his *Succeſſor*. *Ptolemy* the Keeper of the King's Seal, read after this the *Teſtament it ſelf*, with this conditional Clauſe in it expreſs, that *the Act it ſelf was to be reputed to be of no Force without the Conſent of* Cæſar. This was follow'd with Acclamations of *God ſave King* Archelaus, and Wiſhes of a happy Reign to him, both from Officers and Soldiers, with Promiſes of the ſame Fidelity to the new King, that they had paid to his Predeceſſor.

The Order and Pomp of Herod'*s Funeral.*

The next Work was to provide for the *Funeral-Solemnity*, and this was the Province of *Archelaus*, to ſee that nothing ſhould be wanting to the Pomp and Splendor of it; he himſelf reſolving in Perſon to bear a Part in the Ceremony. The Body was born upon a golden Litter; ſparkling with Variety of precious Stones, [a] cover'd with Purple, a Diadem upon his Head; and over that, a golden Crown, with a Scepter in his Right-Hand; his Sons and Relations marching by his Side. After theſe, follow'd the Soldiers in their Diſtinctions and Diviſions; Firſt the Guards, then the *Thracians*; after them, the *Germans*; and next, the *Galatians*: All of them arm'd and appointed as for a Battle. After theſe, follow'd the reſt of the Army under their reſpective Officers, with five hundred of the *Court-Domeſticks* in the Rear, with *Aromaticks* and *Perfumes*. They march'd in this Order as far as *Herodium*, *eight Furlongs* from *Jericho*, where the Body was bury'd, according to a former Appointment; and this was the End of *Herod*.

When *Archelaus* had celebrated the Funerals of his Father, for the Space of *ſeven Days*, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, the appointed Time of Mourning being now at an End, he treated the Multitude, and ſo went up to the Temple; where he plac'd himſelf upon a golden Throne to receive the gratulatory Prayers and Acclamations of the People; which were anſwer'd on his Part, with great Affability and Reſpect; taking it very kindly, after the hard Uſage they had met with from his Father, to find them ſo well inclin'd towards himſelf, and aſſuring them withal, that their Good Will ſhould never be forgotten. *He did not pretend*, he ſaid, *as yet, to aſſume the Name of a King, having no Right ſo to do, without the Aſſent and Authority of* Cæſar, *in the ratifying of his Father's Teſtament*; *and that was it made him decline the Acceptance of the Dignity when it was preſs'd upon him by the Army at* Jericho, *for Want of being lawfully veſted in the Poſſeſſion thereof. But*, ſays he, *whenever I ſhall come to be ſettled in this Command, it ſhall be my Care to do all Things to your Advantage and Satisfaction, and to make my Reign much eaſier to you than ever you found my Father's.* The People were mightily pleas'd with the Modeſty of their new Prince's Behaviour and Diſcourſe, depending (as is uſual in ſuch Caſes) upon the good Faith of every Thing he ſaid: Inſomuch that they put his good Nature preſently to the Tryal by aſking him Boons; ſome one Thing, ſome another: Some to be eas'd of their Taxes; others to have their Companions ſet at Liberty; there being a great many of them that *Herod* had taken up, and kept a long Time in Priſon. Some again were wonderfully fierce and clamarous againſt Duties and Impoſitions, that were laid upon Market-Stuff and other Proviſions. *Archelaus*, in Fine, found it for his Intereſt and Convenience to deny them nothing, for Fear of exaſperating the Multitude; ſo that when the Sacrifice was over, he took his Friends to Dinner with him to make merry.

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[a] *See* Cotelerius's *Notes to the 2d Vol. of* Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr. *p.* 519.

Archelaus *waits the ratifying* Herod's *Act by* Cæſar.

CHAP. XI.

A Deſign to embroil the Government. *Satisfaction demanded of* Archelaus *for* Herod's *Miſdemeanours. A dangerous Tumult. A Party of factious* Jews *crowd into the* Temple. Archelaus *ſends a Party to quiet them, and they are almoſt all deſtroy'd.* Archelaus *afterward gives them a great Defeat.* Archelaus *goes to* Rome, *and* Philip *adminiſters in his Abſence.* Salome *goes as a* Friend *to* Archelaus; *but in Truth an* Enemy. *He meets* Sabinus *at* Cæſarea *in his Way to* Judæa. Varus *ſtops his Journey; being engaged on the ſame Errand.* Varus *leaves all to* Archelaus, *till* Cæſar *declares himſelf.* Archelaus *goes for* Rome, *and* Varus *for* Antioch. Sabinus *goes to* Jeruſalem, *and demands* Herod's *Books and Keys; but the* Officers *keep them for* Cæſar. Antipas *goes for* Rome, *and ſets up for himſelf, with a ſtrong Party.* Sabinus *puts in an Information againſt* Archelaus. Archelaus *preſents* Auguſtus *with his* Defence. Cæſar *compares it with the* Charge. Herod *calls a* Council, *where* Caius *the Son of* Agrippa *ſits Preſident, and gives them a* Hearing. Antipater, *againſt* Archelaus. *He charges him with* Uſurpation, *and the Exerciſe of* arbitrary Power. Antipater *appeals, and* Nicolaus *manages the Cauſe.* Archelaus *caſts himſelf at* Cæſar's *Feet.*

A Deſign to embroil the Government.

Satisfaction demanded of Archelaus *for* Herod's *Miſdemeanours.*

THERE was at this Time a dangerous Faction of *male-contented Jews*, laying their Heads together in *Conventicles* and *Cabals*, how to embroil the Government. The fitteſt Matter they could find to work upon, was the Caſe of *Matthias* and his Companions, that *Herod* had put him to Death for the aforeſaid Riot upon the *golden Eagle*. During the Life of the King, they did not dare to make any publick Attempt, either in the Honour or in the Vindication of theſe Reformers; but now he was dead, all Mouths were open againſt him in Clamours and Invectives, to the Diſgrace of his Memory: Inſomuch, that they gather'd together in tumultuary Meetings, to demand Juſtice and Satisfaction from *Archelaus*, upon thoſe Friends of *Herod*, that were inſtrumental in the Execution; as if that Vengeance upon the Living would have been ſome Comfort to the Dead. They inſiſted particularly upon the Removal of the High-Prieſt that *Herod* had promoted, and the putting of ſome worthy Man in his Place. This peremptory Way of Importunity was provoking enough; but [a] *Archelaus* however (who was now haſtening away to *Cæſar*, both for Authority and Orders) did what he could by fair Means to ſet Things right for the preſent; and to this End he diſpatch'd away one of his prime Officers to try what might be done upon Terms of Reaſon and Moderation. *This was not a Time*, he told them, *for Violence and Revenge. The Men that ſuffer'd*, he ſaid, *had a lawful Tryal; and their interpoſing after that Manner was the Uſurpation of a Power they had nothing to do withal. They ſhould do well to conſider that* Archelaus *was juſt now upon his Expedition to* Rome, *and that upon his coming back with his Commiſſion ratify'd, all theſe Difficulties would be provided for to their content: Only in the mean Time, let them live amicably and peaceably one with another, without incurring the Danger of a Sedition*, This Diſcourſe was encounter'd with ſo impetuous an Outcry and Oppoſition, that one ſober Word among them was as much as a Man's Life was worth. *They had the Law*

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[a] See *Coteleriu*'s Notes upon the ſecond Volume of his *Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr.* p. 614.

in their own Hand, they thought, *and nothing leſs would ſerve them, than a* Revenge, *now* Herod *was dead, for the Friends he deſtroy'd of theirs while he was living; which they reckon'd hard to be deny'd them.* In this Eagerneſs of Paſſion, they conſulted no other Meaſures of Right or Wrong than the Impulſes of their own Humour and Intereſt, and ſo intent all this while upon the Ruine of other People, that they neglected the moſt neceſſary Means of their own Safety. In the mean Time, there was no Want of ſeaſonable Applications to them, as well from the King himſelf, as from others; but theſe gentle Ways made them only more inſolent and outragious: Inſomuch, that they wanted nothing but Numbers, to improve this Tumult into a direct Rebellion.

A Tumult little ſhort of Rebellion.

A Party of factious Jews *crowd into the Temple. They irritate the People to a Revenge for* Judas *and* Matthias. Archelaus *ſends a Party to quiet the Multitude. The People deſtroy them all but the Commander.*

The *Feaſt of unleavened Bread*, or the *Paſſover*, being now at Hand, the celebrated *Memorial* of the *Iſraelites* being deliver'd out of *Ægypt*; a World of People coming up to *Jeruſalem* more than ordinary, as well from Abroad as at Home, to *worſhip* and *offer Sacrifices* upon that Occaſion: A ſeditious Party of Men crowded into the *Temple*, and there made a Stand, with a Reſolution not to ſtir out, though they were forced to beg their Bread to keep themſelves from ſtarving: Their Buſineſs there being to condole with the People for the Loſs of their *two Doctors*, *Judas* and *Matthias*; and to irritate the Rabble to a Revenge. No Body knew how far this Riot might go: So that *Archelaus*, for Fear of the worſt, ſent an Officer with a Party of Soldiers to ſuppreſs it in Time, before the whole Body of the Multitude had taken the Infection; and with Orders alſo to ſeize the Ringleaders of the Tumult, and to bring them before him to make them exemplary, in Caſe of any obſtinate Reſiſtance. The Guards no ſooner appear'd, but the Mutineers ran down the Soldiers with ſuch a Torrent of Rage and Clamour, that the whole Multitude falling upon them with Stones and other Weapons, deſtroy'd them all, ſave only the Officer himſelf, and ſome few wounded Men along with him, that eſcap'd. After this Action, they went on with their *Sacrifices*. The Conteſt was now brought to ſuch a Puſh, that *Archelaus* muſt either cruſh that Rabble, or fall himſelf: So that he ſent out his whole Army to encounter them, with Orders to his Horſe, to put all to the Sword that ſhould endeavour to make their Eſcapes; and to keep all Succours out from them. This Body of Horſe cut off three thouſand of their Men in the Action, and the reſt fled to the neighbouring Mountains for Shelter. So ſoon as this Brunt was over, *Proclamation* was made for every Man to return to his own Home; and after all their ſwaggering they were glad to get off upon theſe Terms, and to leave *Feſtival and all*, for Fear of a worſe Miſchief.

Archelaus, *with his Army, cuts off* 3000, *and ſcatters the reſt.*

Archelaus *goes to* Rome, *and takes his Mother and other Friends along with him.* Philip *adminiſters in his Brother's Abſence.* Salome *an Enemy to* Archelaus. *He meets* Sabinus *at* Cæſarea, *in his Way to* Judæa. Varus *ſtops his Journey, being engag'd on the ſame Errand.* Varus *leaves all to* Archelaus, *till* Cæſar *declares himſelf.* Archelaus *goes for* Rome, *and* Varus *for* Antioch. Sabinus *goes to* Jeruſalem, *and demands* Herod's *Books and Keys. The Officers keep them for* Cæſar.

Archelaus put himſelf now upon his Journey to *Rome*; taking his *Mother*, *Nicolaus*, *Ptolemy*, and ſeveral others of his Friends along with him; leaving the Care of his Kingdom and Family to his *Brother Philip*. *Salome* and her *Family* went alſo, and were accompany'd by divers others of his Kindred, under a Colour of joyning Intereſts to aſſiſt *Archelaus* in his Pretence to the Succeſſion. But in Truth, rather to obſtruct, than to farther it; for they were reſolv'd before-hand, to exhibit an Accuſation againſt him for the Buſineſs of the *Temple*: But however, away they went, he and his Company together, meeting *Sabinus*, *Cæſar's Procurator* of *Syria*, at *Cæſarea*; poſting in all Haſte toward *Judæa* to take Care of *Herod's Money*: But *Varus*, very opportunely coming in the Way, put off his Journey; being himſelf, upon the Invitation of *Archelaus* by *Ptolemy* on the ſame Errand: So that out of a Reſpect to *Varus*, he neither meddled with any of the Forts in *Judæa*, nor ſeal'd up their *Treaſure*; but left all Things in the Power and Poſſeſſion of *Archelaus*, till *Cæſar* ſhould declare himſelf upon the Matter. This he promiſed, and ſo continu'd in *Cæſarea*. But ſoon after, upon the embarking of *Archelaus* for *Rome*, and the Departure of *Varus* for *Antioch*, *Sabinus* advanced directly to *Jeruſalem*; took up his Habitation in the Palace; ſent for the King's Officers, military and civil, demanding their Books and their Keys: But they were ty'd up, they ſaid, by the Orders of *Archelaus*, to keep all Things till his Return, in the ſame State they received them, for the Uſe and Service of *Cæſar*.

Antipas *goes to* Rome, *and ſets up for himſelf. He takes his Mother and* Ptolemy *to his Aſſiſtance. No Man ſo great with him as* Irenæus.

At the ſame Time, *Antipas*, one of the Sons of *Herod*, took a Voyage to *Rome*, in Hope of getting the Kingdom to himſelf. *Salome* did her Part to put him upon it, under the Colour of a *prior Right* to the *Succeſſion* by an *antecedent Will*; and ſuggeſting that the *firſt Will* ought to ſtand. He took with him his *Mother*, and *Ptolemy*, the Brother of *Nicolaus*; a particular Friend of *Herod*'s, of a long Standing, and ever well affected to his Party. But the Man above all the reſt that fix'd him at laſt in his ambitious Undertaking, and had the greateſt Stroke with him, was *Irenæus*; a Man of a notable ſmooth Tongue, and one that had been much, and long in the King's Buſineſs. He was adviſed by others to conſider the Seniority of *Archelaus*, as *elder Brother*, and the Pretence he had to the Succeſſion by the Will of his dead Father; but the Credit of *Irenæus*, and the Incentive of his own Ambition, carry'd it from all other Conſiderations. To *Rome*, in Fine, he went; and upon his Arrival there, his Kindred came all over to him; not ſo much out of any Kindneſs to himſelf, as an Averſion they had to *Archelaus*; their Heads being altogether ſet upon Liberty and a *Roman Governour:* Or they fanſy'd however, in Caſe of the Worſt, that *Antipas* would be the eaſier to them of the two; and for theſe Reaſons they employ'd their Intereſt that Way.

Antipas *had a ſtrong Party.*

Sabinus had now ſent an Information to *Cæſar* againſt *Archelaus*; and *Archelaus*, by the Hand of *Ptolemy*, preſented *Auguſtus* with a Memorial of what he had to offer in his own Defence, containing the Ground of his Claim; a Recital of his Father's Will; an Account of what Monies he left; together with the Ring that ſeal'd them up: remitting himſelf upon the whole to *Cæſar*'s good Pleaſure. When *Cæſar* had peruſed theſe Writings, with the Letters alſo of *Varus* and *Sabinus*; what Mony *Herod* had left behind him; and the yearly Revenue of the Government, and what *Antipas* himſelf had ſuggeſted in his own Right, he call'd a Council of his Friends to adviſe upon the whole, and ſo gave Audience to the Competitors: *Caius* the Son of *Agrippa* by his Daughter *Julia*, whom he had adopted, ſitting Preſident. *Antipater* the Son of *Salome* ſtood up firſt: (an excellent Speaker, and a bitter Enemy to *Archelaus*) delivering himſelf in Terms to this Effect.

Sabinus *exhibits an Information againſt* Archelaus.

Archelaus *preſents* Auguſtus *a Breviate of his Defence.*

Cæſar *compares it with the Charge.*

He calls a Council, and gives the Competitors a Hearing.

Caius *the Son of* Agrippa *ſits Preſident.*

It ſeems a ſtrange Thing to me, ſays *Antipater, that* Archelaus *ſhould be now formalizing about his* Title *to a Kingdom, after ſo abſolute an* Exerciſe *of ſovereign Power over it already; and not ſo much as troubling his Head either for* Cæſar's Ratification *or* Aſſent. *I ſpeak of his late Maſſacre of ſo many* Jews *upon one of their* Feſtivals: *Or ſuppoſing the Puniſhment it ſelf never ſo reaſonable, that which would have been an Act of* Juſtice *in a* lawful Prince, *was yet a Murder in an* Uſurper. *If he acted as a King without the Emperor's Approbation, it was an Affront to* Cæſar: *If he pretended to exerciſe Acts of Authority in the Capacity of a private Man, it was yet worſe. So that he could not reaſonably expect the Benefit of a derivative Power from* Cæſar, *in his Favour, after what he had done to ſupplant it in the Original.* He charg'd him likewiſe *with changing Officers of the Army at his own Will and Pleaſure; placing himſelf upon the royal Throne, and hearing Cauſes there in the Quality of a* Sovereign Prince; *receiving and anſwering publick Addreſſes and Petitions, and doing all thoſe Things, in Fine, without any Warrant, which* Cæſar *himſelf could have enabled him to do; taking upon himſelf, in his own Name alſo, to diſcharge thoſe that were committed to the* Circus. *He ſtarted, upon the whole, a great many Objections againſt him; ſome actually true, and others, conſidering the Heat and Ambition of a young Man, raiſed on a ſudden to ſuch a Pitch of Dignity and Power, not altogether improbable: Beſide the ill-natur'd Extravagance of a revelling Entertainment he made the very Night after the Death of his Father: Which the People look'd upon with ſo much Horror for the unnatural Ingratitude of it, toward ſo indulgent a Parent, that they were ready to break out into an Uproar, to ſee how he impos'd upon the World with a perſonated Affectation of Sorrow in the Day-Time, and ſpending the whole Night in Luxury and Riot. How can* Cæſar *imagine that this hard, perverſe Man will ever be more thankful for a* Crown *to the* Emperor, *than he has ſhew'd himſelf to ſo tender a Father? What can be more inhumane than to ſing, feaſt, dance and rejoyce at the Death of a Parent, as if it were for the Deſtruction of an Enemy! With what Face now ſhall this Man deſire* Cæſar *to make him a King, that has already taken upon him to make himſelf one, even without* Cæſar! *But the great Aggravation of the Wickedneſs in the* Temple, *was the Horridneſs of the Murder in that* ſacred Place; *and the doing it upon a* ſolemn Feſtival, *where both Citizens and Strangers promiſcuouſly were ſlaughter'd like* Sacrifices; *the holy Place fill'd with Carcaſſes; and this Violence not committed by a Stranger neither, but by an Uſurper under the Countenance of royal Power, the better to colour his tyrannical and barbarous Cruelties. His Father knew his Temper ſo very well, that he never ſo much as dreamt of him for a Succeſſor, ſo long as he was in his right Senſes; but* Antipas *was the Man he pitch'd upon, in his* former Teſtament, *while he was as yet in his Wits, and in ſound Health both of Body and Mind; or putting the Caſe that* Herod's *Opinion of* Archelaus *might have been the ſame upon the making of his* firſt Will, *as it was* afterward; *has he not done enough ſince that Time to ſhew what a King he is like to make, in aſſuming to act by a* ſelf-created Power, *and in the Circumſtances of a private Man to cut Throats in the very Temple. Antipater,* upon theſe Words, appeal'd to ſeveral of his Relations that were there preſent for Witneſſes to the Truth of what he had deliver'd, and ſo made an End of his Diſcourſe.

Antipater *againſt* Archelaus.

Uſurpation charged upon him.

Exerciſe of arbitrary Power.

Antipater *appeals upon the Matter of Fact.*

Nicolaus *argu'd on the behalf of* Archelaus, *that the Blood of thoſe that were kill'd in the* Temple *reſted upon their own Heads; and that they had carry'd the Tumult ſo far, there was no other Way of ſuppreſſing it. The Inſolence, 'tis true, may ſeem to point at* Archelaus; *but the* Affront *ſtruck at the Authority of* Cæſar himſelf *in the* Murder *of thoſe Men, contrary to the* Laws *of* God *and* Nations, *and without any Reſpect to the* Sacredneſs

Nicolaus *ſpeaks to the Heads of the Accuſation.*

credneſs *of the* Place *or* Occaſion, *that were ſent in an orderly Way to quiet the* Mutineers. *Now theſe are the People that* Antipater *ſtands up for, without either Honeſty or Shame, provided he may but gratify the Rancour of his Spleen to* Archelaus. *The Fault was in the* Aggreſſors; *and not in thoſe that were both provoked and neceſſitated to take up Arms in their own Defence. As for the Reſt of the Articles that were charg'd upon* Archelaus, *they were all retorted upon the Accuſers themſelves, who were all conſenting to the very Action they complained of: Beſide that they made the Thing a great deal worſe than it was, out of Spite to the Menager, though a near Relation, and one that had deſerved highly well of the Father, and done many good Offices to the Family. As to the Authority of the King's Teſtament, he was not only in perfect Senſe and Memory when he wrote it; but* ſecond Wills, *as well as* ſecond Thoughts *are commonly* beſt. *And for a farther Proof that it was written with Conſideration, he ſubmitted the Validity of it to the good Pleaſure of* Cæſar. But *Cæſar*, *ſays he*, is too generous to encourage ungrateful Examples in Favour of a Sort of People, that after the higheſt Obligations imaginable to *Herod* in his Life-Time, take ſuch Pains to overthrow his Will now he is dead. *Cæſar* will rather exerciſe his Goodneſs in Favour of a Faithful Friend and Ally, that lays himſelf at his Feet, and not ſuffer his imperial Dignity and Juſtice that have made him ſo famous over the Face of the Earth, to be impos'd upon by Envy and Calumny. Will *Antipater* have *Herod*'s to be the *Will* of a *Mad-Man*, becauſe it deſigns ſo dutiful a Son for a Succeſſor? Or is it a Sign of *Madneſs* to pay ſo abſolute a Deference to the Liking and Authority of *Cæſar?* It would be hard to conceive, how *Herod* ſhould be ſo miſtaken in the Perſon, and at the ſame Time ſo right in the prudential Part of the Method and Direction.

Archelaus *caſts himſelf at* Cæſar's *Feet, who does him great Honour.*

When *Nicolaus* had now finiſh'd his Speech, *Archelaus* threw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s Feet; who preſently taking him up with great Humanity, paſs'd this Judgment upon him, that he was worthy of a Crown, which was underſtood for a Kind of owning his Authority. *Cæſar* finding the young Prince ſo well ſatisfied, diſcharg'd the Meeting without coming to any final Reſolution at preſent, and ſo took Time to bethink himſelf whether he ſhould ſettle the Government upon *Archelaus alone*, or in *Partition* upon the whole Family, in Regard that they all depended upon him alike.

CHAP. XII.

Marthace *the Mother of* Archelaus *dies. A Sedition in* Jeruſalem. Varus *makes Examples of the* Ringleaders. Sabinus *has the Command in* Varus's *Abſence. The* Jews *threatened* Sabinus. *They draw into three Bodies, and* Sabinus *ſends to* Varus *for Relief. The* Jews *mount the* Temple Galleries *and gall the* Romans. *The* Romans *fire the* Galleries *and burn the* Jews. *The Temple rifled. The* Jews *beſet the Palace.* Rufus *and* Gratus *go over to the* Romans. *Several Rebellions. Two thouſand of* Herod's *disbanded Men in a Body.* Judas *the notorious* Robber. Simon, *once a Servant of* Herod, *ſet up for* King. *A ſharp Fight betwixt* Simon *and* Gratus. Simon *routed and taken, and his Head ſtruck-off.* Athronges *ſets up for King, with his four Brothers; but in the End, they are all taken and ſuppreſs'd.* Varus *marches to the Relief of* Judæa. *The* Rendezvous *at* Ptolemais. Varus *lays* Sepphoris *in Aſhes. The* Arabians *burn* Arus *and* Sampho. Emmaus *burnt by* Varus's *Order. The* Jews *fly before* Varus, *who puts ſome two thouſand of the* Ring-Leaders *to Death. Ten thouſand* Jews *in a Body again.* Ahiab *makes them* Priſoners of War. Varus *leaves a* Garriſon *at* Jeruſalem, *and returns to* Antioch. *The* Jews *ſend an Embaſſy to* Cæſar, *who gives them Audience in the Temple of* Apollo. *An Invective againſt* Archelaus. Nicolaus, *in Defence of* Herod *and* Archelaus.

The Mother of Archelaus *dies. A Sedition in* Jeruſalem. *The* Jews *mutinous ever ſince* Archelaus *went away.* Varus *makes Examples of the Ring leaders. A Legion left in* Jeruſalem *for a Guard.* Sabinus *oppoſes the* Jews *in* Varus's *Abſence.*

BEfore this Affair could be ſettled, *Marthace* the Mother of *Archelaus* fell ſick and dy'd; and News was brought from *Varus* the Governour of *Syria*, that the *Jews* were revolted, having been very mutinous and troubleſome ever ſince the Departure of *Archelaus*. But *Varus* falling upon them with his Troops before they could well gather to a Head, made Examples of the Ringleaders, and ſo having broken the Neck of the Sedition, went back again to *Antioch*; leaving only *one Legion* in *Jeruſalem* to prevent Tumults.

But this Proviſion was not ſufficient, it ſeems, for *Varus* was no ſooner gone, but *Sabinus*, *Cæſar*'s *deputy Governour* in *Syria*, looking upon himſelf now by the Enforcement of theſe Troops and Guards, to be at leaſt a Match for the Multitude, he turned his Arms againſt the *Jews:* Galling and provoking them to the laſt Degree of Impatience; attacking ſeveral of their Forts and Caſtles; rifling and ſearching every where at Pleaſure for conceal'd Mony, under Pretext of publick Services; but all this while advancing his own private Ends of Gain and Booty. The Feaſt of the Paſſover; (which is the Name of the moſt *celebrated Feſtival* we have,) that Feſtival, I ſay, now drawing on, brought up to *Jeruſalem* thouſands and thouſands of the *Jews* from all Quarters; ſome for Worſhip and Devotion, and others out of pure Spite and Revenge. Theſe Numbers gather'd together, not only from *Judæa*, where the Outrage fell heavieſt, but from *Galilee*, *Idumæa*, *Jericho*, and from the Towns beyond *Jordan*; being all unanimouſly reſolved to call *Sabinus* to a ſevere Account. They divided their Troops into three Bodies; one of them took Poſſeſſion of the *Circus*; another was poſted upon the *North and Eaſt-ſide of the Temple*; the third upon the *Weſt*, where the King's *Palace* ſtood. When they had thus begirt and hemmed in the *Romans*, they made ready for the Aſſault. *Sabinus* was not a little ſurpriz'd at the Boldneſs of theſe People, and finding that they were deſperately reſolved either to conquer or die, he ſent with all Speed to *Varus* for immediate Relief, for the Legion that he had leſt there would undoubtedly be cut to Pieces elſe. He himſelf, in the mean Time got up to the Top of a high Turret belonging to the Caſtle of *Phaſael*, which was erected in Memory of *Herod's Brother* who was ſlain by the *Parthians*, and from thence gave the Sign with his Hand to the *Romans* to ſally out upon the *Jews*; expecting that others ſhould expoſe their Lives to gratify his Avarice, at the ſame Time when he himſelf durſt not ſo much as ſhew his Head among his Friends. But the *Romans* put it to the Venture however, and had a ſharp Encounter of it; for though the Soldiers did all that was poſſible for brave Men to do, the *Jews* kept up their Hearts yet, notwithſtanding a great Loſs of their People. They poſſeſs'd themſelves after this, of ſome of the outward Galleries of the Temple, whence they gall'd the *Romans* from above, with Stones and Arrows from their Slingers and Archers, as Spectators rather than Actors in that Part of the Combat; for the *Romans* below, were out of Diſtance of reaching their Enemies. The Fight continu'd a long Time upon this Diſadvantage, till in the End the *Romans* ſet Fire to the *Timber-Work* under the *Galleries*, and ply'd it ſo hard, that the Flame ſhot up to the Roof in a Moment, and laying hold of the *Pitch*, *Wax* and *Oyls* that were employ'd upon the Ornament and Guilding, put all into ſo furious a Blaze, that it was certain Death, ſo much as to attempt a Relief: For what with thoſe that were cruſh'd to Death with the Fall of the Building, and thoſe that were put to the Sword upon the Ground, there was not ſo much as one Man 'ſcap'd of thoſe that had poſſeſs'd the Galleries. Several of them in Deſpair or Aſtoniſhment, leapt into the Flames in a Fright; others caſt themſelves upon the Points of their Swords: And for thoſe that thought to ſave themſelves in Holes and hiding Places, they were all cut off by the Soldiers; for what could their Courage avail them without Arms! As the Fire ſlacken'd, the *Romans* preſs'd thorough the Ruins up to the very Repoſitory of the *holy Treaſure*, whereof a conſiderable Part was pilfer'd and embezel'd by the Soldiers, and not above four hundred Talents, (as *Sabinus* pretended) that was brought to him. The *Jews* were now in a double Diſtreſs; partly for the Loſs of ſo many of their dear Friends, and partly for the *ſacrilegious Robbery* committed upon their *Temple*: But however, in this Fit of Deſperation, they got a Body together of the moſt reſolute Men they had, and beſet the Palace with them; menacing immediately to ſet Fire to it, and to put every Man to the Sword that ſhould eſcape the Flames, if they did not in that Inſtant quit the Place and depart; with a Promiſe of Impunity to *Sabinus* and all his People, if they went away preſently; the greater Part of the Court being alſo on their Side. *Rufus* and *Gratus* with *three thouſand of Herod's choiceſt Men*, went over to the *Romans*, together with the *Horſe* that were under *Rufus*'s Command, which was a ſeaſonable and a conſiderable Enforcement; but the *Jews* ply'd their Work yet nevertheleſs, mining the Walls, menacing and adviſing the Enemy to be gone while they might, without putting a People to the laſt Extremity of Deſperation that were reſolv'd at all Hazzards to maintain their Liberties, with the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Forefathers. *Sabinus* was willing enough to have comply'd; but being conſcious to himſelf of what he had deſerv'd from the *Jews*, he durſt not venture himſelf upon their Promiſe: Beſide that the Conditions were too advantagious to be made good, he thought; and ſo he determin'd to venture the holding of it out, in the Hope and Expectation of Succour from *Varus*.

The *Jews* threaten *Sabinus*.

They draw into three Bodies.

Sabinus ſends to Varus for Relief.

The *Romans ſally upon the* Jews.

The Jews *mount the Temple-Galleries, and gall the* Romans.

The Romans *fire the Galleries, and burn the* Jews.

The Temple rifled.

The Jews *beſet the Palace.*

They offer an Indemnity upon Condition of departing.

Rufus *and* Gratus *go over to the* Romans.

While Matters at *Jeruſalem* were in this Poſture, there were ſeveral other Inſurrections alſo up and down in *Judæa* elſewhere, upon the Inſtigation either of Profit or of a vindictive Malice. There was a Matter of two thouſand of *Herod*'s *disbanded Men* gather'd together upon this Occaſion into a Body, with a Reſolution to encounter a Party of the King's under the Command of *Ahiab*, *Herod's Nephew*; but *Ahiab* knowing the People he had to do withal to be old Soldiers and try'd Men, he kept off from fighting all that was poſſible, by ſhifting into *Faſtneſſes* and *Defilees*, where there was no coming at them.

Several Rebellions.

2000 of Herod's *disbanded Men in a Body.*

Judas *the notorious Robber haraſſes the King's Country.*

On the other Hand, there was *Judas* the Son of *Ezekias*, the famous Robber that held *Herod* formerly ſo long in Play, though at laſt he worſted him. This ſame *Judas* with a Band of deſperate Men that he had gotten about him at *Sepphoris*, a City of *Galilee*, made an Inroad into the *King's Country*; ſeiz'd his *Magazines* and *military Stores*; arm'd all his People to a Man, took the King's *Moneys*; made himſelf formidable to the Inhabitants; pillaging and ſpoiling wherever he came, and aſpiring, in Fine, to the Government it ſelf; not by any Arts and Ways of Honour, (for he had no Skill that Way) but upon the Encouragement of doing what Miſchief he pleas'd, *Gratis*.

Simon, *once a Servant of* Herod's, *ſets up for King.*

While Things were in this Confuſion, there was one *Simon*, formerly a Servant of *King Herod*'s; but a Man mightily celebrated for his prodigious Strength; the Gracefulneſs and the Goodlineſs of his Perſon and Stature. This Man had the Vanity and Confidence to venture at the Crown; took his Guards about him, and was ſaluted every where by the mad Multitude, with Acclamations of *God ſave the King*, and look'd upon himſelf, in Fine, to be the fitteſt Man in the whole World for the Command: And for a Prologue to his Greatneſs, he began with the burning and the rifling of the Palace at *Jericho*, making the ſame Havock in other of the King's-Houſes; ſtill allowing his Followers the Advantage of the Booty. And he would not have ſtopt there neither, if he had not been ſeaſonably prevented; for *Gratus*, one of the King's Captains, and at that Time taking part with the *Romans*, advanced with his Troops againſt *Simon*, and there paſs'd a very ſharp and an obſtinate Fight betwixt them: But *Simon*'s People that came from the other Side of *Jordan*, menaging the Action with more Courage than Skill, were totally routed and cut to Pieces, and *Simon* himſelf being taken Priſoner in his Flight over certain difficult Paſſes; *Gratus* order'd his Head to be ſtruck off.

A ſharp Fight betwixt Simon *and* Gratus. Simon *routed, taken, and his Head ſtruck off.*

This Humour of the common People was up every where; for the Royal Palace at *Amatha* by the River *Jordan*, was burnt to the Ground too by ſuch another Sort of Rabble as thoſe that follow'd *Simon*. This Rage was little better than an epidemical Madneſs; and all for Want of their own King, by good Reaſon and Diſcipline, to keep the People in their Duty. But upon the bringing in of Foreigners to reclaim them, what with their intolerable Pride and Avarice, the People were only the worſe for't.

There was one *Athronges* too, a Man neither of Birth, Virtue, nor Fortune, but one of the meaneſt even of Shepherds; only a huge Bulk of Body, and a brutal Strength of Limbs. With theſe Qualifications, he put in for a Pretence to the Government, with a Reſolution to venture his Life for the obtaining of a Prerogative to do Miſchief at Will and Pleaſure. This *Athronges* had four Brothers, as ſtrong and as *gigantick* as himſelf, and each of them a Troop of Soldiers under his Command, which they look'd upon as a Foundation ſufficient toward the gaining of their Point. There were vaſt Multitudes of People that came in to theſe five Brothers; and *Athronges* made Uſe of his four Brethren to go upon Parties, and to act as his Lieutenants, while he himſelf ſat in Counſel with a Crown upon his Head, giving Orders and Reſolutions in Affairs of State. This *Pageantry* continu'd for ſome Time, and the Royal Style and Title did not ſeem altogether idle neither; for they did what he would, and there was no diſputing of his Commands: Unmercifully cruel, whenever either the *Romans* or the *King's Soldiers* fell into his Power: For he hated them both alike; the one for the Liberties they had taken under *Herod*; and the other, for Injuries of freſher Date. The Animoſity grew every Day ſo much more mortal and implacable than other, that, betwixt the Havock they made for Profit and Booty, and the Cruelties they committed even for Cruelty's Sake and to keep their Hands in Ure, there was no Creature ſafe. They fell upon a *Roman Convoy* out of an Ambuſh near *Emmaus*, with *Corn* and *Arms* for the Camp; kill'd the Commander *Arius*, with *forty* of his Soldiers, all brave Men upon the Place; and the reſt muſt have expected the ſame Fate too, if *Gratus* had not brought them off with a Party juſt in the Nick, leaving their Dead behind them. They kept on skirmiſhing at this Rate for a long Time, to the great Trouble of the *Romans*, but a much greater to themſelves; for in the Concluſion they were all taken; *one* in an Encounter with *Gratus*; *another* by *Ptolemy*. The *eldeſt* fell into the Hands of *Archelaus*, and the *laſt* finding the Caſe deſperate; their Men ſpent with Toyl and Sickneſs, and no Hope of Recruits or Redreſs, yielded himſelf to *Archelaus* upon his Oath and Honour for the Performance of Conditions. But this was ſome Time after.

Athronges *ſits in Counſel with a Crown upon his Head, and treated in the Style of* King. *Outragious and cruel.*

All taken and ſuppreſs'd.

In this Licence of Robbery and Confuſion, every new Band of Mutineers would be ſetting up *new Kings*; which tore the Common-wealth to Pieces: The *Jews* eſpecially, that were ſtill ſplitting into Fewds and Factions among themſelves; but the *Romans* all this while came off better Cheap.

The News that *Varus* had received from *Sabinus* of the Danger he was in, put him into ſo great an Apprehenſion for the *third Legion* (which was the whole Number they had in *Syria)* that he took the *other two*, and *four Troops of Horſe*, with the *Auxiliaries* of the *King*'s, and the *Tetrarch*'s, and haſten'd away into *Judæa* to the Relief of the Beſieged; appointing the *Rendezvous* at *Ptolemais*, and taking *fifteen hundred Men* along with him from *Berytus* by the Way. There was alſo *Aretas* the *Petræan* (he that went over to the *Romans* out of a Pique to *Herod)* who ſupply'd him with a conſiderable Enforcement both of Horſe and Foot; but when the Army was drawn all into a Body at *Ptolemais*, *Varus* gave the Command of Part of it to his Son, and one of his particular Friends, with Order to march into *Galilee*, which is not far from *Ptolemais*. Upon this Inroad into the Country, he carry'd all before him wherever he met with any Oppoſition; took *Sepphoris*, laid the City in Aſhes, and ſold the People for Slaves at an Outcry. *Varus* himſelf advanced with his Army toward *Samaria*, but there was no Damage done to the City, becauſe he knew them to be well affected; and in their own Diſpoſition, peaceable enough. But he encamped in a Village call'd *Arus*, which belonged to *Ptolemy*. This Village the *Arabians burnt*, in Revenge to the very Friends of *Herod*, for *Herod*'s Sake. The Army advanced afterward to *Sampho*, which the ſame *Arabians* rifled, though a ſtrong Place, and afterward ſet it a Fire: But, in ſhort, there was nothing ſcap'd them, that whole Expedition, but all at the Mercy of Fire and Sword. *Emmaus* was burnt by the Order of *Varus*, in Revenge of his Soldiers that were ſlain their; but the Inhabitants had quitted it firſt. Upon his Approach from thence toward *Jeruſalem*, the *Jews* that had beſieged the *Legion* upon that Quarter, immediately upon the Sight of the Army, abandon'd their Poſt, and in a Fright brake up to ſhift for themſelves. *Varus* fell very ſeverely upon the *Jeruſalem-Jews* for this ſcandalous Uproar; but they had this to ſay in their Excuſe, that it falling out in a Time when there was ſo vaſt a Recourſe of People to *Jeruſalem*, it was the *Strangers* made the *War*, not the *Inhabitants*; and that they did not only not oppoſe the *Romans*, but ran the very Riſque with them in the Fate of the ſame Siege. As for *Sabinus*, *Varus* could never get Sight of him, but he withdrew himſelf out of the City toward the Sea.

Varus *marches to the Relief of* Judæa.
The Rendezvous at Ptolemais.

Varus's *Son lays* Sepphoris *in Aſhes*.

The Arabians *burn* Arus, *and rifle and burn* Sampho.

Emmaus *burnt by* Varus's *Order*.

The Jews *fly at the Approach of* Varus.

Sabinus *ſhips away before* Varus *ſets Eye on him*.

Varus, upon this, ſent up and down all over the Country to inform himſelf of the Ring-leaders of the Revolt; and upon clear Proofs againſt them, ſome he puniſh'd, others he pardon'd and let go, crucifying a Matter of two thouſand upon this Occaſion. *Varus*'s People had done a great many ill Things much againſt his Will, in the Heat and Rage of a military Licence; ſo that finding no further Occaſion for his Army, he ſent it away: But hearing afterward that ten thouſand of the *Jews* were got into a Body, he order'd out a ſtrong Detachment to fall upon them in their Quarters; yet without a Blow ſtriking, they deliver'd themſelves up to *Ahiab* Priſoners at Diſcretion. *Varus* ſet the common People at Liberty; ſent the Heads of the Riot to *Cæſar*, and forgave all the reſt, ſaving only ſome Relations of *Herod* that had ſo little Honour or Conſcience, as without any Regard to Affinity, or Juſtice, to engage in ſo wicked a War. Matters being thus compos'd, *Varus* left the ſame Legion ſtill in Garriſon at *Jeruſalem*, and went back to *Antioch*.

Varus *ſearches out the Ring-leaders of this Uproar, and puts ſome* 2000 *to Death*.
10000 Jews *in a Body again*.
Ahiab *makes them Priſoners at Diſcretion*.
Varus *leaves a Garriſon at* Jeruſalem, *and returns to* Antioch.

This Difficulty was no ſooner over in *Judæa*, but *Archelaus* was encounter'd with another at *Rome*, that happen'd as follows. *The* Jews *with the Permiſſion of* Varus, *ſent an Embaſſy to* Auguſtus, *for Leave to menage and converſe among themſelves, according to their own Laws. There were* fifty Jews *join'd in the Commiſſion, and upward of eight thouſand more of the City, that preſented themſelves* to ſecond *them.* Cæſar *hereupon, appointed a ſelect Number of his Friends, and others of the firſt Rank in the City, to attend him in the Temple of* Apollo, *a moſt magnificent Structure of his own erecting. Thither came the* Embaſſadors *alſo with a long Train of* Jews *after them, and* Archelaus, *with his Friends likewiſe. But the King's Relations could not tell which Way to turn themſelves: For on the one hand, they abhorr'd* Archelaus, *and therefore could not ſide with him; and on the other Hand, if they ſhould have cloſ'd with the* Embaſſadors, *they muſt have betray'd themſelves to the King for Enemies to a Prince of their own Blood. There was alſo* Philip *the Brother too, that came out of* Syria *by the Advice of* Varus *in the Proſpect of aſſiſting* Archelaus, *for whom he had a particular Tenderneſs and Reſpect: But yet* Philip *all this while was not without Hope, that if the Embaſſadors ſhould gain their End, and the Dignity come to be divided among* Herod's *Children, he might come to put in for a Part of the Kingdom himſelf.*

The Jews *ſend an Embaſſy to* Cæſar.

Cæſar *gives them Audience in the Temple of* Apollo.

The firſt Thing the Ambaſſadors *inſiſted upon in their Addreſs, was* an earneſt Requeſt that they might be no longer under the Power of Kings; *and they began with the Hiſtory of the Miſgovernment and Iniquity of* Herod. *He was a* King, they ſaid, *only in Name; but in the Exerciſe of his Power, a* Tyrant; *and not only vers'd in the Common Arts of Oppreſſion, but fruitful in Inventions of his own, to improve the Myſtery. It would*

An Invective againſt Archelaus.

be to no Purpoſe to reckon up how many Lives he has taken away, when the Survivors were yet more miſerable than thoſe he deſtroy'd; for they liv'd in perpetual Danger and Terror, under ſo mercileſs and rapacious a Maſter, and as much at Mercy in their Fortunes as in their Perſons. What was all the Pomp and Vanity of his Expences upon Strangers for? The repairing, rebuilding, beautifying, and enriching of their Cities; but a ſingular Way he had found out by himſelf of dreining and beggaring his own People at Home, to gratify his Vanity abroad; and of turning a flouriſhing and a plentiful Country into a Deſert? How many of the Nobility has he put to Death, upon falſe, frivolous Pretences, without any Colour of Law or Juſtice, and purely for the Benefit of their forfeited Eſtates! And how many others has he neceſſitated to compound for their Lives, with the Loſs of their Fortunes! And ſo in the Matter of Tributes, *and ordinary* Taxes, *it was not enough for every Man to pay according to his Aſſeſſment, and Proportion, without Bribes, and Preſents over and above, to* Court-Minions, Collectors, *and other* raking Officers *and* Servants, *to prevent further Vexation. We ſhall ſay nothing of his brutal Practices, both upon Virgins and Matrons, but paſs them over in Silence, for the Honour of thoſe innocent Names that ſuffer'd the Abuſe: But, in ſhort,* ſays he, *if the fierceſt Beaſt in the Foreſt had been ſet over us, he would have govern'd us juſt as* Herod *did: And of all the Miſeries that ever this Nation indur'd, the Calamity of his Reign was incomparably the greateſt: Wherefore the People might well be allow'd to complement* Archelaus *upon the Death of his Father, for they were ſure beforehand, they could never have a worſe in his Place. They were as frankly forward alſo, out of a Reſpect to the Son, in promoting the funeral Honours of the Father, and ſo in other Offices of Deference, and good Manners, which they thought might gain upon the good Will of the Succeſſor: But* Archelaus *quickly gave the People to underſtand,* that he was his Father's own Son; *and they might ſee even before he was in the Seat, what might afterward be expected from him, whenever he came to govern. His whole Fortune was as yet at the Mercy of* Cæſar; *and to give his new Subjects ſome Taſte beforehand of his Virtue, Modeſty, and Juſtice,* he ſacrificed three thouſand Citizens of his own Tribe *to the Honour of God, in the very* Temple, *with as little Regret, as if they had been but ſo many* common Victims. *Let the World judge now of the Confidence of this odious Man, that can have the Face, after the committing of ſo execrable an Outrage himſelf, to charge the Crime upon others, and at the ſame Time to lay Claim to the Government.* The Embaſſadors, in fine, ſumm'd up their whole Buſineſs in a ſhort Requeſt to *Cæſar*, to change the Form of their Government, and deliver them from the Oppreſſion of a *Monarchy*; annexing them to *Syria* under ſuch Rulers as *Cæſar* ſhould think fit to appoint: And it would then appear whether they were a People that delighted in Broils and Innovations, or Men of Order and Obedience, under the Authority of lawful Governours.

Nicolaus *in Defence of* Herod *and* Archelaus.

The *Embaſſadors* having now deliver'd what they had to ſay, *Nicolaus* ſtood up in the Defence, both of *Herod* and *Archelaus*. *Pray under Favour, how came it* (ſays he) *if* Herod *was guilty of all this, that he ſhould never be call'd to an Account for it in his Lifetime, when they might have appeal'd to the Juſtice of* Auguſtus *for Remedy, and Satisfaction. As for the Caſe of* Archelaus, *it was not properly his Act, but an abſolute Force put upon him by the Contumacy of a Faction that firſt trampled upon the Laws in a ſeditious Tumult; and then with Swords and Stones, cut the Throats, and beat out the Brains of thoſe that were ſent to quiet them. And what was* Archelaus's *Crime now, but the ſuppreſſing of an outragious Inſurrection by a ſtronger Power? But,* ſays he, *turning to the* Accuſers; *ſo long as this Spirit of* Anarchy *reigns, there is never any Peace to be expected; for nothing will ever ſatisfy theſe People, if they may not be their own Judges and Carvers.*

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar's *Generoſity in Favour of* Herod. *The* Portion *of the* Sons *of* Herod.

Cæſar's *Generoſity in Favour of* Herod. *The Portion of the Sons of* Herod.

WHEN *Cæſar* had heard both Sides, he diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, and after ſome few Days declared *Archelaus Succeſſor* to the one Moiety of *Herod*'s Juriſdiction, but under the Title of an *Ethnarch*, not of a *King*, with a Promiſe yet of the Kingdom too, whenever he ſhould make himſelf worthy of that Honour. The other Half was divided betwixt the two Sons of *Herod*, *Philip*, and that *Antipas* who had the Diſpute with *Archelaus* about the entire Succeſſion. This *Antipas* had for his Share, *Galilee*, with the *Country beyond Jordan*, and *Two Hundred Talents* a Year in Revenue. *Philip*'s Portion was *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*; and Part of the Palace of *Zenodorus*, (as they call'd it) and *a Hundred Talents in yearly Revenue*. *Archelaus* had *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and likewiſe *Samaria*; which was diſcharg'd by *Cæſar* of a fourth Part of the Duty, for ſtanding loyal when the reſt were in Rebellion.

There fell to his Lot alſo the Tower of *Straton*, *Sebaſte*, *Joppa*, and *Jeruſalem*: For *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon*, living in a Conformity to the *Greek Cuſtoms* and Manners, were no longer [a] Dependencies upon the Kingdom, but annexed by *Auguſtus* to *Syria*. The Revenue of *Archelaus* upon the whole, was *ſix hundred Talents*.

Thus ſtood the Patrimony of the Sons of *Herod*. And for *Salome*; beſide the Cities of *Jamnia*, *Azotus*, and *Phaſaelis*, and *five hundred thouſand Pieces of minted Money*, which her Brother had given her by Will, *Auguſtus* gave her alſo a *Palace* in *Aſcalon*, within the Dominion of *Archelaus*; and her *Income* was reckon'd at *ſix hundred Talents a Year*: All the other Legacies to the reſt of the King's Relations being made good alſo, according to the Will of *Herod*. *Auguſtus* beſtow'd likewiſe upon *Herod's two Virgin Daughters*, over and above what their Father left them, *two hundred and fifty thouſand Pieces of Silver*, each, and marry'd them to the two Sons of *Pheroras*. Nay, and what was yet more magnificent and generous than all the reſt, he divided his own Legacies among the Sons of *Herod* too; ſome few Pieces of Plate excepted which he kept to himſelf; not for the *Value* of the Thing, but for the Memory of the Donor.

CHAP. XIV.

A Counterfeit-Alexander. *The Menage of the Impoſture. The* Cheat *paſſes among the* Jews *for Current. He takes up Money upon his* royal Credit. *He goes to* Rome *with a princely Train. The* Jews *flock to him at* Puteoli, *and elſewhere.* Cæſar *ſends* Celadus *to fetch him.* Cæſar *finds him to be a* Counterfeit; *and he confeſſes the Abuſe. The* Cheat *is condemn'd to the* Gallies, *and the Adviſer put to Death.*

THE Buſineſs of the *Will*, and the *Legacies* being now over; there was a certain young Man, by Nation a *Jew*, and trained up at *Sidon*, with a Freeman of *Rome*, who had ſo ſtrange a Reſemblance of *Alexander* the Son of *Herod*, who was put to Death by his Father, that it was almoſt impoſſible to have diſtinguiſh'd the one from the other. This *Jew* took the Hint by the right Handle, and letting fall ſome Words pointing at the Relation he had to that Family, he inſinuated, by this glancing Way, ſome remote Pretenſion that he might have to the Crown. While this Fancy was in his Head, he conferr'd Notes with a cunning Fellow of his own Tribe and Way: One that had run thorough all the Cabals and Intrigues of the Court; and a Man made for Plots and Miſchief. Upon laying their Heads together, it was this Sharper's Advice, that the young Man ſhould ſet up for that very *Alexander* that was ſaid to be dead; and the Story, in Short, was to run thus. That the Perſon entruſted with the Execution of the two Brothers, (*Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*) had ſet up two other Bodies in their Places, and ſo preſerv'd them both. The *Impoſtor* was not only tickled himſelf with the Conceit of the Part he had to play; but the Cheat paſs'd as Current upon other People too; inſomuch that coming to *Crete*, and after that, to the Iſle of *Melos*, the *Jews* all ſwallow'd it ſo whole, that he took up ſeveral Sums of Money among them, upon the Credit of his Blood Royal. The Maggot had wrought ſo far by this Time, that he began now to build Caſtles in the Air, and to dream of Principalities and Powers; what Favourites he would raiſe, and to what Places and Preferments. With theſe Crotchets in his Crown, away he went for *Rome*, with a fair Troop of his new Courtiers and Diſciples at his Heels. When he came to *Puteoli*, he had no ſooner ſet Foot a Shore there, but all the *Jews*, every Man of them that ever had any Friendſhip or Acquaintance with *Herod*, gather'd about him, and receiv'd him as their *King*: People being naturally curious and credulous, where they have ſuch Reſemblances and Preſumptions to work upon: For this Perſon was ſo very like the *Prince*, that ſeveral of his intimate Friends did not only affirm, but ſwear, upon the Sight of him, that this was *Alexander himſelf*, and could be no other. The Rumour of this Diſcovery coming to *Rome*, brought all the *Jews* out of that Quarter to meet him upon the Way; with Praiſes and Thankſgivings in their Mouths, for the Bleſſing of ſo wonderful and ſo ſurprizing a Deliverance. He was carry'd in a Litter with a princely Pomp and Equipage, (his Friends ſparing for no Coſt) follow'd with Multitudes of People; loud Acclamations, Prayers, and good Wiſhes, as we ſee commonly in ſuch extraordinary Caſes. But the great Honour they did him was for the Sake of his ſuppoſed Mother *Mariamne*. Now *Cæſar* looking upon *Herod* as a Man not to be eaſily impos'd upon, in a Matter of this Importance, would not believe one Syllable of the Story; but yet for Sureneſs Sake, he ſent a *Freeman* of his, one *Celadus*, a Contemporary and Companion of the two Brothers, to fetch this new *Alexander*, that he might have a Sight of

A Counterfeit- Alexauder *a* Jew.

Another Jew *adviſes him to ſet up for the right* Alexander.

The Menage of the Impoſture.

At Crete, Melos, *and among the* Jews, *the Cheat paſſes for Current.*

He takes up Money upon his royal Credit.

He goes to Rome *with a princely Train at his Heels.*

The Jews *come flocking to him at* Puteoli;

with Complements every where, and Acclamations.

Cæſar *ſend* Celadus *to fetch him.*

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[a] See the *Jewiſh Wars*, l. 1. c. 9.

and upon ſifting the Matter, finds it to be an Impoſture.

Cæſar *pinches him ſo cloſe, that he confeſſes the Abuſe.*

The Counterfeit *condemn'd to the* Gallies, *and the Adviſer put to Death.*

of him, which he did; and *Celadus* was impoſed upon as well as the reſt. But *Cæſar* after this, was not to be ſo eaſily put upon; for though they were as like as like could be upon the Main, yet if a Man look'd narrowly, he might find ſome particular Diſagreements too, as the Hands of the *falſe Alexander* were *callous* and *harden'd* with Working; the *Grain* of his *Skin*, coarſer than theirs are commonly that are brought up in Delicacy and Pleaſure. *Cæſar* obſerving alſo how exactly the Maſter and the Scholar agreed in the ſame Tale, and that it was all but a made Story, asked him what was become of *Ariſtobulus*; and ſince they were both deliver'd together, how it came to paſs they did not both appear together, and put in for their Pretenſions to their Inheritance. The *Impoſtor* made Anſwer, that *Ariſtobulus* ſtay'd at *Cyprus* for Fear of the Danger of the Seas; for if they ſhould both have miſcarry'd together, the whole Race of *Mariamne* would have been extinct, and ſo Care was taken for *Ariſtobulus*, in Caſe of the worſt. The *falſe Alexander* affirming this, and the Contriver of the Story joyning exactly with him in the Concert, *Cæſar* took the young Man aſide. *Look ye*, ſays he, *put none of your Tricks upon me at your own Peril. Speak Truth now, and I'll give you your Life. Wherefore tell me immediately what you are for a Man, and who it was that put you upon this Practice; for you have not Years enow upon your Back to be ſo malicious, without ſome other Inſtigation.* When the Fellow found himſelf driven to the Wall, and that there was no ſhifting, he told *Auguſtus* the whole Hiſtory, with the Author of the Invention, and the Manner of the Proceeding. So *Cæſar* was as good as his Word to the Counterfeit, and condemn'd him only to the Gallies, being of a robuſt Conſtitution of Body, and proper for that Service. His Adviſer was put to Death; and as for the *Jews* of *Melos*, they were ſufficiently puniſh'd in the Expence they had been at for the Honour of ſuch a Piece of *Pageantry*: And we are now come to the infamous End of a raſh and a bold *Impoſtor*.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of Archelaus *in his* Ethnarchy. Archelaus *baniſh'd, and his Goods confiſcate. A foreboding Dream of* Archelaus's. Simon, *an* Eſſene, *expounds it.* Glaphyra's *Dream of her firſt Husband.*

The Hiſtory of Archelaus *in his* Ethnarchy.

ARCHELAUS being now returned to *Judæa*, and in Poſſeſſion of his *Ethnarchy*, removed *Joazar* the Son of *Boethus* from the *Pontificate*, for having taken Part (as was pretended) with a ſeditious Faction; and ſo conferr'd the Dignity upon *Eleazar* his Brother. He rebuilt the Palace at *Jericho*, at a moſt magnificent Expence, and drew down one Half of the Stream that water'd the Village of *Neara*, to a Grove of *Palm-Trees* that he had lately planted in the Field below. He built alſo a new Village, which he call'd *Archelais*, after his own Name; and without any Regard to the Laws of his Country, he took *Glaphyra* to Wife, the Daughter of King *Archelaus*, and the Widow of his Brother *Alexander*; by whom he had ſeveral Children; though ſuch *Marriages* with *Brother's Wives* are expreſly forbidden by the *Jewiſh Law*; neither had *Eleazar* any long Joy of his Dignity; for *Jeſus* the Son of *Sias* was put into his Office while he was yet living.

In the tenth Year of the Government of *Archelaus*, the head Men of the *Jews* and *Samaritans* were ſo diſguſted at the tyrannical Way of his Adminiſtration, that they joyn'd in a Complaint againſt him to *Cæſar*. And they proceeded in it with the more Confidence, becauſe they knew that extreme Severity to be directly contrary to the Order and good Liking of *Auguſtus*; who had expreſly charged him to govern his People with Tenderneſs, Impartiality, and Juſtice. Upon the Hearing of this Clamour, he ſent for *Archelaus*, who was his Agent at *Rome*, to come to him immediately, and bad him go preſently and fetch the other *Archelaus* to him; without vouchſafing him a Letter. *Archelaus* poſted away all he could into *Judæa*; where he found the other *Archelaus* making merry with his Friends; ſhew'd him *Cæſar*'s Order, and call'd upon him to haſten away. Upon his Arrival at *Rome*, *Cæſar* heard both Charge and Defence; paſſed a Sentence of Baniſhment upon *Archelaus*, with Confiſcation of all his Goods, and ſo ſent him away to *Vienne*, a City in *Gaul*.

Archelaus *baniſh'd, and his Goods confiſcated.*

A foreboding Dream of Archelaus's.

Simon, *an* Eſſene, *expounds it.*

This *Archelaus*, a little before the calling of him away to *Rome*, had this following Dream, as he told it himſelf to ſeveral of his Friends. He fanſy'd that he ſaw *ten Ears of Wheat*, all ripe and full, and the *Oxen* eating them. This Viſion, upon waking, ran in his Head ſo far, that he conſulted ſeveral Men of Reputation for their Skill that Way, about the Meaning of it: But the Interpreters being divided, one *Simon* an *Eſſene*, with Leave of the reſt, gave his Opinion upon the Signification of that Dream, which was, that it foreboded ſome Misfortune to *Archelaus*; for the dreaming of *Oxen*, a Creature deſign'd for *Labour*, and *Slavery*, ſeems to import [a] Miſery; and a Change of Affairs beſide, becauſe upon their turning up of the Ground every Thing chang'd it's Place and Figure. By the *ten Years of Corn* is intimated the ſame definite Number of Years, which take their Revolutions in Courſe, and the Reign of *Archelaus* ſeem'd to be now near an End. This was his Interpretation of the Dream: And upon the fifth Day after this Viſion, *Archelaus*, *Cæſar*'s *Agent* came into *Judæa* by the Order of *Cæſar*, to bring *Archelaus* to *Auguſtus*.

His Wife *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of King *Archelaus*, had alſo an odd Kind of a *Dream*. This *Glaphyra* (as we have ſaid before) had for her firſt Husband, *Alexander*, the *Son* of *Herod*, and the Brother of *Archelaus*. Her *ſecond Husband*, after the putting of the firſt to Death by his Father, was *Juba* the King of *Mauritania*; and after his Death, living a Widow with her Father in *Cappadocia*, *Archelaus* turn'd off his former Wife *Mariamne*; and falling paſſionately in Love with *Glaphyra*, he marry'd her. During the Time of her cohabiting with *Archelaus*, ſhe had this Dream. *She ſanſy'd that ſhe ſaw her* firſt Husband Alexander *coming toward her; and that when ſhe thought to receive him into her Arms, with all poſſible Joy and Kindneſs, he enter'd with her into this Manner of Expoſtulation.* Glaphyra, *ſays he, thou haſt made good the old Saying, there's no truſting to Women. Was not I the Husband of your Virginity? And had we not Children betwixt us, the Pledges of that Love? How could you forget that Obligation ſo far, as to engage your ſelf in a ſecond Marriage? And after that, into a third; and ſo ſhameleſly to break into my Family and take my Brother* Archelaus *for your Husband? But*, ſays he, *that ancient Kindneſs ſhall never be forgotten, and it ſhall be my Care to deliver thee from this Reproach.* She told this Dream to ſeveral of her She-Friends; and within a few Days after departed this Life.

Glaphyra's *Dream of her firſt Husband*

Having had Occaſion in this Place to diſcourſe of theſe Princes, I thought it might do well enough to mention this Circumſtance: Eſpecially as the Example is very well worth the Conſideration; beſide that it is inſtructive alſo, with a Reſpect to the Divinity of the Soul, and to the Wiſdom of divine Providence. He that will not believe this, is at Liberty to think what he pleaſes, provided that others may be left to their Freedom too, in making a moral Uſe of theſe Diſcourſes. As to the Lands of *Archelaus*, *Cæſar* laid them to *Syria*, and *Cæſar* ſent *Cyrenius*, a Man of *Conſular Authority*, to tax the Province, and to diſpoſe of the Palace of *Archelaus*.

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[a] See *Aſtrampſychus* in his *Oneiro Criticks.*

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

From the Year of the World 3973, to 4003.

CHAP. I.

Cyrenius *made Governour of* Syria: *And* Coponius *Governour of* Judæa, *ſent along with him.* Cyrenius *levies a* Tax: *The* Jews *murmur at it*; *but* Joazar *keeps them quiet.* Judas, *a* Gaulanite *of* Gamala, *and* Sadducus, *a* Phariſee, *commit horrible Outrages, under the Colour of a* common Good. *The Temple burnt to the Ground. The Fruit of* Innovations. Judas *and* Sadducus *ſtart a* fourth Sect.

Cyrenius *Governour of* Syria, *and Cenſor of the Tax.*
Coponius, *Governour of* Judæa *ſent along with him.*
Cyrenius *levies a Tax, and ſeizes the Eſtates of* Archelaus.
The Jews *murmur but* Joazar *the High-Prieſt keeps them quiet.*
Judas *a* Gaulanite *of* Gamala, *and* Sadducus *a* Phariſee, *theſe two ſtir up the People to a Rebellion.*
Horrible Outrages, under Pretext of Liberty, Property, and the common Good.

CYRENIUS was at this Time ſent Governour by *Cæſar* into *Syria.* He was a Man of eminent Fame; a *Roman Senator*, and one that had paſs'd through all the Degrees and Offices of Honour, up to the Dignity of a *Conſul. Coponius*, who commanded the Horſe, went along with him, as *Governour* of *Judæa*; but *Judæa* being already annexed to *Syria*, it was *Cyrenius*'s *Province*, to *tax* and *ſeſſe* thoſe People, and to make Seizure of the Monies and Moveables of *Archelaus*.

The *Jews* grumbled at this Way of aſſeſſing at firſt; but betwixt the Perſuaſion and Authority of the *High-Prieſt Joazar*, the Son of *Boethus*, they were prevail'd upon to ſubmit and comply without any farther Trouble. There came in Play ſoon after this, one *Judas*, a *Gaulanite*, of the City of *Gamala*; who together with one *Sadducus* a *Phariſee*, inveigled the People into a Revolt. *Taxes*, they ſaid, *were only Marks of* Slavery, *and therefore the whole Nation ſhould do well to ſtand up for an* univerſal Liberty; *and one lucky Hit would make them free and eaſy, for ever, and advance them in their Reputation, as well as ſecure them in their Poſſeſſions.*

This was enough ſaid to put the Multitude in Tune for any Sort of Miſchief; and it is not to be expreſs'd, the Havock theſe turbulent Incendiaries made in the Nation: what with Murders, Robberies, Depredations, without Diſtinction of Friend or Foe; Aſſaſſinates, Maſſacres, and what not? under a Pretext all this while, of advancing the common Good of *Liberty* and *Property*; and nothing at laſt but Paſſion and private Intereſt in the Bottom. And at the ſame Time, while the Citizens were tearing one another to Pieces at Home with a *civil War* in their own Bowels; a *foreign War* upon them from abroad, and a terrible *Famine* to encounter over and above; nothing could yet put a Stop to the outragious Courſe they were in, of Blood and Deſolation; till the *Fire*, in the Concluſion, laid hold of the *holy Temple* it ſelf.

Wars and Famine. The Temple burnt to the Ground. The Fruit of Innovations.
Judas *and* Sadducus *ſtart a fourth Sect.*

This was the Fruit of hankering after *new Laws* and *Cuſtoms*, and quitting eſtabliſht Foundations. And it was all long of *Judas* and *Sadducus*, that out of a capricious Singularity of Humour, would needs be ſuperadding a fourth Sect to the three former; by which Bait of Innovation, they drew in a mighty Party to them, and not only prov'd the Occaſion of a preſent Confuſion, but laid the Foundation of greater Miſchiefs to come. Wherefore it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomewhat in this Place of thoſe pernicious Opinions and Principles that have wrought us all this Woe.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Phariſees *Practices and Opinions. Men of great Reputation with the People. The Way of the* Sadducees. *The* Eſſenes; *their* Doctrine, *Courſe of* Life *and* Government. *A* fourth Sect *for* abſolute Liberty, *that owns no* Superior *but* God.

THere were of old *three famous Sects* of [a] Religion among the *Jews*. The *Eſſenes*, the *Sadducees*, and thoſe that they call'd *Phariſees*. I have touch'd upon them already, in the ſecond Book of my *Wars of the Jews*; but it will be proper enough to ſay ſomewhat farther of them alſo in this Place.

The Phariſees *Practices and Opinions.*

The *Phariſees* manner of Life is *ſimple* and *auſtere*, without any luxurious Delicacies. They make a Conſcience of keeping cloſe to the *Dictates* of their *Reaſon*, and pay ſuch a Veneration to the Counſels of their *Elders*, that they hearken to them without any Contradiction or Controul. They aſcribe all Things to *Fate*; but not ſo, as abſolutely to *exclude free Will* neither. For though all Things are done, they ſay, by *God's Order* and *Appointment*; this does not yet hinder the Concurrence of the Will, in Caſes that have a Regard either to *Good* or *Evil*. They believe the *Immortality* of the Soul, and a *future State* of *Reward* and *Puniſhment* in another World. The Wicked to be condemn'd to perpetual Chains and Darkneſs, and the Good to riſe again with Comfort. By theſe Doctrines they have advanced themſelves to a mighty Reputation among the People: And all Things are done in the ſolemn Offices of Prayer and divine Worſhip, according to their *Senſe* and Preſcription: Such is the Veneration the People have for the Wiſdom, Temperance and Integrity of theſe Men.

Men of great Reputation with the People.

The Way of the Sadducees.

The *Sadducees* on the other Hand, hold that our *Bodies and Souls die together*; and that we have no other Obligation upon us than to obſerve the *Law*: Inſomuch, that they value themſelves upon a Right they have to diſpute the higheſt Points with their Teachers. Theſe People are not many in Number, but for the moſt part Men of Quality, and Matters go ſeldom their Way; for when they come once to bear Offices, how unwillingly ſoever, they are forc'd to go over in a Conformity to the *Phariſees*, for the common People will not ſuffer it to be otherwiſe.

The Eſſenes. *Their Opinions, Courſe of Life and Government.*

The *Eſſenes* aſcribe the Government of the World to God's *Providence* without any Exception. They hold the *Immortality* of the *Soul*; and celebrate *Juſtice*, both in *Practice* and *Doctrine*, as the *ſovereign Virtue*. They ſend their *Gifts* to the *Temple*, without going thither *themſelves*; for they offer their Sacrifices apart, in a *peculiar* Way of *Worſhip*, and with more *religious Ceremonies*. As to their *Converſation*, they are Men of *excellent Morals*; and their whole Buſineſs in the World, is *Husbandry*. They are eminent for their *Juſtice*, beyond either *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, as a Virtue that hath been a long Time their *Application* and *Study*. Their *Goods* are all in *common*, without any Diſtinction of rich and poor among them. They have neither *Wives*, nor *Servants*; for they look upon the one as an Encroachment upon the natural Liberty of Mankind, and the other as a Circumſtance that carries Trouble and Uneaſineſs along with it: So that they chuſe rather by a mutual Exchange of good Offices to help one another. This is their Way of Life, and they reckon themſelves to be upward of four thouſand Souls in this Society. Their *Treaſurers* and *Commiſſaries* are Men of Integrity, choſen from among their *Prieſts*, and it is their Care to make Proviſion out of the Fruits of the Earth for the feeding and maintaining of the whole Body. They live upon the Main, much at the Rate of the *Pliſti* among the *Dacians*.

A fourth Sect for abſolute Liberty. They own no King or Maſter, but God.

The Founder of the *fourth Sect* of [b] Religion was *Judas Galilæus*, and this was much the ſame with that of the *Phariſees*, ſaving only in the Maxim of an *uncontroulable Liberty*; for they own no other Lord and Superior than God himſelf, and will rather expoſe themſelves and their deareſt Relations to the moſt exquiſite of Torments, than call any Man by the Name of *Maſter*. But this is ſo known a Truth upon every Day's Obſervation and Experience, that it will need no farther Confirmation; beſide that all that can be ſaid of it will fall infinitely ſhort of expreſſing the invincible Conſtancy of theſe People, in the Contempt of Pain: And this Animoſity was yet farther inflamed, by the inſupportable Cruelties of *Geſſius Florus*, the Governour of *Judæa*, which ended at laſt in a downright Revolt from the *Romans*. And this is all I have to ſay of their *Sects*.

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[a] *So I chuſe to render the Word* Φιλοσοφία, *which is ſometimes taken for* Piety *or* Religion, *both in ſacred and profane Writers.*

[b] *Here with* Cotelerius *I read* τῆς φιλοσοφίας *for* τῶν φιλοσόφων. *See the Notes to his* Monum. Eccleſ. Gr. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 549.

CHAP. III.

Cyrenius *ſells* Archelaus's *Eſtate. A Tumult againſt* Joazar. Cyrenius *depoſes him and advances* Ananus. Herod *and* Philip *ſettled in their* Tetrarchy. Herod *fortifies* Sephoris *and* Betaramphtha: *He beautifies* Paleas, *and calls it* Cæſarea. *He enlarges* Bethſaida, *and calls it* Julias. *The* Samaritans *prophane the* holy Temple. Coponius *returns to* Rome; *and* Marcus Ambivius *ſucceeds him.* Salome *dies, and leaves a vaſt Eſtate to* Julia. Rufus *ſucceeds* Ambivius. Auguſtus *dies, and* Nero *ſucceeds him.* Valerius Gratus, *Governour of* Judæa. Ananus *removed, and* Iſmael *ſucceeds him.* Eleazar *comes after* Iſmael: Simon, *after* Eleazar; *and from* Simon *to* Joſeph. Gratus *returns, and* Pilate *ſucceeds him.* Herod *builds a* City, *and calls it* Tiberias. Phraates *murder'd by his Son* Phraataces. *The Son deſtroy'd by a* Tumult. Herod *cut off by a* Conſpiracy. *An* Embaſſy *to chuſe one of the* Hoſtages *for* King. Vonones *beats* Artabanus *into* Media. Vonones *totally routed:* Artabanus *purſues him.* Vonones *flies into* Armenia. Cæſar *refuſes to aſſiſt him.* Armenia *ſides with* Artabanus. Vonones *received by* Syllanus. Antiochus *the King of* Comagena, *dyes. A* Diſpute *about the Form of Government.* Germanicus *ſent to compoſe the Controverſy, and he is* poyſon'd *by* Pytho.

Cyrenius *ſells* Archelaus's *Eſtate. A Tumult againſt* Joazar. Cyrenius *puts him out, and advances* Ananus. Herod *and* Philip *ſettled in their* Tetrarchy. Herod *fortifies* Sephoris *and* Betaramphtha. Herod *beautifies* Paleas, *and calls it* Cæſarea. *He enlarges* Bethſaida, *and calls it* Julias.

AFter *Cyrenius* had made Sale of the forfeited Goods and Eſtate of *Archelaus*, and ſettled a *Tax* according to his Order; which happen'd in the 37th Year after the Battle of *Actium*, wherein *Cæſar* got the better of *Anthony*, the People brake out into a Tumult againſt *Joazar* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Cyrenius* depos'd him from his Dignity, ſubſtituting *Ananus*, the Son of *Seth*, to ſucceed in his Place.

Herod and *Philip*, being now ſettled in their *Tetrarchies*, put all Things in the beſt Order they could. The former began with the fortifying and walling in of *Sephoris*, which he made the Bullwark and the Capital of all *Galilee*; and after that, he fortify'd another Town alſo, which at that Time was called *Betaramphtha*; but he changed the Name afterward to *Julias*, in Honour of the *Empreſs*. *Philip*, for his Part, beautify'd and enlarged *Paleas* at the Head of the River *Jordan*, and gave it the Name of *Cæſarea*; and ſo for the Village of *Bethſaida* upon the Bank of the *Lake of Genezareth*; he built it up to the Bulk and Appearance of a magnificent City; rich and populous, and giving it the Name alſo of *Julias*, out of a Reſpect to *Julia*, the *Daughter* of *Cæſar*.

In the Time of Coponius, *the* Samaritans *prophane the holy Temple.*

As for *Coponius*, that was ſent (as we ſaid) with *Cyrenius* into *Judæa*, there happen'd this Diſorder while he was there in his Government. It is uſual for the *Prieſts* upon the *Feaſt* of *unleavened Bread*, or as we call it, the *paſcal Feaſt*, *to open the Doors of the Temple after Midnight*. Now there was a Company of *Samaritans* that ſlipt privately into *Jeruſalem*; and waiting for the opening of the Doors, ſtept immediately into the *Temple*, and threw *dead Men's Bones* about, into the *Galleries*, and every where up and down. The *Prieſt* took this Inſolence for a warning; and after that, kept a better Guard.

Coponius *returns to* Rome, *and* Marcus Ambivius *ſucceeds him.* Salome *dies, and leaves a vaſt Eſtate to* Julia. Annius Rufus *ſucceeds* Ambivius. *The Death of* Auguſtus.

Coponius a little after this returning to *Rome*, *Marcus* [a] *Ambivius* ſucceeded him to the Government: In whoſe Time dy'd *Salome* the Siſter of *Herod*, and left to *Julia* over and above her *Toparchy*, the City of *Jamnia*, *Phaſelis* upon the *Plain*, and *Archelais*, with ſeveral Plantations of *Palm-Trees*, that bear ſuch excellent Fruit.

Annius Rufus ſucceeded *Ambivius*; and in his Time, *Auguſtus* departed this Life. He was the *ſecond* of the *Roman Emperours*, and ruled the Commonwealth fifty ſeven Years, ſix Months, and two Days; having been for fourteen Years of the Time a Partner and Companion with *Anthony* in the Government; and upon the whole, his Age was ſeventy ſeven Years.

Tiberius Nero *ſucceeds him.* Valerius Gratus, *Governour of* Judæa. Ananus *removed, and* Iſmael *High-Prieſt in his Place.* Eleazar *comes after* Iſmael. Simon *after* Eleazar: *And from* Simon *to* Joſeph (*or* Caiaphas.) Herod *in favour with* Tiberius. *He builds a City and calls it* Tiberias.

Tiberius Nero, his Son-in-law, and the Son of *Livia* his Wife, ſucceeded *Auguſtus*, being the *third Emperour of the Romans*; and ſent *Valerius Gratus*, [b] to be *Governour* of *Judæa* inſtead of *Annius Rufus*. He remov'd *Ananus* from the *Pontificate*, and put *Iſrael* the Son of *Fabius* in his Place; who was ſoon after depos'd, and the Honour transferr'd to *Eleazar* the Son of *Ananus* the *High-Prieſt*: And it was taken from him in one Year more too, and given to *Simon* the Son of *Camith*; who after another Year, was commanded to deliver it up to *Joſeph*, whoſe *Surname* was *Caiaphas*. *Gratus* having been now eleven Years in his Government, went back to *Rome*, and *Pontius Pilate* ſucceeded him.

Herod the *Tetrarch* was now in great Favour with *Tiberius*, and erected a City to his Honour by the Name of *Tiberias*. He built it upon the beſt Spot of Ground in all *Galilee*, on the Bank of the *Lake* of *Genezareth*, and not far from the *hot Baths* at *Emmaus*. This City was peopled, partly by Strangers, partly by *Galileans:* Some were fain to live there upon Force, and ſeveral of the better Sort took up their Habitation there upon Choice. And for the peopling of it ſo much the ſooner, there came a Multitude thither from all Quarters, and of all Sorts, even down to Men of the meaneſt Condition; and ſeveral of them ſuſpected to be Slaves: But for their greater Encouragement to fix and ſettle there, he gave them very conſiderable Privileges and Immunities; Houſes to ſome, and Lands to others, to make the Violation of the Laws go down ſo much the better; for the Place being full of Sepulchres, and polluted with dead Bodies, the Inhabitants are accounted unclean for ſeven Days after.

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[a] 'Αμβιβεχος *Joſ.* See *Caſaubon's* Exercit. IX. Ann. XVI. N. IX.

[b] See *Caſaubon's* Exercit. IX. Ann. XVI. N. IX.

Encourages the peopling of it.

Phraates, the King of the *Parthians*, was at this Time treacherouſly murder'd by his Son [a]*Phraataces:* And the Manner of it was this. *Phraates*, among other Preſents that were ſent him by *Cæſar*, had an *Italian Woman* for one, whoſe Name was *Thermuſa*. He took her at firſt in the Quality of a *Concubine*, but came in Time to be ſo charm'd with her Beauty and Converſation, that having one Son by her whoſe Name was *Phraataces*, he took her to his lawful Bed, having other legitimate Children of his own already. This *Thermuſa* had a Deſign in her Head to put her Son in a Way to be King of *Parthia*; but there was nothing to be done, ſhe ſaw, without firſt ſending the legitimate Sons out of the Way: So ſhe mov'd her Husband in it, and it was done for the asking; ſo abſolute was the Dominion ſhe had over the Spirit of that Man. The young Men being ſent away to *Rome* for *Hoſtages*, *Phraataces* was train'd up at Home alone to an Expectancy of the Kingdom. But it was ſo tedious a Thing, he thought, for him to wait for a Crown in Reverſion, that he enter'd into a Conſpiracy with his Mother to ſhorten the Buſineſs, by taking away the Life of his *Father*, which was accordingly done; and he more than ſuſpected alſo of an *inceſtuous Familiarity* with that lewd Woman: But *Phraataces* made himſelf ſo odious to the People, both for the *Parricide* and for the *Inceſt*, that before he could come to enter upon the Government, he was driven out by a Tumult, and ſo periſh'd.

Phraates *mur-der'd by his Son* Phraataces.

The Son deſtroy'd by a Tumult.

Now the *Parthian Nobility*, conſidering that there was no living for them without a King, and reſolving with themſelves not to ſet any Prince upon the Throne, but of the Family of the *Arſacidæ* (the Blood of *Phraates* being already ſufficiently tainted by the Luſts of this beaſtly Woman;) they ſent *Embaſſadors* with an Invitation to *Herod*; who was, 'tis true, of the *Royal Line*, but ſo hateful withal to the Multitude, for the untractable outragious Cruelty of his Nature, that a Band of Conſpirators ſet upon him, and kill'd him; the *Parthians* never going without their Swords. Some ſay the Execution was done at a *Sacrifice* or a *Banquet*; but the moſt received Account is, that he was kill'd a Hunting.

The Parthians deſire Herod *to take the Government.*
Herod *cut off by by a Conſpiracy.*

Upon this, they ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, deſiring one of the *Parthian Hoſtages* for their King, to ſupply the preſent Vacancy; and making Choice of *Vonones* before the reſt of the Brothers. He was recommended as a Prince worthy of the Honour that was now offer'd him, in the Command of two of the moſt glorious Empires upon the Face of the Earth, (the *Roman*, that is, and the *Parthian*.) But the *Parthians* being naturally fickle, and haughty, quickly repented of their Choice. Their Stomachs were too big to truckle to a *Slave*, they ſaid, for ſo they tranſlated the Word *Hoſtage*, and twitted him at every Turn with the Reproach of that Application: For this was not a *King*, they ſaid, impos'd upon them by any Law of *Arms*; but a *ſcandalous Condition* of a *ſhameful Peace*. In this Heat of Indignation, they ſent for *Artabanus*, who was then King of the *Medes*, and of the Blood of the *Arſacidæ*, who was eaſily prevail'd upon, and came preſently with a conſiderable Army. *Vonones* encounter'd him, and beat him back again into *Media*; the Generality of the *Parthians* ſtanding as yet firm to their Duty; but *Artabanus* being in a ſhort Time reinforced, gave a notable Overthrow to *Vonones* in a *ſecond Battle*, ſo that he had much ado with ſome few Horſe to ſave himſelf in *Seleucia*. *Artabanus*, taking Advantage of the Conſternation the *Barbarians* were in, preſs'd upon the Purſuit with a terrible Slaughter, and ſo betook himſelf to *Cteſiphon* with his conquering Army. This Action put him in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Parthia*. *Vonones* in the mean Time fled into *Armenia*, with a Project in his Head to make himſelf Maſter there; ſoliciting *Cæſar* alſo at the ſame Time by an Embaſſy to aſſiſt him in his Deſign; but whether it was that the Emperour ſuſpected his Courage; or that he himſelf was afraid of diſobliging the *Parthians*, who then threaten'd a War upon him, *Tiberius* abſolutely ſtood off, and would not meddle in the Matter. This Repulſe brake the Neck of all *Vonones*'s Hopes; eſpecially finding that the great Men of *Armenia* that border'd upon *Niphates*, ſided all with *Artabanus*. So that in the Concluſion, he deliver'd himſelf up to *Syllanus* the Governour of *Syria*, who out of a Reſpect to former Acquaintance with him at *Rome*,

An Embaſſy recommending one of their Hoſtages.

They diſlike the Word Hoſtage, and ſend for Artabanus.
Artabanus *advances, and* Vonones *beats him into* Media.
Vonones *totally routed.*
Artabanus *follows the Blow, and enters into* Parthia.
Vonones *flies into* Armenia.
Cæſar *refuſes to aſſiſt him.*
Armenia *ſides with* Artabanus

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[a] *Phraates* in the Verſion of *Epiphanius Scholaſticus.*

Vonones *honourably receiv'd by* Syllanus.
Antiochus *the King of* Comagena *dies.*
A Diſpute about the Form of Government.
Germanicus *ſent to compoſe the Controverſy.*
He adjuſts the Matter, and is poyſon'd by Piſo.

gave him a very honourable Reception and Entertainment. *Artabanus*, being now at Eaſe, made his Son *Orodes* King of *Armenia*.

There happen'd about that Time, upon the Death of *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, a Controverſy betwixt the Lords and Commons, the former were for reducing the Kingdom into the State of a *Province*; and the other for being under a *King* ſtill, as they were before. Upon this Diſpute, *Germanicus* was order'd away into the *Eaſt* by a Decree of the *Senate* for the compoſing of this Difference, and Fortune improv'd this Occaſion to the Ruin of that excellent Prince: For after he had ſettled and quieted Affairs in *Syria*, he was poyſon'd by the Practice of *Piſo*, as we ſhall ſet forth elſewhere.

CHAP. IV.

Standards *ſet up in* Jeruſalem *with* Cæſar's Image *upon them. The* Jews *petition againſt them.* Pilate *oppoſes it, and lays an* Ambuſh *for them, commanding them upon Pain of Death, to depart. The* Jews *peremptorily refuſe; and upon that, the* Images *are remov'd.* Pilate *demands Money out of the* holy Treaſury. *The* Jews *gather in a* Tumult. *The Soldiers diſperſe them.* Joſeph's *Teſtimony of* Jeſus Chriſt. Decius Mundus *falls in Love with* Paulina; *and in Deſpair, reſolves to kill himſelf.* Ide *undertakes to bring it about, and concerts the Matter with the* Prieſts *of* Iſis. *The* Prieſt *gives her an Invitation from the* God Anubis, *and puts* one *upon her for the* other. Mundus *twits her for it. The* Prieſt *and* Ide *are crucify'd, and the Temple of* Iſis *is pull'd down.*

Standards *ſet up in* Jeruſalem *with* Cæſar's *Image upon them.*
The Jews *petition againſt them.*
Pilate *denies them, and they ſtill perſiſt.*
After ſeven Days Attendance, Pilate *lays an Ambuſh for them.*
He gives the Word *to cut them to Pieces unleſs they depart.*
The Jews *peremptorily refuſe.*
Upon this, the Images *are remov'd.*

PILATE the Governour of *Judæa*, upon the Removal of certain Troops from *Cæſarea* to their *Winter-Quarters* in *Jeruſalem*, brought ſeveral Standards into the City with the Image of *Cæſar* upon them, to the Scandal of the *Jewiſh Laws*, which expreſly prohibit the Uſe of ſuch Figures; and for this Reaſon it was that no former Governours ever brought *Colours* with *Pictures* upon them into the City before. *Pilate* was the firſt that ever tranſgreſs'd this Rule; and they were brought into the Town by Stealth too, and there planted in the Dead of the Night, when no Body was aware of them. But when the Citizens came to take Notice of them the next Morning, they gather'd together in great Multitudes, and went their Way to *Pilate* at *Cæſarea*, with a Petition for the Removal of thoſe Images to ſome other Place. After ſeveral Days waiting, and *Pilate* ſtill refuſing, upon a Pretext that it was a Requeſt not to be granted without an Affront to *Cæſar*, they ſtill perſiſted in their Importunities; but the Governour, at laſt, upon the *ſeventh Day of the Jews Attendance*, commanded a Party of Soldiers to be privately ready in their Arms, where he appointed them, and thereupon mounted a *Tribunal* that he had cauſed to be erected in the *Circus*, as a Place the moſt commodious for a Surprize; the People preſſing him over and over ſtill, about the ſame Buſineſs, till *Pilate* at laſt gave a Signal to the Soldiers to come out, and order'd them immediately to cut all their Throats; if in that Inſtant they ſhould not every Man depart to his own Home and be quiet: But the *Jews* caſt themſelves all flat upon the Ground, and ſtretching out their Necks, gave to underſtand that their very *Lives* were not ſo dear to them as the *Laws* of their Country. This wonderful Conſtancy wrought ſo far upon *Pilate*, that he preſently cauſed the *Images* to be carry'd back again from *Jeruſalem* to *Cæſarea*.

Pilate *demands Money out of the holy Treaſury for an* Aqueduct.
The Jews *gather into a Tumult.*
The Soldiers diſperſe them.

Pilate being now upon a Deſign of bringing an *Aqueduct* to *Jeruſalem*, ſome two hundred Furlongs off from the City, demanded *Money* out of the *holy Treaſury* to defray the Charge of the Work. The People took this ſo heinouſly, that they got ſeveral thouſands of them in a Body together, to try what might be done by Multitudes and Clamour, to divert him from his Purpoſe. Some there were in this Rabble (as it falls out commonly in popular Confuſions) that gave *Pilate* perſonal Provocations, with foul Language: Inſomuch that he order'd a certain Number of Soldiers to put themſelves in a Ring about the Multitude, with Clubs under their Coats, in the Habit of Country-Fellows; telling them what they were to do, upon his giving the Word, in Caſe of any further Reviling or Reproach. The Rabble went on with their *Ribaldry*; and the Word being given, the Soldiers fell on with their Clubs, and went in Truth beyond their Commiſſion too; for the innocent eſcap'd no better than the guilty. The Encounter, in Fine, was ſo unequal, betwixt Men with Weapons on the one Side, and naked Men on the other, that the *Jews* were ſome killed; others wounded and diſpers'd, and ſo an End put to the Tumult.

At

The Author's Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt.

At the ſame Time there was one *Jeſus*, a *Wiſeman*, if at leaſt a *MAN* he may be call'd. He was a great Worker of Miracles, and a Teacher of thoſe that were curious and deſirous to learn the Truth, and he had a great many Followers, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*. This was the *Chriſt* that was accuſed by the Princes and great Men of our Nation. *Pilate* deliver'd him up to the *Croſs*; and all this notwithſtanding, thoſe that lov'd him at firſt did not forſake him. *He was ſeen alive again the third Day after his Crucifixion*, as had been foretold by ſeveral *Prophets*; with other Wonders that he wrought; and there are a Sort of People that to this Day bear the Name of *Chriſtians*, as owning him for their Head.

Paulina *the Wife of* Saturninus, *a Lady of unſpotted Virtue.* Decius Mundus *falls in Love with her:*

And in Deſpair reſolves to ſtarve himſelf.

One Ide *taking Notice of his Paſſion, bids him hope the beſt.*

He gives her Money in Hand toward the bringing of it about.

Ide *concerts the Matter with a Prieſt of* Iſis.

The Prieſt carries Paulina *an Invitation from the God* Anubis.

The Prieſt carries her to Mundus *inſtead of* Anubis.

Mundus *twits* Paulina *afterward with the Miſtake.*

The Husband petitions Tiberius *for Juſtice.*

About the ſame Time there was another Misfortune befel the *Jews*, and likewiſe a moſt ſcandalous Paſſage diſcover'd at *Rome*, upon Occaſion of a *Sacrifice* to *Iſis*; but I ſhall begin with this, and proceed afterward to what concerns the *Jews*. There was at *Rome* one *Paulina*, a Woman not leſs eminent for her *Virtue*, than ſhe was for her *Birth*; rich, lovely, and in the very Flower of her Beauty; and withal of a Modeſty beyond Exception. She was marry'd to one *Saturninus*, a Husband worthy of ſuch a Wife; and one *Decius Mundus*, a *Roman* Knight, and in the Prime of his Age, was fallen deſperately in Love with her. This *Paulina* being a Perſon above the Temptation of Money or Preſents, the young Man was the more enflam'd by the Deſpair of gaining her; but proceeded ſo far however as to offer her two hundred Thouſand *Drachma*'s for only *one Night's Lodging*. When he found this would not do, and that the Rage of his Love grew more and more intolerable, he took up a Reſolution of putting an End both to his Paſſion, and to his Life together, by ſtarving himſelf. There was one *Ide*, a freed Woman belonging to the Father of *Mundus*, a cunning Gypſy, and one that underſtood more Tricks than were for her Credit. This Woman ſaw what he was about; and finding that there was no taking of him off by the Force of Argument or Reaſon, ſhe went another Way to Work by Wheedling and Heartening him up to hope the beſt; for ſhe did not yet deſpair, ſhe ſaid, of putting *Paulina* into his Arms; and that ſhe believ'd a Preſent of fifty thouſand *Drachma*'s might do the Work. *Mundus* was abundantly ſatisfy'd with the Propoſal, and gave her the Money ſhe deſired; but that was not the Way ſhe knew to deal with *Paulina:* So that reflecting upon it, how paſſionate a Reverence ſhe had for the Goddeſs *Iſis*, ſhe had Recourſe to this Invention. She got together ſeveral of the *Prieſts* of *Iſis*, and having firſt ſworn them to Secrecy; and which is more, ſecur'd them of a Reward of *twenty five thouſand Drachma*'s down in Hand, and as many more when the Work was done, ſhe told them the Buſineſs of the *Amour*, and moſt earneſtly beg'd their Aſſiſtance toward the bringing the young Man and his Miſtreſs together. The Temptation was ſtrong, and Fleſh and Blood weak, ſo that they promis'd fair; and the eldeſt of the Company went preſently upon the Errand to *Paulina*, where he told her in a private Audience, that he came with a Meſſage from the God *Anubis*, who was fallen extremely in Love with her, and ſhe muſt needs give him a Viſit. She made the Meſſenger very welcome, and laid the Honour ſo to Heart, that ſhe could not forbear talking of it up and down among her She-Companions, how great a Kindneſs the God *Anubis* had for her. She told her Husband as much too; and that the Aſſignation was already paſs'd for them to eat, and lie together: Which the good Man was well enough pleas'd withal, conſidering the Proof he had of his Wife's inſuperable and inviolable Virtue. *Paulina*, in Purſuance of this Fancy, went into the *Temple*; where, after Supper, about ſleeping Time, ſhe was lock'd up by one of the *Prieſts*, and in the *Dark* ſtumbled it ſeems upon *Mundus* inſtead of *Anubis*, and they two were *Bed-fellows for that Night*; making no Doubt all the while, but ſhe had ſpent her Time in the Embraces of a *God*. *Mundus* went his Way the next Morning before the Prieſts got up that were of the Plot, and *Paulina* went back in the Morning to her *Husband*, big with the Story of this divine Encounter; and the Women after that, had the ſecond Part of it in moſt magnificent Terms. The Caſe was ſo extraordinary that they could hardly believe it; and yet *Paulina*'s Modeſty on the other Hand, was ſo untainted that they knew not how to doubt it neither. Upon the third Day after this Night of *Miracles*, it was *Mundus*'s Hap to meet his Miſtreſs. Oh *Paulina!* ſays he, how much am I beholden to you for ſaving me the *two hundred thouſand Drachma*'s that I would have given you, and yet do the ſame Buſineſs at laſt for nothing. What do I care whether you love *Mundus*, or no, ſo long as you will do the ſame Thing for me in the Name of *Anubis!* With theſe Words he went his Way. When the Woman came now to reflect upon it, how ſhe was trepann'd, ſhe tore her Garments; carry'd the whole Hiſtory to her Husband, and beg'd him, as ever he had any Love for her, not to ſuffer ſo impious an Indignity to paſs unpuniſh'd. The Husband repreſented the Matter to *Tiberius*; who, upon a full Inquiry and Information, caus'd thoſe *holy Impoſtors* to

The Prieſts and Ide *are crucify'd, and their Temple pull'd down.*

be *crucified*, together with *Ide*, the Authoreſs, and Inventreſs of this Plot, and the main Inſtrument in the Infamy of this good Woman. He commanded the *Temple* of *Iſis* to be pull'd down, and her *Statue* to be thrown into the *Tiber*; but contented himſelf with the Baniſhment of *Mundus*, as a young Man that was overborn by the Force of an invincible Paſſion. Let this ſuffice for the Story of *Iſis*: and I ſhall come now to what I promis'd, of the miſerable Calamities of the *Jews* that liv'd at *Rome* in that Revolution.

CHAP. V.

Profligate Jews *ſet up for* Doctors. *The Women follow them. They gather* Money *for the* Temple, *and then keep it to* themſelves. Saturninus *complains of it to* Tiberius. *The* Jews *are all* baniſh'd *upon it. A* Samaritan Impoſtor. Tirathaba *beſieg'd.* Pilate *cuts them to Pieces. The* Samaritans *excuſe themſelves to* Vitellius. Marcellus *made Governour of* Judæa, *and* Pilate *ſummoned before* Cæſar.

Four profligate Jews *ſet up for Doctors of the Law.*
The Women follow them, and one Fulvia *a good Woman, among the reſt.*
They gather her Money for the Temple, and kept it to themſelves.
Saturninus *complains of this to* Tiberius.
The Jews *are all baniſh'd upon't.*

THere was a certain *Jew*, one of the wickedeſt Wretches upon the Face of the Earth, that was forc'd to fly his Country to avoid the Stroke of publick Juſtice. This Man paſs'd at *Rome* in thoſe Days for a Kind of *Rabbi*, in Concert with *three more* of the ſame Stamp and *Cabal*: And theſe *four* held forth for *Readers* and *Expoſitors* upon the *Laws* of *Moſes*. By this Pretence, they gain'd ſeveral Diſciples, and among others, one *Fulvia*, a Woman of Quality and Conſcience, and *Judaical* by Profeſſion. This Woman having deliver'd her ſelf up to their Authority and Diſcipline, was by them prevail'd upon to ſend Oblations of Gold and Purple to the holy Temple at *Jeruſalem*, which from Time to Time they converted to their own Uſe, as they ever intended it. When this Abuſe came to be made known to *Tiberius*, by his Friend *Saturninus*, in a Complaint againſt them, by the [a] Inſtigation of his Wife *Fulvia*, he commanded all the *Jews* forthwith to depart the City. There were *four thouſand Soldiers* enter'd upon the *Conſul's Roll*, and ſent away for *Sardinia*; beſide a vaſt Number of thoſe that made a Conſcience of bearing Arms, becauſe of their Religion; and theſe were put to grievous Torments: So that for the Sake of *four flagitious Hypocrites*, the *Jews* were all baniſh'd to a Man.

A Samaritan *Impoſtor.*
They beſiege Tirathaba.
Pilate *cuts them to Pieces.*
The Samaritans *excuſe themſelves to* Vitellius, *and turn it upon* Pilate.
Marcellus *made Governour of* Judæa, *and* Pilate *to appear before* Cæſar.

And the *Samaritans* were not without their Troubles too; for there was at that Time a certain *Impoſtor* that was never without Lies and fantaſtical Stories to draw the Rabble together; and this Fellow gave it out, that if the People would but meet at the Mountain *Garizin*, a ſacred Place in the Eſteem of the Conntry thereabouts, he would undertake to ſhew them the *holy Veſſels* which *Moſes* had cauſed to be bury'd there ſo long ſince. Theſe credulous Fools betook themſelves to their Arms, and beſieged *Tirathaba*, waiting for others to come in and join them, and ſo to march up the Mountain together with a conſiderable Army. But *Pilate* was too early for them, and with a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot prepoſſeſs'd the Mountain, whence they made a Charge among the *Samaritans* that were gotten together about the Village, routed and killed great Numbers of them; took, and carry'd away a Multitude of Priſoners; and for thoſe among them that were of Intereſt or Quality, *Pilate* ſtruck off their Heads. The principal Men of the *Samaritans*, apply'd themſelves upon this Defeat to *Vitellius*, a Perſon of *conſular Dignity*, and at that Time Governour of *Syria*, with a Complaint againſt *Pilate*; and charging him with Murder. For they inſiſted upon it, that their Meeting at *Tirathaba*, was no Defection from the *Romans*, but the ſeeking for a Refuge for themſelves againſt the Violence of *Pilate*. *Vitellius*, upon this, ſent his Friend *Marcellus* to take Charge of the Government of *Judæa*, and order'd *Pilate* to *Rome*, to anſwer before *Cæſar* the Accuſations that were exhibited againſt him. He had now been ten Years in his Government; and upon this Order put himſelf upon a Journey to *Rome*; but *Tiberius* dy'd before he got thither.

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[a] See *Cotelerius*'s Notes to the 2d Vol. of his *Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr.* p. 645.

CHAP. VI.

The Jews *very civil to* Vitellius; *who eaſes them of ſeveral Duties, and puts the* Prieſts *in Poſſeſſion of the* pontifical Robes *as before.* Hyrcanus *builds a* Caſtle, *and lays them up there, and calls the Caſtle,* Antonia. Caiaphas *removed, and* Jonathan *put in his Place.* Vitellius *makes a* League *with* Artabanus. Vitellius *tampers the* Iberians *and* Alanians *againſt him. The* Alanians *break in upon* Artabanus. Armenia *totally loſt.* Artabanus *betray'd, but reinforced, and recovers his Kingdom. A* Treaty *betwixt* Tiberius *and* Artabanus, *upon the* Euphrates. Darius *ſent in Hoſtage.* Eleazar *a* Jew *of ſeven* Cubits *Stature.* Vitellius *returns to* Antioch. Herod *and* Tiberius *anticipate* Vitellius. Philip *dies at* Julias. Philip*'s* Character.

VITELLIUS went into *Judæa*, and ſo to *Jeruſalem*, (this being at the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*, as we call it) where he was received with great Honour; and very graciouſly remitted to the Inhabitants, the whole Duty upon Fruits. He reſtor'd to the *Prieſts* alſo the keeping of the *pontifical Robes* and *Habits* in the *Temple* again, as they had them of old, being as then depoſited in the Caſtle of *Antonia* upon this Occaſion.

The Jews *treat* Vitellius *at* Rome *with great Reſpect.*

He remits ſeveral Duties to them; puts the Prieſts *in Poſſeſſion of the* pontifical Robes, *as formerly.*

Hyrcanus the *High-Prieſt*, and the *firſt* of that Name, having built himſelf a *Tower* near the *Temple*, ſpent the greateſt Part of his Time there; keeping in his own Cuſtody, the *pontifical Stole* and *Ornaments*, that no Body was to uſe but *himſelf*: And upon changing of his Habit, he ſtill laid up his ſacred Veſtments in that Caſtle, as his Succeſſors for a long Time after did the like. But *Herod*, upon his coming to the Crown, was ſo well pleas'd with the Situation of this *Fort*, both for *Strength* and *Beauty*, that he put himſelf to a mighty Expence for the farther Improvement of it, and call'd it by the Name of *Antonia*, in Honour of *Anthony* his particular Friend. In this Caſtle he found the *holy Stole*, and there he kept it, upon an Opinion, that the having that in his Poſſeſſion, would keep the *Jews* in *Awe*. *Archelaus*, his Son and Succeſſor, did the ſame Thing too, and upon the ſame Conſideration; and ſo did the *Romans* alſo, after the Reduction of the *Kingdom* into a *Province*; and theſe *pontifical Veſts*[a] were laid up in a Cabinet that was made on Purpoſe for that *Wardrobe*, under the *Seal* of the *Prieſts*, and the *Keepers* of the *holy Treaſury*; the Governour of the Caſtle being obliged to have a Lamp ſtill burning before the Place. Upon the *ſeventh Day*, preceding the *three ſolemn Feſtivals*, he ſtill deliver'd out the *Stole* to the *High-Prieſt*; who having gotten it well purg'd and cleans'd, did the holy Office in it afterward in Courſe, and the next Day return'd it to the Place where it was before; and this was done upon three Feſtivals every Year, and upon the ſolemn Faſt.

Hyrcanus *builds a Caſtle, and lays them up there.*

Herod *gives this Caſtle the Name of* Antonia.

He found the holy Stole *there, and kept it there.*

But *Vitellius* was now pleaſed, in Favour of the *Jews*, to give up all the *pontifical Habits* into the Poſſeſſion of the *Prieſts* again, and to diſcharge the Governour from being any farther anſwerable what became of them. After this, he took away the *High-Prieſthood* from *Joſeph* call'd *Caiphas*, and gave it to *Jonathan* the Son of the *High-Prieſt Ananus*, and ſo went his Way back to *Antioch*.

Caiphas *removed and* Jonathan *put in his Place.*

At the ſame Time he receiv'd Letters of Direction from *Tiberius*, to make a *League* with *Artabanus*; for he was afraid, if he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Armenia*, that it might be dangerous to the *Empire*: But this to be done only upon Condition of one of the King's Sons for an *Hoſtage*. This put *Vitellius* upon tampering with the Kings of *Iberia* and *Alania*, by great Sums of Money to engage them immediately in a War with *Artabanus*. The *Iberians* could not be prevail'd upon any farther, than to leave the *Alanians* a free Paſſage thorough their City, and ſo by the *Caſpian Mountains*, to open them an Inroad into the Kingdom of *Artabanus*. Upon this Irruption, the *Parthians* preſently loſt *Armenia*; and that Blow was follow'd with ſo deſperate a Ravage upon their own Country, that the Nobility was almoſt entirely cut off; together with the King's Son, and ſo many thouſands of the common People, that they were in a Manner unpeopled by this Invaſion. *Artabanus* found by this Time, that he was betray'd under his own Roof, and that his very Friends and Relations were brib'd into a Plot with *Vitellius* to deſtroy him: So that not knowing whom to truſt, for Fear of Treachery under the Mask of Friendſhip, and being convinc'd that Men of the firſt Rate and Quality were in the Practice, he made his Eſcape out of Hand into the *upper Provinces*, where he was not only protected, but reinforc'd with ſo conſiderable an Army of the *Dahi* and *Saci*, that he not only overthrew his Enemies, but recover'd his Kingdom.

Vitellius *order'd by* Tiberius *to make a League with* Artabanus.

But Vitellius *tampers with the* Iberians *and* Alanians *againſt him.*

The Alanians *break in upon* Artabanus.

Armenia *totally loſt.*

Artabanus *finds himſelf betray'd.*

Artabanus *reinforc'd by the* Dahi *and* Saci, *recovers his Kingdom.*

Upon this Turn of Affairs, *Tiberius* propos'd an Alliance with *Artabanus*, and they met by Conſent to treat about it, (the *King*, and *Vitellius*, with their Guards) up-

A Treaty of Alliance betwixt Tiberius *and* Artabanus.

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[a] See *Bonferrius*'s Commentaries upon *Leviticus*, p. 648.

The Treaty concluded upon a Bridge over the Euphrates. *A ſplendid Entertainment upon the ſame River.* Darius *the Son of* Artabanus *ſent in* Hoſtage *with rich Preſents.* Eleazar *a* Jew *ſeven Cubits high.* Vitellius *returns to* Antioch. Herod *ſends* Tiberius *the whole Story to anticipate* Vitellius. Vitellius *coming too late,* Cæſar *tells him he ſends him no News.* Philip, Herod*'s Brother, dies at* Julias. Philip*'s Character and Way of Living.*

on the Middle of a Bridge over the River *Euphrates.* At the Concluſion of the Treaty, *Herod* the *Tetrarch* gave them both a very ſplendid and magnificent Treat, in a Tent that he had erected at a great Expence upon the ſame River; and *Artabanus* ſent his Son *Darius* not long after, as an Hoſtage to *Tiberius,* with Variety of Preſents; and one among the reſt was a Man of ſeven Cubits in Height, and by Profeſſion a *Jew,* whom they called *Eleazar* the *Giant.* *Vitellius,* after this, return'd to *Antioch,* and *Artabanus* to *Babylon.*

Herod had a great Mind to be the firſt Author of the good News of this *Agreement* about the *Hoſtages,* and ſo diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger with all poſſible Speed, with every Particular of the Treaty, to *Tiberius;* which was ſo circumſtantially exact, that there was nothing left for *Vitellius,* a *conſular Governour,* to ſay farther; ſo that *Cæſar,* upon the Receipt of a later Intelligence from *Vitellius,* return'd only this ſhort Anſwer, that he had ſent him no News; for *Herod* had told him as much as that came to before. *Vitellius* took this officious Anticipation very ill, but ſmother'd his Reſentment of it till *Caius* came to the Government.

Philip the Brother of *Herod* dy'd alſo at the ſame Time in the [a] twentieth Year of *Tiberius,* and when he himſelf had been thirty ſeven Years in the *Tetrarchy* of *Trachonitis, Gaulanitis,* and *Batanæa:* A Man of great Moderation, and a Lover of his Eaſe and Quiet; for he ſpent his whole Life within the Compaſs of his own Juriſdiction. He hardly ever went abroad but in Company with ſome few of his ſelect Friends, with a Chair after him; which upon ſeveral Occaſions he made Uſe of as a Seat of Juſtice. And if he happen'd to meet any Body upon the Way that had Need of his Aſſiſtance, he betook himſelf ſtill, without Delay, to the Examination of his Cauſe, and either condemn'd or acquitted him, as he found him guilty or innocent. He dy'd at *Julias,* and was bury'd with great Pomp and Expence in a Monument of his own preparing for himſelf: But dying without Iſſue, *Tiberius* annexed his Eſtate to *Syria,* upon Condition that the *Tributes* to be rais'd in that *Tetrarchy* ſhould not go out of the Country.

CHAP. VII.

A War *betwixt* Herod *and* Aretas. Herod *marries the Daughter of* Aretas; *and falls in Love with* Herodias; *propoſing to marry her, and to part with the other. His* Wife *diſcovers it.* Aretas *reſents it.* Herod *routed by* Aretas. *A Judgment upon* Herod *and his* Army. St. John the Baptiſt *put to Death.* Vitellius *marches towards* Petra. *The* Jews *are ſcandaliz'd at* Images *in the* Colours. Vitellius, Herod, *&c. go to* Jeruſalem *to* worſhip. *The* High-Prieſthood *transferr'd from* Jonathan *to* Theophilus. News *of* Tiberius*'s Death.* Vitellius *ſwears the People to* Caius. *The* Wizzards *foretel the Event.* Vitellius *goes back to* Antioch. *The* Family *of* Herod the Great.

A War betwixt Herod *and* Aretas. Herod *marries the Daughter of* Aretas; *and falls in Love with* Herodias.

He propoſes to marry Herodias, *and part with the other.*

His Wife finds it out, and gets Leave to go to Machærus.

Her Guards ready laid to carry her to her Father. Aretas *reſents the Indignity done to his Daughter.*

THERE happen'd a War, at this Time, betwixt *Herod* and *Aretas* the King of *Petra,* upon this Ground: *Herod* the *Tetrarch* marry'd the Daughter of *Aretas,* and they had now liv'd a long Time together; but being call'd afterward to *Rome,* he took *Herod* his Brother-in-Law in his Way; (the Son of the Daughter of *Simon* the *High-Prieſt)* where he fell ſo paſſionately in Love with [b] *Herodias,* his Brother's Wife, and the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus,* their Brother, who was alſo the Siſter of *Agrippa,* afterwards *King;* that he had the Confidence to make a Propoſal of Marriage to her upon his Return from *Rome,* and of parting with his Wife, the Daughter of *Aretas;* which was agreed to on both Sides, as the Condition of their *Marriage.* After this, he proſecuted his Voyage for *Rome:* And ſo ſoon as he had diſpatch'd the Buſineſs he went about, he return'd Home again. His Wife having by this Time gotten Intelligence of his Intrigue with *Herodias,* was telling him ſlily once, ſo that there was no gueſſing at the Myſtery, how glad ſhe ſhould be if he would but let her go to *Machærus* a little; (a Caſtle upon the Borders of *Aretas*'s Dominions.) *Herod,* without imagining the Matter, gave Way to her going. Now *Machærus* being a Place at her Father's Devotion, every Thing was there in Readineſs for her Journey; ſo that the Governour of the Place furniſh'd her immediately upon her Arrival with *Arabian Guards* that conducted her from Stage to Stage, with all imaginable Speed, to her Father's Palace: Where ſhe gave him at large the Hiſtory of *Herod*'s *new Amour.* This begot a *Heart-burning,* and there being a Controverſy a-foot at that Time about the Bounds and Abuttals of ſome Lands in *Gamala,* and two Armies ready in the Field to diſpute the Queſtion, they laid hold of this Pretence, and by their Deputies brought it to a Battle, where *Herod* was utterly routed by the Treachery of a certain Band of *Refugees*, that came over from *Philip*, and were at that Time in *Herod*'s Pay. This Prince had no ſooner given *Tiberius* Intelligence of the Diſaſter, but he preſently in a Rage order'd *Vitellius* to make War upon *Aretas* for this Inſolence; and either to bring him alive to *Rome*, or to ſend his Head.

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[a] *Scaliger* in his Book *de Emendat. Temp.* ſhews that it ſhould be read *in the 22d Year.* But *Caſaubon* in his *Exercitations* defends the vulgar Reading.

[b] See *Caſaubon*'s Exercitations againſt *Baronius,* ann. xxxi. num. xlvii.

Herod *routed by* Aretas.

Tiberius *orders* Vitellius *to make War upon* Aretas.

Now the Generality of the *Jews* were of Opinion that this was only a juſt Judgment of God upon *Herod* and his *Army*, for the Buſineſs of *John* ſurnamed the *Baptiſt*, which excellent Man this *Tetrarch* murder'd. And what was his Crime, but only his exhorting the *Jews* to the Love and Practice of Virtue; and in the firſt Place, of Piety and Juſtice, and to a Regeneration by *Baptiſm* and a *new Life*, not by abſtaining from this or that particular Sin, but by an habitual Purity of Mind, as well as of Body! Now ſo great was the Credit and the Authority of this holy Man, as appear'd by the Multitude of his Diſciples, and the Veneration they had for his Doctrine; (for he could do what he would with them) that *Herod* did not know how far the Reputation of a Man of his Spirit might influence the People toward a Revolt. So that for Fear of the worſt, he choſe rather to take him out of the Way in Time before any Hurt was done, than to put it to the Hazzard of an unprofitable Repentance when it ſhould be too late. Wherefore he ſent him away bound to *Machærus*, (the Place before mentioned) with Order to have him put to Death, which was accordingly executed; and that impious Fact was follow'd with a divine Vengeance upon *Herod*, for the *Blood* of that *juſt Man*, as the *Jews* reaſonably enough perſuaded themſelves.

A Judgment upon Herod *and his Army.*

St. John *the* Baptiſt *put to Death at* Machærus *by* Herod's *Order.*

Vitellius was now preparing for the *Arabian War*; and upon his March toward *Petra* with *two Legions* and all the *Auxiliaries*, Horſe and Foot of the *Roman Allies*. When he was advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, and thinking to take his Paſſage a croſs *Judæa*; the great Men of the Country met him upon the Way with earneſt Supplications that he would ſteer ſome other Courſe; for the *Images* the *Romans* carry commonly in their *Colours*, were a great Scandal and Offence to the *Jewiſh Laws* and *Religion*. The *General* was prevail'd upon, and ſo ſent his Army about by the Compaſs of a great Plain; while he himſelf, with *Herod* the *Tetrarch* and his *Friends*, went up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip upon a *publick Feſtival* that was then at Hand. His Entertainment was with as much Honour and Reſpect as poſſible, and he made *three Days Stay* there; in which Time, he transferr'd the *High-Prieſthood* from *Jonathan* to his *Brother Theophilus*. Upon the *fourth* Day came Letters to him of the Death of *Tiberius*; upon which Intelligence he made the People ſwear Allegiance to *Caius Caligula*, the *Succeſſor*, call'd back his Troops and order'd them into *Winter Quarters*; putting a Stop to the War upon this Change in the Government.

Vitellius *marches towards* Petra *by the Way of* Judæa.

The Jews *are ſcandaliz'd at the Images in the* Roman *Colours.*

Vitellius *marches about by the Way of the great Plain.*

Vitellius, Herod, *&c. go up to* Jeruſalem *to worſhip.*

Vitellius *ſtays three Days there, and is treated with great Honour.*

The Pontificate *transferr'd from* Jonathan *to* Theophilus.

On the fourth Day comes News of Tiberius's *Death.*

Vitellius *ſwears the People to* Caius Caligula, *and calls back the Army.*

There goes a Report that upon the News of this Expedition of *Vitellius*, *Aretas* conſulted the *Wizzards* and *Diviners* about the Event of this Undertaking; who gave him this Reſolution; *That the Army now upon their March, ſhould never come up to* Petra; *for either one of the Princes ſhould die; or he that commanded the War; or he that executed that Command, or the Perſon againſt whom it was carry'd on.* And ſo *Vitellius* went back to *Antioch*.

The Wizzards foretel the Event of this Undertaking.

Vitellius *goes back to* Antioch.

Agrippa the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, had been now a Year at *Rome*, attending *Cæſar* about ſome important Affair. But it will be more to my preſent Purpoſe to ſay ſomewhat in the firſt Place of *Herod* and his *Family*, who was certainly a remarkable Inſtance of the *Power* and *Wiſdom* of *divine Providence*. For what ſignify the Bleſſings of a plentiful Iſſue, Royal Dignity and Power, or a ſplendid Fortune, without Piety and Juſtice? As we find it in *Herod*'s Caſe here, who in a hundred Years Time had hardly any Remains left of ſo numerous a Family. This may ſerve for a Check to the arrogant Pretenſions of vain Fleſh and Blood, and to the raiſing of a ſober Man's Conſideration upon the wonderful Advance of *Agrippa* out of a private Fortune, and beyond all Men's Expectation, to ſo glorious a Degree of Power.

We have touch'd upon this formerly in Groſs, but we ſhall now be a little more particular. *Herod the great* had by *Mariamne* the *Daughter* of *Hyrcanus*; *two Daughters*; *Salampſo* the one, who marry'd *Phaſael* the *Son* of *Phaſael*, the *King's elder Brother*, with the *Father's Conſent*. The *other*'s Name was *Cypros*, who marry'd *Antipater*, the *Nephew* of *Herod* by his *Siſter Salome*.

Phaſael had by *Salampſo*, *five Children*; *Antipater*, *Herod*, *Alexander*; and *two Daughters*, *Alexandra* and *Cypros*; who marry'd *Agrippa* the *Son* of *Ariſtobulus*; but *Alexandra* was marry'd to one *Timius* a Nobleman of the *Iſle of Cyprus*, who dy'd without Children. *Agrippa* had by *Cypros*, *two Sons* and *three Daughters*. The *Daughters* were *Berenice*, *Mariamne* and *Druſilla*: The *Sons* were *Agrippa* and *Druſus*; the latter dying in his *Minority*. *Agrippa* the *Father* was brought up under His *Grandfather Herod the great*; together with his Brothers, *Herod* and *Ariſtobulus*; and ſo was *Berenice* alſo, the Daughter of *Salome* and *Coſtobarus*. The Children of *Ariſtobulus* were

The Family of Herod *the great.*

at that Time Infants, when their *Father* and his *Brother Alexander* (as we have ſaid before) were put to Death by *Herod*. But after they grew up, this *Herod* the *Brother* of *Agrippa* marry'd *Mariamne*, the *Daughter* of *Olympias* (who was *King Herod's Daughter)* and of *Joſeph*, *Herod's Brother*, by whom he had *Ariſtobulus*. Now *Ariſtobulus*, the *third Brother* of *Agrippa* marry'd *Jotape* the *Daughter* of [a] *Sampſigeram* King of the *Emeſenes*, by whom he had a *Daughter* that bare her Mother's Name and was born deaf. Theſe were the Children of the *three Brothers*; but *Herodias* their *Siſter*, marry'd *Herod*, the *Son* of *Herod the great*, whom he had by *Mariamne*, the *Daughter* of *Simon* the *High-Prieſt*, and from thence came *Salome*; after whoſe Birth, *Herodias* made no Scruple, in Defiance of all Law and Conſcience, to take *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee* for her ſecond Husband, though *her Husband's Brother by the Father's Side*; having alſo abandon'd a former Husband that was yet living. *Salome* the *Daughter* marry'd *Philip* the Son of *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Trachonitis*, who dy'd without Children, and then ſhe marry'd *Ariſtobulus* the *Son* of *Herod* and the *Brother* of *Agrippa*, by whom ſhe had *three Sons*, *Herod*, *Agrippa* and *Ariſtobulus*. Let this ſuffice as to the Family of *Phaſael* and *Salampſo*.

Cypros had by *Antipater*, a Daughter of the Mother's Name, who was marry'd to *Alexas Selcius* the *Son* of *Alexas*, and by her he had *one Daughter*, *Cypros*. But *Herod* and *Alexander*, who (as I told you) were the *Brothers* of *Antipater*, dy'd without Iſſue. Now *Alexander* the *Son* of *King Herod*, that was put to Death by his *Father*, had by *Glaphyra* the *Daughter* of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Alexander* and *Tigranes*. This *Tigranes* was that King of *Armenia* that had an Accuſation brought againſt him by the *Romans*, and dy'd without Children. *Alexander* had a *Son Tigranes* alſo, after the Name of his *Uncle*, whom *Nero* advanc'd to be King of *Armenia*, and had a Son *Alexander*, who marry'd *Jotape*, the *Daughter* of *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, and was made King of [b] *Leſis* in *Cilicia* by *Veſpaſian*. The Race of *Alexander* quickly declin'd from the *Jewiſh Laws* and *Diſcipline* to the *Religion* of the *Greeks*; and the other *Daughters* of *Herod the great* left no Children behind them.

Having thus run thorough the Poſterity of this Prince, as far as to the Reign of *Agrippa*, I ſhall now trace the Hiſtory of *Agrippa himſelf*, and the wonderful Variety of Accidents in his Fortune, that brought him in the End to ſo glorious a Degree of Dignity and Power.

CHAP. VIII.

The Riſe *of* Agrippa. *His vaſt Profuſion. He retires to* Malatha. Cypros *writes for him to* Herodias. Herodias *gets him a* Penſion. Agrippa *goes to* Flaccus. Ariſtobulus *undermines* Agrippa. *A Diſpute betwixt* Damaſcus *and* Sidon. Flaccus *caſts off* Agrippa, *who is hard put to't for his Debts*; *but gives his Creditors the Slip. He takes up Money upon his* Wife's Credit. Agrippa *goes to* Tiberius *at* Capreæ. Agrippa *charg'd with defrauding the* King, *and forbid the* Court *till he pays his* Debts. Antonia *lends him the* Money. Agrippa *made Governour to* Tiberius Nero. Agrippa, Caius *his* Favourite. Eutychus *hears dangerous Words*, *informs* Piſo, *and is ſent bound to* Tiberius. *The dilatory Humour of* Tiberius. Antonia *preſſes* Tiberius *to give* Eutychus *a Hearing.* Cæſar *yields to it.* Eutychus *is brought to* Cæſar, *and delivers his Information.* Agrippa *put in Chains*, *and the* Guards *drag him to* Priſon *in his* Robes. *An* Owl *perches over* Agrippa's *Head. A* German's *Prediction upon it.* Antonia *makes* Agrippa's *Condition eaſy to him.* Tiberius *falls deſperately* ſick; *and orders his* Children *to be brought to him the next Morning.* Caius *generally belov'd.* Tiberius *conſults the* Oracle *about his* Succeſſor. *The* Oracle *directs him, and* Caius *is the* Man. Tiberius *conſults* Fortune-Tellers. *A ſtrange Inſtance in* Galba. *He gives* Caius *the Government, and bids him be kind to his* Brother. Caius *promiſes fair*; *but takes away his* Brother's Life, *upon the Death of* Tiberius. Tiberius *dies, and* Caius *ſucceeds him. The Character of* Tiberius. *The News of his* Death. Agrippa *tells it in Confidence to his* Keeper. Cæſar's *Declaration.* Caius *orders* Agrippa *to be diſcharg'd.* Caius *takes the Body of* Tiberius *to* Rome *with him. A magnificent* Funeral. Agrippa *crown'd.* Caius *gives him a* golden Chain. Marcellus *made Governour of* Judæa.

The Riſe and Humour of Agrippa.

A little before the Death of *Herod the great*, *Agrippa*, being then at *Rome*, and frequently in the *Emperour's Family*, was got much in Favour with his Son *Dru*-

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[a] The *old Interpreter* has *Sigerammus*. [b] So the *Latin* Interpreters have it. In the *Greek* Ἰωτάπλω, ἠσίοδός τε ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, &c. from whence Mr. *Harduin*, in his *Nummi Antiqui illuſtrati*, p. 588. conjectures that it ſhould be read, νησιάδος τε ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, *inſulæ ſive peninſulæ in Cilicia*, viz. *Sebaſte*.

ſus, and ſo likewiſe in the good Graces of *Antonia*, the Wife of *Druſus the Elder*, by the Means of his *Mother Berenice*, for whom, *Antonia* had a ſingular Value. He was naturally generous and free-hearted; but while his Mother liv'd, kept within Compaſs, for Fear of the main Chance: Till coming at laſt by her Death, to be left to himſelf, what with expenſive Treats, and extravagant Bounties and Profuſions; eſpecially among the Creatures and Domeſticks of the Court, (where he made his chief Intereſt) he had run himſelf ſo deſperately in Debt, that he durſt not ſhew his Head any longer in *Rome*. *Tiberius*, at the ſame Time alſo, loſing his Son, would not endure any of *Druſus*'s *Favourites* ſo much as in his Sight, to mind him of his Loſs.

His vaſt Profuſions.

When he had thus ſquander'd away his Money and his Reputation, by ill Menage; his Creditors alſo preſſing hard upon him, and no Means of Satisfaction, away he went back to *Judæa*; and partly out of Deſpair of retrieving his Fortune, partly out of Shame for ſo inconſiderate a Folly, he retired to *Malatha*, a Caſtle in *Idumæa*, with a Reſolution, ſome Way or other, there, to put an End to his miſerable Life. *Cypros* finding her Husband deſperately out of Humour, and that his Melancholy grew ſtill more and more dangerous, ſhe try'd all Ways in the World to prevent Miſchief, and in particular wrote to her Siſter *Herodias* about it, with a very punctual Account of his neceſſitous Condition; adjuring her by all the Tyes of Honour and Affinity of Blood, to give him ſome Aſſiſtance. *She did what ſhe could, herſelf*, ſhe ſaid, *and deſired her Siſter to follow her Example.* This wrought ſo far upon *Herodias*, that both ſhe and her Husband ſent away preſently to fetch *Agrippa* to them; gave him a *Penſion in Mony*, and the Command of *Tiberias* for his preſent Subſiſtance: But *Herod* did not long hold in this Mind; and *Agrippa*, on the other Hand, was not thoroughly ſatisfy'd neither: Inſomuch that being in their Cups once at *Tyre*, *Herod* contemptuouſly reflected upon *Agrippa* for his *Poverty*, and caſt it in his Teeth, that *it was his Purſe that maintain'd him.*

He retires to Malatha.

Cypros *writes to* Herodias *on his Behalf.*

Herodias *gets him a Penſion, and the Command of* Tiberias.

Herod *in his Cups twits* Agrippa *with his Poverty.*

Agrippa could not digeſt this Indignity, and ſo he betook himſelf to *Flaccus*, an antient Friend and Acquaintance of his at *Rome*, and at that Time, Governour of *Syria*. He gave him a frank Reception and Entertainment, having *Ariſtobulus* with him in the Houſe before, who, though *Agrippa's Brother*, was yet his Enemy; but this Animoſity betwixt the Brothers did not hinder *Flaccus* from dividing his Favours and Civilities indifferently betwixt them. *Ariſtobulus* however kept up the Grudge, and would never be quiet till he had wrought *Flaccus* into an ill Opinion of *Agrippa*; which was thus brought about. There was a Diſpute betwixt the People of *Damaſcus*, and thoſe of *Sidon* about the Limits of their Territory. The Cauſe was to be try'd before *Flaccus*; and the People of *Damaſcus* being told that *Agrippa* and he were all one; they could not do better, they thought, than to engage *Agrippa* for a Sum of Money in their Intereſt. They ſtruck the Bargain, and Promiſes paſs'd on both Sides: So that *Agrippa* was Tooth and Nail for *Damaſcus* againſt *Sidon*. *Ariſtobulus*, finding it out to be a Money-Buſineſs, went and complained of his Brother to the Governour; who upon Examination and Proof of the Matter caſt off *Agrippa*, and left him in his extreme Neceſſity to ſhift for himſelf in the wide World again: So that he return'd to *Ptolemais*, with a Reſolution for pure Want of Bread, to go back again into *Italy*. In this Extremity he put *Marſyas*, a *Freeman* of his, upon it to take up a Sum of Money of the Brokers, upon any Terms to ſupply his preſent Occaſions. So he went to *Protus* a *Freeman* of *Berenice* the *Mother* of *Agrippa*, and his late Patroneſs, that in her *laſt Will and Teſtament*, had recommended him to the Service of *Antonia*; and ſo propounded the Matter to him for the lending of a Sum of Money to *Agrippa*, upon his Bond. The other told him that he was in his Books already: But yet for all this, he ſqueezed out of *Protus twenty thouſand Attick Drachma's* upon Bond: That is to ſay juſt *ſeventeen thouſand five hundred Pieces*; diſcounting the other *two thouſand five hundred* to *himſelf*, for *Procuration Money*; which *Agrippa* was not in Condition to diſpute. Upon the Receipt of the *Money*, *Agrippa* went to *Anthedon*, where he met with a Ship for his Purpoſe, and prepar'd himſelf to put to Sea. But this Coming to the Ear of *Herennius Capito*, the *Procurator* of *Jamnia*, he ſent Soldiers to him to demand Payment of a Debt of *three hundred thouſand Pieces of Silver*, that he borrow'd of the King's Money when he was at *Rome*. This Rub in the Way put ſome little Stop to his Journey; but *Agrippa* however promis'd them fair, and ſo ſoon as it was dark, cut his Cable, and put to the Sea, ſtanding his Courſe for *Alexandria*. When he came thither, he deſir'd *Alexander* the *head Officer* about the Revenue, to furniſh him with *two hundred thouſand Pieces* upon his Security. *As for your own Part*, ſays the Officer, *I will not truſt you with ſuch a Sum; but your Wife ſeems to be an excellent Perſon, and a very good Woman; and if ſhe will ſtand bound for the Mony, ſhe ſhall have it.* So it was, in Fine, that upon the Security of *Cypros*, *Alexander* ſupply'd *Agrippa* with *five Talents* at

Agrippa *goes to* Flaccus *upon it.*

His Brother Ariſtobulus *in the Houſe with him.*

The two Brothers Enemies; but Flaccus *a common Friend to both.*

Ariſtobulus *undermines* Agrippa.

A Diſpute betwixt Damaſcus *and* Sidon.

Flaccus *caſts off* Agrippa *at the Inſtance of* Ariſtobulus.

He's hard put to't for his Debts.

He goes a board at Anthedon *for* Alexandria, *and gives his Creditors the Slip.*

He takes up Money upon his Wife's Credit.

Agrippa *goes forward for* Rome, *and* Cypros *back to* Judæa.

at *Alexandria* and Letters of Credit for the reſt at *Puteoli*; for he was not willing to venture the whole Sum in his Hands together for Fear of miſpending it. *Cypros* found by this Time, that there was no hindering her Husband's Journey; ſo that ſhe and her Children went back again to *Judæa* by Land.

Agrippa *goes to* Tiberius *at* Capræ, *and is graciouſly receiv'd:* *Charg'd with defrauding the King;*

and forbid the Court till he pays the Debt.

He tells Antonia *his Caſe, and ſhe lends him the Money.*

Agrippa *pays the Arrear, and ſets himſelf Right with the Emperour.*

Agrippa *made Governour to* Cæſar's *Grand-Child* Tiberius Nero.

He makes his Court in the firſt Place to Caius, Antonia's *Grand-Child.*

A Samaritan *furniſhes* Agrippa *with a Sum of Money.*

Agrippa Caius's *Favourite.*

Agrippa, upon his coming to *Puteoli*, gave *Tiberius Cæſar* to underſtand by a Letter, being then at *Capreæ*, that he was come ſo far to pay him his Duty, and deſir'd Leave to wait upon him. *Tiberius* without any Delay ſent him back the kindeſt Anſwer in the World, and that he ſhould be heartily welcome to *Capreæ:* And upon his Arrival, *Cæſar* took him with great Tenderneſs into his Arms, and into his Palace, and ſeconded the Frankneſs of his Invitation with the Generoſity of his Reception, and Entertainment; but on the Day following, *Cæſar* receiv'd Letters of Complaint from *Herennius* againſt *Agrippa*; ſetting forth, that being *three hundred thouſand Pieces in the Emperour's Debt, and the Money long ſince due, he had only demanded Satisfaction on the Bond, and* Agrippa *gave him the Slip upon it: So that* Cæſar *was now in Danger to loſe his Money.* *Tiberius* took this ſo heinouſly, that he order'd the Officers of his Bed-Chamber not to open a Door to *Agrippa* till he had paid the Debt. *Agrippa*, on the other Hand, took no Notice of the *Emperour's Diſpleaſure*, but went away to *Antonia*, the Mother both of *Germanicus* and of *Claudius*, who came afterwards to the Empire; and telling her the Story of the Pinch he was in, and how he was like to loſe *Cæſar*'s Favour for Want of *three hundred thouſand Pieces*, as aforeſaid, ſhe lent him the Money in Honour to the Memory of *Berenice*, and of the Friendſhip that had ever paſs'd betwixt them; beſide that *Agrippa* and her Son *Claudius* had been brought up together from Children, as Play-Fellows and Companions. With this Money *Agrippa* diſcharg'd the Debt; and without any farther Obſtacle or Contradiction, ſet himſelf right again with the *Emperour*. This Way of Menage gain'd ſo far upon *Cæſar*, that he committed his Grand-Child *Tiberius Nero*, the Son of *Druſus*, to *Agrippa*'s Government and Care; deſiring him to be ſtill about him, and watchful over him. *Agrippa* was ſo ſenſible of the Obligations he had to *Antonia*, that he made his Court in the firſt Place however, to her Grand-Child *Caius*, whom all People had a great Honour and Eſteem for, both for his own Sake, and for the Reverence they bare to the Memory of *Germanicus*, his Father. There was at that Time a *Freeman* of *Cæſar*'s, a *Samaritan*, who gave *Agrippa* Credit for a *million of Pieces*; Part of it went to the Payment of *Antonia*, and the reſt toward the Expence of his Entertainment in his Attendances upon *Caius*, who had now taken him into the greateſt Confidence and Friendſhip imaginable.

Eutychus *over-hears dangerous Words betwixt* Agrippa *and* Caius.

He informs Piſo, *and is ſent bound to* Tiberius.

The dilatory Humour of Tiberius:

and his Reaſons [illegible]

As they were one Day together in a *Chariot*, they two alone, there happen'd to be ſome Occaſion of mentioning *Tiberius*. *Ay*, ſays *Agrippa*, *I could wiſh with all my Heart it would pleaſe the Heavens that* Caius *were in his Place*. Theſe Words were over-heard by *Eutychus*, *Agrippa*'s *Freeman*, and at that Time driving the Chariot; but for the Preſent he made no Words of it. This *Coachman* was charg'd not long after this, with robbing his Patron, and running away with ſome of his Clothes; which in Effect was true, and the Man taken up upon it, and carry'd to *Piſo*, the *Governour* of the Place, to be examin'd about it. *Piſo*, upon the Examination, ask'd him what made him run away. He made Anſwer that *Cæſar's Life* was in *Danger*, and that he was going to make a Diſcovery of the Plot. *Eutychus*, upon this, was ſent bound to *Capreæ*, and there kept in Chains by *Tiberius*, who was in all ſuch Caſes the moſt unſettled dilatory Man that ever was born, either *Prince*, or *Uſurper*. He would not ſo much as admit *Embaſſadors*, without Delay, nor ſupply Vacancies in Governments of Provinces, till the former Deputies or Governours were certainly dead. He had a Way of letting Priſoners lie a long Time unheard too; and he gave his Friends theſe Reaſons for it, *If I ſhould give* Embaſſadors (ſays he) *too quick, and too eaſy Admittance, the ſooner they are receiv'd the ſooner they are diſmiſs'd; and the ſooner new ones would be ſent in their Places; ſo that I ſhould have nothing elſe to do at this Rate, but to give Audiences back and forward, and ſpend my whole Time in admitting and diſcharging* Embaſſadors. *As for Officers, when Places are once fill'd, it is eaſier to the Subject to keep them ſo than to change them; for all Magiſtrates are naturally covetous; and eſpecially where they are upon their Behaviour for the keeping of their Employments; for the leſs Aſſurance they have to continue in an Office, the more Haſte they make to grow rich upon it; and to this Purpoſe he made Application of an old Fable. As a poor Man,* ſays he, *lay wounded upon the Way, hardly in Condition to help himſelf, and Swarms of Flies upon his Sores, ſucking and tearing him, a compaſſionate good natur'd Creature happening to paſs by, offer'd him his Service to drive them away, and eaſe him of his Tormentors. No, no,* ſays he, *pray let them alone; for theſe Flies now their Bellies are full are not near ſo ſharp upon me as new Comers will be that are ſtarv'd and empty. This is the Caſe,* ſays he, *betwixt Subjects and freſh Magiſtrates; which are but new Tormentors.* That this is the true Character of *Tiberius*, needs no other Proof than that in two and twenty Years Time of his Reign, he ſent only two Governours into *Judæa*; that is to ſay, *Gratus*, and his Succeſſor *Pilate*; and that he proceeded at the ſame Rate in all other Parts of the *Empire*. The Reaſon he gave alſo for the *Delay* of bringing Priſoners to their *Tryal*, was to keep them the longer in Pain, and to puniſh them for their paſt Crimes, by a lingering Torment worſe than Death it ſelf.

This was the true Cauſe of *Eutychus* being kept ſo long in *Chains* before *Cæſar* would vouchſafe to hear him; but *Tiberius*, after ſome Time coming from *Capreæ* to *Tuſculanum*, about a hundred Furlong from *Rome*, *Agrippa* deſired *Antonia* to move for *Eutychus*, that he might have a *Hearing*, to the End it might be known once, what he had to object againſt his *Patron*. Now *Tiberius* had a very great Honour for *Antonia*, partly for Nearneſs of *Blood*, as being his *Siſter-in-law*, and the Widow of *Druſus*, and partly for the Reputation of her Modeſty and Virtue in the Refuſal of a *ſecond Marriage*, though ſhe was earneſtly put upon it by *Auguſtus himſelf*; and this in the Prime of her Years too: Her whole Converſation, in ſhort, being exemplary, without the leaſt Blemiſh or Scandal. Now *Tiberius*, over and above all other Reſpects, had perſonal Obligations alſo to *Antonia* never to be forgotten. For if it had not been for her Sagacity, Faith, and Induſtry, that deſperate Plot of his Minion *Sejanus*, had certainly coſt him his Life; for he was a Man of Power and Credit; the Captain of his Guards, and had engag'd ſeveral conſiderable Men of the *Senators*; divers of *Cæſar*'s *Freemen*, *Court-Favourites*, and *military Officers* in the Conſpiracy. In ſhort, he ſcap'd narrowly at laſt, and it was *Antonia*'s *Vigilance*, and *Reſolution* that *defeated* the *Treaſon*, and brought him off; for ſo ſoon as ever ſhe heard of ſuch a Practice a-foot, ſhe took Minutes of every Particular of the Contrivance, and ſent them away from Time to Time to *Capræa*, to *Tiberius* by the Means of *Pallas*, a try'd Servant and Confident of *Tiberius*. By Virtue of this *Diſcovery*, both the *Confederacy* it ſelf, and the *Actors* in it were laid open, and Juſtice done upon *Sejanus* and his *Complices*. If *Antonia* had a great Hand with *Tiberius* before this mighty Piece of Service, her Power muſt be certainly much greater after it. So that upon the Importunity of *Agrippa*, ſhe preſs'd *Tiberius* yet over and over to give *Eutychus* a *Hearing*. *Well!* ſays *Tiberius*, *if this Fellow has bely'd* Agrippa *in any Thing, let him content himſelf with the Puniſhment he has ſuffer'd already; but let him have a Care how he carries the Proſecution too far, for Fear the Miſchief he deſigns to* Eutychus, *ſhould, upon a full Examination of the Matter, come at laſt Home to himſelf.* *Antonia* gave him this Caution; and the more ſhe inclin'd to Moderation, the more eager was he to bring it to a Scrutiny: Inſomuch that *Antonia*, when ſhe ſaw he would not be ſaid *nay*, took her Opportunity as *Tiberius* was paſſing by in a Chair after Dinner; *Caius* and *Agrippa* marching *before* him, to advance directly up to *Tiberius*; with a Requeſt over and over, that *Eutychus* might be call'd and hear'd; to which *Tiberius* gave her this Anſwer. *I do here call the Gods to witneſs*, ſays he, *that what I am now about to do, I do unwillingly, and only to gratify your Deſire.* With theſe Words, he commanded *Macro* the Succeſſor to *Sejanus* in his Commiſſion for the *Guards*, to cauſe *Eutychus* to be brought thither. And immediately upon his Coming, *Cæſar* put this Queſtion to him. *What have you to ſay*, ſays he, *againſt your Patron* Agrippa, *that gave you your Freedom?* *Sir*, ſays *Eutychus*, *as I was driving* Caius *and* Agrippa *one Day in my* Chariot, *and ſitting at their Feet to do my Office, I overheard ſeveral Diſcourſes that paſs'd betwixt them, and among other Paſſages*, Agrippa, *I remember, ſpake theſe Words to* Caius. *Ah*, ſays he, *that we could but ſee the old Man's Head laid once, and you left Maſter of the World; for when he's gone, his Grandchild* Tiberius *would be nothing in your Hands; and over and above the univerſal Comfort it would bring to Mankind, I my ſelf might hope to come in for a Part of the Bleſſing.* *Tiberius* was apt enough to believe this Information, for it ſtuck terribly in his Stomach, that when he had ſo expreſly recommended *Tiberius*, his *Grandchild* by *Druſus*, to the particular Care and Kindneſs of *Agrippa*, he ſhould never ſo much as look after him; but dedicate himſelf wholly to the Service of *Caius*. *Tiberius*, upon this, turning to *Macro*, *put him in Chains*, ſays he? but *Macro* not underſtanding of whom he ſpake (for he could not imagine any ſuch Thing of *Agrippa*) made a little Pauſe to be better informed in his Meaning. *Cæſar*, in the mean Time, after a Turn or two in the *Circus*, ſeeing *Agrippa* ſtill at Liberty, call'd to *Macro* again: *Did not I order*, ſays he, *that Man to be put in Chains?* Which Man, *ſays* Macro: *That Man*, Agrippa, ſaid *Tiberius*. *Agrippa* then betook himſelf to Prayers and Supplications, adjuring *Tiberius* by the Tenderneſs he had for the Memory of his Son, with whom he had the Honour to be ſo well acquainted, and for the Sakes of the Services he had been ſo happy as to render to his Grandſon *Tiberius*, to vouchſafe him his Pardon: But all to no Purpoſe, for the Guards dragg'd him away to Priſon in his Robes of Honour, as they found him. The Weather being extremely hot, and *Agrippa* ready to

periſh

Agrippa *puts* Antonia *upon preſſing* Tiberius *to bring it to a Hearing.*

Cæſar *at laſt yields to it, though unwillingly.*

Macro *brings* Eutychus *to* Cæſar.

Eutychus *delivers his Information.*

Cæſar *commands* Macro *to put* Agrippa *in Chains.*

The Guards drag him to Priſon in his Robes.

periſh with a *burning raging Drought*, for Want of *Drink*, he ſpy'd one *Thaumaſtus*, a Servant of *Caius*, with a Pitcher of *Water* in his Hand, and call'd to him for a Soup of it to quench his *parching Thirſt*. He gave it him readily, and when he had taken a hearty Draught of it: Well! *Thaumaſtus* (ſays he) ſince you have been ſo kind as to do me this Service in my *Bonds*, with the ſame Frankneſs you formerly ſerv'd me in my *better Fortunes*, depend upon it that you ſhall never repent this good Office; for ſo ſoon as ever I get over this Difficulty, I will be anſwerable to you that *Caius* ſhall give you your *Liberty*; and he was afterward as good as his Word; for ſo ſoon as ever he came to the *Crown*, he begg'd *Thaumaſtus* of *Caius*, and made him *free*; entruſting him alſo with the Menage of his Eſtate, and at his Death recommended him to his Son *Agrippa*, and to *Berenice* his *Daughter*, to continue him in that Charge, wherein he acquitted himſelf with great Honour and Eſteem all the Remainder of his Life.

An Owl perches over Agrippa's *Head*.

A German's *Prediction upon it*.

Tiberius *inexorable*. Antonia *prevails with* Macro *to make* Agrippa's *Condition eaſy to him*.

As *Agrippa* was ſtanding in his *Chains* before the *Palace*, with other of his *Fellow-Priſoners* in the ſame Condition, and leaning in a melancholick Poſture upon a Tree, there came an *Owl*, and perch'd upon it. A *German* that was there in Bonds taking Notice of it, enquir'd of one of the Soldiers what that Man there in the *Purple* was; and being given to underſtand that he was a *Jew* of the *firſt Quality*, from an *honourable Extraction*, he deſir'd the Soldier to let him come a little nearer him; for he had a great Mind to learn ſomething from him of his Country. This being granted, and an Interpreter allow'd him, the *German* ſpake to him after this Manner. *Young Man*, ſays he, *this ſudden and ſurprizing Change of your Fortune makes you ſad I perceive, and you will not eaſily believe how near you are to your Deliverance under the Favour and Protection of a Divine Providence that watches over you. I call all the Gods to Witneſs, both yours, and ours, by whoſe Permiſſion it is that we are here in Bonds, that I do not ſpeak this to amuſe and flatter you with vain Hopes; for I know very well that* Prognoſticks *of this Kind, if the Event does not anſwer the* Prediction, *do a great Deal more Hurt than Good. But I reckon it my Duty, at what Hazzard ſoever, to tell you, that you ſhall ſee ſuch a Turn of Times and Things, as ſhall advance you out of this calamitous Condition, to the moſt glorious Height of Honour and Power, and render you the Envy of thoſe, that either deſpis'd or pity'd you before. The Remainder of your Days ſhall be happy, and you ſhall leave Children behind you to ſucceed to your good Fortunes. But now remember what I tell you further, Whenever you come to ſee this Bird again,* the fifth Day after it, will be your laſt. *This is the ſhort Sum of what Heaven gives you to underſtand by this good Omen. My Revelation is certain, and I deliver you the Truth of the Matter, to ſupport you in your preſent Trouble, with the Hope of better Things to come. And I am now to beſeech you further, that when you find all this come to paſs, you will not forget your Fellow Sufferers; but conſult the Deliverance of thoſe you leave behind you.* This *German*'s *Prophecy* appear'd as ridiculous to *Agrippa* upon the telling of it, as it was afterwards wonderful in the Accompliſhment. *Antonia* all this while laid the hard Uſage of her Friend extremely to Heart; but taking for granted that *Tiberius* was not to be wrought upon, and conſequently that all Applications and Interceſſions would be but ſo much Time caſt away, ſhe had no more to do, than by the Means of *Macro*, to try if ſhe could make his Priſon eaſier to him, by getting civil and good-natur'd Soldiers about him, and Leave to eat at the Table with the Officer that had him in Cuſtody, allowing him the Uſe of the Bath every Day, and the Acceſs of his Friends and Freemen to viſit him: All which was granted accordingly, inſomuch that *Silas*, his *Friend*, and *Marſyas*, and *Stychus*, two of his *Freemen*, brought him the Diet ſtill that he loved beſt, and Blankets (under a Pretence of expoſing them to Sale) to lay under him in the Night, the Soldiers giving Way to it, according to the Hints they had from *Macro*.

Tiberius *falls deſperately ſick, and orders* Evodus *to bring his Children to him early the next Morning*.

Caius *generally belov'd*.

When *Agrippa* had been a Priſoner upon theſe Terms for a Matter of *Six Months*, *Tiberius* returning from *Capreæ*, was taken at his firſt coming back with a *faint Indiſpoſition*, which by Degrees grew worſe and worſe, till he was quite given over. And now perceiving his Caſe deſperate, he ſent *Evodus* his Favourite-Freemen to fetch his Children to him early the next Morning, to take the laſt Leave of their *dying Father*. I ſpake of his *adopted* Children; for he had none of his own: *Druſus*, his only Son being dead and gone. But *Druſus*'s *Son*, *Tiberius*, *ſurnamed Gemellus*, was yet *alive*; and ſo was *Caius* the *Son* of his *Brother Germanicus*, who was now at Man's Eſtate; a young Man of Letters, and excellently qualify'd for all honourable Purpoſes: Beſide, that he was the Darling of the People, upon the Account of the very Reverence they had for the Memory of his Father's Virtues; a Prince of a wonderful Modeſty in his Manners, and Gentleneſs in his Converſation, without arrogating any Thing to himſelf above others. By the Reputation of this illuſtrious Character, he did not only gain the Favour of the *Senate*, and *People*, but of the *Provinces* in *general*, whom he obliged with all Manner of good Offices and Reſpects. His Death, in fine, was not celebrated ſo much with Pomp and Shew, as with Tears of Tenderneſs and Truth, and an inward Sorrow of Heart: For the whole Body of the People lamented the Death of their Prince, as if every particular Man had loſt his own Father. The Reputation of *Germanicus* was of great Advantage every Way to his Son *Caius*; but eſpecially among the Soldiers, that were all ready to lay down their Lives at his Feet to ſerve him.

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Tiberius *conſults the Oracle, which to make his Succeſſor. The Oracle bids him chuſe him that comes to him firſt next Morning.*

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periſh with a *burning raging Drought*, for Want of *Drink*, he ſpy'd one *Thaumaſtus*, a Servant of *Caius*, with a Pitcher of *Water* in his Hand, and call'd to him for a Soup of it to quench his *parching Thirſt*. He gave it him readily, and when he had taken a hearty Draught of it: Well! *Thaumaſtus* (ſays he) ſince you have been ſo kind as to do me this Service in my *Bonds*, with the ſame Frankneſs you formerly ſerv'd me in my *better Fortunes*, depend upon it that you ſhall never repent this good Office; for ſo ſoon as ever I get over this Difficulty, I will be anſwerable to you that *Caius* ſhall give you your *Liberty*; and he was afterward as good as his Word; for ſo ſoon as ever he came to the *Crown*, he begg'd *Thaumaſtus* of *Caius*, and made him *free*; entruſting him alſo with the Menage of his Eſtate, and at his Death recommended him to his Son *Agrippa*, and to *Berenice* his *Daughter*, to continue him in that Charge, wherein he acquitted himſelf with great Honour and Eſteem all the Remainder of his Life.

An Owl *perches over* Agrippa's *Head.*

A German's *Prediction upon it.*

Tiberius *inexorable.*

Antonia *prevails with* Macro *to make* Agrippa's *Condition eaſy to him.*

As *Agrippa* was ſtanding in his *Chains* before the *Palace*, with other of his *Fellow-Priſoners* in the ſame Condition, and leaning in a melancholick Poſture upon a Tree, there came an *Owl*, and perch'd upon it. A *German* that was there in Bonds taking Notice of it, enquir'd of one of the Soldiers what that Man there in the *Purple* was; and being given to underſtand that he was a *Jew* of the *firſt Quality*, from an *honourable Extraction*, he deſir'd the Soldier to let him come a little nearer him; for he had a great Mind to learn ſomething from him of his Country. This being granted, and an Interpreter allow'd him, the *German* ſpake to him after this Manner. *Young Man*, ſays he, *this ſudden and ſurprizing Change of your Fortune makes you ſad I perceive, and you will not eaſily believe how near you are to your Deliverance under the Favour and Protection of a Divine Providence that watches over you. I call all the Gods to Witneſs, both yours, and ours, by whoſe Permiſſion it is that we are here in Bonds, that I do not ſpeak this to amuſe and flatter you with vain Hopes; for I know very well that* Prognoſticks *of this Kind, if the Event does not anſwer the* Prediction, *do a great Deal more Hurt than Good. But I reckon it my Duty, at what Hazzard ſoever, to tell you, that you ſhall ſee ſuch a Turn of Times and Things, as ſhall advance you out of this calamitous Condition, to the moſt glorious Height of Honour and Power, and render you the Envy of thoſe, that either deſpis'd or pity'd you before. The Remainder of your Days ſhall be happy, and you ſhall leave Children behind you to ſucceed to your good Fortunes. But now remember what I tell you further, Whenever you come to ſee this Bird again,* the fifth Day after it, will be your laſt. *This is the ſhort Sum of what Heaven gives you to underſtand by this good Omen. My Revelation is certain, and I deliver you the Truth of the Matter, to ſupport you in your preſent Trouble, with the Hope of better Things to come. And I am now to beſeech you further, that when you find all this come to paſs, you will not forget your Fellow Sufferers; but conſult the Deliverance of thoſe you leave behind you.* This *German's Prophecy* appear'd as ridiculous to *Agrippa* upon the telling of it, as it was afterwards wonderful in the Accompliſhment. *Antonia* all this while laid the hard Uſage of her Friend extremely to Heart; but taking for granted that *Tiberius* was not to be wrought upon, and conſequently that all Applications and Interceſſions would be but ſo much Time caſt away, ſhe had no more to do, than by the Means of *Macro*, to try if ſhe could make his Priſon eaſier to him, by getting civil and good-natur'd Soldiers about him, and Leave to eat at the Table with the Officer that had him in Cuſtody, allowing him the Uſe of the Bath every Day, and the Acceſs of his Friends and Freemen to viſit him: All which was granted accordingly, inſomuch that *Silas*, his *Friend*, and *Marſyas*, and *Stychus*, two of his *Freemen*, brought him the Diet ſtill that he loved beſt, and Blankets (under a Pretence of expoſing them to Sale) to lay under him in the Night, the Soldiers giving Way to it, according to the Hints they had from *Macro*.

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The Character of Tiberius.

Marſyas *carries the News of his Death to* Agrippa.

Agrippa *tells it in Confidence to his Keeper.*

Caius *informs the Senate of* Cæſar's *Declaration.*

Caius *orders* Agrippa *to be diſcharg'd.*

Caius *goes to* Rome, *and takes the Body of* Tiberius *with him.* *A magnificent Funeral.*

Agrippa *crown'd and other Marks of Honour conferred upon him.*

Caius *gives him a* golden Chain, *of the Weight of his* Iron *one.*

Marcellus *made Governour of* Judæa.

all the World long ſince to have had it ſo, but they were afraid of being over-credulous, and of diſcovering the Satisfaction they conceiv'd upon it before they were ſure of the Thing it ſelf; for there were ſo many Spies and Informers up and down, that ſuch a Miſtake would have been certain Death. He was fierce and implacable, to the higheſt Degree; never any Man ſo tyrannically rigorous to the Nobility. He had his inexorable Averſions upon no other Ground than Freak and Humour; and ſo brutally cruel in his very Inclination, that as he order'd it, Death was a Mercy from him. Wherefore it concern'd the People to be cautious how they ſeem'd pleas'd with the News, conſidering the mortal Danger of it if it ſhould be found a Miſtake. The Tidings of this Emperor's Death were no ſooner come to *Marſyas*, *Agrippa*'s *Freeman*, but he poſted away immediately to carry the bleſſed News to his Patron, whom he found going into a Bath, and whiſper'd him in *Hebrew*, theſe Words; *The Lion*, ſays he, *is dead.* *Agrippa* underſtood the Myſtery preſently, and in a Kind of Extaſy of Joy: *Well! ſays he, how ſhall I ever be able to requite thee for this, and ſeveral other good Offices that thou haſt render'd me, if it be as thou ſayſt?* The Captain that had him in Cuſtody, obſerving what Haſte *Marſyas* made to deliver his Errand, and how well pleas'd *Agrippa* was with what he had told him, he made no Doubt but there was ſomething more than Ordinary in the Matter, and ſo deſir'd *Agrippa* to tell him the Buſineſs; who made ſome Difficulty at firſt, but upon preſſing him farther, *Agrippa*, in a Kind of Confidence, told him the whole Story. The Officer joy'd him of the good News, and treated him with a ſplendid Supper: But as they were in the Middle of their Jollity and Cups, comes a Meſſenger with Intelligence that *Tiberius* was paſt Danger, and would come ſuddenly to Town. Theſe Words went to the very Heart of the Captain, who being conſcious to himſelf that he had forfeited his Head for making merry with a Priſoner, upon the News of *Cæſar*'s *Death*, puſh'd *Agrippa* in a Rage from his Seat, and in a menacing Tone: *Do you think to come off thus with your Lies, and your Tricks?* ſays he; *and could you find no Body but me to put your ſham Stories upon, of the Death of* Cæſar? *No no*, ſays he, *this Sawcineſs of your Tongue ſhall coſt you dear:* And ſo he call'd to have him put in Chains again, and kept ſtricter than before. When *Agrippa* had paſs'd the whole Night in this Condition, the Report of *Cæſar*'s Death came on again the next Day: Every Body talking of it publickly, and People offering up *Sacrifices* for Joy. Soon after this, there came two Letters from *Caius*; one to the *Senate*, to inform them that *Tiberius* had declar'd him his *Succeſſor*; and the other to *Piſo*, the *Governour* of the *City*, to the ſame Purpoſe; appointing alſo that *Agrippa* ſhould be diſcharg'd of the Priſon, and allow'd the Liberty of the Houſe wherein he liv'd before; ſo that he was now out of all Danger and Apprehenſion; for though he was ſtill in Cuſtody, he was in all other Reſpects in a State of Freedom. Upon the Return of *Caius* to *Rome*, and the Body of *Tiberius* along with him, the Funerals were celebrated with all *Magnificence* and *Solemnity*. The *Emperour* would have diſcharg'd *Agrippa* the ſame Day; but *Antonia* was againſt it, not for Want of Good Will to the Man, but it would be an Indecency ſhe thought to do it in ſuch Poſt Haſte; and a Kind of Diſreſpect to *Tiberius*, to ſet looſe a Priſoner of his committing all in a Hurry. But it was not many Days after this, however, that he took him Home; had him ſhav'd, ſhifted, and dreſs'd up, and a *Crown* put upon his Head, as *Succeſſor* to the *Tetrarchy* that *Philip* had; created him *King*, with an Addition to him of the *Tetrarchy* of *Lyſania*; and beſtowing upon him a *golden Chain* of the ſame Weight with the *Iron one* he had before; ſending alſo *Marallus* Governour into *Judæa*.

In the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Caius*, *Agrippa* begg'd Leave of *Cæſar* to go for a while, and put Things in Order at Home; with a Promiſe to be back again by ſuch a Time. It was a wonderful Surprize to them, to ſee *Agrippa* with a *Crown* upon his Head; a remarkable Inſtance of the Inſtability of Fortune, and the Uncertainty of humane Affairs, in this Change of his Condition from one Exceſs to another: Some look'd upon him to be a wiſe and a happy Man, and ſtanding ſo firm againſt all Diſcouragements; but others were ſo amaz'd at the Circumſtances of this Revolution, that they could hardly believe what they ſaw.

CHAP. IX.

The Envy of Herodias. *She preſſes her* Husband *to beg ſomething for himſelf. The more* Herod *oppoſes it, the more his* Wife *urges it.* Herod *yields at laſt.* Agrippa *ſets* Fortunatus *for a* Spy *upon them.* Herod *and* Fortunatus *come to* Puteoli *together.* Articles *exhibited againſt* Herod: *The Conſpiracy of* Sejanus; *and ſiding with* Artabanus *againſt* Caius. *A Magazine of* Seventy Thouſand Arms. Herod *confeſſes, and thereupon he is remov'd from his Government, and condemn'd to perpetual* Exile. Cæſar's *Reſpect to* Herodias; *and her generous Refuſal of it. She is baniſhed and confin'd with her* Husband. Caius *aſſumes to himſelf* divine Honours.

IT was ſo intolerable a Mortification to *Herodias*, (the Siſter of *Agrippa*, and the Wife of *Herod* the *Tetrarch* of *Galilee* and *Peræa*, the Country beyond *Jordan*,) to ſee her *Brother*, that was forc'd but the other Day to run away from his Creditors, now upon his Return ſo much advanced above her Husband in Splendor, Dignity and Power, that the Haughtineſs of her Spirit was not able to brook it; eſpecially to ſee him in the Pomp of his Royal State and Robes, ſhewing himſelf to the People, and the Multitude crouding about him. The Envy that this Thought and Spectacle gave her, was ſo inſupportable, that in the Violence of her Paſſion, nothing would ſerve her, but her Husband muſt immediately away to *Rome*, and never leave *Cæſar* till he had got the like Honour and Preferment for himſelf. *It would be the breaking of her Heart*, ſhe ſaid, *to ſee her Husband that was the Son of a King, and ſo fair both in the Affections of the People, and in his own reaſonable Pretenſions, to ſucceed him, ſtand tamely looking on like a private contented Wretch; and at the ſame Time the Son of* Ariſtobulus, *a* Bankrupt *and a Criminal that had ſuffer'd under the Hands of Juſtice, advanced to a Throne: But my dear Husband*, ſays ſhe, *if you have had the Patience hitherto, to live below the Birth and Quality of your Father's Son, it is certainly high Time now however to bethink your ſelf of doing ſome Sort of Right, both to your Credit, and to your Family, without truckling to a miſerable Creature that owes his very Bread, to your Charity. Never let it be ſaid that* Agrippa, *under the Preſſure of his ſcandalous Neceſſities, got the Start of* Herod *toward the making of his Fortune, with all the Advantages of Reputation and Plenty on his Side. It will not ſtand with your Dignity, ever to own that Man for your Superior, that you your ſelf have kept from ſtarving. Wherefore, without any more ado, let us ſpare for neither Money nor Pains, but away to* Rome *together; for Gold and Silver is not valuable barely for it ſelf, but for the Power and Satiſfaction it brings us upon the well-diſpoſing of it.*

Herodias *envies her Brother's being above her Husband.*

She preſſes him away to Rome *to beg ſomething for himſelf.*

Herod was a great Lover of his Eaſe, beſide that he had no great Opinion of the Court of *Rome*: So that he try'd all Manner of Ways to keep his Wife off, and ſleep in a whole Skin; but the more earneſt he was one Way, the more eager was *Herodias* the other; having taken up an uncontroulable Reſolution to purſue her Point at any Rate. She follow'd him ſo cloſe, in fine, that he was wrought upon at laſt, even in his own Defence to comply with her Importunities, and ſo away they went to *Rome* together; *Herod*, and *Herodias*, with an Equipage ſuitable enough to the Occaſion. *Agrippa* being aware all this While of every Thing that paſs'd, bethought himſelf of this Way of countermining them. He kept his Freeman *Fortunatus* in Readineſs with Letters and Preſents for the *Emperour*; who, ſo ſoon as ever *Herod* ſhould ſet Sail for *Rome*, was to put to Sea after him, with particular Inſtructions how to behave himſelf when he came there. *Fortunatus* had a quick Paſſage, and arriv'd at *Puteoli* juſt with *Herod*; but *Caius* happen'd to be at that Time at the *Baiæ*, a little Town in *Campagne*, about five Furlongs from *Puteoli*; a Place famous for *Royal Palaces*; the Emperours that frequented the hot Baths there, ſome for their Pleaſure, others for their Health, ſtriving to out-do one another in the State and Curioſity of their Buildings. Upon coming to this Place, *Herod* made his Reverence to the *Emperour*, and *Fortunatus* within one Minute after preſented him his Letters. *Caius*, upon the Peruſal, found them to be a point-blank Accuſation of *Herod*: Firſt, for being a *Party* to the *Conſpiracy* of *Sejanus* againſt *Tiberius*; and now again for *ſiding* with *Artabanus* the *Parthian* againſt *Caius*; offering this for a Proof againſt him, that he had at that Inſtant a *Magazine* of *Arms* for *ſeventy thouſand Men*. *Cæſar* preſently in a Paſſion, demanded of *Herod* whether he had ſuch a Proviſion of *Arms* or not? The Thing was ſo plain and evident, that he could not deny it: So that the *Emperour* never look'd further for any Proof of the Treaſon; but took away his Government and gave it to *Agrippa*, with his Money alſo, as a Reward for his *Diſcovery*. As for *Herod*, he ſentenc'd him to a *perpetual Exile*, and a Confinement in *Lyons*, a famous City in *France*; but for *Herodias*, whom he knew to be *Agrippa*'s Siſter, he gave her the Command of

Herod *oppoſes it, but yields at laſt.*

Agrippa *ſets* Fortuuatus *a Spy upon them.*

Herod *and* Fortunatus *come to* Puteoli *both at one Time.*

Herod *addreſſes to* Caius, *and* Fortunatus *immediately preſents him his Letters.*

Articles againſt Herod.

The Conſpiracy of Sejanus; *Siding with* Artabanus *againſt* Caius.

70000 *Arms.*

Herod *confeſſes the Arms.*

His Money given to Agrippa.

Condemn'd to perpetual Exile.

Cæſar's *Reſpect to* Herodias.

Her generous Refuſal of it.

She is baniſh'd and confin'd with her Husband.

whatever belong'd to her, and without making her a Partaker of her Husband's Calamity, he promiſs'd to treat her favourably for her Brother's Sake; whereupon ſhe told him: *Sir,* ſays ſhe, *you ſpeak like a great Emperour, and pray give me Leave to behave myſelf like an indulgent Wife. I am not in a Condition to enjoy the Benefit of this Bounty; for I do not think it reaſonable or honeſt, after the Share I have had in my Husband's better Fortunes, now to abandon him in his Adverſity.* This Greatneſs of Mind in a Woman gave ſuch an Offence to *Caius,* that upon the Senſe of this Indignity he baniſh'd, confiſcated, and confined *Herodias,* together with her Husband. And this was the Vengeance that God brought upon *Herodias* for the Malignity of her *Envy* to the *Succeſs* of her Brother; and likewiſe the Puniſhment that God inflicted upon *Herod* for being ſo eaſily over-ruled by a ſpiteful, impetuous Woman.

The Moderation of Caius *for the firſt two Years.*

His Arrogance and Vanity in aſſuming divine Honours.

The Reign of *Caius,* for the firſt and ſecond Year of his Government, was temperate and prudent, and gain'd exceedingly upon the People, both at *Rome* it ſelf, and in the *Provinces:* But ſuch was the *Pride,* and *Vanity* of his Heart, in the Contemplation of his *Greatneſs* and *Power,* that after a while he aſſumed to himſelf to be more than Fleſh and Blood, *blaſphem'd the Gods; and in Contempt of any other Deity, uſurped divine Honours to himſelf.*

CHAP. X.

A Controverſy betwixt the Jews *and* Greeks *at* Alexandria. *They ſend* ſix Embaſſadors *to* Caius *about it;* three of a Side. Apion *and* Philo *the chief.* Apion *accuſes the* Jews, *for refuſing to pay* divine Honours *to* Caius. *A brave and a bold Speech of* Philo's.

A Controverſy betwixt the Jews *and* Greeks *at* Alexandria. *They ſend ſix Embaſſadors to* Caius *about it.* Apion *and* Philo *the chief.* Apion *accuſes the* Jews *for denying to pay* Caius *divine Honours, and to ſwear by his holy Name.* Philo *not permitted to ſpeak in the Defence. A brave and a bold Speech of* Philo's.

THere happen'd at *Alexandria,* betwixt the *Jews* and the *Greeks,* an unhappy Difference, and *ſix Embaſſadors, three of each Side,* were ſent to *Caius* about it; of which, *Apion* and *Philo,* were the *chief.* Among other Things that *Apion* objected againſt the *Jews,* this was the *Main;* That *whereas* Temples *and* Altars *were erected all over the World to* Caius *elſewhere; and the ſame* Adoration *paid to the* Emperour, *as to the reſt of the Gods; only the* Jews *ſtood out, and abſolutely refuſ'd either to* dedicate Images to *Cæſar, or to ſwear by his holy Name. Apion* began with this Invective, and did all he could in the World to inflame *Cæſar* againſt the *Jews. Philo* the *Brother* of *Alexander,* Overſeer of the *Cuſtoms,* a Perſon every Way extraordinary, and a Man of Letters, being now about to reply on the Behalf of the *Jews,* as their *firſt Commiſſioner* upon the *Embaſſy, Cæſar,* in a Rage little ſhort of Violence, bad him be gone. *Philo,* upon this cholerick Repulſe, turning to the *Jews* about him, bad them have a good Heart; for ſays he, *now* Caius *is againſt us, God will be for us.*

CHAP. XI.

Caius *thinks himſelf affronted.* Petronius *order'd to ſet up his* Statue. *The* Jews *beg of* Petronius, *not to preſs them in it. They expoſtulate with* Petronius, *and draw into a Body. In the mean Time, they neglect their* Tillage. Ariſtobulus, *and other eminent* Jews *ſide with them.* Petronius *lays the Caſe before* Cæſar: *Deliberates upon the Matter, and ſummons the* Jews *to* Tiberias. *A ſtrange Providence, in Favour of* Petronius. Petronius's *Letter to* Cæſar. Agrippa *at* Rome, *when* Cæſar *receiv'd it. He preſents* Cæſar *with a ſplendid* Treat; *who promiſes a large* Requital. Agrippa *contents himſelf with the Bleſſing of* Cæſar's *Favour.* Caius *preſſes* Agrippa *to ask him ſomething or other.* Agrippa *begs the recalling of his Order to* Petronius. Caius *grants his* Requeſt, *and writes to* Petronius. *A Commotion among the* Jews. Caius *writes a menacing Letter to* Petronius: *But the News of* Caius's *Death came to his Hand before the Letter.* Petronius *deliver'd by Providence.*

Caius *takes himſelf to be affronted. He ſends* Petronius *to* Judæa, *to ſet up his Statue in the Temple there.* Petronius *follows his Orders.*

C*AIUS* took it for ſuch an Affront, to find that the *Jews* were the only People in the World which ſtood in Defiance of his Orders, that he preſently ſent away *Petronius* into *Syria,* in the Place of *Vitellius,* with Orders to enter *Judæa* with a ſtrong Army, and ſet up his Statue in the Temple there. If they ſubmitted to it, *well and good!* But in Caſe of Refuſal, his Orders were to force it upon them by Dint of *Arms. Petronius* took upon himſelf the Adminiſtration, and made what Haſte he could toward the putting of *Cæſar*'s Commands in Execution: That is to ſay, he got a Body of *Auxiliaries* together, and *two Roman Legions,* which he put into *Winter-Quarters*;

Quarters in *Ptolemais*, to be ready to march early the next Spring. *Caius* had an Account of his Proceedidgs from Time to Time, and gave him Thanks for his Induſtry; bidding him go on boldly, for he was reſolved, he ſaid, to bring down the Contumacy of that ſtubborn People.

The Jews *beg of* Petronius *at* Ptolemais *not to preſs them in it. They expoſtulate with* Petronius.

There came at this Time vaſt Multitudes of *Jews* to *Petronius* at *Ptolemais*, begging of him for Heavens ſake not to preſs them upon any thing againſt their Conſciences, and the Rules of their *Profeſſion*. Or if it was of Neceſſity that a *Statue* muſt be ſet up in their *Temple*, they had no more to do but to take away their *Lives firſt*, and they might do afterward what they pleas'd. But ſo long as they had Breath in their Bodies, they could never ſuffer the Violation of thoſe *Laws* and Precepts that had been handed down to them thorough ſo many Generations from their *famous Progenitors*. *Petronius* reply'd quick upon them, *this that you ſay might perhaps work upon me*, ſays he, *if I were at my own Liberty; but being under* Cæſar's Command, *I muſt obey* Cæſar's Order, *and I dare do no* other. *The* Jews *turn'd it again upon* Petronius, *that if he could not depart from* his Maſter's Orders, *neither could they from* theirs; *and that by the Grace of God they were reſolved to tread in the Steps of their* Forefathers, *as they had ever hitherto done. We are not ſo mean*, ſaid they, *as for the ſaving of a miſerable* temporary Life *to hazzard the Forfeiture of a* bleſſed Eternity, *by* prevaricating *with the* Laws *of God. No no, Sir, let but our* Laws *and our* Religion *be ſafe, and what becomes of our* Carcaſſes, *and our* Fortunes, *we matter not. Our Truſt is in* God, *and in the Aſſurance of his Providence and Protection, we are reſolved to abide all Hazzards, whether we ſhall rather chuſe to incur a perpetual Infamy by our Cowardiſe, on the one Hand, or the Wrath of God by our Diſobedience on the other; and in ſhort, whether we ſhall obey the* Voice *of* Heaven, *or the* Voice *of* Caius; *and which of the* two, *be you the Judge.*

Petronius *informs himſelf in the* Jewiſh Cuſtoms. *The* Jews *draw into a Body, and deſire* Petronius *to deſiſt. They reaſon the Caſe with* Petronius; *and in the mean Time neglect their Tillage.*

Petronius, gathering from this Diſcourſe the inflexible Stiffneſs of theſe People; and that there was no gaining their Point upon them for the ſetting up of *Cæſar*'s Statue, but the laſt Extremity of Blood and Slaughter, he took ſome of his Friends and Domeſticks about him, and away they went to *Tiberias* to be within Diſtance of being more particularly inform'd in the *Manners*, *Cuſtoms* and *Affairs* of the People he had to deal with. This Approach of the *Romans* put the *Jews* in a great Dread of a *War*; but in a greater, for Fear of an Invaſion upon their *Cuſtoms* and *Religion*. So that upon this *Alarum*, ſeveral thouſands of them in a Body went directly to *Petronius*, deſiring him with moſt paſſionate Inſtances, not to drive the Multitude upon deſperate Neceſſities, by offering to prophane their *holy Temple* with *forbidden Images*. *What!* ſays *Patronius, and will you fight with* Cæſar *then Hand over Head, without ſo much as conſidering either his Strength, or your own Weakneſs?* They told *Petronius*, No: They did not propoſe to *fight*, but rather to *die themſelves* than to ſacrifice their *Laws*; caſting themſelves down upon the Ground at the ſame Time, and baring their Necks, as who ſhould ſay, *ſtrike when you Will, we are ready for you.* They were at this Paſs for a Matter of *forty Days* without either *ploughing* or *ſowing*, or attending any Office of *Husbandry*, though the Seaſon of the Year requir'd it: For they were all unanimouſly agreed upon it, rather to die than to admit the *Statue*.

Ariſtobulus *and ſeveral eminent* Jews *ſide with them.*

They deſire Petronius *to lay the Caſe before* Cæſar.

While Matters were in this State, *Ariſtobulus* the *Brother* of King *Agrippa*, and *Elcias* ſurnamed *the great*, with ſeveral Noblemen of the Family, and others of the firſt Quality among the *Jews*, apply'd themſelves to *Petronius*; *deſiring him to conſider, that they were a rugged ſort of People he had to do withal, and how dangerous it might be to hurry them into a Deſpair: But their Advice was for him to poſſeſs* Caius *of the Difficulties of the Caſe; the Stubbornneſs of the Party, how they had left all their* Lands fallow, *not with any Thought of a* Rebellion, *but in a* Determination *rather to* die, *than to* blaſt *the Integrity of their* Religion; *that this Neglect of their* Husbandry *muſt of Neceſſity expoſe the Country to* Robberies *and* Rapines, *and diſable them from paying their* Taxes. *They ſuggeſted that poſſibly this might make* Cæſar *relent, and conſequently remove all Colour for a* Rebellion: *Or if nothing could divert him from carrying on the* War, *that might be done at laſt as well as before.* Thus far went *Ariſtobulus*.

Petronius was no Stranger to the intemperate and revengeful Humour of *Caius*; eſpecially where any Stop or Delay was put to the Execution of his Commands; but yet ſuch was the Awe and Reverence he had for *God*, and his own *Conſcience*, and ſuch the Horror he had to think of *ſacrificing* ſo many *Lives* to the Fury of a *Madman*, that what with theſe Conſiderations, together with the Credit of the Interceſſor, the Importance of the Affair, and the Danger of tranſporting an obſtinate Sort of People into Deſperation, he came to a Reſolution of writing plainly to *Caius* all the Difficulties of the Caſe, at what Hazzard ſoever; for he thought thus with himſelf. *What if all this ſhould do no Good now! What if inſtead of reaſoning him into a better Mind, theſe trifling Expoſtulations ſhould rather provoke and enflame him, and bring the Storm upon my own Head, that I am now labouring to avert from others! I ſhall have*

Petronius *deliberates upon the Matter.*

this Comfort yet at the Worſt, either that I dye in the Poſt of an honeſt Man, or at leaſt that I did not decline the expoſing of my Life, even to an appearing Certainty of Ruine, in the Diſcharge of a publick Duty, and for the common Safety of an innocent People.

He ſummons the Jews *to* Tiberias.

Petronius, upon this Deliberation, ſummon'd a Meeting of the *Jews* at *Tiberias*, where they attended in prodigious Numbers; and that which he had to ſay to them was this. *It is not of my own Head*, ſays he, *that I have undertaken this Expedition; but upon the Command of* Cæſar. *I ſhall not need to tell you the Danger of deferring the Execution of my Orders, for ſovereign Powers will not be trifled with: To ſay nothing of the Equity and Reaſon of the Thing, in my ſubmitting to the Authority of a Prince that has been the raiſing and the making of me. But yet after all this now, as the Caſe ſtands, I do not ſo much conſider my own perſonal Security, or my Credit with my Maſter, as I do the Welfare and Preſervation of a conſcientious People in the warrantable Defence of their* Worſhip *and* Laws. *Neither do I approve of the* prophaning of God's holy Houſe *at the Pleaſure of lawleſs Princes. Wherefore I am now ſending Expreſs to* Caius, *to let him know your* final *Reſolution about the* Statue. *And it ſhall be none of my Fault neither, if the Emperour does not comply with you in every Thing elſe that you can honeſtly deſire. May the divine Providence that over-rules all humane Powers and Purpoſes, preſerve your* Religion ſacred *and* inviolate, *and grant that the* Emperour's *exceſſive Affectation of Glory in this particular, may never be charg'd to his Account. As for my own Part, if it ſhall be my Lot to fall under his Diſpleaſure for this Liberty; though to the Loſs of Life and Fortune, I am prepared for it: Provided only, that I may never live to ſee ſo many good Men deſtroy'd only for well doing. Wherefore let every Man betake himſelf to his own Home and Buſineſs. Go to your Lands and Tillage again, and leave me to manage with the Emperour. I am juſt now ſending away to him; and you may depend upon it, that nothing ſhall be wanting to your Satisfaction, that I my ſelf and my Friends are able to do for you.* With theſe Words he diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly; bad them hope the beſt, and take Care of their Husbandry. *Petronius* had no ſooner made an End of ſpeaking theſe comfortable Things to the *Jews*, but the Goodneſs of God appeared in ſo extraordinary a Providence, that every Body look'd upon it as a manifeſt Declaration from Heaven, in Favour of what *Petronius* was now a doing; for ſo ſoon as ever the Words were out of his Mouth, there fell a Shower to the Admiration of all People, in as clear a Day as ever ſhin'd, and without one Cloud to be ſeen. This happen'd after ſo long a Drought, that they were almoſt out of Hope of having any more Rain; and tho' now and then they ſaw perhaps a flying Cloud, it blew over yet without any Effect. This wonderful Relief, beyond all Thought and Expectation, was look'd upon by the *Jews* as a Bleſſing upon *Petronius*'s *Prayers*, and as an Earneſt of more to come: Neither was any Body more ſenſible of it than *Petronius himſelf*, either of the Prodigy, or of the Interpretation of it: For it was ſo convincing an Evidence from Heaven in Favour of the *Jews*, that it would not bear the leaſt Doubt or Contradiction. Petronius *was very particular in his Report to the* Emperor *in this whole Affair, and laid all the neceſſary Points before him: As what might be the Conſequence of purſuing ſuch a Multitude of ſtubborn People to Extremities, and making ſo many thouſand Men deſperate; for nothing but abſolute Force could ever make them quit their Hold: Beſide that in the violent Proſecution of them,* Caius *would but ſink his own Revenue, and puniſh himſelf, which would turn afterwards to his eternal Reproach: Subjoyning likewiſe to all the reſt, that the* Jews *were a People acceptable to God, who had given many wonderful Inſtances of his peculiar Care over them.*

A ſtrange Providence in Favour of Petronius's *Diſcourſe.*

Petronius's *Letter to* Cæſar.

Agrippa *at* Rome *when* Cæſar *receiv'd it.*

Agrippa *preſents* Cæſar *with a ſplendid Treat.*

Cæſar *promiſes him a large Requital.*

King *Agrippa* happen'd to be at *Rome* when *Petronius* wrote to *Cæſar*, and every Day more and more in the good Graces of the *Emperour*; a Kindneſs that he cultivated by all the Study and Application imaginable. As in particular, he made *Caius* one Treat, that for Expence, Variety, Curioſity, Delicacy, Order, and Contrivance, out-did all that ever was heard of before him; not excepting the moſt ſplendid Entertainments even of *Cæſar himſelf*. *Caius* was ſo taken with the generous Magnificence of this Collation, and with the hearty good Will of it too; (for *Agrippa* had ſtrain'd hard to come up to it) that the *Emperour* took a Fancy in his Head to enter into a kind of Competition, and to vye good Offices with him. When the Wine had a little warm'd him, the Humour took him in the Head, to put *Agrippa* upon the *merry Pin* too, and ſo he call'd out to him. *Agrippa*, ſays he, *This is not the firſt Proof I have had of your Friendſhip and Affection. In the Days of* Tiberius *I had many Evidences of it to your Hazzard; and you have now oblig'd me to your Coſt; and in ſo exceſſive a Manner too, that you have conſulted my Honour and Pleaſure, more than your own Convenience. It would be a baſe Thing for me now to ſuffer my ſelf to be overcome by Benefits, and therefore I am reſolved at preſent to make you ſome Amends for any Thing that I ever fell ſhort in before; and the Addition that I intend to my former Bounty, ſhall be ſuch as will very much advance the Condition of your Life and Fortune for the Future.*

Caius expected, upon this Frank and unlimited Promiſe, that *Agrippa* ſhould preſently have begg'd Lands, Commiſſions, nay whole Provinces, and ample Revenues; while *Cæſar* was in the giving Mood. But *Agrippa*, on the other Side, though prepar'd before-hand what to aſk, ſuſpended the declaring of it a while, till it might fall in afterward with the better Grace, as by the By. *Sir*, ſays he, *as I had no private Ends of my own, in the little Services I did you in the Time of* Tiberius; *ſo I propoſe nothing more to my ſelf at preſent, than the Comfort of your Favour. You have done more for me already than I could reaſonably either hope, or ſo much as wiſh for; and though I very well underſtand that you have greater Things yet in your Power; give me Leave however to make this Profeſſion with Acknowledgments for what I have receiv'd, that I neither deſerve nor ſeek for any Thing farther.* Caius was ſo amazed at the Modeſty and the Moderation of the Man, that nothing would ſerve his Turn at laſt, but *Agrippa* muſt aſk him ſome Boon or other, and let it be what it would, it ſhould never be deny'd him. *Well Sir*, ſays Agrippa, *ſince you are ſo generous as to lay this kind Command upon me, I ſhall preſume to offer you one Requeſt; and it ſhall be neither Wealth, nor Honour; for by your Favour*, ſays he, *I have enough of both already: But the granting of that which I have to deſire will eſtabliſh you in the Favour both of God and Man; and it will be to my own immortal Glory too, if I may but obtain this Conceſſion, after ſo many others, to crown all the reſt. My Deſire is only this, that you will recall your Order to* Petronius *for ſetting up your* Statue *in the Temple of the* Jews. *Agrippa* knew well enough that this Propoſal was like the Chance of a Die, for Life or Death, as that was the Hazzard of croſſing any of *Caius*'s *Decrees*; but yet however, betwixt the obliging Influence of the Treat, and the Shame of refuſing a Requeſt that he himſelf had ſo publickly extorted, together with a juſt Deference to the Virtue of a Man that ſet a higher Value upon the Comfort of a good Conſcience, and the Peace of his Country, than upon the ſplendid Vanities of Wealth and Power; *the Emperour granted him his aſking, and ſo wrote to* Petronius; *approving all he had done in drawing his Troops together, and obſerving his Orders. As for the* Statue, ſays he, *if it be ſet up* already, *let it ſtand; and if it be* not, *trouble your ſelf no farther about it; but diſcharge your Army, and go back again to* Syria. *I am content to remit this Diſobedience for* Agrippa's *Sake, for whom I have ſo great an Honour and Reſpect that I can deny him nothing.* This was the Subſtance of the *Emperour*'s *Letter* to *Petronius*, which was written before there was any Inkling of an *Inſurrection* intended among the *Jews*: But *Caius*, being a Man without either Honeſty or Shame; and ſo abandon'd to the extravagant Liberties of a *furious Choler*, that he accounted it a Mark of Dignity and Greatneſs to be ſwaggering and outragious; this Man, I ſay, upon the Rumour of a Commotion among the *Jews* that follow'd ſoon after, brake out into ſuch a Paſſion to ſee his Authority ſo affronted by that rebellious People, that he immediately chang'd his Style, and wrote a ſecond Letter to *Petronius* to this Effect. *Since you have thought fit to do more for the* Jews *Money, than for* my Commands, *as appears by your neglecting the one to gratify the other, be you your ſelf the Judge what you are to expect now from my Indignation and Juſtice. I am reſolv'd to make an Example of you, both to the* preſent Age, *and to* Poſterity, *to give the World to underſtand that ſovereign Power is not to be play'd withal.* This Letter was ſent to the *Preſident* while *Cæſar* was yet alive, but not delivered till afterwards; the Bearer of it having a ſlow Paſſage: So that the *Death* of *Caius* came firſt to *Petronius*, to whom God was infinitely merciful and gracious, in Conſideration of the Zeal he ſhew'd, and the Dangers he underwent, for his *Honour*, and for the *Religion* of his *People* the *Jews*: But *Caius*, being cut off in the Career of his *blaſphemous Vanity*, for uſurping to himſelf *divine Honours*, *Petronius* had the Thanks of the *Romans*, as well as of the *Provincials*, for his eminent Services to the publick upon that Occaſion; and more eſpecially the Acknowledgments of the prime Men of the *Senate*, whom *Caius* took a *Pride* as well as a *Delight* to *torment* and trample upon, in a more particular Way of *Inſolence* and *Scorn*. He dy'd ſoon after that denouncing Letter to *Petronius*: But as to the *Ground* of the *Conſpiracy*, and the Manner of *executing* it, we ſhall ſet it forth in another Place. The News of the *Emperour's Death* to *Petronius* was follow'd with the Letter that brought him the *Menace* of his *own*: And as he could not under thoſe Circumſtances but rejoyce at the former; ſo neither could he but magnify and admire the Goodneſs and Providence of God, that in the ſame Inſtant rewarded the Veneration he had paid to the Honour of his holy Temple, and likewiſe deliver'd the *Jews* out of their Diſtreſs. By this wonderful Providence was the Life of *Petronius* preſerv'd.

Agrippa *contents himſelf with the Bleſſing of* Cæſar's *Favour.*

Caius *preſſes* Agrippa *to aſk him ſomething or other.*

Agrippa *begs the recalling of his Order to* Petronius.

Caius *grants his Requeſt.*

The Sum of Caius's *Letter to* Petronius.

A Commotion among the Jews.

Caius *writes a ſecond denouncing Letter to* Petronius.

Petronius *receives the News of* Caius's *Death before the Letter.*

CHAP. XII.

The Jews *of* Meſopotamia, *and* Babylon, *a miſerable People.* Nearda *and* Niſibis, *two ſtrong Places upon the* Euphrates, *where the* Jews *depoſited their* holy Treaſure. Aſinæus *and* Anilæus, *two Brothers, and* Sailers *by Trade. They ran away from their Maſters, and gather'd a ſtrong Party. They build an* impregnable Fort, *and the King of* Parthia *takes the* Alarum. Aſinæus *hears the neighing of Horſes. The* Scouts *bring Notice of the Enemy at Hand.* Neceſſity *is a Diſpenſation for the* Sabbath. Aſinæus *gives the Enemy a great Overthrow.* Artabanus *courts the* two Brothers *to an* Alliance. Aſinæus *ſends his* Brother *on the Errand. The Reaſons why he came alone. They go to the* King *together.* Aldagaſus *asks leave to cut* Aſinæus's *Throat. The* King *oppoſes it.* Artabanus *adviſes* Aſinæus *to withdraw, and gives him the Command of* Babylon. *The Brothers in great Reputation; but falling from their* Religion *and* Manners, *they loſt it again.* Anilæus *falls in Love with a* Parthian Lady; *kills her* Husband, *and takes her to his* Bed. *A bitter Curſe. The Defection comes to downright* Idolatry; *and the People clamour againſt it to* Aſinæus. Aſinæus *chides his Brother, and the Woman poyſons* Aſinæus. Anilæus *breaks in upon* Mithridates, *and takes away a vaſt Booty.* Mithridates *draws out upon* Anilæus, *but puts off fighting till the* Sabbath. Anilæus *gets Intelligence how the Army lay; takes* Mithridates *Priſoner, and routs his Army.* Mithridates *ſet at Liberty, and his Wife teazes him into a War.* Mithridates *gives* Anilæus *a* total Defeat. Anilæus *recruits, and falls into* Babylon. *The* Jews *and the* Babylonians *treat about an* Alliance. Anilæus *ſurprized and put to the Sword. The* Jews *and* Babylonians *can never agree. The* Jews *are forced into* Seleucia. *Perpetual* Bickerings *betwixt the* Greeks *and the* Syrians. *The* Greeks *and* Syrians *in a League againſt the* Jews. *Upward of fifty thouſand* Jews *ſlain. The Remainder withdraw to* Cteſiphon, *and thence to* Nearda, *and* Niſibis.

The Jews *of* Meſopotamia *and* Babylon *miſerable People.*

Nearda *a ſtrong City of* Babylon, *upon the* Euphrates.

Niſibis *a ſtrong Hold upon the ſame River.*

In theſe two Places the Jews *depoſited their holy Treaſure.*

Aſinæus *and* Anilæus, *two Brothers: By Trade,* Sail-Weavers.

They run away from their Maſters upon Correction.

They gather a ſtrong Party;

Build an impregnable Fort, and lay the Country under Contribution.

THE *Jews* of *Meſopotamia* and *Babylon* were at this Time in ſo miſerable a State of Calamity and Confuſion, that we read of nothing like it in any of their former Hiſtories: But this Story is not to be written exactly (which I propound to do) without tracing it down in a Line from the *Original*. There is in the *Province* of *Babylon*, a City they call [a] *Nearda*, a Place wonderfully *populous*, and the Soil *fruitful enough* to maintain the *Inhabitants*. The Town is well wall'd and fortify'd, with the River *Euphrates* about it, and not far from it, another ſtrong City call'd *Niſibis*, upon the ſame River. There was no Fear or Danger of any Enemy breaking in upon this Quarter: So that the *Jews* laid up in theſe two Places the common Stock of their *holy Treaſure*, as it was dedicated and brought in from Time to Time according to Cuſtom. From hence it was tranſmitted to *Jeruſalem* in the proper Seaſon, under ſtrong Convoys, for Fear of the *Parthians* upon the Road, who were then Maſters of *Babylon*. There were among the *Jews* of *Nearda*, *two Brothers*; *Aſinæus*, and *Anilæus*: Their Father was dead, and their Mother had put them out to the *weaving Trade*, of learning to make *Sail-Cloth*, which is accounted no Diſparagement among thoſe People where the *Men* are us'd to *card* and *ſpin*. Theſe Brothers coming one Day late to work, their Maſter gave them Correction for it, which they took ſo heinouſly, that they preſently arm'd themſelves with what came next in the Houſe, and ſo away to a Place upon the parting of the River, where was great Plenty of Corn, Graſs, Fruit, and all Manner of Proviſions for a Winter Store. While they lay in this Retreat, there gather'd about them a neceſſitous Crew of bold luſty young Fellows, that armed and liſted themſelves under their Command; no Creature daring to controul them. With the Aſſiſtance of this Party they erected an impregnable *Fort*, and then ſent out their Emiſſaries and Collectors up and down the Neighbourhood to raiſe Contributions: With ample Aſſurances of Friendſhip and Protection to thoſe that comply'd, againſt all Oppoſers whatſoever, and menacing both Man and Beaſt in Caſe of a Refuſal: So that the People were under a Kind of Neceſſity of doing whatever they would have them; being by this Time grown ſo numerous and powerful, that they were not able to reſiſt them: Inſomuch that the King of *Parthia* was ſtartled at this Commotion.

The King of Parthia *takes the* Alarum.

The Prince of Babylon *marches to* Cæſar *upon the Sabbath Day.*

The Prince of *Babylon*, upon this Intelligence, finding himſelf concern'd to nip the Sedition in the Bud, drew his Troops together both out of *Parthia*, and *Babylon*, and march'd away preſently with the Groſs of his Army to get up Time enough to the *Mutineers* to *ſurprize* them. When he was advanced by *Defilees* and *By-Ways*, to the Skirts of a mooriſh Piece of Ground, he made an Halt; and depending upon it, that the next Day, being the *Sabbath*, they would not venture a Battle, he moved gently forward; propounding to fall upon them at unawares, and make ſure of a Victory. While *Aſinæus* was at this Time lazing upon a Bank with his Companions about him, and his Arms lying by: *Hark ye fellow Soldiers*, ſays he, *Methinks I hear the* Neighing *of* Horſes: *Not ſuch a* Neighing, *as if they had a* Mare *in the Wind, but the* Neighing *of* Horſes *preſſing to a* Battle. *Nay I fancy I hear the* Champing *of their* Bits *too; and we had beſt have a Care we be not circumvented: Wherefore for Certainty Sake, let ſome Body go out this Inſtant for Diſcovery: And I wiſh I may find my ſelf miſtaken.* *Scouts* were ſent out accordingly, and in a very little Time came back again upon the Spur, with News that *Aſinæus* was in the right, for the Enemy was at Hand; and upon the very Point of executing their Revenge. They have *Horſes* enough, ſays the *Scout*, to over-run and trample us all under Foot: Beſide, *ſays he*, that we are but ſo many naked men, and forbidden by the very Laws of our Religion to *prophane* the *Sabbath* with any Sort of Reſiſtance. But *Aſinæus* was quite of another Opinion, and told them it was an unreaſonable Thing for them to ſtand ſtill, and have their Throats cut only to gratify a *barbarous Enemy*. *No, my Lads*, ſays he, *conſult your Courage, and the ſovereign Law of all Laws*, your preſent Neceſſity. Wherefore follow my Example, that at the worſt we may not fall unreveng'd, and ſo let us commit the reſt to *Providence*. Upon this Exhortation and Incouragement, he betook himſelf to his Arms, and led his Companions on to the Combat, where finding the Enemy careleſs and ſecure, and in a Poſture, rather to take Poſſeſſion of a Victory, than to diſpute it, they took them unprovided; made a great Slaughter upon the Place, and put the reſt to Flight.

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[a] *Naarda* according to *Stephanus Byzant.*

Aſinæus *hears the neighing of Horſes.*

The Scouts give Notice of an Enemy at Hand.

The Law of Neceſſity is a Diſpenſation to that of the Sabbath.

Aſinæus *falls on, and gives the Enemy a great Overthrow.*

The Bravery of the two Brothers gave the King of *Parthia*, upon the News of this Defeat, ſuch a Curioſity and Impatience to have an Interview, and to Exchange ſome Diſcourſe with them, that he ſent them one of his Guards that he moſt confided in, with this Meſſage. *I have a Commiſſion from* Artabanus *the King of* Parthia *to tell you*, ſays he, *that though you have been very hard upon him in making this Inroad into his Dominions, he is yet ready to bury all paſt Controverſies in the Eſteem he has for the Character he hath heard of your Perſons. And I am farther to acquaint you in my Maſter's Name, that without any Fraud, or indirect Meaning, he deſires to joyn in a* League *of Friendſhip with you. And I am likewiſe to offer you upon his Faith and Honour, all Aſſurances that you your ſelves can deſire for your ſafe Paſſage and Security, in your Journey back and forward. You will find the King a munificent and a generous Prince, and ready upon all Occaſions to give you farther Proofs of his gracious Inclination and Bounty.* *Aſinæus* was not over fond of the Journey, notwithſtanding the Frankneſs of the Invitation; but he ſent his Brother *Anilæus* however upon the Complement, with ſuch Preſents, as he was able to furniſh. Upon his coming to the King, he found his Acceſs open and eaſy; but *Artabanus* taking Notice that he came alone, ask'd him what the Meaning of it was, that he did not bring his Brother along with him: So *Anilæus* gave the King to underſtand, that he was ſafe in the Bog where he was, and not willing to truſt himſelf any where elſe at Mercy. The King finding where the Buſineſs ſtuck, ſwore by his Gods, that not a Hair of either of their Heads ſhould be touch'd: And for a Ratification of his Oath, he gave *Anilæus* his *right Hand* upon it; which, with the *Barbarians*, is the moſt ſacred Tye of good Faith that can be given: For after that Ceremony paſt, they are ſo far from any Apprehenſion of being deceiv'd, that there's no Room after it, even for Jealouſy it ſelf, or the very Suſpicion of falſe Dealing. *Artabanus*, upon this Aſſurance, ſent *Anilæus* back again to bring his Brother; in Contemplation of the Services they two might do him by keeping thoſe Provinces in Awe, that were wavering toward a *Revolt* in the King's Abſence, by the Aſſiſtance of the Party they brought along with them. And he did not know neither, but that when he himſelf was employ'd in the ſuppreſſing of a Rebellion on the one Hand, *Aſinæus* might be fortifying himſelf with Men and ſtrong Forts, and doing Miſchief about *Babylon* on the other. This was the Reaſon of the King's ſending for *Aſinæus*.

Artabanus *courts the two Brothers to an Alliance.*

Aſinæus *ſends his Brother on the Errand.*

Anilæus *tells* Artabanus *the Reaſon of his coming alone.*

Anilæus *on the King's Oath, fetches his Brother.*

Now *Aſinæus* underſtanding by the Report of his Brother, how great a Tenderneſs *Artabanus* had expreſs'd for them both, and with what Earneſtneſs of *Oaths* and *Proteſtations* he confirmed the Sincerity of all his Profeſſions, was eaſily prevail'd upon to wait upon the King with *Anilæus*, and ſo they went together. *Artabanus* received them with great Eaſineſs and good Will; but upon comparing the Dignity of *Aſinæus's Mind* with the ſimple Appearance, and in Truth the *diſagreeable Figure* of his *Perſon*, he was not a little ſurpriz'd at the Diſproportion; and would be ſaying to ſome of his Friends, that *the Soul of that Man was never made for his Body*. He took Occaſion one Day as he was at the Table to ſpeak of him to *Abdagaſus*, his General, of his martial Performances, and *Feats of Arms*, very much, in Fine, to his Advantage. *Abdagaſus* made no other Reply, but only to beg his Majeſty's Leave to cut his Throat in Revenge for the Affront he had put upon the *Parthians*. *No*, ſays the King, *I ſhall*

The two Brothers go to the King together.

Abdagaſus *the General, asks* Artabanus *Leave to cut* Aſinæus's *Throat.*

The King oppoſes it.

Artabanus *adviſes* Aſinæus *to be gone, and gives him the Command of* Babylon.

Aſinæus *departs, and betakes himſelf to the Buſineſs of his Commiſſion.*

The Brothers gain a general Eſteem.

I ſhall never ſuffer ſuch a Thing as that certainly to a Man that has committed himſelf to my Honour, and whom I am bound both by Oath and Contract to protect. But, ſays he, *if you have ſuch a Mind to exerciſe your Courage, you may find a Way of vindicating the* Parthians *without making me forſworn. You have no more to do,* ſays he, *than to attack him in his Return without making me privy to your Purpoſe.* The next Morning early the King call'd for *Aſinæus* again. *It is Time young Man,* ſays he, *for you to go Home again, before the Animoſity of my Officers run too high, for you may have Miſchief done you, and not in my Power perhaps to prevent it. Pray let me commend* Babylon *to your Care, and do what you can to maintain Peace there, and preſerve the Province from Robberies. Once for all, you have committed your Life into my Hands, and your Safety ſhall be to me as that of my own Heart:* And ſo with thoſe Words, and a Competency of honourable Preſents, the King diſpatch'd him away to take Charge of his Command, where he apply'd himſelf inſtantly to the Buſineſs of his Commiſſion, in building of *Forts*; *repairing* and *fortifying* as he ſaw Occaſion; acquitting himſelf, in Fine, to ſo univerſal a Satisfaction, that never any Man before him arrived at ſuch a Degree of Reputation and Power in ſo ſhort a Time, and from ſo ſlender a Beginning: And this, not only among the great Men of *Babylon*, but the *Parthian Governours* and *Commanders* had likewiſe the ſame Eſteem for him; his Authority all this while encreaſing with the Strength of his Arms and Party: Inſomuch that *Meſopotamia* was as good as entirely under his Direction.

But upon falling off from their Religion and Manners, they loſe it again.

Anilæus *falls in Love with a* Parthian Lady.

He kills the Husband, and takes the Woman to his Bed.

He marries a Barbarian, *and an Idolatreſs.*

A bitter Curſe.

This Defection comes at laſt to a downright Profeſſion of Idolatry. The People clamour at it to Aſinæus.

Things went on in this proſperous Way with the two Brothers, for a Matter of *fifteen Years*, highly to the Satisfaction of the World, and their own Glory. But when they came once to decline in their *Piety* and *Manners*, and abandoning the Study of *Virtue*, and the *Diſcipline* and *Precepts* of their *Forefathers*, to give themſelves up to *ſenſual Pleaſures* and *foreign Innovations*; they ſunk then in their Credit too. As for Example. There happen'd to come into theſe Provinces a certain *Parthian* Governour, and his *Wife* along with him: A Miracle of a Woman, as well for her admirable Qualities, as for the Charms of her Perſon and Beauty. This Woman (whether upon *Fame*, or upon *Sight*, uncertain) *Anilæus* fell deſperately in Love withal; and in the Impotency of his Paſſion, having no other Way to compaſs his End, he made War upon her Husband; kill'd him upon the firſt Encounter; got Poſſeſſion of the *Woman*, and ſo took her to his *Bed*. This Adventure was the Source of the terrible Calamities that befel them afterward. This Woman, whether ſhe was at Home or Abroad, had conſtantly about her certain *Images* of *Barbarian Gods*. She was now a *Widow* and a *Priſoner*, and having privately conceal'd ſome of theſe *Idols*, ſhe took her Opportunity of *worſhipping* them for a while, only by Stealth. But upon *Anilæus*'s taking her to himſelf, and owning her publickly for his *Wife*, ſhe did as publickly own the Exerciſe of her *Religion* too, without carrying the Buſineſs any longer as a Secret. The beſt Friends that the two Brothers had, were moſt horridly diſguſted at the Licence of this abominable Practice in the *marrying of a barbarous Woman*, and an *Idolatreſs*, in ſo audacious a Defiance of the *Rites*, *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Jews*. Let this ſerve for a Caution to Princes in Time to come, how they depart from their Duty to God, to gratify their carnal Pleaſures. But there was no Room left here for the good Offices of Reaſon or wholeſome Counſel; for one of the moſt eminent Adviſers was ſtabb'd to Death upon the Place, only for the honeſt Liberty of diſcharging his Conſcience; breathing out his laſt with this *prophetical Imprecation* in his Mouth againſt the *Brothers* and their *Complices*. *May a Vengeance fall upon them,* ſays he, *for the Indignities they have committed both againſt* Religion *and againſt* Friendſhip; *may their Enemies repay them with the ſame Meaſure they have meted to others: The* Brethren, *as the* capital Authors *of this Violence*; *the* reſt, *for aſſiſting toward the barbarous Murder of the* Patron *of their* Laws *and* Liberties, *whom they ought to have defended.* Not but that they were all extremely afflicted for the Death of this good Man, but the paſt Kindneſſes of the *Brothers*, and the Senſe they had of an Obligation to them for the Advantage of their *preſent Condition*, atton'd for all. They kept however for a while within ſome tolerable Bounds, till at laſt the barefac'd and impudent Profeſſion of *Idolatry* put the Affront paſt all Sufferance: Inſomuch that the People, upon that Scandal, came open Mouth in Crouds and Tumults to *Aſinæus*, with Complaints againſt his *Brother*; telling him plainly, that though it had been better let alone at firſt, yet ſince the Thing was done, he ſhould do well to take ſome ſevere Courſe in Time to prevent further Miſchief: For it would certainly put all in a Flame elſe. The Marriage, they ſaid, was ſo manifeſt an Uſurpation upon their *Religion*, that no Creature could approve it; and then for the *idolatrous Practice of this lewd Woman*, it was as groſs an Encroachment upon the *Worſhip* of the *true God*. *Aſinæus* could not but own himſelf to be fully convinc'd of the dangerous Conſequences both to himſelf and to his People, of this Wickedneſs of his

Brothers; yet what with the Tenderneſs of ſo near a Relation in the Caſe, and what with an Allowance for humane Frailty, in ſo invincible an Affection, he palliated the Matter, without proceeding to any exemplary Severity upon it. But finding himſelf Day after Day more and more perſecuted and clamour'd at, he was ſo plain with his Brother, as to check him for what was paſt, and to caution him for the future; charging him without any more ado, to ſend the Woman Home to her Friends again: But this wrought nothing upon him; for the Woman finding the mutinous Humour of the People to increaſe, and conſequently, fearing that ſome Miſchief might befall *Anilæus* for her Sake, ſhe poiſon'd *Aſinæus*, making no Doubt of coming off well enough her ſelf, when a *doting Husband* ſhould be her *Judge*.

Aſinæus *chides his Brother, and bids him ſend his Wife back again.*

The Woman poiſons Aſinæus.

Anilæus, having now gotten the whole Power into his own Hands, made an Incurſion with his Army into the Country of *Mithridates*; a Perſon of prime Quality among the *Parthians*, and the Son-in-law of *Artabanus*. He found Money, Slaves, and Cattle there in Abundance, beſide other rich Booty that he carry'd away, to a prodigious Value. *Mithridates* was not far off at that Time, and hearing of this Inroad and Ravage, and how it was managed, not only without any Sort of Provocation, but in a contemptuous Freak of Inſolence and Scorn; he drew together a Body of his choiceſt Troops, and ſo march'd away with his Army to give *Anilæus* Battle. The next Day, being the *Jews Sabbath*, which they moſt religiouſly celebrated for *a Day of Reſt*, he ſtopt ſhort at a Village that Night, with an Intent to fall upon them by Surprize on the Day following. A *Syrian* that liv'd there in the Neighbourhood, gave *Anilæus* Intelligence of the Deſign, and particularly where *Mithridates* was to be that Night, at a ſolemn Entertainment. *Anilæus*, upon this Advice, order'd his People to go to Supper, marching afterward that Night up to the Enemy, to take them at unawares: Wherein he ſucceeded to his Wiſh, for about the fourth Watch, he fell into their Quarters; and ſome he took aſleep; others in a Conſternation were put to ſhift for themſelves in the Dark. *Mithridates* alſo was taken alive, and a Priſoner, and mounted *naked* upon an *Aſs*; which the *Parthians* look'd upon as an *Ignominy*, to the *higheſt Degree*. When they had carry'd him thus into a certain Wood, ſeveral of *Anilæus*'s Friends were for killing him out of Hand; but he himſelf was againſt it, and gave his Reaſons for his Opinion. *This Perſon*, ſays he, *is one of the greateſt Men of the whole Country, and match'd you ſee into the Royal Family. Give him his Life now you have him at Mercy, and you may depend upon it, that he will forgive all paſt Affronts, and never forget the Obligation: Beſide the preſerving of an Intereſt, that in Caſe of the worſt, will be able to procure an Accommodation. And on the other Hand, if you put* Mithridates *to Extremities, you may be ſure the King will never reſt till he has avenged his Blood upon all the* Jews *in* Babylon: *And thoſe are a People whom we ought to be tender of, both for Affinity's Sake, and in Point of common Prudence: For the Chance of War is uncertain; and it is good, even in Caſe of any Diſaſter, to make ſure of a Retreat.* The whole Multitude, in fine, were of the ſame Mind, unanimouſly with *Anilæus*: So that *Mithridates*, by Conſent, was ſet at Liberty and diſcharg'd. But his Wife perceiving at his coming back, upon what Terms he was return'd, welcom'd him Home with a Thouſand Reproaches. *You*, ſays ſhe, *the Son-in-law of a King! after ſo many notorious Battles, and Diſgraces put upon you by the* Jews, *and now at laſt their Priſoner, to have ſo mean a Soul as but to own a Life upon the Title of their Charity! Either redeem your Honour*, ſays ſhe, *or by thoſe Powers I ſwear that guard the Thrones of Kings, I'll have no more to do with you.* Now ſo it was, that betwixt the Bitterneſs of theſe daily Taunts, and the Apprehenſion that this high ſpirited Woman would proceed to a *Divorce*, he put himſelf, how unwillingly ſoever in the Head of an Army; but with this Conviction upon him, that the *Parthian* did not in Truth deſerve to live that would truckle to a *Jew*. So ſoon as *Anilæus* heard that *Mithridates* was marching towards him, he made a Point of Honour of it, not to take Advantage of the Faſtneſſes he was poſſeſs'd of, but rather to put it to the Iſſue of a Battle in the plain Field: So that *Anilæus* march'd forward to meet the Enemy, in the Head of a Body of Men that ſcarce knew what it was to be worſted; for over and above their *veterane Troops*, they were joined alſo by ſeveral Inforcements that fell in with them for the Booty: And upon the whole Matter, they reckon'd the Day as good as their own, before ever they came to ſtrike a Stroke. In this Confidence, they travell'd a Matter of *fourſcore Furlongs* into a dry ſandy Country; and when they were now ſo ſpent with the Drought of the Place, the Fatigue of the March, and the Heat of the Day, that they were hardly able to ſtand upon their Legs, *Mithridates* fell upon them with freſh Men; put them to a total Rout, and cut off ſeveral Thouſands of them upon the Chace. *Anilæus*, with thoſe that got off making to a Foreſt there near Hand, in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, and leaving *Mithridates* in the happy Poſſeſſion of an *abſolute Victory*. There came in to *Anilæus*, after this Defeat, ſuch Multitudes of looſe Deſperadoes, that his

Anilæus *makes an Inroad upon* Mithridates, *and carries off a vaſt Booty.*

Mithridates *draws out to give* Anilæus *Battle: But puts it off till next Day, being the* Sabbath.

Anilæus *gets Intelligence how the Army lay; Marches that Night, ſurprizes* Mithridates, *takes him Priſoner, and routs his Army.*

Mithridates *ſet at Liberty.*

His Wife teazes him into a War.

Mithridates *gives* Anilæus *a total Defeat.*

Anilæus *recruits, and falls into* Babylon.

The Jews *and* Babylonians *treat about an Alliance.*

Anilæus, *and his People ſurpriz'd, and put to the Sword.*

Army was not long a recruiting up to its former Number; but they were raw, undiſciplin'd Men, and not comparable for Valour to thoſe that fell. With theſe Men however he march'd into the *Babylonians* Quarters, and laid all waſte. Hereupon, the *Babylonians* ſent to the *Jews* at *Neerda* to deliver up *Anilæus* to *Juſtice*; but this could not be obtained, for, in Truth, the Man was not in their Power. The next Propoſal was to invite him to a Peace, or at leaſt to a Treaty; to try if they could accommodate Matters upon Terms. This they agreed to, and ſent Commiſſioners on both Sides, *Jews* as well as *Babylonians*, to manage the Debate. The *Babylonians* taking ſtrict Notice of the Place where *Anilæus* and his Companions were together, brake in upon them in the Dead of the Night by Surprize; and finding them drunk and drowſy, they kill'd all in their Way without any Oppoſition, and *Anilæus* himſelf among the reſt.

The Babylonians *and the* Jews *can never agree.*

The Jews *are forced into* Seleucia.

Perpetual Bickerings betwixt the Greeks *and the* Syrians.

The Greeks *and* Syrians *in a League againſt the* Jews.

Upward of 50000 Jews *kill'd by Surprize.*

The Remainder withdraws to Cteſiphon; *and thence to* Neerda *and* Niſibis.

The *Babylonians* and the *Jews* were perpetually at Variance one with another of old, upon the Subject of differing *Rites*, *Cuſtoms* and Ways of Living; and ſome Time one would get the better of it, otherwhile the other: So that the Controverſy ended commonly in a Kind of drawn-Battle. But the *Babylonians*, that were kept in ſome Sort of Awe while *Anilæus* was yet living, and his Complices about him, took Heart now upon this Riddance and Execution, to affront the *Jews* at every Turn, and made them weary of their Lives: Inſomuch that they forced them by their intolerable Inſolencies to quit their Habitations, and to withdraw themſelves to *Seleucia* the *capital City* of that *Province*; and ſo called from *Seleucus Nicanor* the Founder of it, being a Place of Liberty, where *Macedonians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians*, liv'd promiſcuouſly together in Abundance. The *Jews* were quiet and eaſy enough here for the firſt five Years; but the Plague breaking out at *Babylon* in the *ſixth*, they were forced to withdraw more and more to *Seleucia*; which prov'd the Occaſion of the greateſt Miſery they had felt yet, as ſhall be made appear in few Words. The *Greeks* and the *Syrians* in this City could never agree; but in all their Bickerings the *Greeks* had ſtill the *Advantage*, till upon the Coming in of the *Jews*, being a bold and a warlike People, the *Syrians* with their Aſſiſtance got the upper Hand. The *Greeks* finding themſelves run down, and their Condition wholly deſperate, unleſs they could break this Amity betwixt the *Syrians* and the *Jews*; they dealt underhand with ſome particular Friends and Acquaintances they had among the *Syrians* to think of ſome Way of Accommodation, and how they might bring Matters to a better Underſtanding betwixt them. This Propoſition was well enough receiv'd, and the Conſideration of it referr'd to ſome leading Men on both Sides to adviſe upon the Expedient: Who without much Difficulty put an End to the Controverſy, upon this Condition, that the *Greeks* and *Syrians* ſhould join in a *League offenſive* and *defenſive* againſt the *Jews*. In Purſuance of this Agreement, they fell upon the *Jews* by *Surprize*, and kill'd them upward of *Fifty Thouſand*, not a Soul ſcaping; but thoſe that were ſav'd and protected by ſome Neighbour or Friend. The miſerable Remainder withdrew to *Cteſiphon*, a *Greek* City near *Seleucia*, where the King of *Parthia* commonly keeps his Reſidence in the Winter, and the greater Part of his rich Furniture. In this Place they took up their Abode, not doubting of their Security within the Verge of the *King's Court* and *Palace*; but the *Jews* were under ſuch a Terror from both *Babylonians* and *Seleucians* over and above the *Conſpiracy* of the *Syrians* againſt them, that the greater Part of them betook themſelves to *Neerda* and *Niſibis*, depending upon the Strength of the Places, and the Bravery of the Men that were to defend them. This was the State of the *Jews* Matters at that Time in *Babylon*.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

From the Year of the World 4003, to 4009.

CHAP. I.

The Outrages of Caius *upon the* Jews. Caius *challenges* Adoration *as a* God: *Calls himſelf* Jupiter's Brother; *rifles all* Temples *to adorn his* Palace; *orders* Regulus *to ſend the* Olympian Jupiter's Statue *to* Rome. *His Girl is placed upon* Jupiter's Knee *in the* Capitol. Claudius *accuſed by his* Bond-man. Three Conſpiracies *againſt the Life of* Caius. Caius *reproaches* Chæreas *with* Cowardice; *who meditates a Revenge and tells* Popedius *of it.* Popedius *accuſed by* Timidius. Quintilia *put to the* Torture, *and ſtands it out bravely.* Chæreas *tells his Mind to* Clemens *and* Papinius. *A generous Diſcourſe of* Chæreas. Chæreas *ſuſpects* Clemens *to be falſe.* Sabinus *promiſes to ſtand by him.* Chæreas *and* Sabinus *confer with* Minucianus. [*LIBERTY*] *The* Word. *A Reſolution taken. They agree, embrace and part. A* Voice *heard in the Air; bidding them go on in* God's Name. *The Execution put off from Day to Day.* Chæreas *impatient of Delay, and offers to undertake it himſelf. The Day for the Execution, off and on.* Chæreas *animates his Companion. A final Reſolution.* Chæreas *goes to* Cæſar *for the* Word. Caius *ſacrifices, and then goes to the* Theatre. *A Deſcription of the* Theatre. *The* Conſpirators *poſted in their* Stations. *The Manner of the* Execution. *The Glory of the* Action *aſcrib'd to* Chæreas. *The Conſpirators ſlip away. The* German Guards *in a Rage.* Aſprenas, Norbanus *and* Anteius *cut to Pieces. The* Story *reported ſeveral Ways. The* German Soldiers *beſet the* Theatre *all in a Confuſion. The Death of* Cæſar *publiſhed by* Proclamation. Minucianus, Clemens *and* Chæreas *brought together. The* Senate *meets, and inclines to ſet up for it ſelf.*

THE *barbarous* and *inhumane Outrages* of the *Emperour Caius* upon the *Jews*, were not confin'd to *Jeruſalem alone*, and the *neighbouring Provinces*, but moſt induſtriouſly propagated over Sea and Land, from one End of the *Roman Empire* to the other; and with ſuch deliberate Cruelties as were never heard of in Story before. Neither did any Place ſuffer more under his ſavage Brutalities than *Rome it ſelf*; the *Senators* and *Patricians*, eſpecially; and the reſt of the *Nobility*: Thoſe alſo that they call'd the *Equites*, or *Knights*; a Degree of Men for Wealth and Dignity next under the *Senators*; the *Senators* themſelves being likewiſe choſen out of that Order. What Delight did he take to torment thoſe People with all Manner of Indignities, Contumelies, Baniſhments, Murders, Confiſcations! making it Death to have any Thing to loſe. He took upon himſelf the *Majeſty* and *Appellation* of a *God*; and nothing leſs would ſerve him from his Subjects than *Divine Adoration*. He had the Confidence, in the *Capitol* it ſelf, which is the moſt celebrated of all the *Temples* in *Rome*, in Reſpect of the *Dedication* of it, to ſalute *Jupiter* by the Name of *Brother*, and he was as vain and mad to a thouſand other Purpoſes. He had a Deſign once to paſs from *Puteoli*, a City of *Campania* to *Miſenum*, a *Sea Town* on the other Side of the Water, and looking upon it as a Derogation to his Dignity to croſs it in a Gally, he laid a Bridge over from one Promontory to the other, and ſo paſs'd and repaſs'd in his Chariot, triumphing that he had ſubjected the Sea as well as the Land, in a Way becoming the Greatneſs of his *Divinity*.

The barbarous Outrages of Caius *upon the* Jews.

His extravagant Pride and Vanity challenging Adoration and the Majeſty of a God.

He calls himſelf Jupiter's *Brother.*

He lays a Bridge from Puteoli *to* Miſenum.

There was not ſo much as *one Temple* in *Greece*, that he did not rifle of all the curious *Paintings*, *Sculptures* and other *precious Donatives* and *Dedications*; with Or-

He rifles all Temples for Ornaments to his Palace.

ders for the tranſporting of the Spoil to his Palaces, Gardens and Houſes of Pleaſure: For *where*, ſays he, *ſhould the choiceſt Rarities in the World be depoſited, but in the moſt glorious City or Cabinet in the Univerſe?* Nay he had the Confidence to ſend to *Memmius Regulus* for the Statue of the *Olympian Jupiter*, to have it brought to *Rome*: That admirable Piece of *Phidias*, the famous *Athenian Statuary*, and ſo called from the Place in *Greece*, where it is ſo much *adored*. But this was not yet done; for the great Maſters told *Memmius Regulus*, to whom the Care of doing it was committed, that it was impoſſible to move the *Image* out of the *Place* without *ſpoiling* it, and there goes a Tradition too, that while *Memmius* had it under Conſideration, he was frighted from the doing of it by an incredible Prodigy or Viſion; and that this made him delay it, as he gave *Caius* to underſtand in a Letter by Way of Excuſe: But that Excuſe would have coſt him his Head, if the Death of the *Emperour himſelf* had not prevented it.

He orders Memmius Regulus *to ſend the* Olympian Jupiter's *Statue to* Rome.

His Girl is ſet upon Jupiter's *Knee in the* Capitol.

He was puff'd up, in Fine, to that Degree of a beſotted Madneſs, that upon the Birth of a Daughter, he had the Child carry'd into the *Capitol*, and placed upon the Knee of *Jupiter*, as if *Jupiter* and *Caius* had been Partners in the Girl; and expoſing himſelf to the Company to judge, which was the more honourable Father of the two.

His Uncle Claudius *accuſed by his Bondman, and* Caius *upon the Bench to encourage it.*

Theſe extravagant, nonſenſical Freaks were ſo rank and groſs, that all People ſaw thorough them, and yet how tamely they ſubmitted to them! He did not only give Slaves Leave, but Encouragement, to accuſe their Maſters of what Crimes they thought fit; and which is yet worſe, they had both his Authority and his Thanks for ſo doing. As *Claudius* was charged with a *capital Crime* by his *Bondman Pollux*, and *Caius* upon the *Bench* to countenance the *Accuſation*, againſt the Life of his own Uncle: Nay and with a Reſolution to have taken it away too, if he could have carry'd it.

By this Licence that he gave to *Calumniators*, *Sycophants* and Informers, in the advancing of Slaves above their Patrons, he did but provoke the ſame Practices againſt himſelf that he countenanc'd againſt others. For People fell to Plotting againſt him on all Hands; ſome to be reveng'd for Injuries receiv'd; others by Way of Precaution to prevent Miſchiefs to come. For there was no longer any ſuch Thing left as Law or Juſtice. Corruption and Power carry'd all before it; and it was come to that critical Point, in Fine, that either *Caius* muſt ſink, or the *Commonwealth*: The *Jews* eſpecially; who, by the ſeaſonable Death of this Man, were moſt miraculouſly reſcu'd from the very Jaws of Ruine. It will be Matter of Uſe now and Edification as well as of Curioſity, to be very particular in this Part of my Story; for over and above the Concurrence of ſo many wonderful Providences in the Diſpoſition of Things, it will ſerve for an inſtructive Conſolation to good Men, never to deſpair in what Extremity ſoever, of God's infinite Power and Mercy: And ſo likewiſe for a Leſſon of Caution to the great ones of this World, not to build their Hopes upon falſe Foundations, or ſet their Hearts upon tranſitory Enjoyments, that lead only to Miſery, and Diſappointment in the End; but on the contrary, to contain themſelves within the Bounds of Modeſty and Virtue.

Three Conſpiracies againſt the Life of Caius. Æmilius Regulus, Caſſius Chæreas, *and* Annius Minucianus.

There were *three famous Conſpiracies* a foot againſt the Life of this beaſtly Man, and every one of them had a Perſon of eminent Note in the Head of it. *Æmilius Regulus*, a *Spaniard* of *Corduba*, commanded one Party, and he had a Troop of reſolute Fellows about him to aſſiſt in the Enterprize. *Caſſius Chæreas*, the *Tribune* had another Detachment; and ſo [a] *Annius Minucianus* had another Gang; and they were all reſolutely bent upon the Deſtruction of this Tyrant; for they all look'd upon *Caius*, as a moſt abominable Monſter. *Regulus* hated him, purely out of a natural Averſion to all Manner of Iniquity; being a Perſon naturally generous, and one that had the Soul of a Man of Honour. *Minucianus* was his Enemy, partly in Revenge for the Death of *Lepidus* his ſingular Friend, and a Citizen of a moſt unſpotted Reputation, whom *Caius* moſt barbarouſly put to Death: And he was partly inſtigated to this Practice, for Fear *Caius* ſhould begin with him firſt; for he knew this Tyrant's Hatred to be mortal, wherever it fell. It ſtuck in the Stomach of *Chæreas* to find himſelf twitted by *Caius* for his Effeminacy, and Unmanlineſs, upon ſeveral Occaſions: Beſide the perpetual Danger his Life was in, by the Relation he had to the Service of a violent, furious Maſter ſo near his Perſon: So that laying Things together, he was in a Manner forc'd to do what he did in his own Defence. But after all theſe particular Grudges, they agreed all three in this one common End of delivering their Country and the World, from the Outrages of ſo bloody a Tyrant; for they reckon'd upon it, that the Succeſs of this Deſign would be the ſaving of the Publick: And that it was but the Duty of a loyal Patriot to lay down his Life for his Country.

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[a] Al. *Marcus*.

But none ſo hot upon the Exploit as *Chæreas*, partly out of the Ambition of acquiring to himſelf a great Name, and partly out of the Advantage he had above others (being *Tribune*) of executing his Purpoſe by a Freedom of Acceſs to his Maſter's Perſon. They were now in the Solemnity of their *Circus Games* and *Exerciſes*; an Entertainment that the People of *Rome* are wonderfully delighted with Now it having been formerly the Cuſtom, for the Multitude to come thronging into the Place, and to petition the *Emperour*, at Liberty, for what they thought fit, and hardly ever receiving a Denial, they came now open-mouth, in Crowds, praying to be eas'd of their *Tributes* and *Taxes*. *Caius* was ſo enraged, both at the Requeſt and at the Clamour, that he commanded his Guards immediately to ſeize the People that made the Outcry, and put them to Death; and this Order coſt many a Man his Life. The People patiently ſuffer'd all this, and made no more Noiſe; taking it for a Warning not to venture their Lives to ſave their Money, ſeeing how many had ſuffer'd for it already. Theſe horrible Barbarities animated *Chæreas* more and more, to haſten the Attempt, and ſo put an End to the bloody Rage of this Brute of a Man. *Chæreas* had it many Times in his Thought to diſpatch him at the Table; but ſtill put it off from Time to Time, not upon any Change of Mind, but only to wait for an Opportunity of ſtriking ſure, without any Danger of a Miſcarriage. He had been Captain of the Guards a long Time already, and being now in Commiſſion for the collecting and receiving of Monies about the *Revenue*, he fell under *Cæſar*'s Diſpleaſure for not being ſo quick upon thoſe that were in Arrear, (how poor and inſolvent ſoever) as *Caius* would have had him; who caſt it in his Teeth, that he was a pitiful Fellow, and had not the Courage to enforce the Payment of it. And this was not all neither, for when he came at any Time to him for the *Word*, he would ſtill be giving him ſome *Word* or other, that ſkew'd upon him for a *Woman-hearted* cowardly Creature, though *Caius* at the ſame Time made no Difficulty himſelf to dreſs, curl, powder, and in one Word, to play a Woman's Part in all the Formalities of a Diſguiſe.

Caius *reproaches* Chæreas *with Cowardice*;

This enraged *Chæreas* the more, to ſee himſelf made ridiculous to the reſt of the Officers; for he never brought them the *Word* from *Cæſar*, but it ſet them a laughing; and they expected ſome ſuch Thing they ſaid before-hand. This was ſo unpardonable a Provocation, and ſo juſt an Incitement to a Revenge, that *Chæreas* could not any longer forbear the taking of ſome Friends and Confidents into the Secret; and *Popedius* for one, a Member of the Bench of *Senators*; one that had gradually gone thorough all his Degrees of *Honour*: And as to the reſt, a *Diſciple* of *Epicurus*, and a Lover of his Eaſe. This *Popedius* had been accuſed of ſcandalous and dangerous Words againſt *Caius*: His Accuſer was his profeſs'd Enemy, *Timidius*; and the Accuſation founded upon the pretended Teſtimony of *Quintilia*, a very beautiful Perſon of a Woman, and a *Comedian*. This *Quintilia* being generally belov'd, had the Fortune to be highly in the good Graces alſo of *Popedius*, among the reſt. The Charge being a Contrivance, and *Quintilia* refuſing to take away the Life of her Lover by a falſe Evidence, *Timidius* call'd out to have her put to the Torture, and *Caius* at next Word commanded *Chæreas* to ſee it done immediately; making Choice of him the rather for thoſe butcherly Services, in Hope that it might inſtigate him to a more unmerciful Cruelty, to ſhew that he was not ſo *Hen-hearted* a Wretch as he was taken to be. As they were carrying out *Quintilia* to the Torment, ſhe ſet her Foot upon the Toe of one of the *Conſpirators* in her Paſſage, giving him to underſtand by that Hint, that he was ſafe, and that ſhe would confeſs nothing. It was much againſt the Inclination of *Chæreas* to execute that Office, but lying under ſuch a Neceſſity, he was forc'd to torment her with great Severity. And finding that ſhe ſtood it out, he conducted her to the Preſence of *Cæſar* miſerably torn and disfigur'd: Even to ſuch a Degree, that the *Emperour* himſelf had a Compaſſion for her, and diſcharg'd *Popedius* upon it; preſenting the Woman alſo with a conſiderable Sum of Money to comfort her in ſome Meaſure for the Calamity ſhe had ſo reſolutely and ſo happily undergone.

who meditates a Revenge, and tells Popedius *of it.*

Popedius *accuſed by* Timidius *upon the Evidence of* Quintilia.

Quintilia *put to the Torture, and* Chæreas *to execute it.*

She ſtands it out, and Popedius *is acquitted.*

This Tenderneſs of *Caius* was yet a farther Aggravation to the Affliction of *Chæreas*, to think of the Scandal it had brought upon him, in being the Inſtrument of ſo mercileſs a Cruelty as the *Emperour himſelf* relented at. When Things were come to this Point, *Chæreas* could hold no longer, but brake his Mind to *Clemens* and *Papinius*; the latter of them a *Tribune*, as well as *himſelf*, and the *other* a *Captain* of the City Troops. *Clemens*, ſays he, *it is well known that you and I were never wanting in our Duty to the Emperour; and that it has been our Care and Buſineſs to diſcover and to defeat ſeveral Conſpirators againſt him. Some we have put to Death; others to Tortures, till he himſelf had pity'd them: But are theſe Commiſſions for* Soldiers *and Men of Honour, or for Butchers?* *Clemens* reply'd not one Word, but betray'd in his Countenance the Confuſion of his Soul, for miniſtring in ſo infamous a Drudgery, contrary to his Conſci-

Chæreas *breaks his Mind to* Clemens *and* Papinius.

ence

A generous and a bold Diſcourſe of Chæreas.

ence, though without daring ſo much as to open his Mouth in one Syllable againſt *Cæſar*. *Chæreas* however took a little Heart upon this breaking of the Ice, and follow'd his Diſcourſe: *I ſhall not need*, ſays he, *to run thorough the Hiſtory of the Miſeries, either of the City, or of the Empire. They are too notorious to be conceal'd, and common Fame makes* Caius *to be the Author of them; but if a Body may ſpeak the Truth of the Matter, I my ſelf am effectually the Cauſe of all this Miſchief; and* Papinius *here, and you,* Clement, *before us both. We are the Men that have brought this Ruine upon* Rome, *and upon* Mankind, *in the Execution of other Peoples Orders. And then when we might put an End to theſe Outrages, both upon the Citizens and upon the reſt of the* Subjects, *if we had but a hearty Mind to it, we proſtitute our ſelves to the meaneſt of ſervile Offices, fitter for* Hang-men *than for* Sword-men. *And we do not ſtand up neither for the* Roman Empire *or* Liberty; *but in the Defence of thoſe that bring us both Bodies and Souls into* Slavery. *And what's our Buſineſs, but to do the* Journey-work *of a* Tyrant, *in committing* bloody Murders, *and inflicting* execrable Torments *upon others, till ſome Body elſe ſhall take the Office out of our Hands, and do as much for us! For this abject Reſignation of our ſelves, is look'd upon as an Act, not of Kindneſs, but of Fear and Force; and conſequently renders us rather ſuſpected than beloved. He is ſo wonted to human Blood, that he never conſults the Reaſon of Things, but acts according to the Extravagance of his preſent Humour, and the Crime is the leaſt Part of the Queſtion. We are all to be deſtroy'd one after another, and our own Turn will probably be next, if we do not provide in Time for the ſecuring both of our Lives, and the common Liberty.*

Chæreas *ſuſpects* Clemens, *and poſts away to* Sabinus.

Clemens, though he could not but approve of the Opinion and Reſolution of *Chæreas*, charm'd him yet to Secrecy; for the leaſt Word of the Plot, before it came to Execution, would be the Death of every Man concern'd in't. *But*, ſays he, *Time and Patience bring forth Opportunities. As for my own Part, my ſcuffling Days are over, and the ſafeſt Counſels are beſt; but honeſter I am ſure you can never take. Clemens* with theſe Words went his Way home, turning every Thing over in his own Thoughts that he had both heard and ſaid.

This Coldneſs of *Clemens* made *Chæreas* begin to ſuſpect that he was not in ſafe Hands, and ſo he poſted away preſently to *Cornelius Sabinus*, his *Brother-Tribune*, whom he knew to be a Man of Value; an Aſſerter of his Country's *Liberty*, and as much unſatisfy'd as any Man with the preſent State of Things. He made no Doubt, either of his *Integrity*, or of his *Judgment* in the Caſe, and ſo reſolv'd to conſult him upon the whole Affair. He had ſome Jealouſy, as I told you, of *Clemens*, and therefore preſs'd the Buſineſs to a Diſpatch, without any more Delay. When he found that *Sabinus* and himſelf were both of a Mind, as to the Main, ſaving only that he kept the Secret to himſelf, there was no Need, he ſaid, of deliberating what to do with a Man that was come to a Reſolution upon the Matter before-hand: Inſomuch that *Sabinus* promis'd him, not only *good Faith* and *Privacy*, but his *helping Hand* too, which more and more confirmed *Chæreas* in his Purpoſe.

Sabinus *promiſes to ſtand by him.*

Chæreas *and* Sabinus *confer with* Minucianus.

They were both of Opinion for puſhing it immediately to an Iſſue, and ſo went to *Minucianus* together, a Man of their own Make and Temper, both for Greatneſs of Mind, and a ſevere Love and Reverence for Virtue. *Caius* had alſo a Jealouſy of him upon Account of the Death of *Lepidus*, his moſt intimate Friend: Beſide the Hatred he bare him, as a Perſon of Honour and Quality, which was a Quarrel he had in common to all Men of that Character. They did effectually know one another's Minds before-hand, by ſeveral Words they let fall that look'd askew upon the Government, though they did not think fit to make Proclamation of their Diſguſt at the preſent Menage of Affairs: But ſo it was, in Fine, that they underſtood, and lov'd one another, by a Kind of Inſtinct, for the Sake of the ſame Inclination and Cauſe. Now ſuch was the Reſpect that *Chæreas* and *Sabinus* had for the eminent Dignity, Virtue and Merit of *Minucianus*, that as they formerly paid him all Deference upon other Occaſions, ſo they deſir'd him upon this Meeting alſo, to break the Ice, and open them the Way into their Buſineſs. *Well then*, ſays *Minucianus* to *Chæreas*, *what was the Word the Emperour gave you to Day? (For it was in every Body's Mouth, how* Caius *would ſtill be making Sport with* Chæreas *upon that Occaſion.) Chæreas* laid Hold of the Hint: And ſpeaking with all Liberty, having the Honour of *Minucianus* for his Security: *Whatever the* Emperour's *Word was*, ſays he, *let yours be LIBERTY; and I give you a thouſand Thanks for putting it into my Head to attempt to do the Thing I had ſo great a Mind to do. It is Encouragement ſufficient to me, to find that you and I agree in the ſame Thought, and that we did ſo even before we met. This ſingle Sword of mine*, ſays he, *will ſerve us both; wherefore let us about our Buſineſs, and be you pleaſed only with your Prudence and Courage to lead the Way; with this Aſſurance, that whatever you command me ſhall be moſt heartily and readily obey'd. A brave Soul never wants Arms, but it ſelf rather ſupplies them; for 'tis not the Weapon, but the Hand, and the Will, that*

The Word LIBERTY.

A Reſolution taken.

does the Execution. All Time is loſt methinks till we are in Action; and for the Event, whether I ſtand or fall in the Attempt, the Care is taken. For I have ſomewhat elſe to think of, and to do, than to ſtand calculating and computing upon my particular Safety *or* Fortune, *when the* Laws *of my* Country, *and the* Lives *and* Liberties *of ſo many worthy Men are in Danger to be ſwallow'd up by this mercileſs Tyrant. And I hope you will not envy* Chæreas *the Honour of a Part at leaſt, if not that of Striking the Blow it ſelf, in an Exploit that has the warrant of your Approbation.* Upon this frank and generous Declaration, *Minucianus* took him into his Arms; bidding him go on and proſper, and ſo with an Interchange of mutual Aſſurances, they embrac'd and parted.

They agree; embrace and part.

We have a Story of a wonderful Paſſage in *Confirmation* of the *Conſpirators* in their Deſign. There was a *Voice* heard among the People, they ſay, as *Chæreas* was entring into the *Palace*, calling out to him to *go-on in Gods Name with what he had undertaken.* It gave *Chæreas* a Jealouſy at firſt, that he was betray'd; but he found it afterward to be either an animating Hint from ſome of the *Complices*, or elſe a providential Declaration from Heaven in Favour of his Purpoſe.

A Voice heard bidding them go on in God's Name

There was at this Time gather'd together ſome of all Sorts that were Well-Willers to the *Deſign*; as *Senators*, *Knights*, *Soldiers*, and in Truth who not; for all Mortals were agreed in this, that either *Caius* muſt *periſh*, or the *Commonwealth:* So that every Man wrought for himſelf in a Kind of Competition who ſhould do moſt, either by Word or by Deed, toward the ſaving of his Country; or, which was all one, toward the Deſtruction of *Caius:* Nay *Calliſtus* himſelf, *Caius*'s *Freeman* and *Favourite*, made one of the *Party*. This Man had a mighty Power with the *Emperour*, which he abuſed to ſuch a Degree, that all People equally hated and dreaded him; for he behaved himſelf liker a Partner of the Government, than a Subject. He was grown vaſtly rich, upon Corruption and Bribes; but with all this, he could not think himſelf ſafe under that Prince, for he knew him to be fickle and implacable; and when he had any Miſchief in his Head, never to be mov'd. He was in Danger upon many Accounts, but moſt of all for his Wealth, which in thoſe Days was a Temptation hardly to be reſiſted. This *Calliſtus* finding *Caius* ſo ſlippery and uncertain, thought he could not do better than make a Friend in Time of the next Succeſſor, and in that Proſpect to ingratiate himſelf with *Claudius:* So that over he went privately into that Intereſt; telling him in Confidence, how *Caius* had been ſeveral Times putting him upon it to *poyſon* him; but that he ſtill found out ſome Device or other to ſhift it off. Now for my own Part, I ſhould rather take this for an Invention of *Calliſtus*'s to curry Favour with his *new Patron*, than any real Matter of *Truth* and *Fact:* for if *Caius* had had a Mind to murder his Uncle, *Calliſtus*'s Excuſe would never have brought him off; and *Calliſtus* himſelf ſhould never have ſcap'd neither for being ſo remiſs and dilatory in the Diſcharge of his Duty; but *Claudius* look'd upon him however as the Inſtrument of Providence for his Deliverance, and very thankful to him he was for juſt nothing at all.

The *Confederates*, all this while were ſo ſlow and heavy, that the main Execution was ſtill put off from Day to Day, though much againſt the Will of *Chæreas*; for he was of Opinion that no Opportunity was to be loſt for the doing of a Thing ſo neceſſary to be done. *He would not have wiſh'd a better Time or Place*, he ſaid, *than the* Capitol *itſelf, when he was ſacrificing for his Daughter: Or to have pitch'd him Headlong from the Battlements of his Palace at any Time, when he was ſcattering his Donatives among the People: Or he might as well have been taken off he thought, upon any Solemnity, at his own private Ceremonies. For* Caius *was ſecure and careleſs to Admiration, when at the ſame Time his Domeſticks and the People about him were almoſt all Traytors in their Hearts.* *Chæreas* was ſo impatient of theſe Delays for Fear of ſlipping his Time, and loſing all at laſt, that he upbraided the Confederates by Way of Reproach; telling them that if they made any Difficulty of going thorough with the Work, upon a ſuperſtitious Opinion that there was any Thing *ſacred* in the *Perſon* of *Caius*, he would take the Diſpatch of it upon himſelf in his own ſingle Perſon, and be anſwerable for the doing of it even without a Weapon. His Aſſociates could not but highly approve of his Zeal for the common Cauſe, but they were yet for putting it off a little longer, till the Celebration of the Games that were inſtituted in Honour of *Auguſtus:* He that firſt took the ſovereign Power from the People into his own Hands. There was a *Theatre* erected before the Palace, for the *Roman Nobility*, with their *Wives* and *Children*, in the Preſence of the *Emperour himſelf*. Upon this Occaſion, there would be ſo many thouſands of People crouded into ſo narrow a Compaſs, that the Thing might, be done, they thought, with all the Eaſe in the World, and the Guards not get in Time enough to the Reſcue, though they had never ſo much a Mind to't; whereas upon an Attempt at a Venture, there would be the Riſque of a Miſcarriage; the City in an Uproar upon it, and betwixt Searches and Soldiers, the

The Execution put off from Day to Day.

Chæreas *impatient of the Delay;*

and offers to take it ſingly upon himſelf.

The Day for the Execution off and on.

Chæreas *animates his Companions.*

whole Party ſeiz'd and cut off, and the Contrivance finally diſappointed. *Chæreas* agreed to the Matter; ſo that a Reſolution was taken to do the Deed on the *firſt Day* of the *publick Shews:* But Fortune over rul'd in the Caſe, and put it off to the third, which was the *laſt Day* of the *Spectacles.* And they would have had much ado to get over it then too, if *Chæreas* had not call'd his Companions together, and put new Mettle into them, with an inflaming Speech to this Purpoſe. *We are here met together* (ſays he) *in a righteous Cauſe, and upon a very honeſt and an honourable Occaſion; but betwixt* Cowardice *and* Lazineſs, *to our Shame be it ſpoken, without advancing one Step in our Buſineſs. Here's a great Deal of Time loſt, and that's not all neither, but our Country, our Lives, Liberties and Fortunes are all in Danger to be betray'd and ruin'd, beyond all Recovery by this Delay, and all to ſet up* Caius *more triumphant than ever: And whats the Fruit now of this Faint-Heartedneſs, but Loſs of Liberty, and Increaſe of Tyranny? Whereas we ſhould attend our own Security in the firſt Place, the Welfare of the publick in the next, an immortal Glory to our ſelves in the Concluſion.* After this Diſcourſe, he gave them ſome Time to conſider upon it; but there did they ſtand as if they were mop'd, without one Word ſpeaking, either of Contradiction or Reply. So that to rowze them up once again. *Hark ye, my Maſters,* ſays he, *what do you mean by theſe* Heſitations *and* Put-offs, *one after another thus? Do you not know that this Meeting is upon the very Point of breaking up, and that* Caius *is going for* Alexandria *to take the* Tour *of* Ægypt *ſo ſoon as it is over? Would it not be to our eternal Honour do you think, to part with the Scandal of Mankind out of our Hands, as if we had ſent him all over the World to make Publication what* Slaves *the* Romans *are, and to have ſome* Free-ſpirited Ægyptian *do that Right to Mankind upon this bloody Oppreſſor, that we were afraid to do ourſelves? Come, come, my Friends, 'tis paſt Deliberation-Time of Day, and I'll expect no longer, but do the Part of a Man, and put it to an immediate Iſſue; for I will not allow any Fleſh living to diſpute with me the Glory of ſubduing this* Monſter.

A final Reſolution.

Chæreas *goes to* Cæſar *for the* Word.

Theſe Words ſet them all on Fire to have the Deed done immediately, and *Chæreas* himſelf in the ſame Heat, put on his *Sword* and went to *Court,* as the *Tribunes* uſually do in the like Caſes; it being his Turn that Day in Courſe, as *Captain of the Guard,* to go to the *Emperour* for the *Word.* The People were now preſſing in mighty Multitudes toward the Palace, crouding, thruſting, and juſtling one another to get Places; and *Caius* himſelf not a little pleas'd with the Sight of this Scuffle and Confuſion; for here were no Seats or Benches kept apart for *Senators, Knights,* or other Degrees of People, according to their Qualities; but *Men* and *Women, Maſters* and *Slaves* ſat all promiſcuouſly together, and *firſt come firſt ſerved.* This Solemnity being dedicated to the Honour of *Auguſtus, Caius* went now, and offer'd up a *Sacrifice* to the *imperial Patron:* And it ſo happen'd, that upon, the Fall of the *Victim,* ſome of the Blood ſpringing out, dropt upon the Robe of *Aſprenas,* one of the *Senators. Caius* made himſelf merry with the *Omen,* but others were troubled at it; and it was his Lot, purſuant to that Foreboding, to be ſlain in the following Tumult. It was much taken Notice of, and wonder'd at, that *Caius* was in better Humour this Day than ordinary.

Caius *ſacrifices, and then goes to the Theatre.*

A Deſcription of the Theatre.

So ſoon as the *Sacrifice* was over, he took his Friends about him, and went to the *Theatre,* which was only a Frame of Wood-Work to be taken to Pieces and put together again as it was every Year upon this Occaſion. It had two Gates to it; one toward the open Court, and the other over againſt the Paſſage, for the *Actors* to go in and out by, without troubling the *Spectators:* And near at Hand there was a Kind of Box or Partition, for the Players and the Muſick. When the Multitude had now taken their Places, and *Chæreas* with the Reſt of the *Tribunes,* not far from *Cæſar,* who ſat upon the right Wing of the *Theatre; Bathybius* a *Senator* and a *military Man* asked *Cluvitus* ſoftly in his Ear, a Man of *conſular Dignity* that ſat next him, if he had heard any News or not; he told him, none at all. Why then, ſays the other, I am to tell you that *the Tragedy of the* Tyrant *is to be plaid to Day. Cluvitus* bad him in a Verſe out of *Homer, have a Care that none of the* Græcians *over-heard him.* They came then to the Frolick of throwing Apples, Birds, and other vulgar Curioſities down to the People for them to ſcratch and ſcramble; which *Cæſar* was much delighted with. And after this there follow'd two Circumſtances that had the Countenance of an unlucky Preſage; the one was the Repreſentation of a lew'd, and a corrupt *Judge* brought to *publick Juſtice;* and the other was the Tragedy of *Cinyra,* wherein ſhe her ſelf and her Daughter [a] *Myrrha* were both kill'd, and a great Deal of Blood ſpilt for the *Decorum* of the *Action,* both about the *Gibbet* and about *Cinyra:* And this, they ſay, was upon the *Anniverſary* to the Day whereupon *Philip* the *Son* of *Amyntas,* King of *Macedonia,* was *kill'd* by his Friend *Pauſanias* upon entering the *Theatre.*

Now this being the laſt Day of the *Spectacle, Caius* was in ſome Diſpute within himſelf whether he ſhould ſtay it out while he was there, or go-off for a while to waſh and eat, and ſo come back again. *Minucianus* taking his Place near *Caius*, and ſeeing *Chæreas* go forth, roſe from his Seat to incourage him in his Reſolution for Fear of loſing the preſent Opportunity; but *Caius* taking him gently by the Skirt, asked him in a friendly Way, *Whither is this good Man a going?* So *Minucianus* ſat him down again, but a while after roſe once more under the former Apprehenſion, and *Caius* let him go, not knowing what neceſſary Buſineſs it might be that call'd him aſide. *Aſprenas*, upon this, being all along privy and aſſiſting to the Plot, propoſed it to *Cæſar* to go out, and waſh, and eat, and refreſh himſelf, as he was uſed to do, and afterward to return.

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[a] See *Sam. Petiti Leges Atticas,* p. 248.

The Conſpirators poſted.

Chæreas, having by this Time poſted the Conſpirators in their proper Stations, and given them their neceſſary Inſtructions, was ſo impatient of any longer Delay, being already paſt three in the Afternoon, that he was for going back to the *Theatre* again, and aſſaulting *Cæſar* as he ſat, though he knew very well that it muſt of Neceſſity coſt the Lives of a great many *Knights* and *Senators* to go thorough with it: But he reckon'd upon the Deliverance of the Publick to be a Benefit infinitely more valuable than the Loſs of ſo many particular Men's Lives. As *Chæreas* was marching toward the *Theatre*, the *Word* was given in the Croud that *Cæſar was up, and returning to his Palace.* The Conſpirators call'd out to make the *Emperor* Way, as if it had been by Order and Direction; but in Truth to get themſelves more Elbow-room for the Execution of the Enterprize. *Claudius*, the Uncle went firſt, and then *Marcus Minucianus*, the *Husband* of his *Siſter*, and *Valerius Aſiaticus*; Perſons, whoſe Quality gave them a Privilege of Precedency without any Interruption: *Caius* himſelf with *Paulus Aruntius* following them. When he came at laſt to enter the *Palace*, he left the ordinary Way, which *Claudius* and the reſt had taken before him, and where his Officers and Servants attended to receive him; and ſo turn'd off into a *By-way* leading to the *Baths* to ſee ſome Boys there that were ſent him out of *Aſia* for their Skill in the ſinging and compoſing of *holy Hymns*, and in the *Pyrrhick* Way of *Dancing*. In this narrow Paſſage, *Chæreas* came up to *Caius* for the *Word*; which was ſo foul and beaſtly, (at the old Rate) that the *Tribune* return'd the *Indignity* with Language in his own Way; and upon that, a terrible Cut with his Sword, but the Wound yet not mortal: Some will have it to be done on Purpoſe to make his Death the more miſerable and tormenting, by the Repetition of the Blows; but this ſeems to me very unlikely, for this was not an Action to be drawn out at Length: Or if *Chæreas* had any ſuch Thing in his Thought, or Intention, he muſt have been the greateſt Fool certainly in Nature, to prefer the gratifying of a wild and an intemperate Paſſion, by ſo dangerous a Delay, when he might have ſecur'd both himſelf, and his Complices, by the Diſpatch; for ſo long as *Caius* had Life in him, ſo long had his Guards and his Friends Time to conſider of ſuccouring him: So that he endanger'd himſelf and his Companions more than *Caius*, by neglecting the Means of withdrawing both himſelf and them out of the Reach of Revenge. So that the Loſs of Time would in all Probability be the Loſs of himſelf. But this is a Caſe wherein all People are at Liberty to think their Pleaſure. The Wound, in ſhort, was betwixt the Neck and the Shoulder, where it chopt upon a Bone that ſtopt it from going further. He made no Outcry upon the receiving of it, nor call'd to any of his Friends for Help; either out of Pride of Stomach, or that he knew not whom to truſt. He gave a Groan however, and made an Attempt to get away, but *Cornelius Sabinus* prevented it by a Blow that brought him to his Knees: And that being follow'd by an unanimous Outcry of [*down with him, diſpatch him,*] they cut him to Pieces. It was *Aquila*, they ſay, that gave him his *Death*'s Wound; but all People aſcrib'd the Glory of the Action to *Chæreas*. He had his *Aſſociates*, 'tis true; but the *Propoſal* of it was originally his; and ſo was the *Contrivance*, and the Manner of bringing it about. He was the *firſt* that had the *Heart* to adviſe and communicate upon it, and that by his great *Wiſdom* and *Reſolution*, when he found how it took, *formed* and *united* the *Confederacy*; *animated* and *ſupported* the *Courage* of his Friends; and when it came at laſt to the *Pinch*, he was the firſt that ſtruck the *Blow*; and by his own *Bravery*, laid the Pride of this Tyrant in the Duſt. So that whatſoever was done by others to the promoting of this Exploit, muſt be attributed to the Prudence, Induſtry, and Virtue of *Chæreas*. This was the End of *Caius*, who dy'd by many Hands, and by many Wounds.

The Manner of the Execution.

The Glory of the Action aſcrib'd to Chæreas.

But the great Difficulty was yet behind; that is to ſay, how *Chæreas* and his Companions ſhould get off again, after the finiſhing of this mighty Work; beſide the Aſtoniſhment they were in upon ſuch an Atchievement. They had the *Outrage* of a wild and a *ſeditious Multitude* to encounter, for the Death of a *popular Prince*; the *Fury* and *Revenge* of the *Soldiery*: The Ways narrow where the Fact was committed, and cover'd with *Officers* and *Guards* that were there upon Duty. So that finding there was no getting back again by the Way they came; they ſtruck-off to

The Conſpirators ſlip away to the Quarters of Germanicus.

the Houſe of *Germanicus*; the Father of *Caius* whom they had newly butcher'd. This Quarter borders upon the *Palace-Royal*, and the whole Pile is ſo far all of a Piece, as the beautifying of it with additional Buildings by ſeveral Emperors from Time to Time, could make it; and all thoſe Pieces bear the Names of their *reſpective Founders* to this very Day. Being now clear of the Rabble, they were ſafe enough at preſent, ſo long as the Death of *Cæſar* could be conceal'd.

The German Guards *raging mad upon it.*

The *German Guards of the Body*, known by the Name of the *Celtick Legion*, were the firſt that got Intelligence of it; Men naturally fierce and cholerick, and like other *Barbarians*, that for the moſt Part underſtand little of what they do. They are *ſtrong-body'd Men* that will ſtand any *Shock*; *bold*, and *forward* to attack; and taking *Number* for *Number*, hardly to be *beaten*. Theſe bluſtering Fellows were raging mad upon the News of the *Emperour's Death*, not for the Loſs ſo much of the Man, as of their Profit; for they had a bountiful Maſter of him, and he kept himſelf in Credit with them by the Force of frequent *Donatives* and *Rewards*. Theſe People, under the Command of *Sabinus*, originally a *Gladiator*, and preferr'd purely for a brutal Sturdineſs of Body, without the leaſt Pretence of Title to it, by the Virtue, either of himſelf or of his Anceſtors: Theſe People, I ſay, under this Commander, ran up and down with drawn Swords from Houſe to Houſe, hunting after the *Murderers* of *Cæſar*. The firſt Man they met with was *Aſprenas*, that had his Robe ſtain'd with the *Blood* of the *Sacrifice*, as I told you before; a moſt unluckly *Token*, and him they tore to Pieces. The next they ſeized was *Norbanus*, of the firſt Quality of the City, and one that had the Blood of ſeveral eminent *Generals* in his Veins. But finding that the *Dignity* of his *Extraction* wrought nothing upon the barbarous Fury of thoſe *brutal Ruffians*, he diſarmed the firſt Man that aſſaulted him; and being a Perſon of a wonderful Strength and Courage, would never have dy'd unreveng'd, if he had not been oppreſs'd by Numbers. The *Third* that had the ſame hard Fortune with the former, to fall into the Hands of the *Germans*, was *Anteius*, with ſome few others; who was drawn out with a Curioſity to ſee the dead Body of *Caius*, a Perſon whom he hated for his Father's Sake, of the ſame Name, whom he not only baniſh'd, but afterwards caus'd him to be put to Death by his Order This *Anteius* came out upon this Occaſion, to entertain himſelf with this grateful Spectacle; but as he was endeavouring to ſhift for himſelf in the Hurry of a Tumult, the *Germans* found him out; and without any Diſtinction of guilty or innocent, cut all to Pieces that they encounter'd in their Way. And this was the unhappy End of theſe miſerable Men.

Aſprenas, Norbanus, *and* Anteius *cut to Pieces.*

When the News of *Cæſar's Death* was brought to the *Theatre*, the Wonder and Aſtoniſhment it met with was more than the Credit; for though People would be well enough content to hear of what they had ſo long and ſo often wiſh'd for, many were afraid yet of believing it, for Fear it ſhould prove falſe, and others as loth to believe it, becauſe they were afraid of finding it true. But ſome again ſtumbled at it as a Thing equally ridiculous to attempt, and impoſſible to compaſs. Now theſe for the moſt Part were Women and Children, Slaves, and a certain Sort of Soldiers too, that making a double Advantage of their Services, both by Pay, and what they got by Oppreſſion, as the Miniſters of Pride and Tyranny, aſſiſted in the Perſecution of good Men, and became Sharers in the Booty. As for the Women, the Children, and the common People, they were cajol'd with fine Sights, Spectacles, Prizes, Doles, and Largeſſes, and other Amuſements of that Kind, under a Pretext of making the People eaſy; but in Truth, to gratify the blood-thirſty Vanity of the Oppreſſor. The Bondmen, they were indulged in the Licenſe allow'd them of controuling and affronting their Patrons, and *Caius* their Friend to ſtand by them in all theſe Controverſies. Neither was there any Difficulty at all of making good any Accuſation whatſoever, where the Servant had no more to do toward the gaining of his Liberty, and the making of his Fortune, but to diſcover where his Maſter's Money was; the Law it ſelf entitling the Informer to an eighth Part of the Value of the Confiſcation.

As for thoſe Perſons of Condition, to whom the Report might appear credible, either as privy to the Plot perhaps, or as Well-Willers to it, or as having ſome Reaſon more than ordinary perchance to gueſs at it, they were ſo far from rejoicing at the Rumour, that they made as if they knew nothing at all of the Matter. For they were afraid of betraying their Good-will by their very Looks, if they ſhould but enter upon the Diſcourſe. The deeper, in fine, that they were in the Conſpiracy, the more ignorant they appear'd to be, for it was Death without Mercy to be ſo much as ſuſpected.

The Story of Caius *reported ſeveral Ways.*

The Story in the mean Time went about ſeveral Ways. Some had it that *Caius* was wounded indeed, and under the Care of the Surgeons, but not kill'd. Now it was not proper for People under theſe Circumſtances to declare themſelves one Way or other; for either the Reporters were of *Caius*'s *Faction*, and conſequently under a Suſpicion of Partiality on that Hand; or if they were Enemies, it was not ſafe on the other Side to be too forward in the believing and publiſhing of ill News to be true, as if they wiſh'd it ſo: But there was ſtarted at the ſame Time another Invention that damp'd the Hearts of the Nobility more than all the reſt: Which was that *Cæſar*, upon the receiving of his Wounds, ran preſently into the *Market-Place*; and without ſtaying to be *dreſs'd*, all bloody as he was, made his Appeal there in a *declamatory Way* to the *People*. This Variety and Uncertainty of Reports put all Men to their Wit's End what to think, do, or ſay. But ſtir they durſt not, for Fear of Calumny, and Miſconſtruction; for the Queſtion was not ſo much what they intended, as how the Judges and Informers would underſtand it.

The German *Soldiers beſet the* Theatre;

All in a Fright, and Confuſion.

In this Diſtraction, the *Germans* with *Sword in Hand* beſet the *Theatre*, every Man there giving himſelf for loſt upon the firſt Sight of them, and expecting to have his Throat cut immediately upon the Place. While they ſtood trembling in the Anxiety of a Suſpence, whether to go or ſtay, for there was Danger both Ways, the Soldiers breaking in upon them, put the whole Theatre into a frightful Clamour, with a thouſand Supplications, Submiſſions, Deprecations, Proteſtations and Excuſes, accompany'd with Tears, Groans and Invocations upon all the Gods to atteſt their Innocence. *A Conſpiracy or no Conſpiracy*, they could ſay nothing to it, they ſaid, neither did they omit any Thing in their preſent Extremity, that the Senſe of their Danger might put into their Mouths to ſave their Lives. This diſmal Spectacle drew Compaſſion from the hard Hearts, even of the *Germans* themſelves, and put a Stop to the farther Progreſs of their Fury, having done already what they were in ſome Meaſure aſham'd of, as inhumane as they were, in their Butchery upon *Aſprenas* and his Companions, and then carrying their *Heads* up and down in Oſtentation, for a Shew, till in the End they were depoſited upon the Altar. What could be more afflicting to their Friends, conſidering the Dignity of the Men, and the inſolent Barbarity of the Triumph, than this horrid Action? And they were not a little ſolicitous for themſelves too, for their own Danger was not yet over. Nay the greateſt Enemies that *Caius* left behind him, could not rejoyce heartily at his Death, for the Danger they themſelves were in, not long to ſurvive him.

But while Things were in this Confuſion, there was one *Aruncius*, a *publick Cryer*; a Man of an *Eſtate*, and of ſo *great Power* and *Credit* with the *People*, that he did what he would with them. This *Aruncius* came into the Theatre in a deep Mourning, like a Noble-Man of *Rome*; and with all the Formalities of Sorrow and Lamentation that are cuſtomary upon the Loſs of our neareſt Relations; where he *made Proclamaon with a loud Voice, that the Emperour was dead*; upon this the *Germans* relented, and the Officers commanded the Soldiers to put up their Swords; whereupon the whole Uproar was quieted. This was moſt certainly the ſaving of the People's Lives that were coop'd up in the *Theatre*, and of all others whatſoever that might have fall'n into the Power of the *Germans*; for ſo long as they could have flatter'd themſelves with any Hope of the *Emperour*'s being *alive*, they would never have ſtuck at any Manner of Miſchief. They had ſo great an Affection for *Caius*, that they would have redeemed his Life, even with the Loſs of their own, and without any Regard to the miſerable State of the *Common-Wealth*. But now upon the Certainty of the Thing, that impetuous Deſire of *Revenge* fell of it ſelf; when there could be no longer any Occaſion for the conferring of Obligations on the one Side, or for returning Acknowledgments on the other: Beſide the Apprehenſion they had of the Power of the *Senate* upon continuing their Violence, in Caſe that Government ſhould come in Play again. Thus was the Rage of the *Celtick Legion* appeaſed.

The Death of Caſar *publiſh'd by Proclamation.*

Chæreas all this while, being exceedingly in Pain for Fear *Minutianus* ſhould fall into the Hands of the *Germans*, took as many of the Soldiers one by one as he could truſt, to try if they could tell any News of him; and with earneſt Entreaties recommending him to their Care, if it might fall in their Way to ſerve him. By this Means *Chæreas* and *Clemens* were brought to him; and *Minutianus* applying himſelf to *Chæreas*, told him that he could not but infinitely honour him for ſo generous a Reſolution and Undertaking; and that he would take upon himſelf to give him Thanks, in the Name of the *Commonwealth*, for ſo publick a Service, and as well for his *Conduct* in the *Menage* of his Undertaking, as for his *Courage* in the *Execution* of it. *This*, ſays he, *may ſerve to ſhew us the Condition and the Fate of* Tyranny, *that never fails, after the ſhort Pleaſure of a lawleſs Domination, to terminate in an unhappy and a ſhameful Concluſion, that renders the Oppreſſor hateful to all good Men:* As this was *Cæſar*'s Caſe, who made Way for this Conſpiracy by a Violation of the Laws, and an outragious Courſe of intolerable Inſolence and Injuſtice, upon his beſt Friends: Who upon theſe Provocations became his Enemies, and ſo the Inſtruments of his

Minutianus. Clemens, *and* Chæreas *brought together.*

Deſtruction; but he himſelf all this while, was the Author, and the firſt moving Cauſe of his own Ruine. The Guards being now withdrawn, the People in the Theatre were all riſing in a Hurry to ſhift for themſelves. The Occaſion of it was this. *Arcyon* a *Phyſician* was call'd away to look after ſome wounded Men, and ſent away ſeveral about him, under a Pretence of going to provide Remedies; but, in Truth, to put them out of Harm's Way.

The *Senate*, in the mean Time, met in the *Palace*, where the Multitude preſs'd in upon them in Throngs, to demand *Juſtice* upon the *Murderers* of the *Emperour*. The *People* were in earneſt, but the *Senate* only held fair with them for a Countenance. While the Rabble was in this Fit of ſtorming and hunting up and down after the Aſſaſſins, *Valerius Aſiaticus* a conſular Man, put himſelf among them in the Heat of their Outcries and Clamours, to know what was become of the Murderers of *Caius*, and who was the Villain that kill'd him. *Would I had been the Man my ſelf*, ſays *Valerius*, and ſo he went his Way.

The Senate meets, and orders the Soldiers and People to depart:

The *Senate* proceeded then to a Decree, in Condemnation of *Caius*, and paſs'd an Order for both People and Soldiers to depart quietly to their own Homes and Quarters, with Promiſes of certain Exemptions and Privileges to the one, and of Rewards and Gratuities to the other, if they demean'd themſelves peaceably as they ought to do. By this Means there was a ſeaſonable Stop put to the Uproar, which otherwiſe might have broken out into freſh Tumults, ſacrilegious Violences, Rapine, and all Manner of Confuſion. The whole Bench of *Senators* being now met, and thoſe eſpecially that were of the Plot, they began to have ſome Thoughts of taking the Power into their own Hands, and ſetting up for themſelves again.

The Senate inclining to ſet up for it ſelf.

CHAP. II.

The Senators *and* Soldiers *divided about the* Form of Government. *The* Soldiers *for* Monarchy; *and* Claudius *the* Man. *They ſet him up, and declare him Emperour. The* News *carried to* Saturninus, *in the* Senate-Houſe. Saturninus *in Favour with the popular State.* Chæreas *goes to the* Conſuls *for the* Word; *and it was given him,* [Liberty.] *The firſt Act of the* Senate, *ſince* Cæſar *took away their Power.* Chæreas *delivers the* Word. *The Wife and Daughter of* Caius *put to Death. The* Death *of* Ceſonia. *The* Death *and* Character *of* Caius. Claudius *hides himſelf. The Character of* Claudius. *The Heads of* Aſprenas, &c. *ſhew'd for a* Spectacle. Claudius *diſcover'd by* Gratus, *in a Corner.* Gratus *puts him into Poſſeſſion of the* Government. *The* Soldiers *unanimous for* Claudius. *They carry him to the Camp, and ſo finiſh the Work. The* Soldiers *and* People *divided betwixt a* Monarchy *and a* Commonwealth. *The* Senate *ſends a menacing Meſſage to* Claudius, *but comes to a peaceable Concluſion.*

The Senators and Soldiers divided about the Form of Government.

WHILE the *Senators* were debating on the one Hand, the Soldiers were at Work in a Counſel of War on the other, upon the Queſtion, whether a *popular*, or an *imperial* Government; and came to this Reſolution, that the former was neither good for the whole Body, nor for themſelves; for the People, they ſaid, could never anſwer ſo many preſſing Neceſſities of the State: Neither was it for their own Intereſt, either to be put quite out of Play by a wrong Choice, or to have ſo many Maſters, having been rather the *Companions* than the *Servants* of the *former Adminiſtrator*: So that they were of Opinion in this unſettled State of Affairs, to chuſe *Claudius* Emperour, being the Uncle of the deceas'd, and much ſuperiour, both for his Birth, princely Qualities, and Education, to any of the *Senators* that were then gotten together; not making any Doubt but he would remember thoſe that rais'd him, and oblige all People according to their Deſerts. This was the Senſe of the whole Council: So that *Claudius* was immediately fetch'd away from his Houſe by the Soldiers, and declar'd Emperour. This was carry'd preſently to the *Senate-Houſe* to *Cnæus Sentius Saturninus*, who finding Matters upon ſuch a Pinch that now or never the Buſineſs was to be done, he ſtood up with a Speech in his Mouth; partly being put upon it, and partly by Inclination, and deliver'd his Thoughts upon this Occaſion, in Terms worthy of ſo generous a *Patriot*, and *Speaker*, and of ſo publick-ſpirited an Auditory. The Tenor of it was to this Effect.

The Soldiers for an imperial Government, and Claudius *the Man.*

They ſet him up, and declare him Emperour.

The News carry'd to Saturninus *in the* Senate-Houſe.

Saturninus in Favour with the popular State.

Who would have thought, ſays he, *my noble Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens, after ſo long an Interruption of our natural Freedom, that we ſhould ever have liv'd to draw one Breath of Liberty after it! And yet through the Goodneſs of the divine Providence in whoſe Power it is to give or to take, we are at this very Day and Hour, Freemen in ſome Degree yet once again. How long it will laſt we know not! But let the Event be what it will, and the Comfort of it never ſo ſhort, a* ſhort *Comfort is yet a* Comfort *ſtill. Shall we ac-*

count it as nothing now, for a Freeman to live free, in a free Country, and to have yet ſome Reliſh of the Sweets of our ancient Liberties in the flouriſhing Condition of our once free Common-Wealth; *even though we were to enjoy the Satisfaction of it but for one ſingle Hour. I can ſay little, 'tis true, to the Liberty of former Times, that was dead and gone before ever I came into the World; but I have a great Kindneſs, I muſt confeſs for the preſerving and improving of that Liberty, ſuch as it is, which we enjoy at preſent: And I cannot but eſteem thoſe Men to have been exceedingly happy, whoſe Lot it was to fall into an Age that aſſerted the common Liberty of Mankind, and the Study of Virtue. But the Perſons of all others that in my Opinion deſerve the moſt to be honour'd, next to the immortal Gods themſelves, are thoſe heroical Spirits that have had the Courage to give us yet ſome Taſte of it, how late ſoever, even in this abandon'd State of the World: A Bleſſing, which I wiſh with all my Soul, may be perpetuated to our Poſterity. For as to what Concerns our ſelves, one Day's Experience is abundantly ſufficient for our Comfort and Inſtruction, both young and old. Thoſe that are in Years will leave the World with leſs Regret, when they ſhall better underſtand the Advantages that attend Liberty; and for thoſe that are growing up, the very Example will inflame them with a virtuous Emulation of treading in the Steps of their famous Anceſtors. Virtue, in Short, is the main Buſineſs of humane Life; and ſo it ought to be, for in truth, Virtue is Liberty it ſelf: That is to ſay, the Liberty of the Mind, whatever becomes of the Body. Now I do not take upon me all this while to ſpeak of Things before my Time, any further than upon the Grounds of Hearſay and Tradition. But when I come to the Subject of* Tyranny, *and the calamitous Conſequences that attend it, I ſhall ſay no more upon that* Topick *than what I can make good in what I have ſeen and felt, and upon the infallible Certainty of woful and miſerable Experience. It confounds the Order of Government, and of all civil Communities. Great Minds, generous Diſpoſitions and glorious Actions, are diſcountenanc'd and ſuppreſs'd. It makes Men's Souls as ſervile as their Carcaſſes; quenches all honourable Emulations, and accommodates all Rules of Law and Equity, by Fear and Flattery, to the arbitrary Freak of ambitious and phantaſtical Princes. If we look back to the Uſurpation of* Julius Cæſar, *upon the Power of the People, and the* [a] *trampling of their Laws, Liberties and Government under Foot, in the erecting of a* tyrannical Monarchy *upon the Ruines of that* Common-Wealth; *and all this only to gratify the Heat of his ambitious Luſts; what a Train of Miſeries has that impotent and inſatiable Affectation of Dominion drawn after it, both upon the Government, and the Nation! What has the Succeſſion been but a Kind of a violent Competition betwixt the* Predeceſſor *and the* next Comer, *who ſhould do moſt Miſchief, either in the ſubverting of the Laws, or in the depopulating of the City at leaſt; by the ſuppreſſing of all Men of Honour and Virtue in it, and by all Sorts of Perſecution, even to the Degree of Death it ſelf: For they could not be ſafe but in the Hands of wicked Inſtruments, that had abandon'd themſelves to all ſorts of Iniquity, without either Shame or Conſcience. And not one ſingle Creature in the Number of theſe* imperious Maſters, *that had not done the Part of a moſt* barbarous Oppreſſor. *But the Tyrant* Caius, *who hath this Day receiv'd his Fate, he perhaps has outdone all the reſt in the licentious Rage of a brutal and an ungovernable Fury; ſparing neither Citizens, Friends, nor Relations, in a Defiance at the ſame Time, both of Humanity and Juſtice, and of all the Laws both of God and Man. For it is not enough for Tyrants to give themſelves up to their Vanity, and their Pleaſures, Rapines, Adulteries and extravagant Appetites, for theſe are only humane Frailties; but their Satiſfaction lies in the diabolical Practices of rooting out whole Families, entitling Children and Infants to their Father's Quarrel, and not one Jot quieter after their Revenge than they were before: For being conſcious to themſelves of the Indignities they multiply upon their Subjects, and that let them bear them never ſo patiently, the Spite of a ſhrewd Turn is not ſo ſoon forgotten, they find no Security at laſt but in the Death of thoſe they have wrong'd, and in the ſeaſonable Removal of them out of the Way. But ſince ſo it is, that we have now ſhak'd off the Yoke, and recover'd the Poſſeſſion of our primitive Freedom: All that we have to do for the preſerving of Unity among our ſelves, and providing for our future Safety, is to joyn in repairing the Ruines of our ancient Glory, and reſtoring the Commonwealth into it's original State of Union and Integrity. We are now at Liberty to propoſe and to debate, and to like or diſlike at Pleaſure, without any ſuperiour Power over our Heads to controul, and call us to an Account. For what was it that gave Birth and Growth to the unbounded Progreſs of the* late Tyranny, *but the* dull drowſy Patience *of a beſotted People, that had not the Hearts to make head againſt it? Men, Slaves to their Pleaſures; and Men that otherwiſe acted and liv'd like Slaves: Theſe were the People that chuſing rather to lead a mean inglorious Life, than venture an honourable Death, caſt the City into thoſe inſupportable Miſeries, of which we our ſelves have been both Eye and Ear-Witneſſes. But let me recommend it to you in the firſt Place now, to do Right to* Chæreas *in conferring upon him the Honours he deſerves for ridding the World, and the Commonwealth of this abominable Monſter. For it was* His Counſel *and* His Hand, *by the Impulſe of a Divine Aſſiſtance,*

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[a] See *Cotelerius*'s Notes to the 2d Vol. of his *Monumenta Eccleſ. Gr.* p. 620.

that wrought our Liberty; and it is but Reaſon that he that procur'd us our Freedom with the Hazzard of his Life ſhould receive Acknowledgments and Rewards from the Perſons he redeem'd, anſwerable to the Quality of the Obligation. It is the Part and the Duty of an honeſt Man to be thankful to his Benefactor; eſpecially to ſuch a Benefactor as this, who has involv'd us all in one common Debt. The Action of Brutus *and* Caſſius *upon* Julius Cæſar, *was great and glorious; but* Chæreas *over and above the Emulation of their Bravery, hath in this Reſpect gone much beyond it. Their Exploit was follow'd with a* Civil War, *that ran thorough and ravaged the whole* Roman Empire, *but* Chæreas *cut off the* Tyranny it ſelf, *together with the* Tyrant, *and deliver'd the whole World at one Blow.*

A Caius *Head in a Ring upon his Finger all this while.*

This Diſcourſe of *Saturninus* was mightily to the Satisfaction of the whole Body of the *Senate*; but he was ſo intent upon *Caius*, one Way, that he forgot him, another; for he had at that Time a *Stone* in a *Ring* upon his *Finger*, with a *Caius*'s *Head* in't, which he never thought of: But *Trebellius Maximus* obſerving it, ſtarted up and got it off from his Finger, and it was order'd to be broken.

Chæreas *goes to the* Conſuls *for the* Word, *and they give him* LIBERTY.
The firſt Act of the Senate, *ſince* Cæſar *took away their Power.*
Chæreas *delivers the* Word.

It was now toward Night, and *Chæreas* went to the *Conſuls* for the *Watch Word*, who gave him for the *Word*, [*LIBERTY.*] The Face of Things was ſo ſtrangely alter'd now all on a ſudden, that People could hardly believe what they ſaw: This being the *firſt Act* of *Authority* that the *Senate* had ever appeared in, ſince the Time they were depoſed: For the *Soldiers* had their Orders from the *Conſuls* ſtill, in former Times, till the *Cæſars* took it out of their Hands. *Chæreas*, upon the receiving of the *Word*, deliver'd it again in Courſe to the Troops that ſided with the *Senate*. That is to ſay, to *four Companies* of them that ſtood well affected to the lawful Government, and declared themſelves againſt the Uſurpation. Theſe Men went away preſently with their Officers, and ſoon after them, went the People overjoy'd with the Thought of the preſent Change, and in Hopes that the ancient Glory of the *Commonwealth* was now coming about again; and all agreeing in the ſame Note, that *Chæreas* was their *Deliverer*. Now *Chæreas* thinking it might be dangerous after the Death of *Caius*, to leave his Wife and Daughter to ſurvive him, he ſent *Julius Lupus*, one of the *Tribunes*, with a Command to kill them both; ſingling out him the rather for that Commiſſion, both as *Clemens*'s *Kinſman*, and as a reaſonable Thing for a Man that was ſo deep in the *Conſpiracy*, to have his Part in the *Execution*. But there were ſeveral yet of the *Confederates* that look'd upon it as an unmanly Cruelty, to commit ſo barbarous an Outrage upon the Perſon of a Woman; for ſhe had no Hand, they ſaid, in *Caius*'s *enſlaving* the *City*, or in the execrable *Barbarities* he committed on the Flower of the Nobility; but it was all of his own Head, and nothing elſe but the pure Malice of his own ill Nature. Others again laid the Load upon the *Woman*, for a *Philtre* ſhe gave him, that took his Brain, and made him ſtark mad: And ſo interpreted this poyſonous Potion as the Act of this lewd Woman, to be the Ruine of the *Commonwealth*. The latter Opinion carry'd it, and ſo *Julius Lupus* poſted away immediately about his Buſineſs, out of a Zeal to the publick in the Diſpatch of his Duty. Upon his coming into the *Palace*, he found *Ceſonia* laid at her length upon the Ground with her *Daughter*, by the Body of her *Husband*, and in Want of all thoſe neceſſary Decencies that naturally belong to the dead, all beſmear'd with the Blood of his Wounds; and in this Affliction, nothing to be gotten from her but Exclamations againſt *Caius* for not hearkening to the Advice of ſo affectionate a Wife, that told him over and over beforehand, ſhe ſaid, what this would come to in the End. Theſe Words lay ſo open to a *double Meaning*, that from that Day to this, People have been divided how to underſtand them. They that took them in the more favourable Senſe, would have it that ſhe ſpake of the Counſels ſhe had given him from Time to Time, not to behave himſelf ſo like a *Mad-Man*; but to contain himſelf within the Bounds of *Sobriety* and *Moderation*; for if he went on in that provoking Way of Cruelty and Oppreſſion, he would incur the Hatred of his People, and draw the Blood of his Subjects upon his own Head. But thoſe that made another Conſtruction of it, would have it to be as who ſhould ſay, *If this Man would have been rul'd by me, and conſulted his own Security in Time, as I would have had him, this ſhould never have been. How often did I preſs him to rid his Hands of all ſuſpected Perſons, every Man of them, the firſt Thing he did? Proof, or no Proof, it matter'd not; for where the Life of a Prince was at Stake, a juſt Ground of Suſpicion would have been ſufficient to proceed upon.* In this Latitude, the Interpretation lay fair enough both Ways. *Lupus* being now come within Sight of *Ceſonia*, as ſhe was tormenting her ſelf in the Bitterneſs of her Anguiſh and Diſtreſs; the Princeſs begg'd of him with Tears and paſſionate Lamentations, only to draw near, and take a View of that miſerable Spectacle of her mangled Husband. But quickly gathering from his Countenance what his fatal Buſineſs was, and from his Words afterward, over and above,

The Wife and Daughter of Caius *put to Death.*

the

ſhe was no farther concern'd at what he ſaid, than after a ſhort Ejaculation upon the Miſery of her Condition, immediately to preſent her bare Throat to the Execution; preſſing him to diſpatch what he had undertaken, and to finiſh the Tragedy that his Companions had begun. She encounter'd the Stroke with a wonderful Conſtancy of Mind, and her Daughter, an Infant, dy'd by the ſame Hand with her; and the Tidings of it ſent away to *Chæreas* ſo ſoon as the Work was done.

Ceſonia *dies with great Conſtancy.*

The Death and Character of Caius.

This was the End of *Caius*, in the fourth Year of his Reign; a Man brutal and *malicious* to the higheſt Degree, even in his *private Condition*; *ſenſual* in his *Appetites*; a *Patron* of *Calumniators* and *Informers*; a Coward in all Caſes of *Danger*, and conſequently *bloody*. He valu'd Dominion for nothing more than that it put it in his Power to oppreſs the innocent, and to make Way to Confiſcations, and Forfeitures by Murders and Rapines. He valu'd himſelf upon the ſlaviſh Flatteries and Adorations of the common People; and nothing leſs than *Temples* and *Altars* to his *Honour*, would ſatisfy his frantick and extravagant *Ambition*. He hated all Reſtraints of *Law* as well as of *Virtue*, and would not ſpare the beſt Friend he had in the World upon the leaſt Freak of a *Pique* or a Revenge. He was an Enemy to all good Men and impatient of Contradiction in whatſover he had a Mind to; even to the Degree of whoring his own Siſter, which made the People abhor him. For *Inceſt* was a *Brutality* ſo abominable in thoſe Days, that it was almoſt incredible; and a Scandal that had not been ſo much as heard of among them for many Ages. I do not know where he ever did, or ſo much as attempted any Thing truly magnificent and royal, and for the Honour of the Empire, or the common Good of Mankind; ſaving only the *Harbours*, and the *Store Houſes*, that he built about *Rhegium*, and near *Sicily* for the Convenience of the *Corn Ships* out of *Ægypt*. And that, without all Diſpute, was a *noble Work*, and of *publick Uſe* and *Advantage*. Tho' he did not go thorough with it neither at laſt, but gave it over at Half-Way, partly by the Lazineſs and Neglect of his Agents and Overſeers, and partly by the Unſteadineſs of his own Humour; for his Head ran altogether upon unprofitable Whimſies, and he thought his Money better employ'd upon his own private Pleaſures, then either upon the Ornament, or the Improvement of the Publick. But all this while he was an excellent *Orator*, and a great Maſter both of *Latin* and *Greek*. He had a wonderful Preſence of Mind, and an admirable Faculty in ſpeaking off-Hand upon any Subject: Beſide that he had a Talent peculiar to himſelf of gaining upon the Judgments, as well as the Affections of Men, in Affairs even of the greateſt Moment; a Felicity which was half Nature to him, and half Practice. For being train'd-up in the Emulation, both of his Father *Germanicus*, and of his Uncle *Tiberius*, his *Predeceſſor*, two Perſons ſo illuſtrious for this Sort of Excellency, he made it ſome Point of Honour not to degenerate from the Dignity, either of his Birth or of his Inſtitution. But what ſignifies an ingenuous and a virtuous Education, to thoſe that ſo ſoon as they get at Liberty, pervert the Advantages of it to their Ruine? So hard a Thing it is for Men that may do what they pleaſe without Danger, to do what they ought to do, for the pure ſake of Honeſty and Virtue. At his firſt Entrance upon the Government, he made an excellent Choice of Men of Honour and Underſtanding for his Friends and Miniſters; by which he gain'd himſelf a mighty Reputation with the People. But as he came by little and little to take another Biaſs, he turn'd them off with Inſolence and Scorn, and by inſupportable Provocations, forced his Subjects upon thoſe outragious Extremities of Deſpair and Revenge, that afterwards coſt him his Life.

Claudius *hides himſelf.*

But *Claudius*, as we ſaid before, hearing of the Death of *Caius*, and the Uproar the whole Court was in upon that Diſaſter, crept into a private Hole to ſave himſelf, though in no Danger at all, unleſs perhaps for the Sake of his Blood and Quality. For his Fancy lay ever to a retir'd Life; his Behaviour temperate and modeſt: A Lover of Letters, *Greek* eſpecially, and an utter Enemy to the Noiſe and Hurry of Buſineſs.

The Character of Claudius.

The Multitude being now at their Wits End; the Palace throng'd with Soldiers running up and down like mad, in a furious Conſternation, and the common People hurrying from Place to Place at a Venture, without any Regard to the Order or Authority of Government: The Guards, in this tumultuary Confuſion, being Men of the beſt Credit among the Soldiers, found it high Time now to bethink themſelves what was to be done: And their Trouble was not ſo much the Death of the Prince, who they thought ſuffer'd according to his Deſert, as how to provide for the Settling of their own Affairs. And then the Rage of the *Germans* againſt the Murderers had more in it of a private Intereſt, than of any Reſpect or good Will for the Publick. Theſe Things, all together, did but farther increaſe the Apprehenſion of *Claudius*, eſpecially upon the Sight of the *Heads* of *Aſprenas* and his *Companions*, that were carry'd

The Heads of Aſprenas *and his Companions ſhew'd for a Spectacle.*

ry'd

Claudius *diſcover'd by* Gratus *in a Corner.*

Gratus *puts him into Poſſeſſion of the Empire.*

The Soldiers unanimouſly for Claudius.

ry'd up and down in Triumph. *Claudius* was gotten into a Place where there was no coming to him but by certain blind Steps; and there he ſtood to conceal himſelf in the Dark. *Gratus*, one of the *Emperour's Guards*, got the Glimps of a Man there in a Corner, that had a Mind to lie cloſe; but not being able to diſcern what he was, he went up to him, though the other deſir'd him to forbear; and upon drawing him out, found that he knew him, calling aloud to the People that follow'd him, this is *Germanicus*, and no Man fitter to fill the Vacancy of the *Empire*. Upon theſe Words, the Soldiers were ready to lay hold of him; and *Claudius*, for Fear they ſhould put him to Death for *Caius*'s Sake, earneſtly beſought them to ſpare him, making Proteſtation of his Innocence upon the whole Matter. *Gratus*, upon this, took him by the right Hand with a Countenance well-pleas'd, and deſir'd him not to trouble himſelf with any Sort of Apprehenſion for his Safety, but rather to diſpoſe his Thoughts toward the Receiving of the *Empire*; which the Gods, ſays he, have taken from *Caius*, and do now offer to *Claudius* by the Hands of *Gratus*, for the Relief and Preſervation of Mankind, that hath been groaning thus long under the Burden of ſo many Oppreſſions: Wherefore in Heaven's Name, *get up Sir*, ſays he, *and take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of your Anceſtors*. So they mounted *Claudius* upon their *Shoulders*; who in Truth, betwixt the Surprizes of Joy and Fear, was not able to ſtand upon his Legs before. While this was a ſaying and a doing, the *Guards* gather'd together about *Gratus* in greater Numbers, and fell to Muttering among themſelves what Pity it was for the poor innocent *Claudius*, a Perſon that had liv'd ſo private and ſo quiet, and had run ſo many Hazzards for *Caius* himſelf, to be hurry'd away thus out of his Life? For they took all this Buſtle to be for the carrying of *Claudius* to his Execution, while others were for appealing to the *Conſuls*. But as the Soldiers crouded in more and more, the People that had no Arms, ſhifted ſeveral Ways for themſelves. This put a Stop to *Claudius*'s Progreſs; for he was not in Condition to march a Foot, and his Bearers had given him the Slip upon the former Miſtake, for Fear of running the ſame Fate with their *Maſter*. So that the *military Men* being now poſſeſs'd of the *Palace*; (that Part of the City, which they ſay was firſt inhabited) their Numbers increaſing, and having a clear Stage to themſelves, they took it into Conſideration upon this Juncture, how they might ſettle the *Commonwealth*. The Soldiers were glad at Heart to ſee *Claudius* there; and *one and all* for the advancing of him to the *Empire*; partly in Honour to his Brother *Germanicus*, for whoſe Memory all the World had an infinite Veneration, and partly to keep off other ambitious and troubleſome *Pretenders* among the *Senators*; who having formerly embroil'd the State, would in all Likelyhood do as much Miſchief over again, if it lay in their Power. They look'd upon the *republican Form* of *Government* to be gone paſt Recovery; and therefore ſince an *Emperour* was of Neceſſity to be choſen, it would concern them to take Care they thought, that no Perſon whatever ſhould be advanced to that Dignity without being beholden to them for his Preferment. Upon which Conſideration, they could not do better than to pitch upon *Claudius* for the Man, and by that Means to engroſs the Merit of the Obligation entirely to themſelves. The whole Body of the Soldiery was ſo abſolutely ſatisfy'd with this Way of Reaſoning and Diſcourſe, that upon conferring one with another, they all immediately joyn'd in the ſame Reſolution; and taking up *Claudius* upon their Shoulders, carry'd him away to the Camp, there to finiſh what they had begun, and the whole Army, along with him for his Guard.

They carry him to the Camp, and ſo finiſh the Work.

The Senate and the common People divided about a Monarchy and a Commonwealth.

While this was a Foot there happen'd a Miſunderſtanding betwixt the *Senate* and the *common People*. The former were for the *re-eſtabliſhing* of the *Commonwealth* in its ancient Glory, and for the vindicating of their Authority from *tyrannical Uſurpations*: The other, out of an Envy to the Power the *Senate* aim'd at, deſiring nothing more than an *imperial Check* upon the proud and covetous *Senators*, and a ſecure Appeal for themſelves to a *higher Court* from *republican Oppreſſions*: So that the People were overjoy'd at the Elevation of *Claudius*, in Hope, that under his Protection they might be preſerv'd from *civil Wars*, and the diſmal Confuſions over again of the War betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*.

The *Senate* were no ſooner inform'd of the *Soldiers tranſporting* Claudius *to the Army*, but they diſpatch'd away a certain Number of choice Men of their own Order, with Inſtructions to admoniſh *Claudius*, *not to attempt the aſſuming of the Government to himſelf by Violence, but rather to content himſelf in the Station of one of the* Senators, *and to leave the Care of the Publick to that Body, who were qualify'd by the Laws to manage by themſelves, and by their Direction, all the Offices of Adminiſtration. They were alſo to mind him how tyrannically the People had been treated by former Maſters, and even by* Caius himſelf, *and of the Part likewiſe that he himſelf had in the common Danger from that Tyrant: And how ill it would become any Man that condemn'd Tyranny in another,* *The Senate ſends* Veranius *and* Brouchus, *with a menacing Meſſage to* Claudius.

other, to ſet up the Practice of it himſelf. But if he would ſubmit to the Senate, *and return to his former Courſe of Life and Principles, he ſhould be crown'd with Honours by a free and a powerful People, and gain the Reputation of a wiſe, and a good Man, by contenting himſelf to take his Lot in the Courſe of Things in this World, whether it be higher or lower, as the Law and Providence ſhall appoint: But if he ſhould go on in his Purpoſe after this Judicial Example upon* Caius, *they muſt certainly oppoſe him in his Deſign; for they wanted neither Soldiers, nor Arms,* they ſaid, *nor Numbers, nor any other Neceſſaries, for ſuch an Undertaking: But after all, that their main Dependance was upon the Power and Juſtice of the Gods in Favour of ſo honeſt and righteous a Cauſe, as the Defence of the Liberty of their Country.*

When *Veranius* and *Brouchus* had acquitted themſelves of their Commiſſion to *Claudius* in Words to this Effect, *they caſt themſelves at his Feet with moſt earneſt Supplications, not to do any Thing that might hazzard the embroiling of the People in a civil War.* But finding *Claudius* ſo beſet with *military Men*; and that the Power of the *Conſuls* was nothing in Compariſon to that of the *Soldiers*, theſe *Envoys* made him only this ſhort Requeſt, that *if he were reſolv'd upon the Sovereignty, he ſhould rather accept it from the* Senate, *and take it upon him without Violence; which would be much fairer and more auſpicious, to receive it with the good Will of the People, than to raviſh it from them by Force.*

CHAP. III.

Claudius *ſticks to his Pretenſions.* Agrippa *gives it out that* Caius *is not dead.* Claudius *upon the Point of giving up all to the* Senate. Agrippa *keeps up his Heart; takes his Place in the* Senate, *and delivers his Opinion of the* preſent State *of Things. He ſends to* Claudius *to lay down his* Claim; *but gives him other Inſtructions by the By.* Claudius, *his Anſwer. He gives the Soldiers an* Oath of Fidelity. *The* Senate *meets before Day. The* Soldiers *cry out to the* Senate *for an Emperour; with their* Gladiators *at Hand, in Caſe of Need. The* Soldiers *preſs ſtill for an* Emperour. Chæreas, *a profeſs'd Enemy to* Claudius. *The* Soldiers *march away to fetch him.* Sabinus *proteſts againſt him. All the* Court *made to* Claudius. Quintus Pompeius *aſſaulted.* Claudius *takes him into* Protection. *Divers* Senators *wounded.* Agrippa *gives* Claudius *good Advice.* Chæreas, Lupus, *&c. put to Death. The* Father *dies* bravely; *the* other, meanly. Claudius *pardons* Sabinus, *and* Sabinus *kills himſelf.*

Claudius *ſticks to his Pretenſions.*

Agrippa *gives it out that* Caius *is not dead.*

Claudius *about to give up all.*

Agrippa *keeps up his Heart.*

Agrippa *takes his Place in the* Senate.

CLAUDIUS was no Stranger to the Haughtineſs of the People he had to do withal, and ſo gave their Deputies as fair an Anſwer for the preſent as he could diſcreetly do, without laying himſelf at Mercy. But what with the Temptation it ſelf, the Advice and Importunity of the Soldiers; the Inſtigation of *Agrippa*, and their Promiſes to ſtand by him in the aſſerting of his *Pretenſions*, *Claudius* was overrul'd into a Reſolution not to let go his Hold in the Right he had to the *Dignity*, which they had voluntarily conferr'd upon him. When *Agrippa* had decently diſpos'd of the dead Body of his Friend *Caius* that ſet the Crown upon his Head, and put every Thing in as good Order as the Caſe would then bear, he went preſently to his *Guards*, and gave it out that *Caius*, in Truth, was not *dead*, but miſerably *ill* of his *Wounds*; and that he was going to get ſome Phyſicians to him. But being told ſoon after, that *Claudius was taken up, and carry'd away by the Soldiers*, *Agrippa* preſs'd after him immediately through the Croud, and with much ado found him out at laſt; but in ſo frightful a Confuſion of Thoughts, that he was juſt upon the Point of delivering up all to the *Senate:* Only in that Point of Time, *Agrippa* gave him a Word of Comfort that fix'd him in a Reſolution to keep what he had got, and ſo he went his Way. Soon after this *Agrippa* was invited to take his Place in the *Senate*, and thither he went, (pretending Ignorance to all Purpoſes) but as finical and ſpruce as if he had come from a *Ball*, or a *Miſtreſs*. Being now in the Court, he put the Queſtion to the *Senators*, what was become of *Claudius:* So they told him the very Truth of the Story, and then put it to him what he thought of the preſent State of Things.

Agrippa*'s Opinion on the Preſent State of Things.*

Agrippa made Anſwer, *that there was nothing ſo dear to him in this World, that he was not ready to ſacrifice to the Honour of the* Senate; *and yet I could wiſh,* ſaid he, *that People would rather attend the ſubſtantial Good and Service of the Commonwealth, than the ſpeaking of pleaſing Things to tickle the itching Ears of the Vulgar: For moſt certain it is, that without a competent Proviſion of Arms, Men, and Monies, for a Foundation to proceed upon, there is no Good to be done in Competitions for Dominion and Power.* Their Anſwer was, that for thoſe neceſſary Preliminaries, they had of them abundantly, and to ſpare: And for the Matter of Numbers; they had Slaves enow to do

Agrippa *ſent to* Claudius *to lay down his Claim.*

Agrippa *gives him private Inſtructions what to do.*

Claudius's *Anſwer.*

He gives the Soldiers an Oath of Fidelity.

their Work, that would be glad of their Freedom for their Wages. *This is very well,* ſays *Agrippa, and with Submiſſion to your grave Wiſdoms, I wiſh every Thing may ſucceed to your Liking. But with your Leave for one Word more. You know very well that the People* Claudius *has about him, are all* veteran Soldiers, *and* Men of Diſcipline, *and* Experience: *Whereas on the other Hand, we have only a raw and an untractable Rabble of ſervile Wretches, that hardly ever ſaw a naked Sword in their Lives; to encounter ſo many expert Men of War withal; and therefore with Reſpect to your Prudence, I ſhould rather propoſe the ſending of ſome Body to* Claudius *to try if he might not be wrought upon to let fall his Claim; and rather than fail, I would make one my ſelf to go upon the Errand.* The *Senate* found the Propoſal reaſonable, and diſpatch'd away *Agrippa*, with ſome others upon the Commiſſion. But *Agrippa* ſo order'd it, that upon a private Meeting with *Claudius* beforehand, he told him what a Twitter the *Senate* was in, and then put Words in his Mouth for an Anſwer to the Deputies, every Way becoming the Majeſty of an *imperial Prince. I do not wonder*, ſays *Claudius, to find the* Senate *ſo averſe to the Government of a ſingle Perſon, conſidering what they themſelves have ſuffer'd under the* Tyranny *of* ſome late Princes; *but for my own Part*, ſays he, *I propoſe nothing more to my ſelf than to make the Subjects eaſy and happy in their Perſons, Liberties and Fortunes; and in the impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice; for my Buſineſs is only under the Name of a* Prince, *to rule with the* common Advice *and* Conſent *of the* People. *And for the good Faith of my Intentions, I ſhall refer my ſelf to the Proof I have given the* Senate *of my Moderation and Integrity, even in the worſt of Times.* He ſaid no more upon this Occaſion, but diſcharging the Deputies with this Speech, he entertained his military Men with *another Harangue*; gave them an *Oath* of *Fidelity*, and *five hundred Drachma*'s *a Man* for a Gratuity; and after the ſame Proportion, to his Officers; with Promiſes of the like to the Soldiers that were abſent.

The Senate meets before Day in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Upon this, the *Senators* ſummon'd a Court, who met the *next Morning before Day*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Some that diſcern'd what Miſchief was a brewing, and had no Mind to be there, kept out of the Way in the City, while others ſlipt out of Town, chuſing rather to be Slaves in a whole Skin, than to run the Riſque of all they had left, by an unſeaſonable Conteſt for the Recovery of what they had already loſt. There were gotten together not above a hundred of them at moſt.

The Soldiers cry out to the Senate for an Emperour.

In Caſe of a Pinch, they had their Gladiators and Ruffians at Hand.

While they were in the Middle of a Debate, upon the Matter in Hand, there was an Outcry of Soldiers at the Door all on a ſudden, to the *Senators* to appoint them ſome *one Man* to *govern* them, for many Heads they ſaw did but breed Confuſion; and for the Fitneſs of the Perſon, they left that to the *Senate*. This Overture was ſuch a Snare, that they knew not which Way to turn themſelves; for inſtead of the Liberty they promis'd themſelves from *Claudius*, they found him now to be the Perſon they had the moſt Reaſon to fear: Not that they wanted Men among themſelves, that for the Honour of their Extraction, and their Relation to *Cæſar*, might well enough pretend to ſet up for the *Dignity*: As there was *Marcus Minutianus*, a Man of the firſt Quality, and marry'd into the Family of the *Cæſars*; to *Julia*, *Caius*'s *Siſter*. This Perſon offer'd himſelf for one; but the *Conſuls* were willing to wave it, and ſo put it off with one Thing after another, as by the By. *Valerius Aſiaticus* would have put in for a *Pretender* too, if another *Minutianus*, one of the *Conſpirators* againſt *Caius*, had not interpoſed and hinder'd it; for if any Man had ſtood up for a *Competitor* with *Claudius*, it would have been the bloodieſt Diſpute that ever was heard of; for they had there at Hand, whole Troops of *Gladiators*; *military Men of all Sorts*, and a World of *Watermen*, and other raſcally Sorts of People that were there gather'd together, to be at Hand, in Caſe of a Pinch. This deſperate Confuſion diverted ſeveral from appearing, that intended otherwiſe to have ſtood; foreſeeing the Miſchief that would certainly enſue upon it, both to the Publick and themſelves.

The Soldiers preſs ſtill for an Emperour.

Chæreas *a profeſs'd Enemy to* Claudius.

It was now toward Break of Day, when up comes *Chæreas* with his People about him, and gives the Soldiers to underſtand by a Sign he made for Silence, that he had ſomewhat to ſay, and deſir'd a Hearing. But their Buſineſs was (they cry'd) to demand the Choice of an *Emperour* without any more ado; and ſo they ſtopt his Mouth with Noiſe and Clamour. The *Senate* found that this was not a Time to think of ſettling the Government, when their Authority was run down at this Rate by Swordmen, and the Dignity of that noble Order ſubjected to the Inſolence, Scorn, and Mockery of a Company of Ruffians. This put the Conſpirators out of all Patience; inſomuch that *Chæreas* told them in the Concluſion, *if nothing but an Emperour would ſerve their Turn, he'd give them one, if they would but fetch him an Order from* Eutychus *to juſtify him in what he did. Now this* Eutychus *was a* Favourite-Charioteer *of* Caius's, *and an infamous Wretch, that ſerv'd his Maſter in all Manner of baſe Offices.* Chæreas follow'd this Scandal with a thouſand other *Reproaches*, declaring that *he would* *rather bring them the* Head *of Claudius, than ever own him for an* Emperour. *What! ſays he, have we not had enough already of a* Madman, *but we muſt now make Choice of a* Fool? But this was only ſo much Breath loſt; for the Soldiers, without minding what he ſaid, immediately drew their Swords, and marched with their Colours to find out *Claudius*, and to joyn in the ſame *Oath* that the other had taken before.

The Soldiers march away to fetch Claudius.

Thus was the *Senate* abandon'd by thoſe that ſhould have defended it, and the *Conſuls* reduced to the Condition of little more than *private Men*, while all People were at their Wits End, in Grief and Aſtoniſhment, to think what would become of them after the putting of theſe Indignities upon *Claudius*; every Man ſlipping his own Neck out of the Collar, upon theſe Diſappointments, and laying the Blame upon his Fellow. In the Heat of this Squabble, out-ſtepp'd *Sabinus*, one of the Confederates, in a Fury, with a Proteſtation, that he would ſtab every Man before him rather than ever ſubmit to the acknowledging of *Claudius* for his Maſter; or ſo much as to ſee him poſſeſs'd of the Empire, and ſo to become a Slave by his own Conſent. *And now* Chæreas, *what have you to ſay for your ſelf too? You that were the firſt Aſſerter of the common Liberty againſt* Caius, and now to ſhrink and flinch from that generous Reſolution, for the baſe Fear of *Death:* As if any brave Man could be happy that is not Maſter of himſelf. *No no,* ſays *Chæreas*, *I am unchangeably reſolv'd not to outlive my Liberty; but I ſhould be glad however in the mean Time to find how* Claudius *ſtands affected.*

Sabinus *proteſts againſt* Claudius.

While Matters were in this diſorderly Way of Agitation, People came thronging into the Camp from all Quarters, to make their court to *Claudius*, and among the reſt, one of the Conſuls, *Quintus Pompeius*, whom the Soldiers hated ſo much the more, for encouraging the *Senate* to ſtand up in the Defence of their Liberties. Upon his advancing, they aſſaulted him with their drawn Swords; and had undoubtedly kill'd him, if *Claudius* had not taken him into his Protection, and plac'd him by his own Side. But the reſt of the *Senators* that came along with him, did not come off ſo well; for divers of them were kept back with Blows, as they preſs'd forward to ſalute him. *Aponius* went away wounded, and not a Man of them but was in great Danger. At the Inſtance however of King *Agrippa*, *Claudius* was prevail'd upon to treat the *Senators* and *Men of Quality*, with Gentleneſs and Reſpect; *for*, ſays he, *when theſe are gone you will have no Subjects left you, but what you will be aſham'd to own. Claudius* took his Advice, and order'd them to meet him at the Palace, whither he himſelf was carry'd in his Litter, croſs the Town, with a Guard of Soldiers to clear the Paſſage.

All the Court made to Claudius.
Quintus Pompeius *aſſaulted.*
Claudius *takes him into his Protection.*
Divers Senators *wounded.*
Agrippa *gives* Claudius *good Counſel.*

At the ſame Time, *Chæreas* and *Sabinus*, two of the moſt Eminent of the Confederates, ſhew'd themſelves in publick, expreſly againſt the Order of *Pollio*, whom *Claudius* had made Captain of the Guards but a little before. *Claudius* being now brought into the Palace, and his Friends about him, pronounc'd a Sentence of Death upon *Chæreas*. Not but they themſelves look'd upon the Exploit as a glorious Action; yet for the Treachery Sake, and for an Example that might lead to the Security of Princes in Time to come, he was led to the Place of Execution, with *Lupus*, and ſeveral others of the Conſpirators. He dy'd, they ſay, in a wonderful Conſtancy of Mind; no Change of Countenance at all, nor any Geſture or Action below the Glory of a great Mind. *Lupus* indeed behav'd himſelf wretchedly, and *Chæreas* took Notice of it with Contempt. Upon the ſtripping of him, he complain'd of cold; and *Chæreas* had this Conceit upon it, that *Wolves felt no cold*, alluding to the Conceit of *Lupus* the *Wolf*, and *Lupus* the *Man*. When the Executioner was to do his Office, he asked him *if he was his Craft's Maſter at the Trade of cutting Throats, and if his Sword had a good Edge*; and to conclude, deſir'd him to make Uſe of the ſame Weapon that he kill'd *Caius* with. The Soldier did his Duty, in Fine, and at one Blow diſpatch'd his Buſineſs: But *Lupus* that lay wriggling and turning for Fear of the Stroak, was hackt and mangled at ſeveral repeated Blows before the Officer could do his Work. Some few Days after, upon the *Feſtival* of the People's *expiatory Oblations* to the *Ghoſts* of their dead Friends, they paid the ſame Honour to *Chæreas* as to the *reſt*, by caſting their Offerings into the Fire according to the uſual Ceremony, and begging his Forgiveneſs for the paſt Ingratitude. This was the End of *Chæreas*.

Chæreas, Lupus, *&c. put to Death.*
Chæreas *dies like a brave Man.*
Lupus *dies as wretchedly.*

As for *Sabinus*, *Claudius* did not only pardon him, but continu'd him in the ſame Command he had before, upon a generous Conſideration, that even in his Treachery he was yet true to his Truſt. But *Sabinus*, after all, made no farther Uſe of his Clemency than to deliver himſelf from a Life he was weary of, upon the Point of his own Sword, and with his own Hand.

Claudius *pardons* Sabinus.
Sabinus *kills himſelf.*

CHAP. IV.

Claudius *kind to* Agrippa. *A* Sedition *betwixt the* Jews *and the* Greeks. Claudius's Edict *in Favour of the* Alexandrian Jews. *An* Edict *in Favour of all the* Jews.

Claudius *kind to* Agrippa.

THE firſt Thing that *Claudius* did after his Eſtabliſhment, was to clear his Army of all *ſuſpected Perſons*; and that being done, he confirmed *Agrippa* by an Edict, in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom formerly conferr'd upon him by *Caius*, aſcribing very much to *Agrippa*'s Addreſs and Induſtry in his Service. He caſt in over and above *Judæa* and *Samaria*, as formerly belonging to the Kingdom of his *Grandfather Herod*. And this he look'd upon as only an Act of *Reſtitution*, and a Kind of Due to his Family. But for *Abela*, and the bordering Lands upon Mount *Libanus*, which formerly belong'd to *Lyſanias*, this he caſt in to the Bounty out of his own. The Articles of Alliance betwixt this King, and the People of *Rome*, were graven in a *Copper-Plate*, and ſet up in the Middle of the *great Market-Place* of the City, for a *Memorial* to Poſterity.

He diſcharg'd his old Friend *Alexander*; *Syſimachus*, the great *Cuſtom-Officer*, that *Caius* had clapt up in a Rage; and one that formerly manag'd for his Mother *Antonia*. He likewiſe gave *Berenice*, the *Daughter* of *Agrippa*, in Contract to his *Son Marcus*; but the *young Man* dying before the *Conſummation* of the Marriage, *Agrippa* marry'd the *Virgin* to his *Brother Herod*, and *Claudius* beſtow'd the Kingdom of *Chalcis* upon him at *Agrippa*'s Requeſt.

A Sedition betwixt the Jews *and the* Greeks.

The *Jews*, that had been terribly perſecuted and oppreſs'd by the *Alexandrians* in the Reign of *Caius*, began now to get Heart again, and in a ſhort Time betook themſelves to Arms, which was the beginning of a Sedition betwixt *them* and the *Greeks*. *Claudius*, upon the firſt Tidings of this Commotion, wrote away to the Governour of *Ægypt* to take all poſſible Care to quiet it: And at the Inſtance of the *two Kings*, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, ſent an *Edict* to *Alexandria*, and into *Syria*, in Subſtance as follows.

Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, Tribune and Prince of the Senate, Greeting.

An Edict of Claudius *in Favour of the* Jews *of* Alexandria.

Whereas we are given to underſtand that the Jews *of* Alexandria *have ever from Time to Time enjoy'd the ſame Freedoms and Privileges from former Kings of* Ægypt *in common with the reſt of the* Inhabitants, *as appears by ſeveral* royal Decrees *and* Inſtruments of Record *at this Day extant in Confirmation thereof: And likewiſe that thoſe Rights and Benefits have been continu'd to them ever ſince the annexing of that City by* Auguſtus *to our* Empire; *and ſo tranſmitted, uncontroverted thorough* Aquila*'s Days*; *and all the Governours of* Alexandria, *ſucceſſively, that have been ſent thither*; *having Liberty granted them alſo by the ſame* Auguſtus *upon the Death of their* Ethnarch, *to ſubſtitute another in his Stead*; *enjoying the free Exerciſe of their* Religion *and* Diſcipline *without any Moleſtation or Controul.*

Now foraſmuch as Caius Cæſar *in a blaſphemous Exceſs of Madneſs hath rigorouſly preſſed upon the* Jews *to* worſhip him *as a God, contrary to the good Faith and Honour of the* imperial Grant, *and in a manifeſt Violence upon their* Conſciences; *and breaking into* Outrages *againſt the* Refuſers, *irritated a Party of his own Faction in* Alexandria *againſt the* Jews, *their Fellow-Citizens: This is now to declare all thoſe Proceedings of* Caius null *and* void, *and the ſaid* Privileges *of the* Jews *to remain ſtill in full Force and Virtue*; *requiring and commanding, both the one and the other, by this our ſovereign Authority, to live, as far as is poſſible, in a right Underſtanding together, without troubling the publick Peace.* Theſe are the Contents of the Edict; and after this, in particular for *Alexandria*, there was another ſent abroad by the *ſame Prince*, in Favour of the *Jews*, all over the *Empire*, in the following Terms.

Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, *High-Prieſt*, *Tribune of the People*, and *the ſecond Time Conſul elect*, giveth to underſtand, that,

An Edict in Favour of all the Jews.

Upon the Requeſt of the Kings, Agrippa *and* Herod, *our ſingular good Friends, for the ſame Liberty to the* Jews *all over the Empire, in their* Ways *and* Worſhip *that we have already granted them in* Alexandria, *we do heartily comply with them in their Deſire, not only for the Sake of the* Advocates, *but out of a Reſpect alſo to the* Merits *of the* People, *in Acknowledgment of the Friendſhip and good Offices they have ever render'd to the State of* Rome. *Wherefore we judge it reaſonable to have them admitted to a Share* *of the* common Rights *and* Benefits of all our Cities, *as well* Greek, *as other, and to enjoy them in as ample a Manner as they did in the Reign of* Auguſtus of bleſſed Memory: *And we do likewiſe ordain for the future, that wherever they ſhall happen to be diſpers'd within the Dominion of our Empire, they ſhall be allow'd to govern themſelves by their own Laws, without any Lett or Interruption, provided that they make a modeſt Uſe of this our Grace and Favour, without envying other People the* free Exerciſe *of* their Opinion, *ſo long as they themſelves are allow'd to enjoy the* Liberty *of* their own.

This is what we have thought fit to declare: And it is our Will and Command that this our Proclamation *may be duly notify'd in all our Cities, Plantations, Towns Corporate, and all other Parts reſpectively of our Dominions, as well within* Italy *as without, and Copies thereof tranſmitted to all Kings, Princes, and Governours under our Juriſdiction, and to ſtand poſted up and expos'd for the Space of* thirty Days *to the View of all People.*

CHAP. V.

Agrippa *ſent away to his* Government. *He dedicates his* golden Chain *to* God. Theophilus *depoſed from the* High-Prieſthood, *and* Simon *preferr'd.* Sylas, *General of the Army. A* Statue *dedicated to* Cæſar *in the* Jews Synagogue. Agrippa *complains of it to* Petronius.

CLAUDIUS *Cæſar* gave to underſtand by theſe two *Edicts*, how affectionate an Eſteem he had for the *Jews:* And the next Thing he did, was to order King *Agrippa* away to his Government; crowning him ſtill with more and more Honours, over and above ſeveral Letters of ſpecial Recommendation to all the Governours and Intendants of the Provinces where he was to paſs. He made a quick, and a happy Diſpatch of his Buſineſs; and ſo ſoon as ever that was over, haſten'd away to *Jeruſalem*, where he acquitted himſelf of all his *holy Vows*, and offer'd *Sacrifices* according to the punctual Formalities of the *Law:* Cauſing great Numbers of the *Nazarenes* to cut their Hair. *Tiberius* having formerly manacled *Agrippa* with *Iron-Chains*, *Caius* gave him a *Gold-Chain* in *Exchange*, juſt of the *ſame Weight* with the *Iron one*. This *Chain Agrippa* dedicated to *God*, and cauſed it to be hung up in the *Veſtry* over the Box of the *holy Treaſure*, as a *monumental Memorial* of the Power and Goodneſs of *Providence*, in relieving Men when they are at the loweſt; and for an Inſtruction to Mankind, that the ſame God that caſts us down, is able to raiſe us up again. This *conſecrated Chain* repreſented at the ſame View, a *Prince* made the *Sport* of *Fortune*, and a Priſoner in *Irons:* And then in the turn of a Hand again, *his Fetters knock'd off*, and a greater *Prince* than ever he was. Now this is but according to the Nature, and to ſhew the Viciſſitude of humane Affairs, for Things to fall when they are at the higheſt and to riſe again when they are at the Bottom.

Agrippa *ſent away to his Government.*

He dedicates his golden Chain to God.

So ſoon as *Agrippa* had paid his Duty to God, he depoſed *Theophilus* the *Son* of *Ananus* from the *Pontificate*, and ſubſtituted *Simon* the Son of *Boethus*, whoſe *Surname* was *Canthara* in his ſtead. This *Simon* had *two Brothers* that had been *High-Prieſts* too, and *Boethus* the *Father*, whoſe *Daughter* King *Herod* marry'd, as we have ſaid already. This happen'd to be the Caſe of the *three Sons* of *Simon the High-Prieſt*, the Son of *Onias* in the Time of the *Macedonian Government*, of which we have ſpoken formerly.

Theophilus *depos'd from the* Pontificate, *and* Simon *preferr'd.*

The Office of the *Pontificate* being ſettled, the King made it his firſt Buſineſs to pay his Reſpects and Acknowledgments to the People of *Jeruſalem* for the Honour and good Will that they had ſhew'd him, by remitting the Tax upon Houſes that they had formerly paid: A Point of generous Emulation not to be out done in Courteſy. He made *Silas General* of his Army, in Remembrance of the many Difficulties and Hazzards they had run together.

Silas, *General of the Army.*

A while after this, there was a Gang of raſh heady young Fellows of *Doris* got together, who, under a Colour of Religion, dedicated a *Statue* to *Cæſar* in the *Jews Synagogue*, which tranſported *Agrippa* to the higheſt Degree, as the ready Way to make their Religion deſpicable, and to bring all to Ruine. Wherefore *Agrippa* without any Delay, went and complain'd to *Petronius* the Governour of *Syria*, of this horrible Outrage; who declar'd himſelf with as much Indignation as the other, and wrote a ſharp Letter to the *Innovators*, as follows.

A Statue *dedicated to* Cæſar *in the* Jews Synagogue, *by ſome hot headed Fellows of* Doris.

Agrippa *complains of it to* Petronius.

CHAP. VI.

Petronius *rebukes the Offenders.* Simon *removed, with an Intent to reſtore* Jonathan; *who declines it, and recommends his* Brother Matthias. Petronius *diſmiſſed, and* Marcus *ſucceeds him.*

Publius Petronius, Governour of Syria, by the Appointment of *Tiberius Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus,* to the *Magiſtrates* of Doris, Greeting.

Petronius *gives the Offenders a ſharp Rebuke.*

W*Hereas I have received certain Information, that, notwithſtanding a full Liberty granted to the* Jews *by an* Edict of Claudius Cæſar Auguſtus Germanicus, *to live according to the* Rules *and* Preſcriptions *of their own* Laws; *ſome of your People have been ſo audacious, as in Contempt of the ſaid* imperial Edict, *to prophane their* Synagogue *by ſetting up* Cæſar's Statue *there, to the Scandal and Affront of their* Religion, *being not only an Uſurpation upon the* Freedom Cæſar *hath permitted them, and a Violence upon their* Conſciences, *but an Indignity alſo to the Divinity of* Cæſar *himſelf; for his* Image *ſhould have been rather ſet up in* his own Temple, *than in another; eſpecially in the* Synagogue, *ſince the* Emperour himſelf *hath found it meet and juſt to leave every Man Maſter within himſelf. I ſhall ſay nothing of my own Orders in this Affair, after ſuch an Affront put upon the Authority of my Maſter, who has not only indulged the* Jews *in the Matter of their Religion, but granted them all the Privileges of* Freemen *likewiſe, in the Cities where they inhabit, in common with the* Greeks. *Now ſince ſo it is, that this Outrage hath moſt certainly been committed, and the Majeſty of* Cæſar *inſolently deſpis'd; and that you your ſelves diſown any Hand in the Thing, and ſo turn it off to the Licence of a* riotous Rabble; *this is to will and require you, that you ſend by my Officer* Vitellius Proculus, *ſome of the guilty Perſons, to anſwer before me for what they have done; or at leaſt to tell him who they are; for you your ſelves will be otherwiſe ſuſpected for Parties to the Fact. In the mean Time, have a Care of the publick Peace, and of thoſe ſeditious Spirits that would put all into a Flame. But as for my dear Maſter and my ſelf, there is nothing we lay ſo much to Heart, as to keep clear of giving the* Jews *any Occaſion or Pretext of being troubleſome in their own Defence; and now for your better Satisfaction what Opinion the* Emperour himſelf *hath of this Matter, I ſend you hereunto annexed a Copy of his* Edict *to the* Alexandrians; *which my deareſt Prince* Agrippa *ſhew'd me (though every Body knew it already) as I was ſitting upon the* Tribunal, *poſitively requiring that all* Cæſar's Conceſſions *to the* Jews *ſhould be made good. Wherefore I do now charge and require it of you, for the Future, to forbear all Manner of ſeditious Controverſies, and leave them to worſhip their God quietly in their own Way. Petronius,* in Fine, ſo order'd this Affair, that he ſet all Right again that had been done amiſs, and made them cautious not to do the ſame Thing again in Time to come.

Simon *remov'd, with an Intent to reſtore* Jonathan. Jonathan *declines it;*

and recommends his Brother Matthias.

Petronius *diſmiſs'd, and* Marcus *ſucceeds him.*

King *Agrippa,* after this, removed *Simon Canthara* from the *High-Prieſthood,* with an Intent to reſtore it to *Jonathan* the Son of *Ananus,* as a Perſon better deſerving ſuch a Dignity: But he declin'd the Acceptance of it, with an Acknowledgment of the Honour the King deſign'd him: And withal told him, that *ſince God had not found him worthy of holding it, he ſhould content himſelf with the Bleſſing of having once worn that ſacred Habit; for he could better juſtify his Entrance into that holy Order at firſt, than he could now the taking of it up again: But Sir,* ſays he, *if you inſiſt ſo much upon the Worthyneſs of the Perſon, pray give me leave to recommend a Brother of mine to your Majeſty; a Man untainted with the Vanities of the World; innocent and inoffenſive before God and Man, and conſequently better qualify'd for the Function.* The King was ſo delighted with the Man's Candour and Modeſty, that he laid the Thought of *Jonathan* aſide, and according to his Advice, transferr'd the *Pontificate* to his Brother *Matthias.* It was not long after this, that *Petronius* was diſmiſs'd from his Government of *Syria;* and *Marcus* ſucceeded him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Silas *ſets up for a Share in the* Government. *His Vanity and Sawcineſs.* Agrippa *claps him up; but ſends for him to* Court *again a while after.* Silas *reproaches him for it, and is remanded to* Priſon. Agrippa *fortifies* Jeruſalem, *and* Claudius *puts a Stop to the Work. An Inſtance of* Agrippa's *Generoſity. The Magnificence of his Bounties at* Berytus. *A Paſſage from* Berytus *to* Tiberias, *where he receives ſeveral* royal Viſits. Agrippa *complements* Marſus, *which makes him jealous of the Meeting. He takes the* Pontificate *from* Matthias, *and gives it to* Elionæus. Games *and* Spectacles *at* Cæſarea, *to the Honour of* Cæſar. Fulſome Blaſphemies. *An* Owl *perches over his Head, and he falls immediately into* Gripes *and* Torments; *reproving his* Flatterers, *and confeſſing his own* Frailty. *At the End of five Days, he* dies. *His* Revenue, *and* Children. Cæſarea *and* Sebaſte *ungrateful to his Memory. Scandalous Affronts.* Claudius *propoſes the* Son *to ſucceed the* Father; *but his* Favourites *divert him from it. He gives the Command to* Cuſpius Fadus.

Silas *ſets up for a Share of the Government.*

His Vanity and Sawcineſs.

Agrippa *takes away his Commiſſion, and claps him up; but ſends for him to Court a while after.*

Silas *reproaches him for it;*

and is remanded to Priſon.

SILAS, Agrippa's General, valuing himſelf upon his Fidelity to the King; the perſonal Hazzards he had run with him; the Labours and Difficulties he had undergone for his Service; reckon'd upon it, that as they had been familiar Friends, and Partners in the Dangers of the War, ſo it was but reaſonable, that they ſhould go Shares in the Dignity and Prerogatives of the Government: And theſe Things conſider'd, he accounted himſelf to ſtand upon the ſame Level with the King himſelf; and took Liberties with him to the Degree of Sawcineſs. He was extremely bold and troubleſome in his common Diſcourſes; one while boaſting of his own Merits; other whiles minding the King of the deſpicable Condition of his former Fortunes; and at every Turn making Oſtentation of the good Offices he had done him; the deſperate Adventures he had engag'd in, and what Pains he had taken for his Service. Theſe nauſeous, endleſs Repetitions were ſo reproachful and weariſome, that the King began to be ſick of this intemperate Freedom; for a Man that has formerly been low, does not love to be minded of it when he is in a better Condition; and it is a fooliſh as well as a mean Humour, to be perpetually hitting a Man in the Teeth with an Obligation. *Silas* went on ſo far, that the King would bear it no longer; but in the Heat of a Paſſion, he not only ſtript him of his *Commiſſion*, but ſent him away *bound* into his own Country. When he came afterward to his right Wits again, and to bethink himſelf how ſevere he had been upon a Perſon that had done and ſuffer'd ſo much for him, the *Anniverſary* of his *Birth-day* now coming on, and all People diſpoſing themſelves for Mirth and Jollity, his Heart began to ſoften, and he ſent for *Silas* to make one at the *royal Feſtival*. Now he being a blunt plain Fellow, and one that could not diſſemble his Indignation, where he thought he had Reaſon on his Side, he call'd out aloud to the People that brought him the Invitation. *Hark ye, my Maſters*, ſays he, *you ſee the Honour the King does me; but this Fit of good Humour will not laſt long; and it is but the ſame Thing over again that he has done before. He has taken away as much as in him lies, my Reputation, as well as my Charge; and does he think, after all this, that my Tongue is to be ty'd up from ſpeaking honourable and neceſſary Truths? Or that any Thing ſhall ever ſtop my Mouth, ſo long as I have the Conſcience of an honeſt Man for my Support? No, no. The World ſhall know from what Diſtreſſes I have redeem'd him; the Difficulties and the Dangers I have encounter'd for his Safety and Glory: And what's my Reward now for all theſe Labours and Hazzards, but a* Dungeon and a Chain? *Theſe are not Injuries to ſleep, either forgotten or unrevenged, living or dead.* Go, ſays he, (raiſing his Voice) *and carry your King this Anſwer. Agrippa*, by this Time, found the Freak to be incurable, and ſo remanded him to Priſon.

Agrippa *fortifies* Jeruſalem.

Claudius *puts a Stop to the Work.*

The King turn'd his Thoughts now to the Care of the City, and fortify'd the Walls of the new Town, as they call it, at a publick Charge; making them much ſtronger, thicker, and higher, than they were before, and would in the End have made *Jeruſalem* abſolutely *impregnable*, if *Marſus* the Governour of *Syria* had not given *Claudius Cæſar* a cautionary Notice of it, for Fear there might be ſome farther Deſign: Whereupon *Claudius* wrote immediately to *Agrippa*, to go no farther in it, and this put a Stop to the Work.

The King of the *Jews* was naturally ſo generous and obliging, that he made himſelf famous by his magnificent Bounties, taking no greater Delight in any Thing than in honourable Occaſions to ſhew the Munificence of a large Soul. There was a great Difference betwixt him and *Herod*, his *Predeceſſor*; the latter being falſe, harſh natur'd, and implacably cruel, over and above that he was notoriouſly partial to the *Greeks*, in Preference to the *Jews:* Witneſs his vaſt Profuſion of *Treaſure* upon *foreign Works*, both in Structure and Ornament; as *Bathing-Houſes*, *Theatres*, *Temples*, *Galleries*, *Places of Parade*, and the like; whereas he was never known to put himſelf to any memorable Expence in any publick Works whatſoever, to the Honour of the *Jews*. But *Agrippa* on the other Side, was a Perſon humane, and gentle, to the higheſt Degree; a common Friend and Patron to all Strangers, and in Truth to all Mankind; but bountiful, good-natur'd, and compaſſionate, to thoſe of his own Country and Profeſſion in the firſt Place. Wherefore he made Choice of *Jeruſalem* for his conſtant Reſidence; no Man ſtricter in the Rules and Formalities of his Religion, without the Corruption of any prophane or ſuperſtitious Mixture; and not a Day paſs'd over his Head without a *Sacrifice*. There was, among others, one very particular Inſtance of a generous Goodneſs in him.

Agrippa happen'd to be once at *Cæſarea*; and in his Abſence, one *Simon*, a *Lawyer*, reflected upon him in a publick Aſſembly, for a Man of a looſe Life; and one that in Juſtice deſerv'd to be puniſhed for it; according to the Practice of the *Church* in that Caſe. The *Governour* ſent the King Word of this Accuſation, who immediately diſpatch'd an Order for *Simon* to come to him; who went accordingly, and the King at that Time happen'd to be in the *Theatre*. So *Agrippa* call'd him to him, and after a little Pauſe, in a gentle Tone and Faſhion, he put this Queſtion to him. *Friend*, ſays he, *if you know any Thing by me that you do not like, I would have you declare it here.* The Man had nothing to ſay for himſelf; but in a Confuſion, begg'd his Pardon, and the King granted it immediately, beyond all People's Expectation, and not without ſome Inſtance of his Bounty too, over and above a bare Reconciliation; valuing himſelf more upon the Exerciſe of Clemency, than upon the Power of taking his Revenge, and accounting it a more kingly Quality to be merciful, than imperious.

An Inſtance of Agrippa's *Generoſity.*

The Magnificence of his Bounties at Berytus.

All Places wherever he came, or had to do, had ſome Taſte, more or leſs, of his Magnificence and Bounty; but *Berytus* above the reſt. For there, at a moſt prodigious Expence, he erected a ſtately *Theatre*, and likewiſe an *Amphitheatre*, not inferior to it; ſeveral *Bagnio's*, and *arched Walks*; ſparing no Coſt for the beautifying of every Thing to the higheſt Point of Perfection. The Pomp of the Dedication of theſe illuſtrious Works, was very extraordinary upon many Accounts; as the Variety of Shows exhibited in the *Theatre*; all Sorts of Muſick, and Diverſities of other Entertainments and Pleaſures. In the *Amphitheatre* were expos'd ſeveral Combats of *Gladiators*, Man to Man; and after that, whole Troops of condemn'd Malefactors, to the Number of ſeven hundred of a Side, being only an Execution of Juſtice in the Form of a Battle, and improving the Puniſhment of the Criminals to the Pleaſure of the Spectators; for they were all deſtroy'd to the laſt Man.

He paſſes from Berytus *to* Tiberias: *Where he receives the royal Viſits of* Antiochus, Sampſigeran, Cotys, Polemon, Herod, *&c.*

Agrippa, after this, paſs'd from *Berytus* to *Tiberias*, a City of *Galilee*, where he was complemented by ſeveral Kings. There was *Antiochus*, the King of *Comagena*; *Sampſigeran*, the King of the *Emeſenes*; *Cotys*, King of the *Leſſer Armenia*; *Polemon*, a little Prince of *Pontus:* And beſide all theſe, *Herod* the Brother of *Agrippa*, and the King of *Chalcis*; who were all receiv'd with ſo royal a Freedom of Hoſpitality, that it was every Way anſwerable to the Dignity both of the Treater and of the Gueſts; and much to the Honour of *Agrippa*, to be found worthy of ſo many royal Viſits. While they were yet together, *Marſus* the Governour of *Syria*, came over to him; and *Agrippa*, out of a Reverence to the *Sovereignty* of the *Empire*, went out of Town ſeven Miles to receive him, which proved the Occaſion (as it fell out) of a Miſunderſtanding betwixt them; for *Marſus* finding ſo many Kings together, and ſuch an Agreement betwixt them, he did not know how it might ſtand with the publick Safety to countenance ſo powerful and ſo dangerous a Correſpondence; and therefore ſent Meſſages to them one by one, to depart immediately; which gave *Agrippa* ſuch a Diſguſt, that he hated him for ever after.

Agrippa *complements* Marſus *the Governour of* Syria.
Marſus *is jealous of the Meeting.*

Agrippa *takes the* Pontificate *from* Matthias, *and gives it to* Elionæus.
Games and Spectacles inſtituted at Cæſarea *to the Honour of* Cæſar.

This Prince then took away the *Pontificate* from *Matthias*, and gave it to *Elionæus* the *Son* of *Cithæus*. He was now in the third Year of his Reign over all *Judæa*, when he came to *Cæſarea*, formerly call'd the *Tower of Straton*; where he celebrated a Solemnity of *Games* and *Shows* to the Honour of *Cæſar*; which drew together a World of the Nobility and Men of Quality from all Parts of the Province. Upon the ſecond Day of this Feſtival, *Agrippa* went early in the Morning to the *Theatre* in a *Silver Stuff* ſo wonderfully rich and curious, that the Beams of the riſing Sun ſtriking upon it, Peoples Eyes were dazzled with the Reflexion from his Habit. The ſparkling of the Light ſeemed to have ſomething divine in it, that mov'd the Spectators at the ſame Time with Veneration and Horror. Inſomuch that a proſtitute Crew of fawning Paraſites, cry'd him up as a God: *Beſeeching him, in Form, to forgive them the Sins of their Ignorance, when they took him only for Fleſh and Blood like*

Fulſom blaſphemous Flatteries.

another Man; *but they were now convinc'd,* they ſaid, *of an Excellency in his Nature, that was more than humane.* This impious, nauſeous Flattery paſs'd upon him without either Check or Repulſe; but while he was in the Huff and Vanity of this Contemplation, lifting up his Eyes, he ſaw an *Owl* in the Air over his Head ſitting upon a Rope, which he found ſoon after to be the Preſage of Miſchief to him, as it had been before of good Luck. For he fell immediately into a violent Paſſion of the Heart, with terrible Gripes and Torments of the Guts: In which Agony, directing his Speech to ſome Friends about him, *look ye*, ſays he, *your God is now condemn'd to die*; *and by this fatal Neceſſity, I am about to prove all my Flatterers a company of profligate Lyars, and to convince the World by dying that I am not immortal. But God's Will be done. In the Life that I have led, I have had no Reaſon to envy the Happineſs of any Prince under the Heavens*; *but I muſt ſtill be aſpiring to be greater and greater.* At theſe Words his Pains increaſing upon him, he was preſently remov'd into the *Palace*; and it was all over the Town in a Moment that the *King* was given over and at the very Point of *Death.* Upon this Rumour, all the People, Men, Women, and Children cover'd themſelves with Sackcloth according to Cuſtom, joyning in Prayers and Outcries to God for *Agrippa's Recovery.* The King in the mean Time looking down from his Apartment near the Top of the Palace, could not forbear Weeping at the Sight of the Mourners that lay below proſtrate upon the Pavement. This Extremity of Pain held him from that Time forward without any Manner of Abatement, and at the End of five Days it carry'd him off: In the 54th Year of his Age and the 7th of his Reign. He govern'd for the firſt four Years of his Reign under the *Emperor Caius:* The three former of them under the *Tetrarchy* of *Philip*; the *fourth* in that of *Herod* too; and the other tree under *Claudius*, who over and beſide that of *Judæa*, gave him the Command alſo of *Samaria* and *Cæſarea.* His yearly Revenue was computed at one thouſand two hundred *Myriads.* And this did not ſerve his Turn neither, without borrowing, for he was ſo profuſely liberal, that his *Income* did not anſwer his *Expence. Chelcias* the *General* of his Troops, and *Herod* the Prince of *Chalcis*; both of them bitter Enemies to *Silas*, ſent *Ariſton* to kill him in Priſon, as by the King's Order, before the Certainty of his Death could be generally known.

In the Height of his Vanity an Owl pearches over his Head. He falls immediately into Gripes and Torments; reproves his Flatterers, and confeſſes his own Frailty.

At the End of five Days he dies.

His Revenue.

This was the End of King *Agrippa*, who left behind him a Son of his own Name of ſeventeen Years of Age, and three Daughters. *Berenice* the *eldeſt*, being *marry'd* at about ſixteen to his Uncle *Herod*; the other two *Virgins*, *Mariamne*, and *Druſilla*, the former being ten Year old, and the other Six. *Mariamne* the *elder* was contracted to *Julius Archelaus* the Son of *Chelcias*; the *younger* to *Epiphanes* the Son of *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena.*

Agrippa's *Children.*

So ſoon as the News of *Agrippa's Death* came to be publickly known, the People of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* were ſo far from doing Right to the Obligations he had laid upon them, that on the Contrary, they beſpatter'd his Name and Memory with the lewdeſt Calumnies that could be invented. And to aſſiſt the Scandal, there happen'd to be a Rabble of Soldiers there at that Time, that in a Multitude lugg'd away the *Statues* of his three Daughters out of the Palace, and carry'd them in Triumph into publick bawdy-Houſes, reviling them, after their brutal barbarous Way, in Terms not to be repeated, feaſting and buffoning in the Streets, with Flowers and Garlands upon their Heads; Oyntments and Perfumes, as upon a *Sacrifice* to *Charon*, and drinking thankſgiving Cups for the Death of their *King.* This was their Entertainment without ever ſo much as thinking of the good Offices they had ſo lately receiv'd from *Agrippa*, or of thoſe of former Days from his *Grandfather Herod, the Founder of thoſe magnificent Cities, and of the Ports and Temples belonging to them.*

Cæſarea *and* Sebaſte *ungrateful to the Memory of* Agrippa.

Scandalous and brutal Affronts.

Agrippa the Son of the deceaſed, was at this Time at *Rome*, and train'd up in the Court of *Claudius:* who had no ſooner heard of the Death of the *Father*, and the inhumane Indignities that thoſe ungrateful Wretches of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* had put upon his Memory, but expreſſing as great a Sorrow for the Loſs of *Agrippa*, as an Indignation for the Ingratitude of the other, he took up a Reſolution within himſelf, immediately to ſend away the Son to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of his Father; which was but purſuant to an *Oath* he had taken, as well as agreeable to the very *Equity* and *Reaſon* of the Thing. But upon the Diſſuaſion of the favourite People he had about him, he was eaſily diverted from his Purpoſe. They told him it was not ſafe to venture ſo great a Truſt in the Hands of a raw young Man; for it was ſo nice a Commiſſion, that the beſt Head he had in the Empire would find enough to do to manage it.

Claudius *propoſes the Son to ſucceed his Father; but he is diverted from it by his Favourites.*

Upon this plauſible Inſinuation, *Claudius* chang'd his Mind, and gave the whole Command to *Cuſpius Fadus*, but with this proviſional Deference to the Memory of the

He gives the Command to Cuſpius Fadus.

the dead, that he ſhould not upon any Terms take *Marſus* into his Government, in Regard that he had been a profeſs'd Enemy to *Agrippa*. And he charged him yet more expreſly, to puniſh the People of *Cæſarea* and *Sebaſte* very ſeverely, for the barbarous Affronts they had put upon the Honour of *Agrippa* and his *Daughters*: commanding him alſo to ſend away the *five Cohorts*, and the Reſt of the Troops that were in thoſe two Towns, to *Pontus*; and to detach a Body of choice Men out of the *Roman Legions in Syria*, to ſupply their Places. But this laſt Order was not obſerv'd; for *Claudius* was prevail'd with, upon an humble Application, to continue thoſe Troops ſtill in *Judæa*. This gave the Riſe to the miſerable Calamities that the *Jews* ſuffer'd afterward; and prov'd the very Seminary of the following Wars under the Government of *Florus*: Inſomuch that *Veſpaſian*, though the Conquerour, was fain to tranſport them out of that Country.

FLAVIUS

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

OF THE

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

From the Year of the World 4009, to 4030.

CHAP. I.

Claudius *gives* Marſus's *Commiſſion to* Caſſius Longinus. *A Quarrel betwixt the* Jews *and the* Philadelphians. *Three of the* Ringleaders *puniſhed.* Tholomæus *put to Death.* Cæſar *orders the* holy Robes *to be depoſited in* Antonia, *as formerly; upon certain Conditions.* Agrippa *moves in their Favour, and the Requeſt is granted.* Claudius *to the* Senate. Canthara *remov'd from the* High-Prieſthood, *and* Joſeph *put in his Place.*

Claudius *takes away* Marſus's *Commiſſion, and gives it* Caſſius Longinus.

AFter the Death of *Agrippa*, (as in the former Book) the *Emperour* took away *Marſus*'s Commiſſion for *Syria*, and gave it to *Caſſius Longinus*, out of a Reſpect to the Memory of his Friend the late King, who in his Life-time had written ſeveral Letters to *Claudius*, to remove this *Marſus* from his *Government*.

The Jews *beyond* Jordan, *and the* Philadelphians, *together by the Ears.*

The three Ringleaders puniſhed; Annibas *put to Death,* Amaram *and* Eleazar *baniſh'd.*

Cuſpius Fadus, coming at the ſame Time to enter upon his Command in *Judæa*, found the *Jews* beyond *Jordan*, and the *Philadelphians*, together by the Ears about the Bounds of a ſmall Village called *Mias:* A bold and a warlike People. The *beyond-Jordan-Men* had taken up Arms it ſeems upon their own Heads, without any Colour of Authority from their Superiors, and kill'd ſeveral of the *Philadelphians*. *Fadus* took this ſeditious Inſolence ſo heinouſly, that he cauſed three of the chief Ring-leaders, *Annibas*, *Amaram*, and *Eleazar*, to be laid in Chains; the firſt to be put to Death, and the other two baniſh'd. *If they thought*, ſays he, *that the* Philadelphians *had wrong'd them, Why had not I the hearing of the Cauſe? But for them to preſume to make War upon it, and to be their own Judges and Carvers, was an Affront* (he ſaid) *utterly intolerable.*

Tholomæus *the chief Robber put to Death.*

Cæſar *orders the ſacred Robes to be depoſited in* Antonia, *as formerly.*

They get Leave of Fadus *and* Longinus *to move* Cæſar *in it, upon giving up their Children for Hoſtages.*

Agrippa *moves in their Favour, and the Requeſt is granted.*

Soon after this, the famous Captain of the Robbers, *Tholomæus*, that had made ſuch Havock in *Idumæa* and *Arabia*, was brought to him bound; and he ſentenc'd him to Death, doing all that was to be done alſo to clear the Country of that Sort of Vermin. He ſent after this, to the *Prieſts* and *Rulers of Jeruſalem*, and ſhew'd them *Cæſar*'s *Mandate*, requiring *the ſacred Robe*, and the *ſacerdotal Stole*, (Veſtments peculiarly belonging to the *High-Prieſt*) to be depoſited in the Caſtle of *Antonia*, and there to remain in the Cuſtody of the *Romans* as they had been in former Times. They durſt not diſpute the Order, and ſo choſe rather to make a reſpectful Application to *Fadus* and *Longinus*, (who had their Troops about them too, for Fear of the Worſt) only for Leave to move *Claudius* upon that Point, and ſo to reſpite the Proceeding till they might receive the *Emperour*'s *Anſwer*. This Requeſt was granted them, upon Condition of delivering up their *Children* for *Hoſtages*, in the mean Time, which they readily agreed to, and ſo their Deputies went their Way. *Agrippa*, being at that Time at *Rome*, and in *Cæſar*'s Court, as we ſaid before; having ſeaſonable Notice both of their Arrival and their Buſineſs, petitioned *Cæſar* on the Behalf of the *Jews*, that the *holy Stole* might remain in *their own Keeping*; and that he would vouchſafe to ſignify his Pleaſure to *Fadus* by an Order to that Purpoſe. *Claudius*, upon this, had the Commiſſioners call'd, and telling them that he had granted what they came for, bad them thank *Agrippa* for the Grace he had ſhew'd them; to which Anſwer he added this following Letter.

Claudius Cæſar Germanicus, Tribune of the People; the fifth Time Conſul elect; the fourth Time Emperour; and the Father of his Country the tenth Time; to the *Senate*, the *People* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *whole Nation of the Jews*, Greeting.

Claudius *to the Senate*, &c.

Whereas we are given to underſtand by our dearly beloved Agrippa, *whom we have train'd up, and tender as our own Child, that you have ſent us your* Deputies, *(which* Deputies *he hath alſo preſented to us) with Acknowledgments of our conſtant Cares for the Good of your People, and likewiſe with your earneſt Deſire of having the* Pontifical Robes and Ornaments in your own Cuſtody; *we do freely grant ye your Requeſt, in ſuch Manner, as was formerly allow'd you in the Days of that excellent Perſon,* Vitellius, *our very dear Friend. And be it further known unto you, that we have deſcended to theſe Conceſſions, partly out of a Motion of* Piety, *it ſeeming unto us a reaſonable Thing for all Men freely to enjoy the* Religion *of their* Country: *And partly to gratify* King Herod *and the* young Ariſtobulus, *whoſe Friendſhip we have a great Value for, upon the certain Knowledge of the Friendſhip they both have for us.*

We have written to our Lieutenant Cuſpius Fadus *about this Matter, by* Cornelius *the Son of* Ceron; Tryphon, *the Son of* Theudion; Dorotheus, *the Son of* Nathanael; *and* John, *the Son of* John. *Dated the* 4th *of the* Calends *of* July: Rufus, *and* Pompeius Sylvanus, Conſuls.

Canthara *remov'd from the* Pontificate, *and* Joſeph *ſet up in his Place.*

Herod the Prince of *Chalcis*, and the *Brother* of *Agrippa the deceas'd*, begg'd of *Claudius* the Charge of the *Temple*, and the *holy Treaſure*, with the Privilege of chuſing the *High-Prieſt*, which was all granted him, and the Power continu'd in the *Family* till the End of the *Jewiſh War*. This Prince remov'd *Canthara* from the *Pontificate*, and ſet up *Joſeph* the Son of *Caneus* in his Stead.

CHAP. II.

Helen *the Queen of* Adiabena, *and* Izates, *turn* Jews. Monobaſus *marries his Siſter* Helen. *A* Voice *heard as they were in Bed together. He has two Sons by* Helen; Monobaſus *and* Izates. *The latter the Favourite, whom the Father ſends out of the Way to* Spaſinus. Izates *marries* Samachas, *the King's Daughter.* Monobaſus, *in Years, ſends for* Izates, *and ſettles the Province of* Cæron *upon him.* Izates *makes his Abode there.* Monobaſus *dies, and the* Queen *calls a* Council: *Where* Izates *is declar'd* Succeſſor. *The Matter debated and reſolved upon. The* Brothers *taken into Cuſtody, for Fear of Miſchief. The* Government *committed to* Monobaſus *in* Izates's *Abſence.* Izates *appears, and* Monobaſus *delivers up his Truſt.* Izates *converted by* Ananias, *a* Jewiſh Merchant. Queen Helen *converted by another* Jew. Izates *troubled at* Adiabena, *to ſee his* Relations *Priſoners; and ſends them away for* Hoſtages: *Some to* Cæſar, *others to* Artabanus. Izates *would be circumciſed; but his* Mother *and the Merchant are againſt it.* Ananias *diſcourſes the Scruple of the Caſe.* Eleazar, *a great Doctor of the* Moſaick Law. Eleazar *brought to* Izates, *who preaches upon the Neceſſity of* Circumciſion. *The* King *is* convinc'd, *and immediately* circumcis'd. *The* Mother *and* Ananias *at their Wits End about it. The Fame of the* Temple *of* Jeruſalem. *The* Queen *has a Mind to ſee it, and to* worſhip *there. The* King *ſupplies her for her* Journey. *A miſerable Famine in* Jeruſalem. *The* Queen's *Piety and Charity for the* Poor. Izates *ſends vaſt Sums for their Relief. A* Conſpiracy *againſt* Artabanus; *who moves* Izates *for Protection and Relief.* Izates *gives him good Hopes, and treats him accordingly.* Izates *writes to the* Parthians *to call their* King *Home. He takes the* Crown *from his own Head, and puts it upon* Artabanus. *The Gratitude of* Artabanus. Artabanus *dies, and his Son* Vardanes *ſucceeds him; who preſſes* Izates *to a War with the* Romans; *but he refuſes.* Vardanes *makes War upon* Izates, *and is cut off by his own People; and the Government transferr'd to his Brother* Gotarza, *who is likewiſe deſtroy'd; and his Brother* Vologeſus *ſucceeds him.* Vologeſus *divides the Government betwixt* Pacorus *and* Tiridates. *The Piety of* Izates. *He gets a great Veneration for* Religion. Abias *tempted to make War upon* Izates, *who finds out the* Conſpiracy, *and puniſhes the* Heads *of it.* Abias *routed.* Izates *takes* Arſamus. Abias *kills himſelf. The great Men of* Adiabena *preſs* Vologeſus *againſt* Izates; *who recalls all* Grants *and menaces a* War. Izates *reſolves upon a* Battle, *and both Sides prepare for it. The* Parthians *blaſphemous Defiance. The Modeſty of* Izates. *His* Prayer *and* Humiliation. *The* Parthians *draw up.* Izates *dies, and* Monabaſus *ſucceeds him. The Mother returns to* Adiabena, *and dies ſoon after. The Bones of the Mother and Brother bury'd at* Jeruſalem. Theudas, *a* falſe Prophet, *pretends to work* Miracles. *The People follow him; but* Fadus *ſcatters them, and cuts off* Theudas's *Head.*

MUch about this Time, *Helen* the Queen of *Adiabena*, and [a] *Izates* her *Son*, came over to the Religion of the *Jews*, by this Occaſion. *Monobazus*, otherwiſe called *Bazeus*, the King of *Adiabena*, fell in Love with his *Siſter Helen*, and *marry'd* her. It happen'd one Night, as they were both aſleep in Bed together, the Husband's Hand reſting upon the Wife's Belly, and ſhe with Child, he fanſy'd he heard a Voice that bad him *take away his Hand for Fear of hurting the Child*; *for Providence had begun a Work with a great Bleſſing*, *that would be crowned with a greater yet in the End*. The *Voice* ſtartled him, and when he was well awake, he told his Wife the Story. When this Conception came to Light, it proved to be a *Male*, and the Father gave it the Name of *Izates*. Now he had another Son before this, by the ſame Princeſs, which he call'd after his own Name, and he had ſeveral other Sons likewiſe by other Wives. But *Izates*, in Fine, carry'd it from them all.

Helen *the Queen of* Adiabena, *and* Izates *turn* Jews.

Monobazus *King of* Adiabena *marries his Siſter* Helen.

A Voice heard as they were in Bed together.

He has two Sons by Helen, Monobazus *and* Izates.

The King's Partiality in this Preference was ſo notorious, that it put the reſt of the Brothers into an outragious Jealouſy and Envy, to ſee themſelves appear ſo mean and deſpicable. The King took Notice of their ill Humour, but was yet willing to perſuade himſelf, that the Diſguſt might be only an *innocent Emulation* at the Bottom, which of the Brothers ſhould be the Favourite, without any deliberate Malice in the Caſe: But finding however that Things look'd every Day worſe than other, he thought it his beſt Courſe for Sureneſs ſake, to diſpoſe of *Izates* out of Harm's Way: And ſo he diſpatch'd him out of Hand, with a moſt particular Recommendation, and magnificent Preſents to King *Abennerigus*, at the Fort of *Spaſinus*; where he was received with ſo much Tenderneſs and Eſteem, that he gave him his own *Daughter Samachas* in Marriage, with a Portion of Land by Way of *Dower*, to a conſiderable Value.

Izates *the Favourite, which creates an Envy in the other.*

Sent to King Abennerigus *at the Caſtle of* Spaſinus.

Izates *marries* Samachas.

Monobazus, being now far gone in Years and drawing near his End, had a great Mind to ſee his Son yet once again before he dy'd. So he had him ſent for, and then embracing him with infinite Affection, he gave him the Province of [b] *Cæron*; a Country famous for *aromatick Plants*; and particularly for the *Relicks* of *Noah*'s *Ark* that eſcap'd the *Deluge*, and are there expoſ'd to View. *Izates* took up his Habitation in this Place, during the Life of his *Father*. *Queen Helen*, upon the very Day of the King's Deceaſe, call'd her *Miniſters*, *great Officers* and *Commanders* all about her, and ſpake to them after this Manner. *I need not tell you*, ſays ſhe, *that the late King my Husband deſigned* Izates *for his* Succeſſor, *as the Perſon of all his Children, that he judg'd beſt qualify'd for the Honour. But however*, ſays ſhe, *I ſhall be glad to have your Advice along with me*; *for one Body's Opinion is not ſufficient to make a Prince happy, without the joynt Conſent and good Will of the People.* She caſt this Complement among them, only to try how the Council ſtood affected. The Queen making a Pauſe after theſe Words, the *Miniſters*, with a profound Reverence, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, declar'd themſelves unanimouſly for the promoting of *Izates* to the Crown; being fully ſatisfy'd that it was his Father's Will it ſhould be ſo; as the Perſon of his Family whom he look'd upon to be beſt fitted for that Dignity. *The People*, they ſaid, *were all for him, and they themſelves ready to acknowledge him for their Sovereign: Or in Caſe of any Danger from his Brothers or Relations, to croſs him in his Pretenſion, they offer'd their Service to remove all thoſe Rubs out of the Way*; *and to cut him out a ſafe and an eaſy Paſſage to the Throne.* The Queen gave them Thanks for this Expreſſion of their Zeal; but could not agree, ſhe ſaid, to have any Blood ſpilt, till *Izates* ſhould come himſelf to order the Matter as he thought fit. When the Council found that the Queen would not be prevail'd upon to take away their *Lives*, they preſs'd it however, that in the mean Time, for the better Security of the *new King*, they might be kept in ſafe Cuſtody, and ſome other Perſon that the Queen ſhould beſt approve of, entruſted with the *Adminiſtration* in his Abſence. The Queen found the Propoſal reaſonable, and pitch'd upon *Monobazus*, *the elder Brother*, for the *Viceroy*, ſet the *Crown* upon his *Head*; gave him his Father's *Signet-Ring*, with the *Royal Robe*, (or the *Sampſera* as they call it) and committed the Menage of the Government into his Hands, till his Brother ſhould come to take it himſelf. *Izates* was not long a coming, after he heard of his Father's Death; and immediately upon his Arrival, *Monobazus*, of his own Accord, deliver'd up his Truſt.

Monobazus *in Years, ſends for* Izates.

He ſettles the Province of Cæron *upon him.*

Izates *takes up his Habitation there*

Monobazus *dies.*

The Queen *calls a Counſel.*

Izates *declar'd Succeſſor.*

The Matter debated and reſolved upon.

The Brothers taken into Cuſtody.

The Adminiſtration committed to Monobazus *in* Izates's *Abſence.*

Izates *appears, and* Monobazus *delivers up his Truſt.*

While *Izates* was at the Fort of *Spaſinus*; a certain *Jewiſh Merchant*, by Name *Ananias*, having made an Acquaintance with ſome of the *Court Ladies*, inſtructed them in the Knowledge of the *true God*, according to the *Rites* and *Cuſtoms* of the *Jews*. Theſe Women brought the Merchant to the Knowledge of *Izates*; who converted him likewiſe to the ſame Perſuaſion, and upon great Importunities, kept him Company in his Journey to *Adiabena*, whither his Father ſent to ſee him before

Izates *converted by* Ananias *a* Jewiſh *Merchant.*

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[a] *Izates* in *Tacitus*. [b] *Bochart* reads *Cardon* in his *Geogr. Sacr.* l. 1. c. 3.

Queen Helen *converted by another* Jew.
Izates *troubled to ſee his Relations Priſoners.*
He ſends them away for Hoſtages: Some to Cæſar, *others to* Artabanus.

he dy'd. It came to paſs alſo at the ſame Time, that Queen *Helen* her ſelf was *converted* to our Profeſſion by another *Jew*. *Izates*, at his Return to *Adiabena*, was not a little troubled to ſee his Brothers, and others of his Kindred Priſoners there. He could not in Conſcience, either put them to *Death* or keep them in *Chains*; and then he thought it might be dangerous on the other Hand, to ſet them at Liberty, under ſuch a Provocation to a Revenge: So that he ſteer'd a middle Courſe, and ſent them away for *Hoſtages*, Part with their Children to *Rome*, to *Claudius Cæſar*; others to *Artabanus*, the King of *Parthia*.

Izates *reſolves to be circumcis'd. His Mother and the Merchant againſt it.*
Ananias *deſcants upon the Scruple of the Caſe.*

When *Izates* began to find how much his Mother was delighted with the *Jewiſh Way of Worſhip* and *Government*, he reckon'd it now high Time for himſelf to make Profeſſion of what he was; and accounting upon the whole Matter, that he could not be a *thorough Jew*, without being *circumcis'd*, he reſolved to perfect the Work by initiating himſelf with that *Ceremony*. His Mother taking Notice of it, did what ſhe could to divert him from it, for Fear of the dangerous Conſequences that would follow upon it; *for*, ſays ſhe, *your Subjects will all fall off from their Allegiance, ſo ſoon as they hear their King is gone over to another Religion, for they will never endure a* Jew *upon the* Throne. This Diſſuaſion of his Mother, put ſome Reſpite to the Execution of his Purpoſe: And in the the mean Time, the King adviſed upon the Point with *Ananias*, who told him that he was abſolutely of his Mother's Opinion, and threaten'd to leave him, if he went on with that Deſign: *For*, ſays he, *ſo ſoon as ever this ſhall come to be known abroad, I my ſelf ſhall be the firſt, and the greateſt Sufferer, as the Author of this Change, and fall under the Notion of a* publick Enemy *and a* Seducer. *Beſide that* Religion *being an Act of the* Heart, *God may be worſhip'd as he ought to be, without the* external Ceremony *of* Circumciſion; *upon Condition of an abſolute Reſignation to the* Precepts *of* Moſes, *for that is the acceptable Worſhip; the other being but a formal Reſpect of the Body, and God will diſpenſe with that* Puntillio *in a Caſe of ſo* abſolute a Neceſſity, *when the Peace and Safety of your Dominions will be endanger'd by the Obſervance of it.* This Way of Reaſoning wrought upon the King as the other wiſh'd it might.

Eleazar *a* Jew *of* Galilee, *and a great Doctor of the* Moſaick Laws.
Eleazar *brought to* Izates.
He preaches upon the Neceſſity of Circumciſion.
The King convinc'd and immediately circumcis'd
The Mother, *and* Ananias *at their Wits End about it.*

But it fell out that a while after, there came *another Jew* out of *Galilee*, *Eleazar* by Name. He was a learned, well read Man in the *Moſaick Laws*, and a Perſon deſign'd it ſeems for the final Determination of this Queſtion: For the King's Scruples were not quite out of his Head yet. This *Eleazar* was brought to *Izates*, whom he found poring upon the Books of *Moſes*. *Sir*, ſays he, *you do not know all this while how great an Injury you do to the* Law, *and conſequently to* God; *for it is not enough to* know *his* holy Will, *without* obeying his Commandments. *How long do you intend to continue in a State of* Uncircumciſion? *If you have not as yet met with the* Law *that requires it, pray read it now to the End that you may know how great a Sin you have to anſwer for in the omitting of it.* The King was ſo thoroughly poſſeſs'd with what he ſaid, that without any more Delay, he retir'd into a withdrawing Room, and ſent for a *Surgeon*, that did the Office immediately. The *Mother*, and *Ananias* the Director, were call'd to take Notice of what was done, and never People in ſo frightful a Confuſion, *for the King's Government and Perſon*; *the publick Peace, and their own Heads* (as the Adviſers) *were all at Stake*, they ſaid, *if the People ſhould but get the leaſt Inkling of it; for they would never endure a Prince of another Religion*. But God in his Mercy provided better for them, by delivering, not only *Izates* himſelf out of great Perplexities, and in Truth, deſperate Extremities; to ſhew that Piety and Virtue ſhall never paſs unrewarded; and that God will never forſake thoſe that caſt themſelves wholly upon his Providence and Goodneſs. But we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more of this hereafter.

The Fame of the Temple of Jeruſalem.
The Queen *hath a great Mind to ſee it, and to worſhip there.*
The King ſupplies her for her Journey.
A miſerable Famine in Jeruſalem.
The Queen's Piety and Charity to the Poor.
Izates *ſends vaſt Sums for their Relief.*

When the *Queen* had ſtay'd long enough to ſee her *Son* ſettled in a *peaceable Poſſeſſion* of his *Government*, and to have the Reputation both at Home and Abroad, of a Prince highly in Favour both with God and Man, ſhe had a mighty Mind to make a Viſit to *Jeruſalem*, for the Sake of the *famous Temple there* that ſhe had heard ſo much Talk of, and to *worſhip God*, and offer up *Sacrifices* in it, according to the *Rules* and *Uſage* of the *Place*. Her Son was ſo far from being againſt it, that he furniſh'd her with a vaſt Proviſion of Money, and all other Neceſſaries for her Voyage, and conducted her ſome Days Journey upon her Way. The *Queen*'s coming to *Jeruſalem* was in a happy Hour for the Citizens; for there was ſo pinching a *Famine* in the Town, that the People periſh'd for Want of Bread. Their Diſtreſs was no ſooner made known to this charitable Queen, but ſhe preſently ſent away ſeveral of her Train; ſome to one Place, ſome to another, to look about for Relief: So that in a ſhort Time there were brought in great Quantities of *Wheat* from *Alexandria*, *dry'd Figs* from *Cyprus*, and the like; which ſhe cauſed immediately to be diſtributed to the Poor, and got her ſelf immortal Honour by ſo doing. Her Son *Izates* alſo, upon Intelligence of this terrible *Dearth*, ſent prodigious Charities in *Money*, to the

Governours of *Jeruſalem* for their Poor. But the Hiſtory of the royal Bounties to this City will be more proper for another Place.

Artabanus, the King of *Parthia*, had to do with a *powerful* and a *factious* Nobility; and finding the *Conſpirators* ſo *ſtrong*, and the Plot ſo far advanc'd againſt him, that he durſt not truſt himſelf any longer in his own Kingdom, he reſolv'd to apply himſelf to *Izates*, both for Advice and Aſſiſtance, if it might ſtand with his Liking and Convenience. So he drew together, of his Acquaintance and Relations, a Matter of a thouſand Perſons, and met *Izates* upon the Way: That is to ſay, he judg'd it to be *Izates*, by the Magnificence of his Train and Equipage, for he did not know his Face. Upon advancing near him, he firſt ſaluted him after the Manner of the Country, with a Reverence which they call *Adoration*; and then made himſelf, and his Condition known to him in Words to this Effect. *Behold*, ſays he, *great Prince, your humble Supplicant, and do not deſpiſe an Object of your generous Compaſſion. It hath been my Fortune to be caſt down from a Throne of Majeſty, into a private and an obſcure State, which hath forced me to have Recourſe now to your Goodneſs for Succour; which I cannot deſpair of from a Prince that ſo well underſtands the Viciſſitudes of humane Affairs, and how ſoon my preſent Caſe may come to be your own, as your preſent Degree of Elevation was formerly mine. Beſide the common Intereſt of all Princes in helping one another; for the Succeſs of one Rebellion paſſes for a Preſident, and an Encouragement to more, when People are embolden'd by Succeſs.* Theſe Words were accompany'd with dejected Looks and Tears. *Izates* came by this Time to underſtand that his Petitioner was no leſs than *Artabanus*; and ſo leaping down to him from his Horſe, he bad him recollect his Spirits, and comfort himſelf with this Aſſurance, that the Wound was not incurable; and that Providence would put a ſpeedy End to his preſent Diſtreſs. *Prince*, ſays he, *you may depend upon it, that you ſhall find a more conſiderable Friend and Ally than perhaps you are aware of; for I will either ſee you reſtor'd to your Crown, or I will give you my own.* Upon theſe Words, *Izates* mounted *Artabanus* upon his own Horſe, and walk'd a-foot by his Side, in Acknowledgment of a Duty he owed to the great King. But *Artabanus* was ſo aſham'd of the Complement that he ſwore by all the Hopes he had of recovering his Fortune and Dignity, that he would diſmount unleſs the other would get up again, and go before him. *Izates* then in Compliance with his Reſolution, took Horſe again, and conducted him into his *Palace*, with all the Honour and Deference that it was poſſible for one Prince to pay to another. He gave him the Precedence in all Caſes, private and publick, and at all Collations and Meetings; with a Regard ſtill to his former Greatneſs and Glory, and without any Abatement for his Change of Fortune: Conſidering that only as the common Lot of Mortals, and that what was one Man's Hap to Day might be another Man's to Morrow.

A Conſpiracy againſt Artabanus. *He applys himſelf to* Izates *for Protection and Succour.*

Izates *gives him good Hopes:*

And treats him with all poſſible Honour and Reſpect.

His Thoughts being now wholly taken up how to ſerve *Artabanus*, he wrote a preſſing and an effectual *Letter* to the *Parthians, to call their King Home again*: Offering to engage himſelf upon his Honour for their Indemnity, and that all paſt Injuries ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. Their Anſwer was rather an Excuſe than a Refuſal, for they had given the Crown to another, one *Cinnamus*, they ſaid; ſo that it was out of their Power to receive him: Beſide that the very Attempt of ſuch a Revocation would put all in a Flame. Now this ſame *Cinnamus*, being a Perſon very generous, juſt, and grateful, in his Nature; and having received his Education under the Care and Direction of *Artabanus*, felt the Pulſes of the Nobility, and gave this Anſwer, that let *Artabanus* come back when he would; he himſelf would become anſwerable for his Security and Reception. *Artabanus* made no Difficulty at all of venturing himſelf upon this Aſſurance, and ſo went back again. *Cinnamus* met him upon the Way; did his Reverence in Form; and ſaluting him in the Style of *KING*, took the *Crown* off from *his own Head*, and placed it upon the Head of *Artabanus*. This was the Manner of his being reſtor'd to his Kingdom, by the Means of *Izates*, after he had been forc'd out of it by a Faction of his own People. *Artabanus* expreſs'd his Gratitude to his Benefactor, by a Return of all honourable Duties and Reſpects. He gave him the Privilege of wearing ſuch a *Tiara*, and of ſuch a Sort of *Bed*, as only the *Kings* of *Parthia* had a peculiar Right to uſe. He beſtow'd upon him the Country of *Niſibis*, formerly belonging to the Kings of *Armenia*; a large and a fruitful Territory; and famous, for the antient City of *Antioch*; afterwards called *Mygdonia*, that the *Macedonians* erected there. Theſe were the Acknowledgments that *Izates* received from *Artabanus*, in Conſideration of the good Offices he had render'd him.

Izates *writes to the* Parthians, *to call their King Home.*
They have given the Crown to Cinnamus.

Cinnamus *invites him back, and undertakes for his Security.*
Artabanus *returns.*
Cinnamus *ſalutes him* King.
He takes the Crown from his own Head, and ſets it upon Artabanus's.
The Gratitude of Artabanus.

Artabanus dying ſome ſhort Time after, left his Son *Vardanes* to ſucceed him in his Kingdom, who went preſently to *Izates* to try if he could engage him in a War with him againſt the *Romans*: But *Izates* was too well acquainted with the Strength and

Artabanus *dies. His Son* Vardanes *preſſes* Izates *to a War with the* Romans; *but he refuſes.*

Conduct of thoſe People, to be drawn into a *League* againſt ſo *powerful* an *Enemy*: Beſide that having *five Sons* train'd up among them to learn their Language, and Diſcipline, and his Mother a conſtant Woman at her *Devotions* in the *holy Temple*, he had ſome Sort of Tye upon him, even of *Honour* as well as *Diſcretion*, not to meddle. Now as he was utterly againſt it himſelf, he did what he could alſo to take off *Vardanes*, by harping perpetually upon the Topick of the wonderful Strength, Courage, and Exploits of the *Romans*, in Hope to deter him from his Purpoſe by theſe frightful, bluſtering Stories: But ſo far was the *Parthian* from being diſcourag'd by big Words, that on the contrary, he made War immediately upon *Izates*. But as Providence was pleas'd to order the Matter, for the humbling of his Vanity, it had been much better for him to have let that Enterprize alone. For when the *Parthians* came to find *Vardanes* ſo ſet upon a War with the *Romans*, they took their Opportunity to cut him off, and committed the Government to his Brother *Gotarza*; who a little while after was taken off by Treachery himſelf too, and his Brother [a] *Vologeſes* ſucceeded him, who divided the Government betwixt his *two Brothers* by the Father's Side: *Pacorus* the *elder* had *Media*; and *Tiridates* the younger, had *Armenia*. *Monebazus*, the *Brother* of the *King*, together with the reſt of the Kindred, taking Notice of the exemplary Piety of *Izates*, with a Reſpect to *God* and his *Worſhip*, and the Bleſſings that attended it; and of the Reputation he had gain'd in the World upon the Account both of a virtuous Life, and of a Man happy to all other Purpoſes, they began to bethink themſelves of quitting the *Religion* of their Country too, after his Example, and of betaking themſelves to the Obſervance of the *Jewiſh Manners* and *Cuſtoms*. When the great Men of the Kingdom had got this in the Wind, they ſtomach'd it ſufficiently, but kept their Malice to themſelves, to wait for an Opportunity of taking their Revenge. So they wrote to *Abias*, the King of *Arabia*, and tempted him with large Promiſes of *Money* to make *War* upon their *Prince*, with an Aſſurance, that upon the firſt Encounter they would leave the King in the plain Field. *He had abandon'd the Religion of his Country*, they ſaid, *and he ſhould not carry it off unpuniſh'd*. Upon this, they ſtruck a *League* with the *Arabian*, and preſs'd him to ſet about it immediately, without any more Delay. *Abias* did as they deſir'd, and forthwith march'd away with a conſiderable Army againſt *Izates*. The main Bodies were no ſooner come within Sight of one another, but *Izates*'s Men according to their Agreement, betook themſelves to their Heels as in a Kind of *panick Conſternation*, and without ever ſtriking a Stroke. By this Time *Izates* found himſelf evidently *betray'd*; but made his Retreat however without any Confuſion or Diſorder, into his Camp: Where, upon a ſtrict Enquiry into the *Myſtery* of this *Deſertion*, he diſcover'd it maniſeſtly to be a Treaſon concerted betwixt his People and the Enemy; detected ſome of the Conſpirators, and puniſh'd them according to their Deſerts. On the Day following he fought *Abias*, and routed him; made a great Slaughter of one Part of the Army, and put the reſt to Flight, following the King himſelf upon the Heel up to the Caſtle of *Arſamus*, which he took by Storm; rifled it, and carrying off a vaſt Booty; return'd in Triumph to *Adiabena*. *Abias* prevented his being taken alive by laying violent Hands upon himſelf.

Vardanes *makes War upon* Izates.

Vardanes *cut off, and the Government transfer'd to his Brother* Gotarza.

Gotarza *cut off too, and his Brother* Vologeſes *ſucceeds him.*

The Government divided betwixt Pacorus *and* Tiridates.

The exemplary Piety of Izates *creates a Veneration for his Religion.*

Abias *tempted by Treachery to make War upon* Izates.

Izates *finds out the Conſpiracy, and puniſhes the Heads of it.*

Abias *routed, and his Army cut to Pieces.*

Izates *takes* Arſamus.

Abias *kills himſelf.*

But the great Men of *Adiabena*, notwithſtanding this Diſappointment, and that Providence had laid them at the King's Mercy, would not give it over yet; but in a ſupplicatory Letter to *Vologeſes*, the King of the *Parthians*, begg'd of him to find ſome Way to rid them of *Izates*, by taking them into his own Protection, and appointing whom he thought fit of his own Nation to rule over them; for *the King* they ſaid, *was an* Apoſtate *from the* Religion *they were brought up in, and all the People hated him for it.* This put the *Parthian* upon picking a Quarrel with *Izates*, though without any colourable Pretence in the World. The firſt Thing he did toward the Execution of his Purpoſe, was a *Revocation* of all the Honours and Advantages which his own Father had conferr'd upon him, together with the Menace of an immediate War, if he ſhould but dare in any Sort to diſpute his Pleaſure. This Meſſage gave *Izates* a great Deal of Trouble upon ſeveral Accounts. It would have been a mean Thing, he thought, to be frighted into a Reſignation of the Privileges he was ſo duly poſſeſs'd of, and had ſo well deſerv'd: And then he knew very well again on the other Hand, that even in Caſe of a Compliance, that Submiſſion would not avail him any Thing. So that ſetting one Thing againſt another, he came in the End to this poſitive Reſolution, that he would commit all to Providence; and in a full Dependance upon God's Aſſiſtance, he would caſt *Life*, *Honour* and *Fortune* upon the Iſſue of a *Battle*. In this Determination, he ſecur'd his *Wives* and his *Children* in a *ſtrong Caſtle*; laid up great *Magazines* and Stores of *Corn*, and other *Neceſſaries* in the beſt Forts he had; burnt and deſtroy'd all the Forage and Hay round about him, and ſo ſtood firm, and in a Poſture to receive the Enemy. The *Parthian* had drawn

The great Men of Adiabena *preſs* Vologeſes *to deliver them from* Izates.

Vologeſes *makes void all Grants to* Izates, *and menaces a War.*

Izates *reſolves upon a Battle. Both Sides prepare for War.*

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[a] In an ancient Coin 'tis *Bolagaſes*, as Mr. *Spanheim* obſerves.

together a mighty Army of Horſe and Foot ſooner than People could have imagined, and pitch'd his Tents upon the Bank of a River that parts *Adiabena* from *Media*: *Izates* encamping alſo not far from thence with a Body of ſome *ſix thouſand Horſe*. *Vologeſus* gave him to underſtand by a Meſſenger, that he was now advancing againſt him with the whole Force of the Empire from *Bactria* to *Euphrates*, to call him to an Account for his Ingratitude to his Maſter, and that it was not in the Power of the God he truſted in to ſave him. *Izates* gave the Meſſenger this Anſwer, that he did not pretend to vie Numbers with him, but that he was under the Protection of a *God* that was not to be controul'd by any humane Power. With this Return he diſpatch'd away the *Herald*; and proſtrating himſelf upon the Ground, his Head cover'd with Aſhes, and himſelf, his Wives, and his Children, faſting and praying, he call'd upon God, as follows. *Bleſſed Lord*, ſays he, *whom never any Creature lov'd and ſerv'd in vain; vouchſafe in Mercy to look down upon thy Servant that hath now wholly caſt himſelf upon thy almighty Power and infinite Goodneſs, and deliver him out of the Hands of his Enemies; repreſs their preſumptuous Boldneſs; and not ſo much for my Sake, as for the Vindication of thine own Honour, avenge thy ſelf upon them for their blaſphemous Outrages againſt thy almighty Power.* The Prayers and Humiliation of this good Man were ſo remarkably heard and accepted, that upon Intelligence the very ſame Night, of the *Dahæ*, and the *Sacæ* (People of *Scythia*) falling into *Parthia* with a ſtrong Army, and ravaging the Country now in the King's Abſence, *Vologeſus* was fain to draw off his Army, and leave his Work undone, to encounter this Diverſion; which was a moſt evident Indication of a divine Providence in *Izates*'s Favour.

The Parthians *encamp upon a River that parts* Adiabena *and* Media; *and* Izates *not far off.*
The Parthians *blaſphemous Defiance.*
The Modeſty of Izates.
Izates's *Prayer and Humiliation.*
His Prayer is heard, and the Parthians *draw off.*

This religious Prince dy'd a while after in the 55*th* Year of his Age, and the 24*th* of his Reign, leaving four Sons living, but yet appointing his Brother *Monobazus* for his *Succeſſor*, as a juſt Acknowledgment of the Honour and Integrity of his Behaviour, in delivering up the Crown which he was poſſeſs'd of in Truſt, in the Abſence of *Izates*, upon the Death of their *Father*. The Mother *Helen* could not but be infinitely afflicted for the Loſs of ſo dear and dutiful a Son; but it was a great Eaſe to her Heart yet, to find that the elder Brother ſucceeded to the Government. So that the next Thing ſhe did, was to find him out and go to him. She return'd upon this, to *Adiabena*, and did not long ſurvive her Son *Izates* after it. *Monobazus* ſent the Bones of his Brother and his Mother away to *Jeruſalem* to be depoſited in the *Pyramids* that ſhe had built there, being three in Number, and a Matter of three Furlongs from the Place. The Hiſtory of *Monobazus* we ſhall have elſewhere.

Izates *dies, and* Monobazus *ſucceeds him.*
The Mother returns to Adiabena; *and does not long ſurvive.*
The Mother and Brother bury'd at Jeruſalem.

While *Fadus* was in his Government of *Judæa*, there was a Kind of a *Quack-Magician*, whoſe Name was *Theudas*, a Fellow that ſet up for a Prophet, and drew a huge Train of a *Rabble* after him, upon a Pretence, that if they would follow him to the River *Jordan*, and take their Goods along with them; he would but give the *Word*, and the Waters ſhould divide, and leave them a Paſſage to go over dry-foot. This *Impoſtor* had a World of *Followers*, but their Folly and Madneſs coſt them dear, for *Fadus* turning looſe ſome Troops of Horſe among them before they were aware, there were many of them *kill'd*, divers taken *alive*, and ſo they return'd triumphant to *Jeruſalem*, with the Head of *Theudas* for a *Spectacle*. This happened when *Cuſpius Fadus* had the Adminiſtration of *Judæa*.

Theudas *takes upon him to work Miracles.*
The People follow him; but Fadus *ſcatters them with a Troop of Horſe; cuts off* Theudas's *Head, and expoſes it for a Spectacle.*

CHAP. III.

Tiberius Alexander *ſucceeds* Cuſpius Fadus. *A great Famine in* Judæa. James *and* Simon *crucify'd.* Cyrenius *taxes* Galilee. Joſeph *remov'd from the* Pontificat, *and* Ananias *ſet up.* Cumanus *ſucceeds* Tiberius Alexander. *The Death of* Herod *the Brother of* Agrippa. *He leaves* three Sons; Ariſtobulus, Bernicianus, *and* Hyrcanus. Claudius *gives the Government to* Agrippa the younger.

Tiberius Alexander ſucceeded *Fadus*, the Son of that *Alexander* who executed the Office of [a] *Alabarcha* at *Alexandria*: The richeſt Citizen of his Time, and much a better Man than his Son ſeem'd to be, who *apoſtatiz'd* from his *Religion*. The great *Famine* in *Judæa* that we have ſpoken of before, when the charitable Queen *Helen* put herſelf to ſo vaſt an Expence for *Corn* out of *Ægypt* for their *Relief*, happened in his Time. And it was at the ſame Time alſo, that *Alexander* cauſed to be *crucify'd*, *James* and *Simon*, the Sons of *Judas* of *Galilee*; who, while *Cyrenius* was taxing *Galilee*, lay tampering of the *Jews* into a Defection from the *Romans*.

Herod the King of *Chalcis* depoſed *Joſeph* the Son of *Camydas* from the *Pontificat*, and appointed *Ananias* the Son of *Nebedæus* to ſucceed him. *Cumanus* came after *Tiberius Alexander*: And at the ſame Time, *Herod*, the *Brother* of *Agrippa the Great*, de-

Tiberius Alexander *ſucceeds* Cuſpius Fadus.
A Famine in Judæa.
James *and* Simon *crucify'd.*
Cyrenius *taxes* Galilee.
Joſeph *remov'd from the* Pontificat, *and* Ananias *ſet up.*
Cumanus *ſucceeds* Tiberius Alexander.
The Death of Herod

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[a] See *Turnebus*'s *Adverſaria*, l. 27. c. 25.

He leaves three Sons. Claudius *gives the Government to* Agrippa *the younger.*

parted this Life, in the eighth Year of the Reign of *Claudius*, leaving three Sons behind him; *Ariſtobulus* by a former Wife; and *Bernicianus*, and *Hyrcanus*, by *Berenice* his *Brother's Daughter*; but the Government was given by *Claudius Cæſar* to *Agrippa the younger*.

Under the Adminiſtration of *Cumanus*, there fell out a Sedition at *Jeruſalem*, that coſt a great many *Jews* their Lives, upon this Occaſion, as follows.

CHAP. IV.

The Feaſt of the Paſſover *brings up vaſt Multitudes to* Jeruſalem; *ſo that* Cumanus *ſet a Guard upon the* Temple *to prevent* Tumults. *A brutal Affront of a* Soldier *upon the* Temple, *imputed to* Cumanus. *The Army order'd into* Caſtle-Antonia. *The People take a Fright, and twenty thouſand ſmother'd together in the Crowd.* Cumanus *takes his Revenge. The Books of* Moſes *found in the Pillage. A* Soldier, *in a Rage, tears them to Pieces. The* Jews *go in Multitudes to* Cumanus *for* Juſtice. *The Offender's Head is ſtruck-off, to prevent more Miſchief.*

The Paſchal Feaſt. Cumanus *ſets a Guard upon the Temple. A Soldier expoſes himſelf naked. All People exclaim againſt the Affront. Some impute it to* Cumanus. *He reſents the Scandal, and the People fare the worſe for't.* *The Army order'd into* Caſtle Antonia. *The People endeavour to get away.* 20000 *ſmother'd to Death in the Croud.*

THE *Paſchal Feaſt*, or the *Jews Feaſt* of *unleavened Bread*, being now at Hand, brought up vaſt Multitudes of People to the Solemnity. *Cumanus* thought it good Diſcretion, for Fear of any Diſturbance, to ſet a Company of Soldiers for a *Guard* upon the *Temple*; ſufficient to quiet a Tumult, if any Diſorder ſhould happen: Which was no more than what had been done by his Predeceſſors on the like Occaſion. Upon the *fourth Day of the Feſtival*, a Soldier expos'd himſelf to the People quite *naked*, which put them into an outragious Exclamation againſt the beaſtly Inſolence of the Affront; not ſo much upon *them*, as upon *God himſelf*, to whoſe Honour this Feaſt was dedicated. And ſome among them that were bolder than the reſt, rail'd at *Cumanus*, as if the *Soldier* would never have done it of himſelf without his Encouragement. *Cumanus* was anger'd at the Heart, to lye under ſo ſcandalous a Reproach: But however, deſiring them in fair Words, not to do any Thing, at ſuch a Time and Place that might look like Sedition. But he quickly found that Gentleneſs would do no Good; for inſtead of being quieter, they fell harder upon him than before. He commanded the whole Army into the Caſtle of *Antonia*, which, as we have ſaid before, overlooks the *Temple*. The common People took ſuch a Fright upon the Advance of theſe Soldiers, that they ſhifted away as faſt as they could; and preſſing one upon another thorough ſeveral ſtreight and narrow Paſſages, ſo many of them were thrown down, and trod under Foot by their own People, taking it to be the Purſuit of the Enemy, that there were twenty thouſand Perſons ſmother'd and trampled to Death in the Croud: Which turn'd the *Feſtival* into a Day of *Mourning*; and quitting their *Prayers* and their *Sacrifices*, they gave themſelves up wholly to Outcries and Lamentations. And all this Miſchief from the Impudence of one beſtial Soldier.

A Domeſtick of Cæſar's *robbed, and ſtript upon the Highway.* Cumanus *reveng'd upon the neighbouring Villages. The Books of* Moſes *found in the Plunder. A Soldier tears them to Pieces. The* Jews *go to* Cumanus *for Juſtice.* *The Offender's Head ſtruck off to prevent Miſchief.*

This Calamity was hardly over, but it was follow'd upon the Heel with another. For ſome of thoſe that had ſcap'd ſqueezing in the Preſs, and got a Matter of a hundred Furlongs from the Town, finding a certain Domeſtick of the *Emperour's* travelling upon the High-way, whoſe Name was *Stephen*; they aſſaulted him, ſtript him, and took away all he had. The Report of this Robbery coming to *Cumanus*, he preſently ſent away Soldiers to the Place where it was committed, with Orders to rifle all the Villages thereabouts, and to bring away ſome of the principal Inhabitants Priſoners. In the Heat of the Pillage and Havock, there was a Soldier there had the Fortune to light upon the *Books of Moſes*, among other Plunder. He brought them out, and when he had ſtorm'd and rag'd like a Madman, againſt both the *Laws themſelves*, and the *whole Nation* of the *Jews*, he tore them all to Pieces in the Face of the People. The Story of this Inſolence and Contempt, was no ſooner brought to the *Jews*, but they immediately gather'd together in Multitudes, and went with their Complaint to *Cumanus*, who was then at *Cæſarea*, deſiring him to do them Right upon the *Rioter*, not as in a private Injury, but in the Cauſe of God himſelf. The *Governour* durſt not deny them Juſtice, for Fear of a *popular Revolt*; but upon Advice with his Friends, had the Criminal's *Head* ſtruck off for the Violation of the *Law*, and to put a Stop to the Progreſs of another Tumult.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

A Quarrel betwixt the Jews *and the* Samaritans. *Several* Galileans *ſlain; and the* Jews *animated to take up Arms. They chuſe* Eleazar *for their Leader. The Mutineers are routed; and the Multitude unruly. The* Samaritans *complain of the* Jews *to* Numidius Quadratus, *for burning their Villages. The* Jews *caſt it upon* Cumanus. Quadratus *finds the* Samaritans *guilty of a Riot. Another* Hearing *at* Lydda. *Several* Jews *put to Death.* Ananias *and* Ananus *ſent bound to* Rome. *Several* Samaritans *and* Jews *ſent to be try'd by* Cæſar: *Time and Place appointed, and the* Jews *in Danger to be overborn with* Power. Agrippa *makes* Agrippina *their Friend.* Claudius *hears both Sides himſelf. The* Samaritans *are condemn'd to die.* Cumanus *baniſhed:* Celer *dragg'd to Death in the Streets.* Claudius Felix *ſent Governour into* Judæa. *He does great Honour to* Agrippina. Druſilla *marries* Azizus. Mariamne *marries* Archelaus. Druſilla *and* Azizus *part.* Felix *in Love with* Druſilla. *He makes* Simon *the Confident of his* Paſſion. Druſilla *quits both* Religion *and* Husband, *and marries* Felix. Agrippa *and his* Wife *bury'd under* Veſuvius. Berenice *ſuſpected of* Inceſt. Berenice *and her* Husband *part.* Mariamne *leaves* Archelaus *for* Demetrius. *The Death of* Claudius Cæſar; *ſuſpected to be poiſon'd.* Agrippina *the Daughter of* Germanicus. Domitius Ænobarbus, *her firſt Husband.* Domitius, *afterwards* Nero, *by* Claudius's Adoption. *By* Meſſalina, *he had* Britannicus, *and* Octavia. Meſſalina *cauſes his former* Wife *to be put to Death for* Jealouſy. *His Daughter* Antonia *by* Petronia *marry'd to* Nero. Agrippina *bent upon advancing of her Son. She engages* Burrhus *and the* great Officers, *for* Nero. Nero *proclaim'd* Emperour. *The new* Emperour *poiſons* Britannicus. *He murders his own* Mother; *puts* Octavia *to Death, &c. The Death of* Azizus, *King of the* Emeſens. *His Brother ſucceeds him.* Nero *gives the* Leſs Armenia *to* Ariſtobulus, *and Part of* Galilee *to* Agrippa, *with the Government of* Tiberias, Tarichee, *and fourteen Villages.*

AFter this was over, there was another Controverſy ſtarted betwixt the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*; and upon this Occaſion. It being uſual for the *Galileans* to travel by the Way of *Samaria* to *Jeruſalem*, upon the *Celebration* of their *Feſtivals*, they happen'd to paſs one Time by a Village called *Nais*, under the *Juriſdiction* of *Samaria*, and ſituated in the *great Plain*, where there fell out a Quarrel betwixt the *Paſſengers*, and the *Villagers*, and ſeveral of the *Galileans* were ſlain. Some of the chief among them took this Affront in ſuch Indignation, that they animated the *Jews* to take up Arms, and with Sword in Hand to aſſert their Liberties. Slavery, they told them, was at beſt ſcandalous and troubleſome; but when that Servitude is accompany'd with arbitrary Injuſtice, it becomes altogether intolerable. The Magiſtrates did what they could to make Things ſmooth and eaſy, and undertook ſo far for *Cumanus*, that he ſhould give them Satisfaction upon the Authors of this Tumult. But the People were deaf to all Terms of Pacification: Nothing but Arms would ſerve their Turn, and they made Choice of *Eleazar*, the Son of *Dinæus*, to head them. This *Eleazar* had been for ſeveral Years a *Mountaineer*, and one that made it his Profeſſion to live upon the Spoil, particularly ravaging up and down in *Samaria* with *Fire and Sword*. *Cumanus*, being given to underſtand the preſent Poſture of Affairs, drew out ſome Squadrons of *Horſe* from *Sebaſte*, and four Companies of *Foot*, with a Body of the *Samaritans* in Arms, and ſo advanc'd upon the *Jews*, kill'd them a great many Men, and took more Priſoners.

A Quarrel betwixt the Jews *and the* Samaritans *of* Nais.

Several Galileans *ſlain.* *The* Jews *animated to take up Arms.*

They chuſe Eleazar *for their Leader.*

Cumanus *puts the Mutineers to the Rout.*

Their Condition was now ſo hopeleſs, and forlorn, that the beſt Men among them, for Sobriety, Senſe, and Quality, betook themſelves to Prayer and Humiliation in Sack-Cloth and Aſhes, for the averting of thoſe dreadful Judgments that hung over their Heads; not omitting, at the ſame Time, ſuch popular Arts and Arguments, as were moſt likely to bring the Multitude to better Reaſon. As for Example. They ſet before them the Deſolation of their Country; the burning and demoliſhing of their Temple; the enſlaving of their Wives and Children to profane Nations; and begging of them upon the whole Matter, as ever they lov'd their *Country*, their *Lives*, *Liberties*, *Families*, *Laws*, and *Religion*, to betake themſelves to more moderate Counſels for the future; and fairly to go back again to their own Houſes; lay down their Arms, and be quiet. This Way of Reaſoning brought them ſo far to their Wits again, that the common People ſlipt away, and the Tumult diſſolv'd; the *Robbers* returning to their old Quarters and Trade again; from which Time forward *Judæa* became a Neſt of Thieves.

The Multitude unruly, and all Arts us'd to pacify them.

The Heads of *Samaria* went now in a Body to [a] *Numidius Quadratus*, the *Governour*

The Samaritans *complain of the* Jews, *for burning their Villages.*

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[a] *Salmaſius* ſhews that it ſhould be read *Vmidius Quadratus.* See his Annotations upon *Ælius Spartianus.*

nour of *Syria*, (being then at *Tyre)* with a Complaint againſt the *Jews* for firing and rifling their Villages; which they were not ſo much troubled at, they ſaid, upon their own Account, as for the Encroachment upon the ſovereign Authority of *Rome*, which had ſingly and ſolely the Cognizance of Caſes of that Quality: But theſe People, they ſaid, ran burning and rifling up and down, and took upon themſelves to be their own Judges, as if the *Roman Magiſtracy* had been no more than a *Cypher*. This was their Caſe, they ſaid, and they came to their Governour only for Juſtice. When the *Samaritans* had told their Tale, and ſet forth their Grievance, the *Jews* on the other Side, turned the whole Blame, both of the *Riot*, and of the *Combat*, upon the *Plaintiffs*; but laying the main Streſs of the Charge upon *Cumanus*, who had been brib'd, they ſaid, into a Connivance at a moſt *notorious Murder*. *Quadratus*, upon this Accuſation and Reply, adjourn'd the Hearing; telling both Parties, that he would go into *Judæa* himſelf, and upon a perfect Knowledge of the whole Truth, paſs Judgment accordingly; ſo that there was nothing more done at this Time. *Quadratus* went a little after this into *Samaria*, and upon hearing the Cauſe, found the *Samaritans* guilty of the Riot. He was informed likewiſe of a Practice among the *Jews* to raiſe a Commotion, and cauſed ſeveral Priſoners that *Cumanus* had taken into Cuſtody, to be put to Death. He went from thence to *Lydda*, a Burough that might paſs for a conſiderable City; where he heard the *Samaritans* Caſe once over again; and underſtanding from a certain *Samaritan* that one *Dortus*, an eminent *Jew*, with *four more of his own Tribe*, had encouraged the People to an *Inſurrection*, he cauſed them all to be put to Death: But as for *Ananias*, the *High-Prieſt*, and *Ananus* the Captain, he ſent them bound to *Rome*, to anſwer for themſelves before *Cæſar*. He ſent alſo into *Italy*, the chief of the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, with *Cumanus* the *Governour*, and *Celer*, a *Tribune*, in Order to the Deciſion of all their Controverſies before the *Emperour*. After this, he went to *Jeruſalem* for Fear of new Broils there; but finding all Things in Peace and Quiet, and the *Jews* ſo wholly intent upon their *Worſhip* and *Sacrifices*, that they minded nothing elſe, he let them alone in the free Exerciſe of their *Profeſſion*, and went back to *Antioch*.

They call for Juſtice upon them.

The Jews *blame* Cumanus.

The Samaritans *guilty of a Riot.*

Another Hearing at Lydda.

Dortus *and four more put to Death for Sedition.*

Ananias *and* Ananus *ſent bound to* Rome.

Several Samaritans, *and* Jews, *with* Cumanus *and* Celer, *ſent to be try'd by* Cæſar.

Cumanus and the *Samaritans*, being now come to *Rome*, they were order'd to appear upon the *Day* and *Place*, ſet for their *Tryal*, having made ſo great an Intereſt beforehand with the *Freemen*, and *Friends* of *Cæſar*, that they would probably have carry'd the Cauſe, if it had not been for *Agrippa* the *younger*, who was at that Time at *Rome*. This *Agrippa*, finding the *Jews* in Danger to be oppreſs'd by *Power*, made Application to *Agrippina* the Wife of *Claudius*, with earneſt Importunities to preſs her Husband for a fair and indifferent Hearing; and for Juſtice upon the Criminals whoever they ſhould be found to be. *Claudius* was ſo far prevail'd upon by this Interceſſion, that he heard both Sides in Form; and finding upon the whole Matter that the *Samaritans* began the Tumult, Judgment paſs'd againſt the Plaintiffs: So that they were condemn'd to die; *Cumanus* to be *baniſh'd*, and *Celer* the *Tribune*, to be carry'd to *Jeruſalem*, and dragg'd to Death thorough the Streets, in the Face of all the People. *Claudius Felix*, the Brother of *Pallas*, was then ſent Governour into *Judæa*.

Time and Place appointed for their Tryal.

The Jews *in Danger to be overborn with Power.*

Agrippa *engages* Agrippina *in their Favour.*

Claudius *hears both Sides himſelf.*

The Samaritans *condemn'd to die.*

Cumanus *baniſh'd.*

Celer *dragg'd to Death thro' the Streets.*

Claudius Felix *ſent into* Judæa.

This Prince, in the twelfth Year of his Reign, beſtow'd upon *Agrippa* the *Tetrarchy* of *Philip*, and *Batanæa*, with *Trachonitis* and [a] *Abila*, which had been formerly the *Tetrarchy* of *Lyſanias*: But he took away *Chalcis* from him, and when it had been four Years under his Government. This young Man, after all theſe Grants and Bounties, conferr'd upon him by *Cæſar*, marry'd his Siſter *Druſilla* to *Azizus*, King of the *Emeſenes*, who was now become a *Jew*. She had been promis'd before to *Epiphanes*, the Son of *Antiochus*, upon his Promiſe to embrace the *Jewiſh Religion*: But upon his Refuſal to come over, the Match broke off. As for *Mariamne*, another of the Siſters, he marry'd her to *Archelaus* the Son of *Chelcias*, to whom ſhe had been contracted ſome Time before, by her Father *Agrippa*; and he had by this Lady, a Daughter called *Berenice*.

He does great Honour to Agrippa.

Druſilla Agrippina's *Siſter, marries* Azizus, *a new converted* Jew.

Mariamne *marries* Archelaus.

It was not long after this, that *Druſilla* and *Azizus* were parted, and it happen'd thus. *Druſilla* was look'd upon to be the greateſt Beauty of her Time. *Felix* the Governour of *Judæa*, thought her ſo, and fell paſſionately in Love with her. So he call'd *Simon* his particular Friend to him (a *Jew* of *Cyprus*, and one that had the Reputation of a famous *Magician*) and gave him in Confidence the Story of his *Amour*, with Inſtructions to try if he could get her off from her other Husband to marry him, who would certainly make her the happieſt Creature under the Heavens. *Druſilla*, finding her ſelf very uneaſy under the reſtleſs Importunities of her Siſter *Berenice*, unadviſedly entertained the Propoſition; renouncing her *Religion* as well as her *Husband*, and marry'd *Felix*, by whom ſhe had a Son called *Agrippa*, who, in

Druſilla *and* Azizus *part.*

Felix *in Love with* Druſilla.

He makes Simon *the Confident of his Paſſion.*

Druſilla *quits both Religion and Husband, and marries* Felix.

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[a] In the Greek Ἄβελλα, yet *Abila* ſeems to be the true Reading. See *Berkelius's* Notes upon *Steph. Byzant.* p. 9.

the Days of *Titus Cæſar*, and in the Prime of his Youth, together with his Wife, were both bury'd under a fiery Eruption from the Mountain *Veſuvius*, which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

Agrippa *and his Wife bury'd under* Veſuvius.

As for *Berenice*, ſhe liv'd a *Widow* ſome conſiderable Time after the Death of *Herod*; who was both her Husband and her Uncle, but falling under a ſcandalous Report of an inceſtuous Familiarity with her Brother, ſhe bethought her ſelf of the moſt decent Way how to wipe off that Slander, which was by getting *Polemon* the King of *Cilicia* to turn *Jew*, and take her to his Wife, which would paſs for a Confutation of the Rumour. *Polemon* ſwallow'd the Bait, and for the Fortune's Sake, marry'd the Woman. But *Berenice* being a Lady that did not love to have her Appetite reſtrain'd, quickly parted with her *Husband*; and he at the ſame Time, with his *Religion*. *Mariamne* grew as weary of *Archelaus* too, and chang'd her *Bedfellow* for *Demetrius*, the moſt eminent *Jew* of *Alexandria*, as well for Extraction as Eſtate; and at that Time [a] *Alabarcha* of this Place. By this Husband ſhe had *Agrippinus*; of whom we ſhall ſay more in due Time and Place.

Berenice *ſuſpected of Inceſt, marries* Polemon, *and makes him a* Jew.

Berenice *and her Husband part.*

Mariamne *leaves* Archelaus *for* Demetrius.

Claudius Cæſar reigned *thirteen Years*, *eight Months*, and *twenty Days*, and then dy'd; not without a ſtrong Preſumption of being poyſon'd by his Wife. She was the Daughter of *Germanicus* the *Emperour's Brother*. Her firſt Husband was *Domitius Ænobarbus*, one of the greateſt Men in *Rome*, who deceaſed and left her a Widow; in which State ſhe continued a good while, till *Claudius* marry'd her. She had a Son by *Domitius*, that was called after his Father's Name, which was afterwards chang'd for *Nero*, upon *Claudius*'s adopting him into his Family. This Emperour had a former Wife, whoſe Name was *Meſſalina*, by whom he had Children, [b] *Britannicus* and *Octavia*. This *Meſſalina* he put to Death upon a Jealouſy; but for his Daughter *Antonia*, whom he had by *Petronia*, a former Wife, and the eldeſt Child he had, he marry'd her to *Nero*, which was the Name he gave to his adopted Son.

The Death of Claudius Cæſar; *ſuſpected to be poyſon'd.*

Agrippina *the Daughter of* Germanicus.

Domitius Ænobarbus *her firſt Husband.*

She had a Son by Domitius.

Domitius *afterwards* Nero, *by* Claudius's *Adoption.*

By Meſſalina *he had* Britannicus *and* Octavia.

Meſſalina *put to Death for Jealouſy.*

His Daughter Antonia *marry'd to* Nero.

Agrippina's Heart was ſet upon the advancing of her own Son to the *Empire*; and therefore, as the Story goes, ſhe conſulted the Death of *Claudius*, and the ſecuring of the *Succeſſion* to *Nero*, both at the ſame Time, for Fear *Germanicus* ſhould interpoſe and ſupplant him. She had gotten *Burrhus*, *Captain of the Guards*; the *great Officers*, *Tribunes*, *Friends* and *Favourites*, all in Readineſs immediately upon *Claudius*'s giving up the Ghoſt, to carry *Nero* to the Soldiers, and proclaim him *Emperour*. This they did; and this being done, his firſt Exploit after his Elevation, was the ſecret poyſoning of *Britannicus*; which was follow'd not long after, with the bare-fac'd Murder of his own Mother, in Requital, both of the Life ſhe had given him, and for the Empire alſo that ſhe had procured him. He put his Wife *Octavia* to Death, and divers Perſons of the firſt Rank for *Integrity* and *Honour*, upon ſenſeleſs and fictitious Pretences of Plots againſt his Perſon. But we have had the Hiſtory of *Nero* over and over ſo often already, that there needs no more be ſaid upon the Subject: Some are as extravagant in the fulſome Extreme of *Panegyrick* and *Flattery*, as others in the contrary Exceſs of *Rage* and *Prejudice*; and the Truth loſt betwixt them; which is an Intemperance not to be endur'd in an Hiſtorian: But I do not ſo much wonder at theſe Falſities in the Caſe of *Nero*, when I conſider that betwixt Partiality and Prepoſſeſſion, without any Intereſt in the good or bad of the Story, the World hath as little heeded the Matter of Fact in the Lives of his Predeceſſors. But for thoſe People that do not care what they write, let them write what they think fit, ſince that Liberty pleaſes them. For my own Part, my Buſineſs is Truth upon the Main, where true or falſe is the Queſtion; and Brevity where any Thing falls in by the By. But as to what concerns our own Nation, I ſhall be very particular and plain, without either ſuppreſſing our Miſfortunes, or palliating our Miſtakes.

Agrippina *for advancing her Son.*

She conſults the Death of Claudius, *and the Succeſſion of* Nero *at once.*

She engages Burrhus *and the great Officers for* Nero.

Nero *proclaimed* Emperour.

The new Emperour poiſons Britannicus.

He murders his own Mother.

Puts Octavia *to Death.*

To return now to my Text, *Azizus*, the King of the *Emeſenes*, dy'd in the firſt Year of *Nero*, and his Brother ſucceeded him; and *Nero* gave the *Leſs Armenia* to *Ariſtobulus*, the Son of *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*. He gave alſo to *Agrippa*, a Part of *Galilee*, ſubjecting likewiſe *Tiberius* and *Tarichea* to his Government; with an Addition of *Julias* beyond *Jordan*, and of fourteen Villages more under that Juriſdiction.

The Death of Azizus.

His Brother ſucceeds.

Nero *gives the* Leſs-Armenia *to* Ariſtobulus; *and Part of* Galilee *to* Agrippa.

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[a] Or *chief Governour* of the *Jews* in *Alexandria*. See *Turnebus*'s *Adverſaria*, l. 20. c. 125.

[b] See *Ryckius*'s Notes upon *Tacitus*, p. 498.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Judæa *infeſted with* Robbers *and* Impoſtors. Felix *breaks his Word and ſeizes* Eleazar. Dora *of* Jeruſalem *in great Credit with* Jonathan. Nero *agrees with* Dora, *to have him made away.* Jonathan *ſtabb'd by* Ruffians. *The* Country *haunted with that Way of Practice. A* Falſe Prophet *draws the People after him. The* Rabble *routed, but the* Prophet *'ſcapes. A Diſpute betwixt the* Cæſarian *and the* Syrian Jews. *The* Incendiaries *taken up, and whipt. They fall to Blows.* Felix *turns the Soldiers upon them.* Agrippa *gives the* High-Prieſthood *to* Iſmael. *The* High-Prieſts *divide from the other* Prieſts. *They walk with a* Guard; *take away their* Tithes, *and ſtarve the reſt.*

Judæa *infeſted with Robbers, Impoſtors, and Seducers.*

Felix *breaks his Parole, and ſeizes* Eleazar.

Dora *of* Jeruſalem *much in Credit with* Jonathan.

Nero *agrees with* Dora *to have him made away.*

Jonathan *ſtabbed by Ruffians in Diſguiſe of Pilgrims; This Method of Villany brought into Preſident;*

THings went every Day worſe and worſe now in *Judæa*; and the Land was quite over-run with Robbers, Impoſtors, and Seducers, that drew the People after them in Shoals, though there hardly paſs'd a Day, but *Felix* truſs'd up ſome or other of the Gang; as *Eleazar*, the Son of *Dinæus*, and a Captain of a conſiderable Band among them, for one; whom he got alive into his Hands by downright Breach of Faith: For *Felix* gave him a ſolemn Invitation to come over to him upon the *Parole* of a Man of Honour, that he ſhould be ſafe and free to all Manner of Purpoſes; but the Thief truſted the Governour, and the Governour betray'd the Thief; for he ſent him away preſently in Chains to *Rome*. *Felix* could not endure *Jonathan* the *High-Prieſt*, for he would be ſtill minding him of his Male-Adminiſtration, and that all publick Miſcarriages would be laid at his Door; beſide the diſobliging of his Friends that recommended him to the Government. *Felix* took all good Counſel of this Kind for Reproach, and therefore caſt about with himſelf how he might get quit of theſe ungrateful Importunities; for wicked Men do not love to hear often of their Faults. As he was thus bethinking himſelf, it came in his Head that there was one *Dora* of *Jeruſalem*, a Man that was look'd upon to be much in Credit with *Jonathan*; So he tempted this *Dora* with the Promiſe of a conſiderable Sum of Money, if he could get *Jonathan* diſpatch'd out of the Way; as there were *Bravo*'s enow to be had for ſuch an Exploit. *Dora* undertook the Commiſſion, and by this Means the Buſineſs was brought about. There was a certain Crew of *Ruffians*, with *privy Daggers* under their Coats, that went up to *Jeruſalem*, as ſo many *Pilgrims*, or at leaſt under Pretence of *Devotion*. Theſe Blades intermixing themſelves in Company with *Jonathan's Train*, took their Opportunity, and ſtabb'd the *High-Prieſt* in the Crowd, and ſo came off without ever being call'd to an Account for that *ſacrilegious Murder*. This Impunity prov'd ſuch an Encouragement to other Villanies of the like Kind, that the ſame Pretence and Diſguiſe was made uſe of afterward, upon ſuch *Feſtival Occaſions*, for the cutting of Throats, whether for Money or for private Revenge, or upon what other Conſideration ſoever; and this not only up and down in ſeveral Parts of the City, but in the very *Temple* it ſelf, as if the Holineſs of the Place were to be a Protection to ſo execrable an Impiety. And now what wonder is it, after the Practice and Sufferance of ſuch abominable Prophanations and Pollutions, for God in his Wrath to deliver up his City, and his own Houſe into the Hands of the *Romans*, to be purged with *expiatory Flames!* The whole Nation of the *Jews*, with their *Wives* and *Children* to be condemn'd to Miſery and Bondage, to bring them to a right Application of the Providence, and ſo to ſanctify the Affliction to them.

Thieves *and* Murderers *at Work in one Place,* Magicians *and* Impoſtors *in another.*

A falſe Prophet inveigles the People up to Mount Olivet; *under Pretence, that they ſhould ſee the Walls of* Jeruſalem *fall to the Ground.*

Felix *routs the Rabble; But the Prophet 'ſcapes.*

While the *Thieves* and *Murderers* were at Work in one Place, there were *Magicians* and *Impoſtors* as buſy in another, the Multitude following them in Droves into *Solitudes* and *Deſerts*, to ſee the Signs and Miracles they promiſed them; but they paid dear for their Curioſity, for they were preſently taken up by the Order of *Felix*, and divers of them put to Death. There came at the ſame Time a certain Perſon out of *Ægypt* to *Jeruſalem*, ſetting up for a *Prophet*, and inviting the common People to follow him up to the Top of *Mount Olivet*, ſome five Furlongs from the City; for when he came thither he would but ſay the Word, he ſaid, and they ſhould ſee the *Walls* of *Jeruſalem* fall flat to the Ground, and make Way for them to enter the City thorough the Ruins. When *Felix* came to hear of this Adventure, he made his Soldiers ſtand to their Arms; and breaking in upon them with Horſe and Foot, routed the Rabble, kill'd four hundred upon the Place; took two hundred alive; but the *Ægyptian* that led them was not to be found.

The *Thieves* were now tampering the People yet once again into a Rebellion againſt the *Romans*; notwithſtanding their late Defeat. *The Yoke was intolerable*, they ſaid; *Why did they not ſhake it off?* And at this Rate they went railing up and down from Place to Place; burning and pillaging all that would not joyn with them.

There fell out another unlucky Squabble at the ſame Time too, betwixt the *Cæſaræan Jews* and the *Syrians*, upon the Queſtion of ſome certain Privileges. The *Jews* claimed a Precedency in the Right of their *King Herod* as the *firſt Founder* of that City: Which the *Syrians* did not deny: But not of the *Tower of Straton*, they ſaid, which was originally the *Name* of the *Place*, before ever any *Jew* had ſet footing there. When the Report of this Controverſy came to the Knowledge of the Neighbouring Governours, they cauſed the *Incendiaries* on both Sides to be taken up, and whipt, which for a while put ſome Stop to the Tumult: But the *town Jews*, after all this, valuing themſelves upon their Wealth, fell to vilifying and reproaching the *Syrians* with foul Language; who returned it again upon the *Jews*, having ſeveral Soldiers among them to ſupply with Confidence what they wanted in Matter of Eſtate: So that giving the *Jews* as good as they brought, the Brawl proceeded from *Words* to *Stones*, and from thence to *Blows*, till in the End ſeveral were kill'd and wounded on both Sides, but the *Jews* kept the Field. When *Felix* found that this Controverſy was already advanced to a little Kind of War, he preſs'd it with great Inſtance to the *Jews*, that they would let fall the Diſpute; but when he ſaw Words would do no good, he ſent armed Troops among them, who kill'd a great many of them; but took more Priſoners, and gave the Soldiers the rifling of ſeveral rich Houſes for their Booty. The modeſter and the more honourable Part of the *Jews*, for Fear of worſe Conſequences, went to *Felix*, and begg'd of him to call off his Soldiers, before it went too far, and while they had time to bethink themſelves and repent.

A Squabble betwixt the Cæſarean *and the* Syrian Jews, *about Privileges.*

The Incendiaries on both Sides taken up and whipt.

They fall to Blows.

Felix *turns the Soldiers upon them, and gives them the Booty.*

King *Agrippa*, at the ſame Time, gave the *High-Prieſthood* to *Iſmael*, the Son of *Phabeus*; and the *High-Prieſts themſelves*, began to divide from the other Prieſts, and the Governours of *Jeruſalem*; every Man taking a Guard along with him of the boldeſt, and the moſt ſeditious Fellows he could pick up; railing, and throwing Stones one at another, and no more Care taken to keep the Peace than in a downright Vacancy of the Adminiſtration. Nay ſuch was the Impudence of the *High-Prieſts*, that they ſent their Servants up and down into Barns to take away the *Prieſts Tithes*: Inſomuch that the poorer Sort of that *holy Order* periſh'd for want of *Bread*. Thus it was, and thus it muſt be where Faction gets the upper Hand of Juſtice.

Agrippa *gives the* High-Prieſthood *to* Iſmael *the Son of* Phabeus.
The High-Prieſts *divide from the other* Prieſts.
They walk with a Guard; take away the Tithes *and ſtarve the other Prieſts.*

CHAP. VII.

The Cæſarean Jews *complain to* Cæſar *of* Felix. *His Brother* Pallas *obtains his Pardon.* Beryllus *gets a* Mandat *for disfranchiſing the* Jews. Judæa *over run with* Vagabonds. *An* Impoſtor *inveigles the Multitude into the Wilderneſs.* Feſtus *deſtroys both* Leader *and* Followers. Agrippa *builds a* Palace *that overlooks the* Temple. *The* Jews *grumble at it, and run a Wall betwixt them to hinder the* View. Feſtus *orders the* Wall *to be taken down. The* Jews *got Leave to move* Cæſar *about it: And ſo they ſent* ten eminent Citizens, *with* Iſmael, *and* Chelcias, *as their Commiſſioners. The Empreſs* Poppæa *ſets all Right with* Nero, *and keeps* Chelcias *and* Iſmael *for* Hoſtages. *The* Pontificat *transferr'd to* Joſeph.

FElix, being now remov'd from his Government, and *Porcius Feſtus* ſubſtituted by *Nero* in his Place, ſome of the principal *Cæſarean Jews* made a Journy to *Rome* together, to accuſe *Felix*: And without all Peradventure they had cruſh'd him to Death, for the Violence and Injuſtice of his Behaviour toward the *Jews*, if his Brother *Pallas*, who was at that Time in great Favour with *Nero*, had not obtained his Pardon.

Nero *puts* Portius Feſtus *in* Felix's *Place.*
The Cæſarean Jews *complain to* Cæſar *of* Felix.
Pallas *obtains his Pardon.*

There were two eminent *Syrians* of *Cæſarea*, who by a mighty Sum of Money made ſuch an Intereſt with *Beryllus*, Tutor to *Nero*, and his *Greek Secretary*, that he got the *Emperour's Letter Mandatory* to *Cæſarea* for the *Disfranchiſing* of the *Jews*, and *abrogating* all the Privileges that they pretended to within that City; which Privileges had been hitherto in common, both to *Jews* and *Syrians*. This was granted him without any Difficulty; and that Grant was the Root of all the Calamities that afterward befel us: For the *Cæſarean Jews* would never be quiet after this Letter, till it came to a direct War.

Beryllus *gets a Mandate for disfranchiſing the* Jews.

When *Feſtus* came into *Judæa*, he found all in Deſolation and Diſtreſs; the Country laid waſt; the People forced from their Habitations; their Houſes expos'd to Fire and Pillage, and all at the Mercy of a brutal Rout of vagabond *Free-Booters*, that ravag'd up and down there in great Numbers at Pleaſure. Theſe Robbers were called [a] *Sicarii* from *Sica*, or the ſhort Sword they wore; a Weapon bending toward the Point, and betwixt a *Perſian Scymeter*, and the *Roman Fauchion*. With theſe

Feſtus *finds* Judæa *overrun with Vagabonds and Freebooters.*

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[a] See *Druſius de tribus Sectis Judæorum*, l. 2, c. 24.

Weapons they did terrible Execution by thruſting themſelves into Crouds upon great Days when the City was throng'd under a Colour of Religion; and diſpatching whom they pleas'd in that Confuſion, without any Difficulty, or Danger of Diſcovery. But otherwhiles again they fell barefac'd with Fire and Sword as into an Enemy's Quarter, and carry'd all before them.

A noted Impoſtor inveigles the Multitude into the Wilderneſs. Feſtus *deſtroys both Leader and Followers.*

There was in thoſe Days a famous Seducer with a long Train of a credulous Rabble at his Heels, whom he had deluded into an Opinion, that if they did but follow him into ſuch a Wilderneſs, no Harm ſhould ever befall them; But *Feſtus*, with a Detachment of *Horſe and Foot*, put a Stop to the *Proceſſion*, and *deſtroy'd Maſter and Diſciples altogether.*

Agrippa *builds a magnificent Palace.*

The Jews *grumble at it.* *The* Jews *run up a Wall betwixt them.*

Feſtus *orders the Wall to be taken down.* *The* Jews *ſend to* Cæſar *about it.* *They ſend ten Citizens*; Iſmael, *and* Chelcias, *as their Commiſſioners* *The Empreſs* Poppæa *ſets all right again.* Chelcias, *and* Iſmael *kept for Hoſtages.* *The Pontificat transferr'd to* Joſeph.

King Agrippa cauſed to be erected near the Porch of the *royal Palace* at *Jeruſalem*, belonging formerly to the [a] *Aſmonæan Family*, *a ſtately magnificent Fabrick.* It ſtood upon an Eminence, with a noble Proſpect into the City, and was ſo contrived that the King out of his *Bed-Chamber* could ſee every Thing that paſs'd in the *Temple*, which was a Thing he took great Delight in. But on the other Side, the principal Men among the *Jews* were as much offended at it. For according to our Laws we do not allow of any Lookers-on upon our *holy Rites* and *Ceremonies*, and more eſpecially our *Sacrifices:* So that for Prevention Sake, they ran up a high Wall before the Seats that incloſed the inward Part of the Temple toward the *Weſt*, which did not only blind the View from the King's Bed-Chamber; but there was no Sight neither of the Galleries to the *Weſtward* on the other Side of the Temple, where the *Roman Guards* us'd to ſtand upon high-Days for the Security of the Place. The *King* took this very *ill*; and *Feſtus*, *worſe:* Inſomuch that he order'd the Wall to be taken down again. The Citizens made Anſwer, that their Lives were not ſo dear to them as their Temple; and therefore they humbly deſired Time and Leave to ſend their Deputies to *Cæſar* about it, before any Thing ſhould be put in Execution. This Liberty being granted them, they ſent to the Emperour ten eminent Citizens, with *Iſmael* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Chelcias* the *Treaſurer* of the *Temple*, as their Commiſſioners. *Nero* did not only paſs over what they had done, but effectually qualify'd it in permitting them to continue the *Wall* as it was. This Boon was granted them upon the Interceſſion of the *Empreſs Poppæa*, a pious Woman, in Favour of the *Jews*. The ten Deputies were allow'd to come back again, but *Poppæa* detained *Chelcias* and *Iſmael* as *Hoſtages*. When *Agrippa* came to underſtand what paſs'd, he transferr'd the *Pontificat* to *Joſeph* otherwiſe call'd *Cabis*, the Son of *Simon*, formerly *High-Prieſt*.

CHAP. VIII.

Feſtus *dies and* Albinus *ſucceeds him.* Agrippa *diſcharges* Joſeph, *and puts* Ananus *in his Place, A fierce bloody* Sadducee. Ananus *calls a Council, and cites* James *the Brother of* Jeſus, *to appear before him upon a Charge of Blaſphemy*, &c. *and they are ſentenc'd to be* ſton'd. Albinus *writes a threatning Letter to* Ananus. Agrippa *puts him from the* Pontificat, *and gives it to* Jeſus *the Son of* Damneus. Agrippa *enlarges* Cæſarea Philippi, *and calls it* Neronias. *He builds a glorious* Theatre *at* Berytus. *He takes the* High-Prieſthood *from* Jeſus *the Son of* Damneus, *and gives it to* Jeſus *the Son of* Gamaliel. Coſtobarus *and* Saul *had their* Bravo's *ſtill at their Heels.* Geſſius Florus *ſucceeds* Albinus. *Privileges allow'd to the* ſinging Men *of the Tribe of* Levi. *Another Sort of* Levites, *contrary to* Law. *The Temple finiſhed. The* Jews *petition for Leave to repair the* Porch, *and* Agrippa *refuſes it. A Deſcription of the* Porch. *The* High-Prieſthood *transferr'd from* Jeſus *the Son of* Gamaliel, *to* Jeſus *the Son of* Theophilus. *The War betwixt the* Romans *and the* Jews. *The Original, and Number of the* High-Prieſts. Aaron, *the* firſt *of the Order. The* Succeſſion, hereditary. *From* Aaron *to* Phanaſus, *eighty three in Number. The Government at firſt*, Ariſtocratical, *next* Monarchical; *and then, to the Title of* Kings. *The Hiſtory of the* Pontificat.

Feſtus *dies, and* Albinus *ſucceeds.* Ananus *put in* Joſeph's *Place.*

Ananus *fierce bloody and a* Sadducee.

F*Eſtus* being now dead, *Nero* gave his Government to *Albinus*. *Agrippa*, at the ſame Time gave *Joſeph* his *Quietus*, and elevated *Ananus*, the Son of *Ananus* to the *Pontificat* in his Stead. This *Ananus*, the Father, was look'd upon as one of the happieſt Men living: For he had *five Sons* that came ſucceſſively to the *Pontificat* after him, which no Man alive could ever ſay but himſelf. The *Ananus* we are now ſpeaking of, was naturally fierce, and hardy; by *Sect* a *Sadducee*, the moſt cenſorious and uncharitable Sort of People upon the Face of the Earth, as we have ſaid elſewhere. This being his Way and

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[a] Al. *Aſſamonaan*.

Opinion, he took his Opportunity in the *Interval* betwixt the Death of *Feſtus* and the Arrival of his *Succeſſor Albinus* (who was as yet but upon the Way) to call a Council together with the Aſſiſtance of the *Judges*; and to cite *James* the Brother of *Jeſus* which was called *Chriſt*, with ſome others to appear before them, and anſwer to a Charge of *Blaſphemy*, and Breach of *Law*; whereupon, they were condemn'd, and deliver'd up to be *ſtoned*. This was ſo ſurprizing a Way of proceeding to all the honeſt and conſcientious Part of the City, that they preſently ſent the King private Notice of it as a very ill Thing done; with a Requeſt that *Ananus* might have a Check for it, and a Caution never to do any ſuch Thing again for the future. Others were ſent with an Account of it to *Albinus*, who was then upon his Journey to *Alexandria*: Repreſenting it as an Uſurpation and Encroachment upon his Authority; for without his Conſent it ought not to have been done. *Albinus* took this ſo heinouſly, that he wrote an angry menacing Letter to the *High-Prieſt* upon it; and King *Agrippa* at the End of three Months remov'd him from the *High-Prieſthood*, and gave it to *Jeſus* the Son of *Damnæus*.

Ananus *calls a Council, and cites* James *the Brother of* Jeſus, &c. *to appear before him.*

The Charge is Blaſphemy, *Breach of the Law, and they are ſentenc'd to be ſton'd.*

Albinus *writes a menacing Letter to* Ananus.

Agrippa *puts him from the* Pontificate, *and gives it to* Jeſus.

Albinus was no ſooner come to *Jeruſalem*, but he apply'd himſelf with all poſſible Care and Diligence, to the quieting of the Province, and began the Work with cutting off the *Robbers*. *Ananias* the *High-Prieſt*, at the ſame Rate made himſelf ſo popular by his Affability and Bounty, that he became every Day more and more the Darling of the People; ſtill plying *Albinus* and the *High-Prieſt* with Reſpects and Preſents: But he had a Company of lewd Servants about him, that joyning with others as bad as themſelves, went ranging about from one Barn to another; and forced away the *Prieſts Tithes* from them, beating and wounding thoſe that refuſed to deliver them. There were *other High-Prieſts* alſo with their Servants, that did the ſame Thing too, for there was no Body to controul them: The Prieſts being ready to *ſtarve* all this while, that had nothing but their *Tenths* to live upon.

The *Thieves* ſlipt themſelves into the City one Night upon a *Holyday-Eve*, and ſurprized the Secretary of *Eleazar*, an Army Officer, and the Son of *Ananias* the *High-Prieſt*. They took him alive, bound him, and carry'd him away; and then ſent *Ananias* Word, that if he could get *Albinus* to diſcharge half a Score of their Companions that he had then in Cuſtody, the Secretary ſhould be ſet at Liberty. The Neceſſity was ſo preſſing that *Albinus* could not well refuſe the gratifying of *Ananias* under the preſent Circumſtances; though the granting of this Requeſt proved of very ill Conſequence in the End. For when the *Highway Men* had found out this Way of compounding their Villanies, they were never without one Invention or another to ſecure ſome of *Ananias's Relations* for a *Pawn*, which they never parted with but for ſome of their own Comrades in Exchange. By this Way of Menage they grew bold and ſtrong and laid the whole Country deſolate.

King *Agrippa* had now enlarged *Cæſarea Philippi*, and given it the Name of *Neronias* in Honour of *Nero*. He built alſo at *Berytus*, a moſt magnificent and coſtly *Theatre*, which he endow'd with a vaſt Sum of Money for the Celebration of the *yearly Shows*, and the Diſtribution of *Doles* of *Corn* and *Oyl* among the People, in ſuch a Proportion by the Head. He cauſed the City alſo to be beautify'd and adorn'd all over, with Curioſities of *Statues* and *Pictures*, and ſuch a Collection of antique Pieces and Originals from the Hands of the greateſt Maſters in their ſeveral Kinds, that this Town was, in Truth, but the Store-houſe of all that was rare and precious in the Kingdom: But by this Way of taking from his own People to gratify Strangers, and of beggaring the one to the Advantage of the other, he utterly loſt himſelf in the Hearts of his Subjects.

Agrippa *enlarges* Cæſarea Philippi, *and calls it* Neronias. *He builds a glorious Theatre at* Berytus.

He took away the *Pontificate* from *Jeſus* the *Son* of *Damnæus*, and gave it to *Jeſus* the *Son* of *Gamaliel*; which created ſuch a Feud between them, that they hardly walk'd the Streets without a Crew of ſwaggering Ruffians at their Heels; railing and huffing ſtill at one another as they met: Sometimes with hard Words, and ſometimes it came again to Stones; but *Ananias*, that had the *moſt Money*, got conſequently the ſtrongeſt Party.

He takes the High-Prieſthood from Jeſus *the Son of* Damnæus, *and gives it to* Jeſus *the Son of* Gamaliel.

Coſtobarus and *Saul*, being both of the *Blood Royal*, and nearly related to *Agrippa*, had a very great Intereſt too, and each of them a Band of *Bravo's* at his Beck to execute his Commands, and to fight his Quarrels. They were naturally inſolent and rapacious, where they had to do with poor People that they might trample upon. From this Juncture it is that we may date the mortal Declenſion of our *Common-Wealth*, which from this Time forward went on ſtill from bad to worſe.

Coſtobarus *and* Saul *had the Ruffians ſtill at their Heels.*

When *Albinus* heard that *Geſſius Florus* was coming to ſucceed him, he had no better Way, he thought, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*, than to do Juſtice upon the People that he had in Cuſtody. So he cauſed all the Priſoners to be brought before him, and upon Examination of Matters, proceeded againſt them according to their

Geſſius Florus *ſucceeds* Albinus.

Demerits: Putting to Death thoſe that were manifeſtly guilty of capital Crimes, and diſcharging the reſt that were in only for Miſdemeanours, upon Fine and Ranſome. This was a Way to clear the Priſons, and likewiſe to ſtock the Country with an Encreaſe of *Thieves*.

Privileges allow'd to the Singing-Men of the Tribe of Levi.

Thoſe of the Tribe of *Levi*, that officiated in the *Temple* as *Singing Men*, beſought the King, and prevail'd upon him to call a *Council*, and to grant them the Uſe of the *Linen-Stole*, a *Veſtment peculiar* to the *Prieſts*; and ſuggeſting that ſuch a Conceſſion would ſtand upon Record as an Act of Grace to the King's eternal Honour. This Requeſt of theirs was heard and granted in Form and Manner as they deſir'd it, and the *Singing Men* permitted to wear the *Stole*. There were another Sort of theſe *Levites*, that officiated in the Services of the *Temple*, and theſe were likewiſe allow'd, promiſcuouſly, to ſerve in the Quality of *Singers*. Now all this was directly againſt our National Laws and Cuſtoms, which were never abandon'd but with a Judgment upon the Violation.

Another Sort of Levites *admitted contrary to* Law.

The Temple *is now finiſh'd, and* 18000 *Men ready to ſtarve.*

The Building of the *Temple* being now over, and a Matter of eighteen thouſand Workmen that had nothing to live upon but their Labour, ready to ſtarve for Want of Employment; the People not caring to have Money lie by them for a Prey to the *Romans*; and out of a Deſire to make ſome Proviſion for them (for if they wrought but an Hour they were ſure of their Wages) propoſed the repairing of a Building on the *Eaſt-Side* of the *Temple*; which overlooking a deep narrow Valley, was ſupported by a Wall of four hundred Cubits high; the Stones *ſmooth* wrought and white, and every Piece twenty Cubits in Length and ſix in Depth, being the Work of *Solomon*, the *firſt Founder* of the *Temple*. But *Agrippa*, that was entruſted by *Claudius Cæſar*, with the repairing of this glorious Structure, computing with himſelf how much eaſier it was to deſtroy ſuch a Work than to rebuild it; eſpecially a Work that would take up ſo much Time and Money as that which was now propounded, he did not think fit to comply with this Deſire of the People; but if it might content them to beautify the City by paving the Streets with white Stone, he ſhould not be againſt it.

The Jews *Petition for Leave to repair the* Porch.

A Deſcription of the Porch.

Agrippa *refuſes them.*

This Prince took away after this, the *High-Prieſthood* from *Jeſus* the *Son* of *Gamaliel*, and gave it to *Matthias* the Son of *Theophilus*; and in his Days began the War of the *Romans* againſt the *Jews*.

The High-Prieſthood *given to* Jeſus *the Son of* Theophilus.

The War betwixt the Romans *and the* Jews.

The original Qualifications, and Number of the High Prieſts.

Aaron *the firſt of the Order.*

The Succeſſion Hereditary.

From Aaron *to* Phanaſus 83 *in Number.*

It will be proper for me in this Place (with a Reſpect to the Work I have in Hand) to give ſome Account of the Original of *High-Prieſts*; the *Qualifications* neceſſary for thoſe that are to be admitted into this Function, and the *Number* of thoſe that were advanced to this Dignity as far as to the End of this War. The *firſt* of the Order was *Aaron*, the *Brother* of *Moſes*; and after his *Death*, his Children ſucceeded him; and ſo the Honour deſcended in Courſe to his Family: And this Cuſtom of *Hereditary Succeſſion* prevail'd ſo far with our Forefathers, that none but thoſe of the Blood of *Aaron* were accounted capable of that holy Office; not excepting even Kings themſelves. From *Aaron* to *Phanaſus*, who was declared *High-Prieſt* by a Faction in a Time of War, there were *eighty three in Number: Thirteen* of them officiating in that Station from the Time that *Moſes* erected a *Tabernacle* to *God* in the *Deſert*, to their Entrance into *Judæa*, where King *Solomon* built and dedicated the *holy Temple*. For at firſt there was no ſucceeding to the *Pontificate*, but by a Vacancy upon *Death*, whereas it came to be a Practice, afterward to introduce another while the former was yet *living*. Theſe *thirteen Perſons* deſcending from the *two Sons* of *Aaron* ſucceeded to their Honour in their Turns. [a] The *Form* of Government was at firſt *Ariſtocratical*; after that, *Monarchical*; and the next Tranſition was to the Title of *Kings*. From the Time of *Moſes*'s carrying us out of the Land of *Ægypt* to the Building of *Solomon's Temple*, we reckon upon ſix hundred and twelve Years.

The Government at firſt Ariſtocratical; *next* Monarchical, *and then to the Title of Kings.*

The Hiſtory of the Pontificate.

After the *thirteen High-Prieſts* above-mentioned, there follow'd *eighteen more* in *four hundred ſixty ſix Years*, *ſix Months* and *ten Days*, in Succeſſion one to another, under the Government of *Kings*. Computing from King *Solomon*, to the Days of [b] *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*; when he march'd up to *Jeruſalem* and took it; burnt the *Temple*, and carry'd away the whole Nation, together with *Jozedeck* their *High-Prieſt*, *Captives*.

After a *Captivity* of *ſeventy Years* in *Babylon*, *Cyrus*, the King of *Perſia*, diſmiſs'd the *Jews* Home again, with Leave to rebuild their Temple; *Jeſus*, the *Son* of *Jozedeck*, exerciſing at that Time the Function of *High-Prieſt*. After him, came *fifteen more* of his Poſterity, that ſucceeded him in the ſame Dignity, but in a popular Way of Government, till the Time of King *Antiochus Eupator*, which was ſome four hundred and fourteen Years, when this ſame *Antiochus*, with his General *Lyſias* took away both the Dignity and Life of *Onias*, otherwiſe called *Menelæus*, at *Berytus*; put by his Son from the Succeſſion, and ſet up *Jacimus*, *High-Prieſt* in his Place; one of the Race of *Aaron*, 'tis true, but not of the *pontifical Family*. Wherefore *Onias*, the Son of *Onias* the deceaſed, went away into *Ægypt*, and inſinuating himſelf into the good Opinion of *Ptolemy Philometor* and of *Cleopatra* his Wife, prevailed upon them to build and dedicate a Temple to God at *Heliopolis*, in Imitation of that at *Jeruſalem*, and to conſtitute him *High-Prieſt* there, of which *Temple* we have ſaid enough elſewhere already: *Jacimus* dy'd at the End of three Years in the Execution of the *Pontifical Office* without a *Succeſſor*; ſo that there was a *Vacancy* in the *Pontificate* for *ſeven Years*. But after the Revolt of the *Jews* from the *Macedonians*, the Dignity was transferr'd to the Family of the *Aſmonæans*, and *Jonathan* preferr'd to the *Pontificat*, which he enjoy'd for the Space of *ſeven Years*; and then being taken off by the Treachery of *Tryphon*, his Brother *Simon* was promoted to his Place; and upon his being afterward *aſſaſſinated* by his *Son-in-law*, at a publick Entertainment, his Son *Hyrcanus* ſucceeded him, who held it for the Space of *one and thirty Years*; and then upon his Death, it went to his Son *Judas*, otherwiſe called *Ariſtobulus*, who was the firſt that took upon him the Name and Quality of *King*; and after one Year's Reign, left his Brother *Alexander*, Heir and *Succeſſor* both to the *Pontificate* and to the *Kingdom*: In both which Capacities he adminiſter'd for the Space of *Seven and twenty Years*; and then departing this Life he tranſmitted the *Regency* to his Wife *Alexandra*, with Authority to diſpoſe of the *Pontificate* to which of the Brothers ſhe pleas'd; and ſhe gave it to *Hyrcanus*, who enjoy'd it for the nine Years that ſhe reign'd: But upon her Death, *Ariſtobulus* the *younger Brother*, made War upon him; overcame him, and reduced him to the Condition of a private Man; aſſuming both the *Kingdom* and the *Pontificate* to himſelf, which he held for *three Years*, and juſt as many *Months*: When *Pompey*, upon the taking of *Jeruſalem*, carry'd away him and his Children Priſoners to *Rome*; and *Hyrcanus* being reſtor'd to the *Pontificate*, accepted alſo of the *Principality*, but not under the Title of *King*; enjoying the *High-Prieſthood three and twenty Years more*, beſide the *other Nine before ſpoken of*. At the End of this Term, *Barzopharnes*, and *Pacorus*, *great Men*, and *Generals* for the *Parthians*, paſs'd the *Euphrates*, and made War upon *Hyrcanus*; took him alive, and carry'd him away a Priſoner; advancing *Antigonus* the Son of *Ariſtobulus* to the *Crown*, who, in three Years and three Months after, was taken in *Jeruſalem* by *Herod* and *Soſius*: And then by the Command of *Anthony*, put to Death at *Antioch*.

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[a] *See Selden de Synedr. Heb.* l. 2. c. 15. p. 393, 396.

[b] *Nabuchadonoſor.* Joſ.

Herod having now received the Kingdom from the *Romans*, made no longer any Scruple of chuſing the *High-Prieſts* out of the *Aſmonæan Race*; but conferr'd the Honour indifferently upon Perſons, though never ſo obſcure, provided they were but in *holy Orders*; ſaving only in the Caſe of *Ariſtobulus*; for he made Choice of him, being the Grandchild of *Hyrcanus*, that was taken by the *Parthians*, and the Brother of his Wife *Mariamne*, to ingratiate himſelf with the People, who had the Memory of *Hyrcanus* in great Veneration. He was, in fine, ſo generally well-belov'd, that *Herod* grew *jealous* of him, and drown'd him at *Jericho* by a Contrivance, ſwimming in a *Fiſh-pool*, as we have ſaid heretofore. After this Time, he would never confer the *Pontificate* upon any of the *Aſmonæan Family*. His Son *Archelaus* took the ſame Meaſures too, and ſo did all the *Romans* after him, that came to be *Governours* of the Province. From the Days of *Herod*, in fine, to the burning of *Jeruſalem* and the *Temple* by *Titus*, there were in all *eight and twenty High-Prieſts*, that govern'd in the whole for the Space of *a hundred and ſeven Years*; ſome of them under *Herod* and *Archelaus*, his Son. But after their Death, the Government was *ariſtocratical*, and the *Sovereignty* lodg'd in the *Pontificate*, of which we have ſpoken ſufficiently already.

CHAP. IX.

Geſſius Florus *ſucceeds* Albinus, *the Husband of* Cleopatra. Florus *worſe than* Albinus. *The Character of* Florus. *The Beginning of the* War. *The* Hiſtory *of the* Jews, *from the* Creation of the World, *to the* 12*th of* Nero. Joſephus *promiſes the* Hiſtory *of the* Wars.

[a]*GEſſius Florus* the *Succeſſor* of *Albinus*, to the Government of *Judæa*, by the Appointment of *Nero*, was the Man that made the *Jews* perfectly miſerable. He was by Birth a *Clazomenian*, and the Husband of *Cleopatra*, whom he brought along with him; a Woman every Jot as bad as himſelf. It was by her Intereſt in the *Empreſs Poppæa*, that he obtain'd this Dignity, which he abuſed afterwards to ſuch a Degree, that the *Jews* would have accounted it a Bleſſing if they could but have

Geſſius Florus *ſucceeds to* Albinus.
The Husband of Cleopatra.

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[a] *Voſſius* in his Notes upon *Catullus* reads *Geſtius*, or *Ceſtius Florus*.

Florus *worse than* Albinus.

The Character of Florus.

The beginning of the War.

chang'd him for *Albinus* again; for though he had as much Malice and Miſchief in him as his Heart and Head would hold; he carry'd it as cloſe and private as he could yet: Whereas *Florus*, on the contrary, made an open *Profeſſion* and *Oſtentation* of his *Wickedneſs*; as if it had been the Buſineſs of his Commiſſion to undo the Nation. He was rapacious beyond Meaſure, inexorably cruel, and ſo inſatiably covetous, that where there was any Thing to be gotten, much, or little, nothing came amiſs to him. He went *Shares* with the *Thieves*; which gave a Kind of Authority to the *Trade*, when they knew beforehand they could compound the Robbery for ſuch a Part of the Booty. The Oppreſſion, in fine, was ſo intolerable, that the miſerable *Jews* were forced to abandon their Habitations, their Country, and their Altars, and to fly for Sanctuary to the moſt barbarous of Strangers. But without any more Words, it was *Florus* alone that forced us upon a War with the *Romans*, in a Reſolution rather to fall altogether, than to periſh one by one, with Infamy and Scorn. It was in the ſecond Year now of *Florus*'s Government, and the twelfth of *Nero*'s, when the War began; and whoever has a Mind to be particularly inform'd in the Hiſtory of what he did and ſuffer'd thorough the Courſe of that War, ſhall but need to read over the Books we [a] have written upon that Subject.

The History of the Jews from the Creation of the World to the 12th *of Nero.*

I am now come to the End of my *Antiquities*, and to the Beginning of my *Hiſtory of the Wars*; the Antiquities I have brought down from the *Creation* of the World to the *twelfth Year of the Reign of Nero*, in an *hiſtorical Deduction* of what had befallen the *Jews* thorough ſo many Ages: As in *Ægypt*, and *Syria*; what they ſuffer'd under the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*; how they were treated by the *Perſians* and *Macedonians*: And how, laſt of all, by the *Romans*. I have alſo given an accurate and an orderly Account of the conſtant and continu'd Succeſſion of our *High-Prieſts* for the Space of *two thouſand Years*. And ſo likewiſe for the Deſcent of our *Kings*, and the Courſe of *other Forms* of Government, as they ſucceeded one after another; their Powers, Adminiſtration, and Affairs: All which I have faithfully extracted from the Authority of *holy Writ*, as I promiſed at the firſt Entrance upon this Work.

And I ſhall be bold to ſay this further, that no Man living, my ſelf excepted, whether *Jew* or *Stranger*, could have given the *Greeks* ſo juſt, and ſo punctual an Account upon the whole Matter, as I have done. For without Vanity, my own Countrymen will allow me to be as well read in the *Moſaical Law* as any Man. And then for my Skill in the *Greek Tongue*, I have ſtudy'd the *Grammar*, and the *critical Proprieties* of it as much as another; but for the Nicety of the Accent in the Perfection of pronouncing it, the ſpeaking of ſeveral Languages, is a Thing that our People neither practiſe nor value; but look upon it as a Kind of a prophane Study common to Slaves as well as to Freemen. The only Wiſdom and Learning, in fine, that we reckon upon, is a due Application to the Knowledge of our *Laws*, and the *Holy Scriptures*, and a *right Underſtanding* of them: An Excellency that ſome two or three perhaps of all that ever offer'd at it, have ſucceeded in to their Honour and Satisfaction.

It will not be amiſs now at laſt, I hope, to ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf: That is to ſay, of my Family, and of the Actions of my whole Life; while there are People yet living, either to witneſs the Truth of Things, or to diſprove me. So that I ſhall now put an End to my *Antiquities*, as they are here comprized in *twenty Books*, and [b] *ſixty thouſand Lines*. And I do intend further, God willing, to draw up a ſhort [c] Relation of the whole War, from the Beginning, to *this very Day*: Being in the *thirteenth Year* of the Reign of *Domitian*, and of *my Age* the *ſix and fiftieth*. [d] I have propounded alſo to write of the *Jewiſh* Opinions, in Four Books concerning *God himſelf*, and his *Nature*; and likewiſe of our *Laws*, why ſome Things are permitted by them, others forbidden.

The End of the Jewiſh Antiquities *of* Flavius Joſephus.

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[a] The *Hiſtory* of the *Jewiſh Wars* was publiſh'd in *Veſpaſian*'s Time, long before the *Antiquities* were writ. See l. 18. c. 2. *Voſſ. de Hiſt. Gr. & Valeſ. in Euſeb.* p. 48. & *Ed. Pariſ.* [b] Ἐξ μυριάσι ςίχων in the Original. [c] I ſuppoſe he means that ſhort Account of his own *Life*, which was writ by Way of *Appendix* to this XXth Book of *Antiquities*. See *Valeſius* upon *Euſebius*, p. 47, 48. for which Reaſon it might be placed next in Order. [d] If we point the Words in the Original otherwiſe, they may be according to *Epiphanius Scholaſticus*, tranſlated thus: *I have propounded alſo to write of the Jewiſh Sects in four Books; of God himſelf and his Nature; and of our Laws, why ſome Things are allow'd by them, and others forbidden.*

The PREFACE.

O*F all the Wars that were ever ſeen or heard of in this Age, whether national or civil, that of the* Jews *with the* Romans, *was certainly the moſt conſiderable: And there are ſeveral Pretenders to the writing of the Story. Some take up their Materials barely upon* Truſt, *and* Hearſay, *without any Knowledge at all of the Matter in Queſtion. And there are ſome again, that ſpitefully ſtifle and diſguiſe the evident* Truth *of Things, with* partial Reports *and* falſe Gloſſes; *more like* Orators *than* Hiſtorians; *in Favour of the one Side, or the other, as the* Faction *ſtands affected, without any Regard to the* good Faith *or* Reputation *of the* Work.

No War like that of the *Jews* with the *Romans*. Several Men write with ſeveral Ends.

Upon this Conſideration, I Joſeph *the Son of* Matthias, *an* Hebrew born, *and a* Prieſt *of* Jeruſalem, *have now bethought my ſelf of turning that Narration into* Greek, *for the common Benefit of the Subjects of the* Roman Empire, *which I formerly communicated in my* Mother-Tongue, *to the* Parthians, Babylonians *and other* Barbarians, *for their better Information: And I ſhall give farther to underſtand, that having* firſt *born Arms for the* Jews *againſt the* Romans, *I found my ſelf* afterwards, *under ſome Sort of Neceſſity to intereſt my ſelf in their Service.*

This Work originally in *Hebrew*. *Joſephus* a Party to the War.

This terrible War brake out upon a Nick of Time, when the Romans *were all* embroil'd *among* themſelves: *And the* Jews, *being ſtrong, rich, and ſeditious, wanted neither Men, Money, nor Good-Will, to improve the Opportunity: Which they enflam'd, into ſo deſperate a Tumult, that they did not only flatter themſelves with the Hope of carrying all before them, but at the ſame Time ſtruck whole Nations in the* Eaſt *with an Apprehenſion of being totally over-run: For the* Jews, *as well thoſe beyond* Euphrates, *as the reſt, were all in a Confederacy to riſe as one Man. The* Gauls *were alſo in Motion upon the* Borders *of* Italy; *the* Germans *unquiet; and in one Word, every Thing in Confuſion upon the Death of* Nero: *Some ſetting up for the Empire it ſelf; others for making their Fortunes by a Change of Government, the Soldiery as well as the reſt, and all bent upon Innovations.*

The State of Things when the War brake out.

In this State of Affairs, I reckon'd my ſelf bound in Honour and Conſcience, to vindicate ſo many important Truths from Impoſture and Miſtake: And after having inſtructed the Parthians, *the* Babylonians, *the moſt remote of the* Arabians, *the* Jews *on the other Side of the* Euphrates, *and the* Adiabeni, *in a juſt Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Event of the War, not to ſuffer the* Greeks, *and ſo many of the* Romans, *that had nothing to do in the Controverſy, to be impoſed upon, by Flatteries and Fictions, and to continue wholly ignorant upon the Main.*

Joſephus bound in Honour and Conſcience to write the Hiſtory.

But with what Face ſhall People cry up that *for* Hiſtory, *which has neither Senſe nor Connexion in it; nor ſo much as one Syllable (in my Opinion) that makes for their Purpoſe? As if they could not do* Honour *ſufficient to the* Romans, *without* viliſying *the* Jews. *Now I do not underſtand the Glory* of triumphing *over a* weak Adverſary. *Why were they not aſhamed rather, of being ſo long about it? Conſidering the mighty* Power *of the* Romans, *with the* Fame *and* Conduct *of their* Generals? *Which is all leſſen'd, if upon the gaining of their Point, they derogate from the Bravery and Reſolution of thoſe they have overcome.*

The Partiality of Hiſtorians. The braver the Enemy the more glorious is the Victory.

Far be it from me at laſt to enlarge upon the Exploits of the Jews, *as others do upon the* Romans; *for the Thing I pretend, is to do Right indifferently to both Parties, without adding or diminiſhing; to ſay no more than I am able to prove; and to content my ſelf in the Conſcience of an affectionate and tender Affliction for the Ruine of my Country: But we were undone by our own Diviſions; and then for the burning of the holy Temple, it was the Tyranny of our own Governours, that forc'd the* Romans *(how much ſoever againſt their Wills) upon that Extremity. Witneſs* Titus Cæſar *himſelf, under whoſe Command the Thing was done. How did he compaſſionate us all along, when he ſaw how we were torn to Pieces by inteſtine Factions, even to the Degree of ſuſpending the final Deſtruction of the City, when he might have laid it in Aſhes out of Hand: And all this on Purpoſe to give the Authors of the War Time to bethink themſelves and repent. If it ſhall be objected, that in this Paſſion and Bitterneſs of mine againſt the Oppreſſors and Spoilers of my Country, I have paſs'd the Laws and Bounds of an Hiſtorian, I have nothing to offer, but the Impotency of an ungovernable Sorrow in my Excuſe. For of all the Places that ever fell under the Dominion of the* Roman Empire, Jeruſalem *was undoubtedly the City that had the greateſt Share in both Extremes, by Turns, of Glory and Miſery: From the Creation of the World, in Fine, to this Inſtant, never any Thing came near it. And for a farther Aggravation of the Calamity, we laid violent Hands upon our ſelves, which makes the Caſe yet more inconſolable. Now if any Man ſhall think me too ſenſible in ſo deplorable a State of Things, let him diſtinguiſh betwixt the tragical Circumſtances of the Story, and the good natur'd Infirmities of the Author.*

The Generoſity of *Titus* toward the *Jews*. The Glory and Miſery of *Jeruſalem* by Turns.

Upon this Occaſion, I cannot but blame and wonder at ſeveral eloquent Men among the Greeks, *to ſee them only By-Standers and Eye-Witneſſes of the moſt memorable Revolution for War and military Actions, that ever appear'd under the Sun, without concerning themſelves in any Memorials of the Hiſtory: Nay, (which is worſe) and derogating at the ſame Time from the Ability of others that were willing to perform that Office; never conſidering that what they fall ſhort of in Capacity and Talent, is ſupply'd abundantly by Humanity and Good-Will. And yet theſe cenſorious Criticks can take upon them at the ſame Time to compile Hiſtories of the* Medes *and* Aſſyrians, *though done already to their Hands by ancient Writers; to whom they are as much inferiour for Style and Matter, (notwithſtanding this tacit Reproach) as for Deſign. But their Way of Writing was to report what they had ſeen; ſpeak upon Knowledge; and to be as good as their Words; without laying themſelves open to the Scandal of a Contradiction, by any Diſguiſe or falſe Suggeſtion whatſoever. It is the Part of a faithful and a judicious Hiſtorian, to furniſh himſelf with Materials that are new and not common; and ſo to tranſmit the Memorials of his own Time down to Poſterity. Now that Man cannot properly be ſaid to be a Man of Skill and Induſtry that only tranſpoſes like a* Plagiary *the Order and Diſpoſition of another Man's Writings: But he rather that obliges the World with an entire Body of Hiſtory, that's all new, and his own.*

The *Greeks* no Friends to the *Jews*. The Duty of a faithful Hiſtorian.

It has coſt me a great Deal of Money, and Labour, (being a Stranger) to furniſh both Greeks and Romans with a Memorial of Tranſactions worthy to be known But for the Greeks themſelves, though their Mouths are open enough either upon the Subject of Controverſy or Profit, yet in the Matter of Hiſtory, which requires Truth and Pains, they are all as mute as Fiſhes: Leaving it to a Company of pitiful Wretches that underſtand nothing at all, to manage the Province of Hiſtorians, and communicate to the World the Lives and Actions of Princes. But the good Faith of Hiſtory is never the leſs venerable with us for the Greeks undervaluing it.

Joſephus's Method and Deſign.

I might give you an Account here of the Original of the Jews; what they were; how they came to leave Ægypt; what Countries they paſs'd thorough in their Wandrings; where they inhabited; how long and how often; and when and whither they went from thence: But at this Time, and in this Place, it would be both ſuperfluous and unſeaſonable; in Regard that the Story has been ſo faithfully deliver'd over and over already, by ſeveral of our own People, and as candidly tranſlated by ſome of the Greeks into their own Tongue. I ſhall begin my Hiſtory where their Writers and our Prophets left off. As to the Conduct of the War which I was an Eye-Witneſs of, I ſhall be as copious and particular as is poſſible; but for what paſs'd before my Time, I ſhall be more ſhort and general.

An hiſtorical Abſtract of the War.

The Method I propoſe to my ſelf, ſhall be to ſet forth how Antiochus, ſirnamed Epiphanes, after the forcing of Jeruſalem, and keeping Poſſeſſion of it for three Years and a Half, came to be driven out by the Sons of [a] Aſmonæus. And afterwards, upon a Conteſt betwixt the Succeſſors who ſhould govern, how the Romans under the Command of Pompey made their Advantage of that Diviſion: And how Herod, the Son of Antipater, with the Help of Soſius the General, put an End to the Power of the Aſmonæan Line.

In the next Place, how after the Death of Herod, and under the Reign of Auguſtus, there happen'd a popular Revolt; Quintilius Varus being at that Time Governour of Judæa. I ſhall likewiſe treat of the War that broke out in the twelfth of Nero: And what paſs'd under the Command of Ceſtius; with the notable Exploits of the Jews upon their firſt entring into Arms.

Their fortifying the Borders upon the Diſaſters of Ceſtius, and Nero's putting Veſpaſian in the Head of the Army for Fear of the main Chance: How this General, with his eldeſt Son, enter'd into Judæa with a mighty Army of Romans; the Defeat of a Body of Auxiliaries that were ſcatter'd all over Galilee, with the Number of the Slain: How he took ſome of their Towns by Force, while others render'd, I ſhall deliver nothing, in Fine, but upon Sight, and certain Knowledge: With a Reſpect to the Roman Management of the War; their Government and Diſcipline; the Bounds and Content of both Galilees; the Condition and Limits of Judæa; the particular Quality of the Soil; the Lakes and Fountains; what Towns were taken, and the Miſeries they endur'd by Fire and Sword. I ſhall do all this, without ſuppreſſing any Part of my own Misfortunes; wherein I doubt not of being believ'd, for I write to thoſe that know I ſpeak the Truth.

My next Point will be, to ſhew how the Tidings of Nero's Death coming to Veſpaſian, juſt as he was diſpatching away to Jeruſalem; (the Jews at that Time being very low) the Affairs of the Empire diverted him, and call'd him away to Rome. I ſhall take Notice alſo of the Preſages he had of his future Greatneſs; the Changes he found there; and the Soldiery declaring him Emperour, even againſt his Will.

How upon his going into Ægypt to give neceſſary Orders, the Jews brake out into a violent Sedition; the Slavery they endur'd under tyrannical Oppreſſors; and the fierce Animoſities one againſt another; how Titus, upon his Return into Ægypt, made two Inroads into Judæa; how he levy'd an Army; where he drew them up, and in what Form of Battle.

How many deſperate Commotions he had ſeen in Jeruſalem with his own Eyes: The Number of his Approaches: the Strength and vaſt Bigneſs of his Works; the Compaſs and the Thickneſs of the three Walls; the Fortifications of the City, and likewiſe of the Temple; the Figure and the Dimenſions of the Altar. All this ſhall be exactly and faithfully reported. And ſo for our ſolemn Feſtivals, and the Ceremonies that attend them: The ſeven Sorts of Purification; the Offices of the prieſtly Function; the ſacerdotal Robes; and all that is ſacred belonging to the holy Temple. Nothing of this ſhall be either alter'd or omitted; but punctually ſet down without making it more or leſs.

I ſhall then come to the Cruelty of our own Governours towards thoſe of their own Tribe and Profeſſion; and to the Humanity of the Romans, even towards Strangers; and ſhew how often, and how generouſly, Titus, out of an honourable Deſire to ſave both the Temple and the City, preſs'd and invited the Jews to come to an Agreement among themſelves. I ſhall enlarge alſo upon the Sufferings and Calamities of the People, and the Variety of Afflictions they labour'd under: One while by War; another while by Sedition; and then again by Famine, till in the End they were made Priſoners: Neither ſhall I paſs over the Deſtruction of the Fugitives, or the Torments inflicted upon thoſe that were taken.

Jeruſalem taken, and the Temple burnt.

I ſhall not forget neither, the Conflagration of the Temple, againſt the very Will and Liking of Cæſar himſelf: The ſacred Treaſure of all Sorts that was there conſum'd; the Remainder of the City laid wholly in Aſhes: The Prodigies and Portents that preceded the captivating of our tyrannical Maſters; and the Slavery of the People that were carry'd away; with an Account of their reſpective Adventures, the eager Purſuit of thoſe that 'ſcap'd the Dint of the War; and the razing of the Retreats and Habitations of the conquer'd, down to the Ground. I ſhall ſay ſomewhat likewiſe of Titus's Progreſs through the Country, to put Things in ſome Sort of Order again; and then of his Return into Italy, and of his Triumph.

Theſe are the Heads of the ſeven following Books; which I have written for the Sake of Truth, not Diverſion; in Confidence, that no Man that knows any Thing either of Buſineſs, or of this War, will blame me for it. I ſhall only refer the Reader to the Chapters for the Order of the Work.

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[a] Aſmonæus, Joſ.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
WARS of the *JEWS*.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Antiochus *and* Ptolemy *Competitors.* Antiochus *enters* Judæa, *and takes* Jeruſalem: *A cruel Perſecutor of the* Jews, *and* Bacchides *as bad.* Matthias *kills* Bacchides. Judas *gets the Temple, and reſtores God's Worſhip.* Antiochus *dies.* Eleazar *kill'd by the Fall of an Elephant.* Judas *ſlain by the Troops of* Antiochus.

See *Antiquities, lib.* 12. *cap.* 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 19.

Antiochus *and* Ptolemy *Competitors.*

Onias *too hard for* Tobias.

Antiochus *enters* Judæa, *and takes* Jeruſalem.

THE great Men of the *Jews* being divided into Factions among themſelves, upon an Impulſe of Honour, (for Men of Dignity and Power do not naturally love to be ſubjected to their Equals;) and this happening at a Time when there was a Competition a-foot betwixt *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Ptolemy* the *ſixth*; *Onias*, one of the *High-Prieſts*, got the better of it, and drove the Sons of *Tobias* out of the City; who apply'd themſelves to *Antiochus* with Supplications, that he would break into *Judæa*, and make Uſe of them for his Guides. The King was eaſily prevailed upon to do the Thing his Heart was ſet upon before; and ſo he march'd into *Judæa* with a mighty Army; took *Jeruſalem* it ſelf by Aſſault, and put a prodigious Number of People to the Sword, that were ſuſpected to be Friends to *Ptolemy*. The Pillage in general he gave to the Soldiers; rifled the Temple himſelf, and for three Years and a Half diſcontinu'd the Prayers and Sacrifices that were offer'd up daily there to Almighty God. The High-Prieſt *Onias* fled to *Ptolemy*, who gave him Leave to build a Temple and a City near *Heliopolis*, after the Model of that at *Jeruſalem*: Which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere.

Antiochus *a cruel Perſecutor of the* Jews.

Antiochus was now Maſter of a ſtrong and a wealthy City, beyond all Thought or Expectation; his Enemies at his Feet, and all the Ravages before him of a bloody Deſolation. But this was not yet ſufficient to put a Stop to the Courſe of an inſatiable Cruelty and Ambition: Beſide the Malice he carry'd in his Heart for the Difficulties he ſuffer'd in the Siege, to the Degree of forcing the *Jews* to the renouncing of their Country's Laws, Rites, and Religion. They were no longer to circumciſe their Children, nor to offer any Sacrifices upon their Altars, but *Hogs*, which the Law has expreſly forbidden. This was a Barbarity that all good Men had a Horror for, and whoever diſcover'd but the leaſt Reſentment of it, was ſure to dye for't. *Bacchides* had at that Time the Command of *Judæa* under *Antiochus*, and the World could not have found him out a fitter Inſtrument for his Purpoſe, being a Man naturally mercileſs and fierce, and as ready to execute Miſchief, as the other could be to command it. It was his common Practice to treat Men of Quality with Blows, like Slaves; and *Jeruſalem*, in Fine, was no other than the Image of a City that was taken every Day over again. This was his Way of Proceeding, till the inſupportable Inſolence provok'd ſome of the Sufferers to meditate a Revenge.

Bacchides *as bad.*

Matthias *makes a Party, and kills* Bacchides.

Matthias the Son of *Aſmonæus*, (of *Modin*) and one of the Prieſts, drew out a Troop of his own Domeſticks; (having five Sons) and arming them with Daggers, kill'd *Bacchides*, and ſo withdrew immediately to the Mountains, out of Reach of the Garriſons, for their Security. The People came trooping in to *Matthias*, till he found himſelf ſtrong enough to venture down into the Plain; where he gave the Enemy Battle, and forc'd them out of the Borders. This Succeſs gave him ſuch a Reputation, that the People, in Acknowledgment of their Deliverance, choſe him for their General: In which Command he dy'd; leaving the Government to his eldeſt Son *Judas*.

Now *Judas* (upon a Preſumption that *Antiochus* would not give it over thus) got a conſiderable Body of an Army together of his own Countrymen: And in the firſt Place ſtruck up an Alliance with the *Romans*. *Antiochus*, upon this, made another Incurſion into *Judæa*; where he received a terrible Repulſe and Defeat. *Judas* ply'd his Advantage, and gave an Aſſault to the City-Garriſon; being as yet untouch'd. In this Action, the Soldiers were beaten out of the upper City (commonly call'd, the *Holy Place*) into the lower. *Judas* being now poſſeſs'd of the Temple, purify'd it all over, ran a Wall about it; and furniſh'd it a-new with all Sorts of Veſſels for the Service of God's Worſhip; the other being look'd upon as polluted and prophan'd. He caus'd to be erected alſo another Altar, and Sacrifices to be offer'd upon it: But ſo ſoon as ever the Religion was reſtor'd, *Antiochus* dy'd.

Judas *gets the Temple, and reſtores God's Worſhip.*

Antiochus *dies, and his Son* Antiochus *ſucceeds him.*

This *Antiochus* was followed by another of the ſame Name; the Succeſſor of his Father's Enmity to the *Jews*, as well as of his Crown. He put himſelf in the Head of an Army of 50000 Foot, near 5000 Horſe, and 80 Elephants; and ſo fell in upon *Judæa* by the Way of the Mountains. He took the Town of *Bethſura*; and paſſing thorough a narrow *Defile*, in a Place call'd *Beth-zacharias*, *Judas* engag'd him in the Paſs; and before the Armies could joyn, his Brother *Eleazar* taking Notice of *one Elephant* taller than the reſt, with a great Caſtle upon his Back, and golden glorious Trappings, he gave for granted that the Rider muſt needs be *Antiochus*. In this Confidence, he advanc'd upon the Enemy, and made his Way into their Body, up to the *Elephant*; but finding that the Perſon upon him, whom he took for the King, was out of his Reach, he ſtabb'd the Beaſt into the Guts, and was cruſh'd to Death under the Weight of him upon his Fall: Giving only to underſtand how much a brave Man valu'd his Honour above his Life. But he, it ſeems, that rode this Elephant, was only a private Man; and if it had been *Antiochus* himſelf, *Eleazar* could have got no more by't than the Reputation of ſacrificing his Life to the very Hope of ſo heroical an Exploit. This Diſappointment was look'd upon by his Brother, as a Preſage to the Fate of that Battle; for though the *Jews* maintain'd a long and an obſtinate Fight, they were yet in the End over-born by Numbers; and after a great Loſs of Men, *Judas*, with the Remainder, retir'd into the *Toparchy* of *Gophnis*; but *Antiochus* went his Way to *Jeruſalem*: And after a few Days Stay, was forc'd to withdraw again for Want of Neceſſaries; leaving behind him a competent Garriſon, and ſending the reſt to take their Winter-Quarters in *Syria*.

Eleazar *cruſh'd to Death by the Fall of an* Elephant.

The King being now out of the Way, *Judas* was not idle; but taking Heart upon the Recourſe to him of ſeveral of his own Nation, together with thoſe that had 'ſcap'd out of the late Battle, he encounter'd ſome of the Troops of *Antiochus* at a Place call'd *Adaſa*; where he made himſelf ſo ſignal by his Conduct and Valour, that being known in the Battle, he was oppreſs'd by Multitudes, and fell in the Action. His Brother *John* did not live many Days after him, being inveigled into an Ambuſh by the Friends of *Antiochus*, that coſt him his Life.

Judas *ſlain by the Troops of* Antiochus.

CHAP. II.

Jonathan *betray'd, and put to Death by* Tryphon. Simon *recovers* Judæa, *and is murder'd by the Treachery of* Ptolemy. *A Plot upon* John, *alias* Hyrcanus, *but diſappointed. The barbarous Cruelty of* Ptolemy *to the Mother and Brothers of* Hyrcanus. Antiochus *lays Siege to* Jeruſalem. Sebaſte *deſtroy'd by* Ariſtobulus *and* Antigonus.

See Ant. l. 13. c. 1, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

JONATHAN ſucceeded his Brother as Prince of the *Jews*, and behav'd himſelf with great Caution and Prudence towards thoſe of his own Nation; ſtrengthening his Intereſt alſo by making Friends of the *Romans*, and coming to a better Underſtanding with the Son of *Antiochus*. But all this would not ſerve their Turn yet. For the Tyrant *Tryphon*, the Tutor of young *Antiochus*, had Recourſe to Treachery, and how he might deprive *Jonathan* of the Aſſiſtance of his Friends over and above: So that upon *Jonathan*'s coming to *Antiochus* at *Ptolemais*, with a ſlender Train, *Tryphon* ſeiz'd him by Surprize; and when he had him Priſoner, march'd with his Army againſt *Judæa*; where *Simon*, the Brother of *Jonathan*, beat him off, and routed him: Upon which, he went away in a Rage, and put *Jonathan* to Death.

Jonathan *betray'd by* Tryphon, *and put to Death.*

Simon went on at the ſame Rate of Conduct and Courage; took [a] *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and *Jamnia*; made himſelf Maſter alſo of [b] *Accaron*, and demoliſh'd it; aſſiſted *Antiochus* againſt *Tryphon*, who, before his Expedition into *Media*, laid Siege to *Dora*. But ſuch was the Avarice of this King, that though *Simon* had contributed to the Death of *Tryphon*, by the Aid he had given him; it was not long after yet, that *Antiochus* ſent *Cendebæus* with an Army to lay waſte *Judæa*, and to enſlave *Simon* himſelf. This Prince of the *Jews* was ſomewhat in Years; but manag'd the War however with a Spirit of Youth and Vigour. He ſent his Sons before with the beſt of his Troops, and went himſelf another Way with the reſt: And having planted ſeveral Ambuſhes up and down about the Mountains, he ſucceeded every where; and gain'd a mighty Victory: After which he was declar'd *High-Prieſt*. Thus was *Judæa* deliver'd out of the Hands of the *Macedonians*, after a Subjection to them of a hundred and ſeventy Years.

Simon *over-throws* Cendebæus, *and recovers* Judæa.

This great Man was murder'd afterward at a Feaſt, by the Treaſon of his Son-in-Law *Ptolemy*, who had at the ſame Time his Wife and two of his Sons Priſoners, and order'd out his *Bravo*'s to diſpatch *John the Third*, who was alſo called *Hyrcanus*. The young Man having Notice of this Deſign upon his Perſon, haſten'd away to the City; where he had a great many Friends, partly upon his Father's Score, out of the Reverence they had for his Memory, and partly out of the Hatred they bare to *Ptolemy*, for his ill Conditions. Now *Ptolemy* would fain have gotten into the City by another Port; but the People having already taken *Hyrcanus* into the Town, would not admit the other. Upon this Repulſe, *Ptolemy* betook himſelf to the Caſtle of *Dagon* beyond *Jericho*; and *Hyrcanus*, being at this Time poſſeſs'd of the ſacerdotal Dignity in Succeſſion to his Father; ſo ſoon as ever he had ſacrific'd, and diſcharg'd the Duties of his Function, he marched away preſently to beſiege *Ptolemy* in the Caſtle, and to ſet his Mother and his Brothers at Liberty.

Simon *murder'd by the Treachery of* Ptolemy *his Son-in-Law.*

A Plot upon John, *or* Hyrcanus, *but diſappointed.*

Hyrcanus *ſucceeds his Father in the* Pontificate.

Hyrcanus advanced up to the Place, and had certainly carry'd it if his Tenderneſs and Good Nature had not hindred him: For ſtill as *Ptolemy* found himſelf preſs'd, his Mother and his Brothers were preſently brought out and expos'd upon the Wall for a Spectacle, with Menaces to caſt them down head-long from the Battlements, unleſs *Hyrcanus* drew off that very Moment: And thoſe Menaces were accompany'd with Blows too. *Hyrcanus* muſt needs be tranſported with Rage and Indignation at ſo barbarous a Treatment; but ſtill the Tenderneſs of Piety and Duty ſoften'd him again, on the other Hand: The Mother all this while, without any Dread, either of Torments, or Death, adjuring the Son to do Juſtice upon that Monſter, without any Regard to what ſhe ſuffer'd; for to dye by the Hand of *Ptolemy*, ſhe ſaid, would be more welcome to her than Immortality it ſelf; provided only that ſhe and her Family might have Juſtice done them upon that unrighteous and inhumane Wretch. *Hyrcanus*, in Fine, betwixt the Reſolution and the Authority of his Mother, was prevail'd upon to reſume his Courage, and to proſecute the Aſſault. But finding that ſtill as he repeated the Attack, on the one Side, *Ptolemy* repeated the Blows and Indignities on the other; his Courage fail'd him, and his very Heart was drown'd in Sorrow. Theſe expoſtulatory Deliberations kept the Siege ſo long in Hand, that they were now overtaken by the *ſeventh Year*: Which with the *Jews* is a *Year of Reſt*, as the *ſeventh Day* is a *Day of Reſt*. *Ptolemy* finding, that upon this Revolution the Siege was reſpited, he put both Mother and Brothers to Death, and then fled to *Zeno*, otherwiſe call'd *Cotylas*, the Governour of *Philadelphia*.

The Barbarity of Ptolemy *to the Mother and Brothers of* Hyrcanus, *whom he afterwards put to Death.*

Antiochus, bearing an old Grudge in his Mind, for a Defeat *Simon* had formerly given him, carry'd an Army into *Judæa*; with a Reſolution to be reveng'd upon the Son for the Father's Sake; and there ſat down before *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged *Hyrcanus* in it. *Hyrcanus* in this Diſtreſs, open'd the Sepulchre of *David*; (the richeſt Prince that ever was) took upward of [c] three thouſand Talents out of it, and came to a Compoſition with *Antiochus* for three hundred Talents to raiſe the Siege. This was the firſt Prince of the *Jews* that ever entertain'd *foreign Mercenaries*.

Antiochus *lays Siege to* Jeruſalem.

And compounds for 300 *Talents to raiſe the Siege.*

Antiochus having now quitted *Jeruſalem*, and being upon the March with all his Troops into *Media*; *Hyrcanus* took his Time, and preſently mov'd toward *Syria*, upon Intelligence that their Towns were neither mann'd nor fortify'd;

[a] *So it ſhould be read, and not* Zara.

[b] *In the* Gr. Ακρὰν. Lat. *Arcem evertit ſubactis præſidiis.*

[c] Jacobus Salianus *will have this to be a Fiction of the* Rabbins, &c. *and blames* Joſephus *for his Credulity in believing it.*

which he found accordingly to be true. So he took *Medaba*, and [a] *Samæa*, with divers other Places thereabouts; *Sichem*, and *Garizim:* He over-ran the Country of the *Chuthites*; a People bordering upon a famous Temple erected there, in Imitation of that at *Jeruſalem*. He took likewiſe [b] *Dorion*, and *Mariſſa*, and a great many other Towns in *Idumæa*.

He went afterward to *Samaria*, a City rebuilt by King *Herod*, and now call'd *Sebaſte*. He begirt the Place on all Hands, and committed the Care of the Siege to his Sons *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus:* Who brought them to ſuch a Diſtreſs for Want of Food, that the People were forc'd to make ſhift with that which, in Truth, was not Man's Meat. In this Extremity, they addreſs'd themſelves to *Antiochus* (otherwiſe call'd [a] *Aſpendius*) for Succour; who came readily to their Aſſiſtance, but to his own undoing; for the two Brothers gave him a total Overthrow, following him upon the Purſuit as far as *Scythopolis:* But in the End he gave them the Slip. *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus* returned, after this, to *Samaria*; ſhut them up again; forc'd the City, and laid it in Rubbiſh; carrying away the Inhabitants Captives. Every Thing ſucceeding thus to their Wiſh, the Soldiers well diſpos'd and chearful, they would not ſuffer the good Humour to cool; but in that Heat march'd as far as *Scythopolis:* Where they came to a Partition of the Lands about Mount *Carmel*, among them.

Sebaſte *deſtroy'd by* Ariſtobulus *and* Antigonus.

CHAP. III.

The Death and Character of Hyrcanus *King of the* Jews, *and his eldeſt Son* Ariſtobulus *ſucceeds him. A Plot upon* Antigonus, *and the Queen manages it.* Ariſtobulus *ſtarves his Mother, and puts his Brother* Antigonus *to Death. A ſtrange Prediction of one* Judas *an* Eſſene. Ariſtobulus *falls into a judicial Diſtemper upon his Brother's Death. The laſt Words of* Ariſtobulus. Alexander *ſet at Liberty and declar'd King.* Theodore *defeats* Alexander. Alexander *takes* Raphia, Gaza, *and* Anthedon. *A dangerous Mutiny. He ſubdues the* Galaadites *and* Moabites; *raſes* Amathus, *and is routed by* Obodas. *A Battle betwixt* Demetrius *and* Alexander. *Eight hundred Priſoners crucify'd for a Spectacle. The miſerable End of* Ariſtobulus.

See Ant. l. 13. c. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

The Death and Character of Hyrcanus.

JOHN and his Sons were ſo proſperous in all they undertook, that in pure Spite and Envy, the Nations enter'd into Conſpiracies againſt them, and would never let them be quiet till they themſelves were brought to Reaſon by open War. After that Deciſion, the Remainder of *John*'s Life and Government was eaſy and happy; and at the End of three and thirty Years, he departed this Life, leaving five Sons behind him. He was ſo good a Man, that never any Creature had Reaſon to complain of him. A ſingular Felicity! And he was in Poſſeſſion likewiſe of three other Advantages almoſt peculiar to himſelf. He was at the ſame Time, a *Prince*, a *High-Prieſt*, and a *Prophet:* Receiving his Revelations from God himſelf, and ſeldom or never fail'd in his Predictions. As to his two eldeſt Sons, he foreſaw and foretold, that their Dominion would not laſt long. It will be worth the while to write the Hiſtory of their Lives, and to ſhew how ſhort they fell of the Reputation and Happineſs of their Father.

After the Death of *Hyrcanus*, *Ariſtobulus*, the eldeſt Son, tranſlated the Principality into a Monarchy, and in the firſt Place ſet the Crown upon his own Head. This was 481 Years and three Months after the Return of the People into *Judæa* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. *Ariſtobulus* had ſo great a Kindneſs for his Brother *Antigonus*, that he made him a Co-partner with him in the royal Dignity; but the reſt of his Brethren were taken into Cuſtody, and he cauſed his Mother to be clapt up too, for pretending ſome Sort of Right to the Government, upon a Suggeſtion that *John* had left the Regency in her Hand: Proceeding, in ſhort, to that Exceſs of Cruelty that he ſtarv'd her in the very Priſon.

Ariſtobulus *ſtarves his Mother, and puts his Brother* Antigonus *to Death.*

But *Ariſtobulus* was effectually puniſh'd for theſe unnatural Violences, in the Loſs of *Antigonus*; whom he cauſed to be put to Death, upon the Calumnies of a Faction, whoſe Buſineſs it was to make him odious. Now *Ariſtobulus* had ſo great a Tenderneſs for his Brother (having made him, as I ſaid, his Companion in the Government) and ſo fair an Opinion of him, that it was a good while before he would believe thoſe ſpiteful Stories to be any other then Forgery and Slander. But there fell out one Time an unlucky Accident: *Ariſtobulus* happen'd to fall Sick during the Celebration of the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*, and *Antigonus*, in the mean Time, to come back from the Camp to *Jeruſalem* in all his Bravery. Toward the End of the Solemnity, he marched up to the Temple in an extraordinary Pomp and Dreſs, with a Train of armed Men at his Heels; and the more glorious he appear'd, the greater Honour (as he intended it) he did his Brother; but all this upon an Impulſe principally of Devotion. The Court-Paraſites and Tale-bearers went preſently open Mouth to the King upon this Occaſion. *They did not underſtand this Clutter of Arms and Soldiers*, they ſaid, *nor was it for a private Man to march with Troops and Guards: Neither could* Antigonus *have any honeſt End in this Parade. But the Honour of a Share in the Government would not ſerve his Turn, they ſaw, without the Poſſeſſion of it.*

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[a] Samega, *Antiq. l.* 73. *c.* 17.

[b] *Al.* Adora.

[c] Spondius *Ruf. perhaps it ſhould be* Cyzicenus. *See* Vaillant's Num. Seleucidarum, *p.* 350.

Ariſtobulus was ſo far prevail'd upon by little and little, though with ſome Difficulty, that he bethought himſelf of providing againſt all Hazards, without diſcovering any Sort of Jealouſy. He lodg'd at that Time in the Caſtle of *Baris*, afterwards call'd *Antonia*: Where he ſent for his Guards, and order'd them to wait for *Antigonus* in a certain dark Paſſage under Ground there. If he came without Arms, they ſhould let him go; but if otherwiſe, they were to kill him upon the Place. *Ariſtobulus*, upon this, ſends for *Antigonus* to come to him; but to bring no Arms along with him. The Queen concerted the Plot with the Conſpirators, artfully enough, by engageing the King's Meſſenger not to deliver the right Meſſage: But rather to tell *Antigonus*, that the King heard of a wonderful Suit of Arms he had got in *Galilee*; and being at preſent a little indiſpos'd, he had a great Mind to ſee him as ſoon as he could, and that he ſhould come accoutred in thoſe Arms. *Antigonus* (without the leaſt Suſpicion of his Brother's good Faith and Kindneſs) made all the Haſte he could to dreſs, and away, as if he had been to ſhew himſelf: But in the blind Paſſage before ſpoken of (known by the Name of *Straton*'s *Tower*) the Guards fell upon him, and kill'd him. This Inſtance may ſerve for a Leſſon to us, that the Bonds of Nature, Equity, and Friendſhip, are all cancell'd, where the Ear is once open'd to Pick-thanks and Tale-bearers: And that there's no truſting to Court-Favourites.

A ſtrange Prediction of one Judas, *an Eſſene.*

In this Place I muſt not forget a memorable Story of one *Judas*: By Sect an *Eſſene*; a Man famous for Divination; and one that was never charg'd in the Way of his Profeſſion, either with a Falſity or a Miſtake. It was his Chance to be paſſing by as *Antigonus* went thorough the Temple, and call'd out a-loud (upon the Sight of him) to ſome of his Acquaintance there within hearing (as he had Followers and Diſciples in Abundance). [*Nay then*, ſays he, *the Lord bleſs us! 'Tis 'een Time for me to leave the World. What ſhould we do living any longer when Truth it ſelf is dead? My Prediction is falſe, I percieve, and I have foretold a Lie: For that very* Antigonus *that was to have been ſlain this Day, is yet living. The fatal Place where he was to have been kill'd is* Straton's Tower: *Which is no leſs then* 600 *Stadia from hence, and we are at this Preſent but in the fourth Hour of the Day*] After theſe Reflexions upon the Preſage, the old Man, with a Sadneſs in his Countenance that betray'd the Anxiety of his Heart, ſtood a while muſing and thoughtful; and by and by comes the News of *Antigonus*'s Death, in a ſubterranean Paſſage; bearing the ſame Name alſo of *Straton*'s *Tower*, with that of *Cæſarea* upon the Sea-Coaſt: And this was it that miſled the Prophet.

Ariſtobulus *ſickens upon the News of his Brother's Death.*

A judicial Diſtemper.

The laſt Words and Death of Ariſtobulus.

The horrid Fact was no ſooner committed, but the Conſcience of *Ariſtobulus* flew in his Face, and enflam'd his Diſtemper: So that betwixt Horrour of Thought, a troubled Mind, and the Torments of his Diſeaſe; his Guts came out, and he fell into a Vomoting of Blood. The Servants that carry'd it out to throw it away, caſt it by a moſt remarkable Providence upon the very Place, where *Antigonus* was ſlain, and the Blood of the Murderer fell upon the very Stains of the Blood of the Murdered. Some that ſaw and obſerv'd it, took it to be done on Purpoſe; as if it had been intended only for a Kind of Oblation to the Ghoſt of *Antigonus*. The By-ſtanders gave ſuch a Shriek upon it, that the King over-hearing it, ſent preſently out to enquire what was the Matter; and the ſhyer they were of telling it, the more eager was the King to know it: So that in the End, betwixt Force and Menace, they told him the whole Truth of the Story. This Surprize brought Tears into the King's Eyes; and then fetching a deep Sigh. [*Well!* ſays he, *it was not to be expected, that my ſecret Sins ſhould ſcape the Eye of an all-ſeeing God; or that divine Vengeance ſhould not follow ſo horrid a Wickedneſs upon the Heel. Ah! Thou miſerable Body of mine; how long wilt thou keep my Soul from doing the*

Juſtice that I owe to my murder'd Mother and Brother! Why do I not rather ſacrifice my Blood all at once, than drain it out at Length thus Drop by Drop? To go-off at laſt in the Bitterneſs of my Pains and Agonies, the Sport of Fortune.] With theſe Words, he concluded his Life, and his own Years-Reign.

Alexander *ſet at Liberty, and de*clar'd K*ing; but* reigns tyra*nnically.*

The Widow-Queen, after the Death of *Ariſtobulus*, ſet *Alexander* at Liberty, and declar'd him King. He was the eldeſt Son, and reputed a Prince of Moderation: But yet ſo ſoon as ever he came to the Crown, he put one of his Brothers to Death that aſpir'd to the Sovereignty; but the other ſubmitting to live in a private Condition, he took him Home to himſelf.

Theodore *defeats* Alexander. Alexander *takes* Raphia, Gaza. *and* Anthedon.

After the taking of *Aſochis* by *Ptolemy Lathur* the King of *Ægypt*, *Alexander* gave him Battle, and kill'd a great many of his Men, but *Ptolemy* however got the Day. *Cleopatra*, the Mother of this Prince, forcing him away into *Ægypt*, *Alexander* took *Gadara* by Siege; and *Amathus*, the fatteſt Caſtle by much of all beyond *Jordan*; and the Place where *Theodore*, the Son of *Zeno*, had depoſited his Treaſure, and all he had that was precious. But *Theodore* coming upon him before he was aware, did not only recover his own, but took the King's Baggage, and cut-off near ten thouſand *Jews* in the Battle. *Alexander*, by the Help of ſome Enforcements, after this Blow, carry'd the War towards the Sea Coaſts; took *Raphia*, *Gaza*, and *Anthedon*: Which *Herod* afterward called *Agrippias*.

The Jews *in a Mutiny againſt him.*

It is no new Thing, where there are great Numbers of People, to have great Seditions; as at publick Meetings, Feaſtings, and the like. This was the Caſe of the *Jews* againſt *Alexander* in one of their ſolemn Feſtivals; and it came to ſuch a Height, that it fell little Short of a general Revolt: So that in his own Defence, he was forc'd to take Strangers into Pay; as *Piſidians* and *Cilicians*: but for *Syrian Mercenaries*, their natural Averſion to the *Jews* was ſo great, that he durſt not meddle with them. In ſhort, he cut to Pieces upward of ſix thouſand of the Mutineers; and then made War upon *Arabia*; where he ſubdu'd the *Galaadites* and the *Moabites*; made them his Tributaries; and ſo back again to *Amathus*. By this Time, *Theodorus* being frighted away with the Reputation of *Alexander*'s Succeſſes, quitted the Place; and the other finding it without a Garriſon, ras'd it to the Ground.

Alexander *ſubdues the* Galaadites *and the* Moabites. Amathus *raſed to the Ground.*

Alexander *routed by* Obodas.

His next Adventure was againſt *Obodas* the King of the *Arabians*; who lay poſted in the Province of *Gaulan*: The fitteſt Place in the World for an Ambuſcade. *Alexander* was there ſurpriz'd, and driven into a deep Valley; where his People were cruſh'd to Death in the *Defiles* by the Multitude of Camels, to the Ruine, in Fine, of the whole Army: *Alexander* himſelf eſcaping with much Difficulty to *Jeruſalem*; where he found his old Enemies more violent and implacable now than ever, ſince his laſt Diſaſter. They gave him a great Deal of Trouble; but upon all Encounters he was ſtill too hard for them: Inſomuch, that within the Compaſs of ſix Years, he deſtroy'd at leaſt 50000 *Jews*; but he had little Joy of theſe Victories, where he himſelf was the worſe for them. He betook himſelf in the End, from Arms to Reaſoning, and to attempt the Ingratiating of himſelf with his People ſome gentler Way: But this Vanity, and Inconſtancy of his Humour, inſtead of gaining them over, render'd him ſo odious and contemptible, that upon asking them what he could do in the World to pleaſe them; they told him he muſt *dye*, and try what that would do; for they could hardly pardon him in his Grave, for the Injuries he had done them in his Life-Time.

Demetrius *aſſiſts the* Jews.

They call'd to their Aſſiſtance King *Demetrius Eucærus*; who finding it his Intereſt to come over to them, readily comply'd: and advancing with an Army, joyn'd the *Jews* near *Sichem*. They reckon'd in all three thouſand Horſe and forty thouſand Foot: And *Alexander*, with only a thouſand Horſe, ſix thouſand mercenary Foot, and a Matter of ten thouſand well-affected *Jews* encounter'd them. The two Kings, before they engag'd, made a Tryal what Deſerters they could gain over from either Party. *Demetrius* apply'd himſelf to *Alexander*'s *Mercenaries*; and *Alexander*, to the *Jews* that follow'd *Demetrius*: In Hope of ſucceeding on both Sides back and forward. But when they ſaw that neither the *Jews* nor the *Greeks* were to be wrought upon, they put it to a Battle; and *Demetrius* carry'd it: Not but that *Alexander*'s *Mercenaries* ſhew'd themſelves Men of Honour and Courage. This did not hinder however, but that upon the final Event of this Action, they ſeem'd beyond all Expectation to have both the better of it: For ſome of thoſe Troops that went over to *Ventidius*, did not ſtick to him, and the very Compaſſion that ſeveral of the *Jews* had for their unfortunate King, tranſported ſix thouſand even of thoſe that had fought againſt him, to ſeek him

A Battle betwixt Demetrius *and* Alexander.

out and joyn him in the Mountains, where he had taken Sanctuary. This Turn of Humour and Fortune, gave *Demetrius* ſuch a Surprize, for Fear the reſt of the Army ſhould follow his Example, that he quitted his Deſign and withdrew. But theſe Deſertions of the *Auxiliaries* had no Effect yet upon the *Multitude*; for they maintain'd the War ſtill againſt *Alexander*, till they were all Loſt: One Part of them cut off, and the Remainder driven into [a] *Bemezel*; where they were all made Priſoners, and carry'd to *Jeruſalem*. But we ſhall now ſee how far the ungovernable Rage of an impetuous Paſſion will tranſport People, when they come once to abandon the Meaſures of Honour and Virtue. *Alexander* made a Treat for his Concubines; and one Part of the Entertainment was the Spectacle of eight hundred Priſoners upon the Croſs in the Middle of the City; having firſt cut the Throats of their Wives and Children before their Faces. This execrable frightful Tragedy was preſented for a Diverſion to *Alexander* and his Women, in the Height of the Debauche: But then it ſtruck the Party with ſo aſtoniſhing a Terrour, that eight thouſand of the Inhabitants fled their Country next Night, and never came back again till after the Death of this Prince. By theſe inhumane Methods, he came at laſt with much ado to ſettle himſelf and his People in ſome Sort of Quiet.

800 *Priſoners crucify'd for a Spectacle.*

CHAP. IV.

Antiochus *ſurpriz'd by* Aretas. *A bloody Battle, and* Antiochus *routed and ſlain.* Aretas *joyns with* Damaſcus. Alexander's *Wars, Exploits, Sickneſs and Death. He leaves the Regency to his Wife* Alexandra, *and two Sons,* Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus. Hyrcanus *is advanced to the Pontificate. The Character of the* Phariſees. *Their Envy and Tyranny.* Alexandra *governs the* People; *and the* Phariſees, Alexandra. Alexandra *falls ſick and dies; leaving the Command to* Hyrcanus: *But* Ariſtobulus *takes the Government upon him, and his Wife and Sons are made Priſoners in* Antonia. *The two Brothers come to a Battle, and* Ariſtobulus *carries it. They compound afterwards, and agree.*

See Ant. *l.* 13. *c.* 23, 24. *l.* 14. *c.* 1.

THis Peace of *Alexander* was not ſo well ſettled, but *Antiochus* (otherwiſe call'd *Dionyſius)* the Brother of *Demetrius*, and the laſt of the Race of *Seleucus*, brought him into freſh Troubles. This Prince having overcome the *Arabians*, put *Alexander* into ſome Apprehenſion for himſelf: So that he ran a Line, with a deep Ditch, and a high Wall before it; ſtrengthen'd with wooden Towers of ſome tolerable Defence. This Line, or Retrenchment was carry'd all along the Mountains near *Antipatris* to the Borders of *Joppa:* But all this was no Obſtruction to the Progreſs of *Antiochus*; for he ſet Fire to the Towers; fill'd the Ditches; and ſo paſſing over with his Army, march'd ſtrait away againſt the *Arabians*; putting off his Revenge upon *Alexander* that would have hinder'd him to ſome other Time. *Aretas*, the *Arabian* Prince, upon the Approach of *Antiochus*, drew his Men into ſtrong Holds: And then all on a ſudden, when *Antiochus* thought himſelf ſafe and out of Danger, the *Arabian* fell upon him at unawares with ten thouſand Horſe. The Fight was obſtinate and bloody; but yet ſo long as *Antiochus* liv'd, his Men ſtood very bravely by him, though the *Arabians* made a very great Slaughter. But when *Antiochus* fell (as he was ſtill in the hotteſt of the Action) his Men turn'd their Backs and fled: So that upon the Iſſue, betwixt thoſe that were cut off in the Fight and upon the Purſuit, the Army was well nigh totally deſtroy'd. Some ſlipt into *Cana*; where the greater Part of them periſh'd for Want of Bread.

Antiochus *ſurpriz'd by* Aretas. *A bloody Battle.*

Antiochus *ſlain, and his Army totally routed.*

The People of *Damaſcus* had ſuch a Dread and Hatred for *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Mennaus*, that they enter'd into a League with *Aretas*, and made him King of *Cœle-Syria:* Who carry'd the War into *Judæa*; defeated *Alexander*, and ſo went off again upon Conditions.

Aretas *and* Damaſcus *joyn.*

The King of the *Jews* having taken *Pella*, went and aſſaulted *Geraſa* and carry'd it, though fortify'd with a triple Circumvallation; making himſelf Maſter, not only of the Place, but of all *Theodore*'s Treaſure that was laid up there, both at once. After this, he demoliſhed *Gaulan*, *Seleucia* and a City known by the Name of *Antiochus*'s *Pharanx*; with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Gamara*, over and above. In this Place he took Priſoner *Demetrius* the Governour, (a Man of a moſt infamous Character;) and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*, where he was received with Joy and Acclamations, after a three Years proſperous Succeſs. At the End of the War, he fell into an Indiſpoſition by a quartane Ague; and being poſſeſs'd with an Opinion that Action and Stirring would do him

Alexander's *Exploits:*

His Sickneſs,

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[a] **Bethoma** *in the* Antiq. *l.* 13. *c.* 22.

Alexander's *Death.*

him good, he enter'd into a New, and an unſeaſonable War; and ſtruggling beyond his Strength, he tir'd himſelf out with the Fatigue, and ſo ended his Days in a Hurry, dying in the twenty ſeventh Year of his Reign.

He leaves the Regency to Alexandra.

The King left the Government to his Wife *Alexandra*, as one that had made her ſelf very popular by her Moderation and Virtue: A Woman far from the Rigour and Hardneſs of her Husband, and therefore he made no Doubt of the People's ready Submiſſion and Reſignation to her Authority. Neither was *Alexander* deceiv'd in his Opinion; for the Reputation of her Piety atton'd for the Diſadvantages of her Sex: Being a Woman perfectly well inſtructed in the *Jewiſh* Rites and Cuſtoms, and one that had ever given conſtant Proof of her Zeal for the Obſervance of thoſe holy Laws. She brought *Alexander* two Sons: The elder, *Hyrcanus*, and him for his Age ſhe advanced to the *Pontificate*. And then finding him alſo of a Temper heavy and manageable, ſhe reckon'd there would be no Danger in declaring him King too. But then for *Ariſtobulus* the younger, being of a quick and enterprizing Spirit, ſhe thought it more adviſable to keep him in a private State of Life.

And two Sons, Hyrcanus *and* Ariſtobulus. Hyrcanus *advanced to the Pontificate.*

The Character of the Phariſees.

There was among the *Jews* a certain Sect call'd *Phariſees:* That valued themſelves upon being thought holier than their Neighbours, and better skill'd in the Law. *Alexandra*, that was bigotted in her Religion, even to the Degree of Superſtition, had a mighty Reverence for theſe holy Men, upon the pure Account of their Pretenſions: And they play'd their Game ſo well on the other Hand too, by fair Appearances and Inſinuations, that the Powers and Privileges of the Government were effectually engroſs'd into their Hands. If any Body was to be put in, or put out; laid in Chains, or ſet at Liberty; it was to be all as they pleas'd. The honourable and the profitable Commiſſions of the Government, they reſerved to themſelves; but the Cares, the Expences and the Difficulties were left to *Alexandra*. No Creature better underſtood the Art of publick Menage and Adminiſtration than her ſelf. She made it her Buſineſs to advance the Militia of the Nation to the Height. She kept two Armies a Foot, and a great Number of foreign Auxiliaries in Pay; which made her ſtrong at Home, and formidable Abroad. But ſtill as ſhe had all this while the Command of others, ſhe her ſelf was yet under the Dominion of the *Phariſees*.

Alexandra *govern'd the People; and the* Phariſees, Alexandra. *The Envy and Tyranny of the* Phariſees.

There was one *Diogenes* a Man of Quality, and a moſt particular Friend to the late King. The *Phariſees* caus'd him to be put to Death, upon Suggeſtion that he had a Hand in the crucifying of the eight hundred Priſoners before mention'd: Who were put to Death by the King's Command. Nay, they preſſed the Queen further yet, not to let any one Man eſcape that was an Adviſer in that horrible Action. The Queen was ſo captivated, that ſhe had not the Power to deny them any Thing: So that under that Colour, they deſtroy'd whom they pleas'd, and carry'd it on ſo far, that no good Man was ſafe: Inſomuch that ſeveral Perſons of Condition were forced to take Sanctuary with *Ariſtobulus*; who preſently mov'd his Mother on the Behalf of thoſe Perſons for their Dignity's Sake, and for the future to turn thoſe out of the Town that ſhe ſhould ſuſpect to be guilty. This being granted, inſtead of being put to Death, they were only baniſh'd. *Alexandra*, about this Time, ſent an Army to *Damaſcus*, upon a Pretext that *Ptolemy* preſs'd very hard upon the Town: She took the Place, without any Thing remarkable that paſs'd at the taking of it. *Cleopatra* was now beſieged in *Ptolemais*, by *Tigranes* the King of *Armenia*, and *Alexandra* at the ſame Time, plying him with Preſents and Propoſals. But *Lucullus* being already enter'd into *Armenia* with the *Roman* Army, he march'd preſently away to prevent Miſchief at Home.

Cleopatra *beſieg'd by* Tigranes, *in* Ptolemais.

Alexandra *falls ſick.* Ariſtobulus *takes the Government upon him.*

Some ſhort Time after this, *Alexandra* fell dangerouſly ill: Whereupon the younger Brother *Ariſtobulus*, with a Train of his Servants, (as he had a great many) and all in the Flower of their Youth, faithful and brave, got Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles; took what Money he could find; engag'd a Body of auxiliary Troops, and declar'd himſelf King. *Hyrcanus*, upon this Turn, made his Moan to his Mother; who ſo far commiſerated his Caſe, that ſhe caus'd the Wife and Sons of *Ariſtobulus* to be ſhut up in the Caſtle, on the *North-ſide* of the Temple, formerly call'd *Baris*, (as I ſaid before) and afterwards *Antonia* in the Government of *Anthony:* As *Sebaſte* and *Agrippias* drew their Names from *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*. *Alexandra*, after a nine Years Reign, was taken off by this Sickneſs, before ſhe could revenge her ſelf upon *Ariſtobulus*, for endeavouring to depoſe his Brother.

The Wife and Sons of Ariſtobulus *made Priſoners in* Antonia.

Sebaſte *and* Agrippias.

The Death of Alexandra.

She leaves the Command to Hyrcanus.

Alexandra left *Hyrcanus* all ſhe had in the World, and tranſmitted the Government into his Hands, while ſhe was yet living; but *Ariſtobulus* was much his Superior yet, both in Force and Credit. The Diſpute betwixt the two Brothers came to a Battle near *Jericho*; where the greater Part of *Hyrcanus*'s Men went over to

Ariſtobulus: *Hyrcanus* and the wretched Remainder of his People, 'ſcaping with much Difficulty into *Antonia*, where they had good Hoſtages for their Security: The Wife and Sons of *Ariſtobulus* (as we have ſaid before) being there in Cuſtody. Theſe Brothers, before Matters proceeded to farther Extremities, came to this Agreement; that *Hyrcanus* ſhould yield up the Kingdom to *Ariſtobulus*, and content himſelf with ſuch Honours and Privileges as properly belong to the Dignity of the King's Brother. The Reconciliation being interchangeably declared in the Temple, and in the Sight of the People, with mutual Embraces, and the two Brothers to change Houſes. *Ariſtobulus* to go to the Palace, and *Hyrcanus* to the Houſe of *Ariſtobulus*.

The two Brothers come to a Battle, and Ariſtobulus *carries it.*

They compound and agree.

CHAP. V.

Hyrcanus, *by the Advice of* Antipater, *makes a Friend of* Aretas *the King of* Arabia, *againſt* Ariſtobulus. Aretas *enters* Judæa *with* 50000 *Men: Forces* Ariſtobulus *into* Jeruſalem; *and beſieges him there.* Scaurus *takes a Bribe, and raiſes the Siege. The two Brothers implore* Pompey*'s Aſſiſtance, one againſt the other. The Vanity of* Ariſtobulus, *and* Pompey*'s Contempt of him.* Ariſtobulus *takes Sanctuary in* Alexandrion. *The two Brothers plead their Cauſe before* Pompey. Ariſtobulus *makes his Way for* Jeruſalem: *Humbles himſelf, and* Pompey *makes him a Priſoner.* Jeruſalem *beſieged, and the Temple taken by Aſſault.* 12000 Jews *ſlain.* Pompey*'s Piety and Moderation.* Ariſtobulus *and his Family carry'd away Priſoners: But* Ariſtobulus *makes his Eſcape upon the Way.*

THIS unexpected Advancement of *Ariſtobulus* to the Crown, was a terrible Mortification to all his Enemies, but eſpecially to *Antipater*, upon the Score of an old Grudge betwixt them. Now this *Antipater* was by Extraction an *Idumæan*; and for his Birth and Eſtate, one of the firſt Rank of the Country. *Hyrcanus* being now depos'd, and driven out of his Dominions, *Antipater* adviſ'd him by all Means to apply himſelf to *Aretas*, the King of *Arabia*, for Aſſiſtance towards the Recovery of his Kingdom: Employing his own Intereſt alſo with *Aretas* towards the gaining of his Point, and reflecting all the while upon *Ariſtobulus*, as a very ill Man; and at the ſame Time elevating *Hyrcanus* up to the Skies. He ply'd him alſo with Arguments drawn from the Honour of the Undertaking, and the Generoſity of the Office; minding him that it was a Thing worthy of himſelf, and well becoming the Character of a great Prince, for one crowned Head to vindicate another: And more eſpecially in the Caſe of an injurious Oppreſſion and Diſtreſs. When they were both thus inſtructed and prepar'd; *Hyrcanus* to be gone, and *Aretas* to receive him; *Antipater* convey'd *Hyrcanus* out of the City by Night; and poſting away with him, brought him ſafe to *Petra*, the royal Palace of *Arabia*: And there with fair Words and Preſents, he deliver'd him up to the Care and Goodneſs of *Aretas*; who promis'd him he would do all he could toward the reſtoring of him to his Crown. *Aretas*, upon this, enter'd *Judæa* with an Army of fifty thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot; but *Ariſtobulus*, not being in Condition to look him in the Face, was broken all to Pieces at the firſt Charge, and forc'd to take Sanctuary in *Jeruſalem*: Where he was beſieg'd by *Aretas*, and had certainly been taken, if *Scaurus* the *Roman* General, had not by this Providence deliver'd him. *Pompey* the *Great*, that was then in War with *Tigranes*, ſent *Scaurus* with an Army out of *Armenia* into *Syria*: But coming to *Damaſcus*, he found the Place taken by *Metellus* and *Lellius*, and their Troops drawn off. *Scaurus*, coming by this Time to underſtand how Matters went in *Judæa*, could not do better, he thought, than to bend his Courſe that Way.

See Ant. *l.* 14. *c.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Antipater *adviſes* Hyrcanus *to ſeek to* Aretas *for Succour.*

They ſteal out of Jeruſalem *by Night, and poſt away to* Petra.

Aretas *enters* Judæa *with* 50000 *Men.*

Ariſtobulus *beaten, and beſieg'd in* Jeruſalem.

He was no ſooner upon the Borders, but he was there encounter'd upon the Way by two Ambaſſadors from the two Brothers; one from each; and both upon the ſame Errand: That is to ſay, their Inſtructions were to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans* for each of the two, one againſt the other. But *Ariſtobulus*'s *three hundred Talents* (for that was the Sum) weigh'd down the Juſtice of *Hyrcanus*'s Pretenſions; as appear'd by *Scaurus*'s ſending away Embaſſadors to the *Arabians* and *Hyrcanus*, in the Name of *Pompey the Great* and the Senate of *Rome*, charging them immediately to quit the Siege, and be gone at their uttermoſt Peril. *Aretas* preſently withdraws in a Fright, out of *Judæa* to *Philadelphia*, and *Scaurus* returns to *Damaſcus*. Now *Ariſtobulus* did not think it enough to 'ſcape taking, but got all the Force together he was able to make, and follow'd the Enemy upon the Heel. He came up with them at laſt at a Place call'd *Papyron*; where he fought and cut off betwixt ſix and

The two Brothers implore Pompey's *Aſſiſtance, one againſt the other.*

Scaurus *the* Roman *General brib'd.*

Scaurus *commands* Hyrcanus *and the* Arabians *to quit the Siege.*

Ariſtobulus *falls upon the* Arabians *Rear.*

ſeven thouſand of their Men, and *Cephalon* the Brother of *Antipater*, one of the Number.

The Vanity of Ariſtobulus, *and* Pompey's *Contempt of him.*

Hyrcanus and *Antipater* being now diſappointed of the Succour they expected from the *Arabians* apply'd themſelves for Relief to their very Enemies: And upon *Pompey*'s entring *Syria*, and coming to *Damaſcus*, they caſt themſelves upon his Honour for Protection: With an Introduction of large Preſents, and the ſame Arguments over again that had been us'd to *Aretas*; deſiring *Pompey* upon the Main, to conſider the Violence of *Ariſtobulus*, and the Right of *Hyrcanus*, as well in Reſpect of his Age, as of his Manners. But *Ariſtobulus* depended ſo much upon his Intereſt in *Scaurus*, that he made himſelf as fine as Hands could ſet him out, and ſo made his Compliment to *Pompey* in a royal Dreſs, and with the Train and Equipage of a King. When he had ſtaid a while: That is to ſay, ſo long as his Stomach would bear waiting; (for he look'd upon it as a Thing below his Dignity to ſubject himſelf to an Attendance) he went his Way back again to *Dioſpolis*.

Ariſtobulus *takes Sanctuary in* Alexandrion.

The two Brothers plead their Cauſe before Pompey.

Ariſtobulus *makes away for* Jeruſalem.

This Freak of *Ariſtobulus* gave *Pompey* great Offence: Which was but what *Hyrcanus* and his Companions wiſh'd for. He draws out preſently his *Roman* Troops, and ſome *Syrian* Auxiliaries, and marches after him. When he was paſs'd *Pella*, and *Scythopolis*, coming to *Corede*, upon the Borders of *Judæa*, in the *Mediterranean*, he was inform'd that *Ariſtobulus* had taken Sanctuary in *Alexandrion*, (a ſtately Caſtle upon a very high Mountain;) and thither he ſent to *Ariſtobulus* to come down to him. This was ſo imperious a Meſſage, that he reſolved to run any Hazzard rather than comply with it: But what with the murmuring of the People and the Advice of his Friends to conſider the Strength of the *Romans*, and the Neceſſity of the Caſe, he was prevail'd upon in the Concluſion to go down to *Pompey*: Which he did; and after many Things ſaid there in Defence of his Pretenſions, he went up again. After this, at the Inſtance of *Hyrcanus*, he came down the ſecond Time: And when the two Brothers had diſputed the Title a-while back and forward, *Ariſtobulus* return'd as before, without any Let or Interruption from *Pompey*. He was ſo divided within himſelf, betwixt Hope and Fear, that one while he was in a Mood to humble himſelf, and to do whatever *Pompey* would have him. But when he was gone half Way ſometimes in that Reſolution, he repented, and ſo up to the Caſtle again, for Fear of doing any Thing derogatory to his royal State. *Pompey* had now a good Mind to get Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles: But being told that *Ariſtobulus* had charg'd all the Governors to take no Notice of any Orders but under his own Hand, he appointed *Ariſtobulus* to write to the ſeveral reſpective Commanders immediately upon the Sight of thoſe Letters, to deliver them up. *Ariſtobulus* did as he was commanded; but went away immediately to *Jeruſalem* in Wrath and Indignation; meditating all the Way he went, a War with *Pompey*.

Pompey *follows him.*

Ariſtobulus *humbles himſelf to* Pompey.

Pompey gave him no Time to provide himſelf, but haſten'd after him immediately; and he went on the more chearfully for the News he met with about *Jericho*, of the Death of *Mithridates*. This is the fruitfulleſt Province of all *Judæa*; a World of Palm-Trees in it, and of the famous Balſam that drops from the Plant, upon cutting the Bark with a ſharp Stone. He ſtaid there that Night, and diſpatch'd away the next Morning for *Jeruſalem*. *Ariſtobulus* was ſo ſurpriz'd at this Expedition, that he went and caſt himſelf at *Pompey*'s Feet, with Supplications and Tears; Promiſes of Money, and Propoſals of giving up both the City and his Perſon into *Pompey*'s Hands. This ſoften'd him a little for the preſent; but *Ariſtobulus*, it ſeems, could not make good what he had offer'd: For when *Gabinius* was ſent to receive the Money, the Friends and Companions of *Ariſtobulus* that kept the Town for him in his Name, would not ſo much as let him in.

Pompey *makes* Ariſtobulus *a Priſoner. And takes a View of the Place.*

This Shuffling irritated *Pompey* to ſuch a Degree, that he kept *Ariſtobulus* a Priſoner, and ſo advanc'd to the City, to take a View of the Fortifications and Defences, and to conſider upon what Quarter to attack it. The Walls were ſtrong and impregnable; a hideous Precipice at the Foot of them; and the Temple ſo invincibly ſecure, that if the City it ſelf were taken, the Work were but half done.

A violent Sedition in the Town, betwixt the Parties of the two Brothers.

While *Pompey* was upon this Deliberation, and caſting within himſelf where to begin and what to do, there brake out a violent Sedition in the Town, betwixt the two Parties of *Ariſtobulus* and *Hyrcanus*: The former were for puſhing it to a War, and reſcuing their King by Arms, upon a Point of Honour and Duty; the other, for taking *Pompey* into the Town, without any Oppoſition. This was the Senſe of the Majority, out of a Dread they had for the *Romans*. The Friends of *Ariſtobulus*, upon this, retir'd into the Temple, and cut down the Bridge of Communication betwixt that and the City, in a final Reſolution of maintaining it to the laſt. Others there were that took ſeveral *Romans* into the Town, and put them into the Palace Royal: Whereupon *Pompey* ſent *Piſo*, (one of his General Officers) with a ſtrong Detachment to take Poſſeſſion of it. When *Pompey* ſaw the Obſtinacy of the *Jews* in the Temple, and that there was now no longer any Hope of an Accommodation, he poſted his Guards, and put all Things in Order for an Attack: *Hyrcanus* and his People contributing the beſt they could both in Action and Counſel to his Aſſiſtance.

Pompey *prepares for an Attack.*

Their firſt Buſineſs was to fill up that monſtrous Ditch and Valley upon the *North-ſide* of the Wall; and this they attempted with what Rubbiſh and Materials the Soldiers could get together toward the bringing of it up to a Level: A Work of infinite Difficulty, both in Regard of the prodigious Depth, and the Advantage the *Jews* had of galling them from above: A Work, in Fine, inſuperable, if it had not been for a Remark of *Pompey*'s upon the *Jews* ſuperſtitious Obſervance of their *ſeventh Day* or *Sabbath*. This great Man underſtanding that the *Jews* made a Conſcience of doing any Manner of Work upon that Day, but what was of abſolute Neceſſity, either for the Support of Life, or the Defence of it, in Caſe of immediate Danger; he commanded his Soldiers only to ply their Entrenchments upon that Day, without doing any other Act of Hoſtility. When the Ground was now levell'd, the Bulwarks advanc'd with ſtrong and large Turrets planted upon them and mann'd; the *Romans* with certain *Tyrian* Engines they had got began the Battery: The Soldiers at the ſame Time beating the Defendants out of the Towers above, with Stones from the Walls, 'till in the End they were quite tir'd out with the Labour.

Pompey could not but admire the Conſtancy and Reſolution of theſe People, and more eſpecially in this particular: That in the Middle of all Extremities and Dangers, they never diſcontinued the Worſhip and Ceremonies of their Religion, but offer'd up their daily Prayers and Sacrifices as orderly, as if it had been in a profound Peace: And it was the ſame Thing with them at laſt too, when they came to be finally deſtroy'd, and to have their Throats cut at the very Altar. In Short, after a three Month's Siege, and the Loſs only of one Tower, the Temple was taken by Aſſault. The firſt that enter'd the Breach was *Fauſtus Cornelius*, the Son of *Sylla*, and after him, *Furius* and *Fabius*, two Centurions, with their Companies; who beſet the Temple, and put to the Sword all that either fled or reſiſted. There were ſeveral Prieſts at that Time in the very Exerciſe of their holy Function, that with the Sword's Point at their Breaſts, went on yet with their Oblations and Incenſe, without any Regard to the Safety of their Lives, out of a Veneration they had for the Duties of their Profeſſion. The *Pompeian Jews* preſs'd ſo hard upon their *fellow Tribes Men* of the other Party, that they forc'd ſome of them down Precipices: Others, in a Rage of Deſperation, ſet Fire to what they could come at about the Walls, and then caſt themſelves into the Flames. There periſh'd in this Outrage 12000 *Jews*, not many *Romans*, but more wounded.

The Temple *taken by Aſſault.*

12000 Jews *ſlain.*

This was a diſmal Deſolation and Calamity in ſeveral Reſpects; but nothing touch'd the *Jews* ſo to the Quick, as to ſee the *Holy of Holies* expos'd to prophane Eyes: A Thing that never happen'd before. *Pompey*, with a Train of his People, entring into this Place, where only the High-Prieſt was to be admitted; [a] ſaw within it the Candleſticks, Lamps and Tables for Incenſe, with other Veſſels all of Gold; a Maſs of Perfumes, and of ſacred Treaſure to the Value of two thouſand Talents: But would not ſuffer any Thing of all this to be touch'd that was conſecrated to the Service of God. On the next Day after this Deſtruction of the Temple, he commanded the proper Officers to take Care for the Purification of it, and to go on with the Celebration of their Holy Worſhip as before. He did alſo declare *Hyrcanus* High-Prieſt, as a Conſideration for the good Offices he had render'd him, both in the Siege and otherwiſe; in drawing off great Numbers of the Faction from *Ariſtobulus*. By this Way of Proceeding, like a wiſe and a good Man, he ſecur'd himſelf of the Affections of the People. Among the Priſoners, there was the Father-in-Law, and Uncle of *Ariſtobulus* both in one. *Pompey* ſtruck off the Heads of all the principal Authors of the Revolt; but for *Fauſtus*, and other brave Men that acted along with him, he conferr'd upon them ſignal Marks of his Eſteem and glorious Rewards. He impos'd a Tribute upon *Judæa*. He took away from the *Jews* the Cities they had poſſeſſed themſelves of in *Cœle-Syria*; and annexing them to the Juriſdiction of the preſent *Roman* Governour, he reduced the *Jews* to their own Bounds. He rebuilt *Gadara*, which they had deſtroy'd, in Favour of *Demetrius* one of his Freemen, and a Native of the Place. As for the in-land Cities of *Hippion*, *Scythopolis*, *Pella*, *Samaria* and *Mariſſa*; *Azotus*, *Jamnia* and *Arethuſa*: And ſo for the Coaſt-Towns of *Gaza*, *Joppa*, *Dora*, and that which paſs'd formerly by the Name of *Straton*'s *Tower*, and was afterwards call'd *Cæſarea* by *Herod*, who

The Piety and Moderation of Pompey.

Pompey *declares* Hyrcanus High-Prieſt.

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[a] *See* Fortunatus Scacchus's *Myrothecium* II. c. 43. p. 418.

Ariſtobulus *and his Family carry'd Priſoners to* Rome.

Ariſtobulus *gives* Pompey *the Slip.*

beautify'd it with illuſtrious Buildings: He took them all from the *Jews* to reſtore them to their Inhabitants, and ſo joyn'd them to the Province of *Syria.* After the paſſing of theſe Orders, and the ſettling *Scaurus* in the Government of *Judæa* and *Cœle-Syria*, and of all the Country of *Ægypt* to the Borders of *Euphrates*, with the Command of two Legions, *Pompey* haſten'd to *Rome* by the way of *Cilicia*; carrying *Ariſtobulus* Priſoner with him and his Family: That is to ſay, two Daughters and two Sons: *Alexander* and *Antigonus*; the former of them made his Eſcape in his Paſſage; the other was carry'd through *Rome*, with his Siſters.

CHAP. VI.

Aretas *and* Scaurus *reconciled.* Alexander *arms againſt* Hyrcanus. Scaurus *compounds for a Sum of Money.* Alexander *worſted by* Antipater; *withdraws to* Alexandrion; *and* Gabinius *purſues him. An Indemnity offer'd and rejected. The Bravery of* Mark Anthony. *Several Cities taken from the* Jews, *and reſtor'd to the right Owners.* Machærus *and* Hyrcanion *given up*; *and* Alexandrion *levell'd to the Ground.* Gabinius *gives* Hyrcanus *the Charge of the Temple*; *and ſettles the Government.* Ariſtobulus *defeated by the* Romans, *but cuts out his Way to* Machærus. *The* Romans *take the Caſtle and ſend* Ariſtobulus *and his Son* Antigonus *both bound to* Rome. Alexander *defeated by* Gabinius. Craſſus *ſucceeds* Gabinius *in the Government of* Syria; *rifles the Temple, and loſes both Life and Army.* Cypris *had four Sons by* Antipater.

See Ant. l. 14. *c.* 9, 10, 11, 12. Scaurus *makes War upon the King of* Arabia.

Scaurus *compounds for a Sum of Money.*

S*Caurus* advancing with an Army into *Arabia* towards *Petra*, found the Ways ſo craggy and unpaſſable, that he had much ado to march. He laid waſt however all the Country about *Pella*; where he had many Difficulties to encounter, being put to a Pinch alſo for Want of Proviſions: Though *Hyrcanus*, by the Means of *Antipater*, made a Shift to furniſh him with Neceſſaries. *Scaurus*, well knowing that there was a good Underſtanding betwixt *Antipater* and *Aretas*, (the King of *Arabia*) dealt with *Antipater* to go to him in a Way of Friendſhip, and try if he could work him to compound the War for a Sum of Money. *Antipater* undertook the Commiſſion, and manag'd the Matter ſo dextrouſly, that the *Arabian* was content to give three hundred Talents for his Peace; and ſo *Scaurus* withdrew his Army.

Now *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, that had given *Pompey* the Slip, was by this Time in the Head of a conſiderable Body of Men ravaging *Judæa*, and preſſing upon *Hyrcanus*, to the Degree of endangering *Jeruſalem* it ſelf, upon a Preſumption, that the Walls which *Pompey* had beaten down, were not as yet repair'd. But *Gabinius* the Succeſſor of *Scaurus*; and a Perſon of eminent Courage and Conduct, being ſent into *Syria*, and marching againſt him: It concern'd *Alexander* to look about him, having ſo conſiderable an Enemy to deal withal; and to put himſelf into the beſt Poſture he could to receive him. He had now a marching Body of ten thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe, beſide ſeveral ſtrong Holds and defenſible Places, that he had fortify'd; as *Alexandrion*, *Hyrcanion* and *Machærus*, near the Mountains of *Arabia.*

Alexander *encounters* Antipater, *and loſes* ſix thouſand *Men. He withdraws to* Alexandrion, *and* Gabinius *purſues him. An Indemnity offer'd and rejected. The Bravery of* M. Anthony.

Gabinius, in the mean Time, ſends *Mark Anthony* before him with a Detachment of ſome choice Troops of *Antipater*'s, and a great Number of *Jews* under *Malichus* and *Pitholaus* to join him: *Gabinius* himſelf following with the main Body, and advancing toward *Alexander*; who, finding himſelf ſo much over number'd, was forc'd to retire. But *Gabinius* preſſing upon him in his Retreat, came up with him, and engag'd him not far from *Jeruſalem*; where he loſt ſix thouſand Men: One Half kill'd upon the Spot; and the other Half taken alive: Himſelf getting away with the Remainder to *Alexandrion*; and the Enemy at the Back of him. When *Gabinius* came up to the Caſtle, he offer'd an Act of Indemnity to all Deſerters that would come over to him, and join him before the Battle: But their Stomachs were too big to accept of it; ſo that he fell upon them; and cutting off a great many of them ſhut up the reſt in the Fort. *M. Anthony* ſignaliz'd himſelf to a high Degree in this Action; and though he never fail'd of doing bravely at any Time or Place, he ſeemed in a Manner yet even to outdo himſelf upon this Occaſion. *Gabinius* now leaving a ſufficient Strength before the Caſtle, took a View of all the Towns and Cities of the Province; making it his Buſineſs to ſettle the Minds of the People in thoſe Places that were entire and untouch'd, and to repair others that were laid in Rubbiſh and Ruine. He gave peremptory Orders for the repeopling of *Scythopolis*, *Samaria*, *Anthedon*, *Apollonia*, *Jamnia*, *Raphia*, *Mariſſa*, *Dora*, *Gadara*, *Azotus*;

and ſeveral other Places, where the Citizens came flocking in with all poſſible Joy to reſume their ancient Habitations.

When every Thing here was put into good Order, *Gabinius* went back to the Siege of *Alexandrion*, and puſh'd it forward with more Vigour than before. *Alexander* was ſo affrighten'd at the deſperate State of his Affairs, that he ſent his Embaſſadors with an abſolute Reſignation of himſelf, to acknowledge the ill Things he had done, and to beg Pardon: With a Tender, not only of *Machærus* and *Hyrcanion*, but of *Alexandrion* it ſelf alſo at his Devotion. This being done and accepted; *Gabinius* levell'd *Alexandrion* with the Ground, at the Inſtance of *Alexander*'s Mother, for Fear it ſhould prove the Occaſion of another War: Such was the Tenderneſs, in Fine, ſhe had for her Husband and Children that were carry'd Priſoners to *Rome*, that ſhe omitted nothing of Application and Addreſs that might ingratiate her with the General.

Machærus, Hyrcanion *and* Alexandrion *delivered up: And the laſt levell'd with the Ground.*

Gabinius after this, carry'd *Hyrcanus* to *Jeruſalem*; committed the Temple to his Care and Charge; appointed Officers for the civil Adminiſtration, and divided the whole Province of *Judæa* into five Juriſdictions: The firſt, *Jeruſalem*; the ſecond (a) *Gadara*; the third, *Amathus*; the fourth, *Jericho*; and the fifth, *Sepphoris*; a City of *Galilee*: The People all this while over joy'd to ſee themſelves deliver'd from a *Monarchy* to an *Ariſtocraſy*.

Gabinius *gives* Hyrcanus *the Charge of the Temple, and ſettles the Government.*

It was not long after this, that *Ariſtobulus* made his Eſcape from *Rome*; which prov'd an Occaſion of new Troubles: And got together a great Body of *Jews*, partly for the Love of Change, and partly for the Sake of an old Kindneſs they had for him. His firſt Attempt was the Repairing of *Alexandrion*; but upon Information that *Siſenna*, *Anthony* and *Servilius* were marching toward him with an Army from *Gabinius*, he withdrew to *Machærus*; where he diſcharg'd himſelf of the Burden of a looſe and an unprofitable Multitude, and took only a Body of eight thouſand Men well arm'd along with him: Reckoning a thouſand fugitive *Jews*, that *Pitholaus* had brought out of *Jeruſalem* into the Number.

The *Romans* follow'd them cloſe, and brought it to a Combat. *Ariſtobulus* and his People did all that was poſſible for gallant Men to do; but in the End, when they were tir'd out, and run down with Numbers, the *Romans* had a clear Victory of it: Five thouſand kill'd; two thouſand withdrew to a Hill, and made a little Stand; and the other thouſand with *Ariſtobulus* himſelf cut out their Way quite through the *Roman* Army, and ſo to *Machærus*. They got thither about Evening, and found it all in Ruines: But *Ariſtobulus* would not yet deſpair of gaining Time enough by a Truce, to repair the Caſtle, and reinforce his Army. The *Romans* in the mean while ply'd the Attack; but at the End of two Days, and after a very brave Reſiſtance, the *Romans* took the Place; with *Ariſtobulus*, and his Son *Antigonus* that fled from *Rome* with him: Who were both bound and ſent to *Gabinius*, and ſo to *Rome* again. The Senate made the Father a Priſoner, but ſent the Son back to *Judæa*, at the Inſtance of *Gabinius*; who had promis'd as much to the Wife of *Ariſtobulus*, upon the Delivery of the Caſtles.

Ariſtobulus *defeated by the* Romans; *and makes his Way to* Machærus.

The Romans *take the Caſtle.* Ariſtobulus *and his Son* Antigonus *ſent bound to* Rome.

Gabinius was now preparing for a War upon the *Parthians*; but *Ptolemy* having quitted the *Euphrates*, and being on his Return from *Ægypt*, gave him a Diverſion. *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater* were his Friends to all Manner of Purpoſes: For they ſupply'd him with Men, Moneys, Arms, Corn; and in Fine, all Proviſions and Neceſſaries for a War: Prevailing with the *Jews* alſo that guarded the Ways to *Peluſium* to let *Gabinius* paſs over at his Return. This Departure of *Gabinius* did ſo ſtartle the other Parts of *Syria*, and create ſuch a Revolt among the *Jews*, that *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, having gotten a vaſt Multitude of the People together, he took up a Reſolution to put every *Roman* to Death that he could lay his Hand on in that Quarter. *Gabinius* was not inſenſible of the Danger; and the Sedition encreaſing, he made Uſe of his Intereſt with *Antipater* to bring Matters to a better Underſtanding. But *Alexander* being a warlike Prince, and having an Army of thirty thouſand Men to truſt to, nothing would ſerve him but the bringing of it to a Battle; which was fought near the Mountain of *Itabyr*. There fell ten thouſand upon the Place, and the reſt ſhifted every Man for himſelf, and ſo diſpers'd. *Gabinius*, after this Defeat, return'd to *Jeruſalem* by the Advice of *Antipater*, to ſettle the People there under the Form of a Republick. He march'd from hence after the *Nabathæans*: Secretly diſcharging two *Parthian* Deſerters that came over to him, *Mithridates* and *Orſanes*, pretending that they had made their Eſcapes.

Alexander *defeated by* Gabinius.

(a) *Doris* Rufinus.

Craſſus *ſucceeds* Gabinius; *rifles the Temple, and loſes both Life and Army.*

Craſſus ſucceeded *Gabinius* in the Government of *Syria*, and rifled the Temple, not only of the two thouſand Talents that *Pompey* would not ſo much as touch; but of all the Gold that was there beſides, toward the Charge of the *Parthian* War. Upon this, he paſs'd the *Euphrates*; where he himſelf and his Army were both loſt: But of this in another Place.

Cypris *had four Sons by* Antipater; Phaſael, Herod, Joſeph *and* Pheroras.

After *Craſſus*, came *Caſſius* into *Syria*, who put a Stop to the *Parthians* when they were juſt ready to break into the Country. He was no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of his Government, but away he marches into *Judæa*; takes *Tarichæa*, and carries off near three thouſand *Jews* into Bondage: *Pitholaus* one of the Number; whom *Caſſius* put to Death, upon the perſuaſion of *Antipater*, for tampering the Faction of *Ariſtobulus* into a Sedition. [a] *Cypris* the Wife of *Antipater*, was a noble *Arabian*; by whom he had four Sons, *Phaſael*, King *Herod*, *Joſeph* and *Pheroras*; and one Daughter, whoſe Name was *Salome*. He was a Perſon belov'd for his Generoſity and Conduct, by all Men of Honour and Quality: But the moſt particular Friend he had in the World, was the King of the *Arabians*; to whom he recommended the Care of his Children, when he undertook the War againſt *Ariſtobulus*. But *Caſſius* having made a Truce with *Alexander*, returned to his Poſt at *Euphrates*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Paſs, and hinder the Inroad of the *Parthians*.

CHAP. VII.

Ariſtobulus *ſet at Liberty by* Cæſar, *and poyſon'd afterward by the* Pompeians; *and his Body ſent to* Judæa. Alexander *beheaded at* Antioch. Philippion *marries* Alexandra. Antipater *aſſiſts* Mithridates, *and takes* Peluſium. Memphis *deliver'd up to* Mithridates. Antipater *upon a Pinch*, *reſcues* Mithridates, *and routs the* Ægyptians. Hyrcanus *confirm'd in the Pontificate.*

See Ant. l. 14. *c.* 13, 14, 15.

Ariſtobulus *ſet at Liberty by* Cæſar:

But poyſon'd afterward by the Pompeians, *and his Body tranſmitted to* Judæa. Alexander *beheaded at* Antioch.

Philippion *marries* Alexandra.

IT ſo happen'd a while after, upon *Pompey*'s and the Senate's quitting *Rome*, and croſſing the *Ionian* Sea in a Fright, that *Cæſar* being left abſolute Maſter of the Place, and all that was in it; he order'd *Ariſtobulus* immediately to be ſet at Liberty, and diſpatch'd him out of Hand into *Syria* with two Companies; taking for granted that the Country would quickly be his own, if he did but ſhew himſelf upon the Borders. But that Conjecture was too good to be true; for the Hopes of *Cæſar*, and the Confidence of *Ariſtobulus*, were both diſappointed; the latter being made away in the mean while, and poyſon'd by ſome of *Pompey*'s People. The Body was embalm'd, and lay for ſome Time unbury'd, 'till *Anthony* tranſported it to *Judæa*, to be there depoſited in the Royal Sepulchres. Neither did the Son *Alexander* eſcape any better than his Father; for *Scipio* cut off his Head at *Antioch*, according to *Pompey*'s Direction: Who had paſs'd Sentence himſelf againſt him upon the Bench, for ſeditious Practices againſt the *Romans*. But *Ptolemy* the Son of *Mennæus*, and the Prince of *Chalcis* upon Mount *Libanus*, ſent his Son *Philippion* to *Askalon* to the Widow of *Ariſtobulus*; and order'd the bringing Home of his Son *Antigonus* and his Daughters to their Father. *Philippion* fell in Love with the younger; whoſe Name was *Alexandra*, and marry'd her: Which his Father put him to Death for afterwards, and took her to Wife himſelf. This *Alliance* created in him a greater Tenderneſs for his Brother *Antigonus*, and for his Siſters.

Antipater *aſſiſts* Mithridates, *and takes* Peluſium.

Antipater, after the Death of *Pompey*, made his Court to *Cæſar*: And *Mithridates*, a *Pergamenian*, finding a Stop put to his Expedition into *Ægypt* by prohibiting his Paſſage to his Ships at *Peluſium*; he ſtay'd with his Army at *Askalon*: And did not only prevail with the *Arabians* for Aſſiſtance, though a Stranger, but rais'd a Matter of three thouſand *Jews* well arm'd upon his own Account. He brought alſo ſeveral of the leading Men of *Syria* into the Party: As [b] *Ptolemy* of *Libanus*, *Jamblichus* and another *Ptolemy*; Men of ſuch Reputation, that their Intereſt and Example drew the whole Country after them. *Mithridates* finding himſelf now in Condition, by the Help of *Antipater*, to enter upon Action, advances to *Peluſium*: And the Inhabitants oppoſing his Paſſage, he lays Siege to the City. *Antipater* got himſelf more and more Honour ſtill in this Encounter: For the firſt Dint of the Battery preſſing from his Quarter, he himſelf was the firſt Man that mounted the Breach, and enter'd the Town with his People after him.

Thus was *Peluſium* taken, but the *Ægyptian Jews* (of the Province of *Onias*) would not ſuffer them to go any further; and yet *Antipater* prevail'd with them, not only to be quiet without making any Reſiſtance, but over and above, to furniſh Neceſſaries for the Soldiers. This Example wrought ſo far upon the People of

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[a] *Cypron* in the Antiq.

[b] *Or rather* Tholomæus *of* Libanus, Jambichus *and* Ptolemæus.

Memphis, that of their own Accord, they deliver'd themſelves up to *Mithridates*. Upon the Arrival of *Mithridates* at *Delta*, they gave Battle to a Body of other *Ægyptians* at a Place called *The Camp of the Jews*; where *Mithridates*, with the whole *Right-Wing*, was in extream Danger of being totally cut off; but *Antipater*, having already broken the Enemy's other Wing where he was engag'd, ſlipt along the Bank of the River, and came up ſo ſeaſonably to the Reſcue of *Mithridates*, that he fell upon his Purſuers; deſtroy'd ſeveral of them, and follow'd the Chace up to the Enemy's Camp, where he made himſelf Maſter of the Pillage: And all this with the Loſs only of fourſcore Men on his Side. There were near eight hundred of *Mithridates*'s Men ſlain upon the Purſuit; but he himſelf preſerv'd at laſt beyond all Expectation. *Mithridates*, after this, did him all imaginable Right to *Cæſar*, in the Report he made of ſo ſignal a Service; and the Emperor was ſo frank and generous in his Profeſſions and Acknowledgments to this great Man, that he became more and more zealous and ambitious of any Occaſion to lay down his Life for ſo illuſtrious a Maſter. He needed no other Proofs, in fine, of his Faith and Courage, than the Wounds he bare upon his Body as the Marks of his Virtue. So ſoon as the War was over in *Ægypt*, *Cæſar* return'd into *Syria*, and made *Antipater* a *Free Citizen* of *Rome*; conferring alſo other Honours upon him, enough to raiſe an Envy againſt him, and, in Token of a ſingular Reſpect and Eſteem, confirming *Hyrcanus* in the *Pontificate* for his Sake.

Memphis *deliver'd up to* Mithridates.

Antipater *reſcues* Mithridates *and routs the* Ægyptians.

Hyrcanus *confirm'd in the* Pontificate.

CHAP. VIII.

Antigonus *charges the Death of* Ariſtobulus *upon the* Pompeians. Hyrcanus *and* Antipater *wrongfully accuſed.* Cæſar *makes* Hyrcanus High-Prieſt. Antipater *Governour of* Judæa, *and orders the Rebuilding of the Walls that* Pompey *had thrown down.* Antipater *rebuilds them, and commands Obedience to* Hyrcanus. *He prefers* Phaſael and Herod. Hezekias *the Captain of the Robbers taken.* Hyrcanus *incenſed by evil Counſel.* Herod *ſummon'd to attend the Council. His Manner of appearing.* Herod *declared General of the Troops in* Syria, *and* Samaria. *Upon the March to depoſe* Hyrcanus, *but his Father and Brother divert him.* Sextus Cæſar *baſely murder'd by* Cæcilius Baſſus, *and* Marcus *order'd to ſucceed in the Government.*

AT this very Time, *Antigonus*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, addreſs'd himſelf to *Cæſar*; and ſo order'd the Matter, that he did *Antipater* a far greater Service than he intended him. His Buſineſs was to complain of the Death of his Father; to tell *Cæſar* the Story of his being poyſon'd by *Pompey*'s Inſtruments; (as it was generally preſum'd) and to charge *Scipio* with Cruelty to his Brother, &c. But, inſtead of keeping within this Compaſs, he laſh'd out into extravagant Invectives againſt *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, for driving himſelf and his Brethren moſt injuriouſly out of their native Country, and for oppreſſing the Publick, only to gratify their own private Paſſions. As for the Aids they ſent *Cæſar* into *Ægypt*, there was more of Fear in it than good Will; in hope to attone, in ſome Meaſure, for the Services they had formerly render'd to *Pompey*. *Antipater*, upon theſe Reproaches, only uncover'd ſome Parts of his Body, and expos'd his Wounds as Teſtimonies of his Loyalty to *Cæſar*, and ſo left it to his Body to do the Office of his Tongue. [*But*, ſays he, *I cannot ſufficiently admire the Confidence of* Antigonus; *the Son of an Enemy to the* Romans, *and a Fugitive, and at laſt, as ſeditious an Incendiary as ever his Father was. Now for this Man to exhibit Accuſations to* Cæſar *againſt the moſt faithful and dutiful of his Subjects; and to inſiſt upon Pretenſions of Merit, when he ought rather to be thankful that he is ſuffer'd to live: What an unaccountable Confidence is this! Neither does he deſire any Thing becauſe he wants it, but with a Deſign rather to employ it to the Ruine of his Benefactor.*]

See Ant. l. 14. c. 15, 16, 17.

Antigonus *charges the Pompeians with the Death of* Ariſtobulus.

Hyrcanus *and* Antipater *wrongfully accuſed.*

Antipater *ſhews his Scars in his Juſtification. He reproaches* Antigonus.

Cæſar, at next Word, created *Hyrcanus* High-Prieſt, as a Man perfectly well qualify'd for the Function. He gave *Antipater*, at the ſame Time alſo, the Choice of any Commiſſion he would deſire; who remitted himſelf dutifully to his Maſter's good Pleaſure: Whereupon he was pleaſed to pronounce him Governour of *Judæa*; and he obtained likewiſe this further Grace, that he might repair the Walls of his Country, which *Pompey* had thrown down. Theſe Decrees he order'd to be engraven in Braſs, and the Tables to be hung up in the *Capitol*, as a Memorial of *Antipater*'s Services, and of *Cæſar*'s Juſtice.

Cæſar *makes* Hyrcanus High-Prieſt. Antipater *Governour of* Judæa; *and gives him Leave to rebuild the Walls* Pompey *had thrown down.*

Theſe Decrees depoſited in the Capitol.

When *Antipater* had brought *Cæſar* to the Borders of *Syria*, he return'd to *Judæa*; where the firſt Thing he did was to rebuild the Walls that *Pompey* had broken down; and then to inſpect the Province, and either by fair Means, or by foul, to prevent Diſorder, and keep the Country quiet; giving the People to underſtand,

Antipater *rebuilds the Walls.*

And commands' Obedience to Hyrcanus.

that if they behav'd themſelves as they ought to do toward *Hyrcanus*, they ſhould live happily and eaſily in Peace and Plenty; but if they ſhould ever think of *fiſhing in troubled Waters*, and of advancing their own Fortunes upon the Ruine of the Publick, they ſhould find *Antipater*, inſtead of a gentle Governour, a ſevere Maſter, and *Hyrcanus* as unmerciful a Tyrant inſtead of a gracious Prince.

He prefers Phaſael *and* Herod.

Herod *takes* Hezekias, *the Captain of the Robbers.*

This Deference to *Hyrcanus* did not yet hinder but that *Antipater* ſettled the State of the Province himſelf, to ſupply the Defects and Incapacities of *Hyrcanus* for the Offices of a Political Adminiſtration. He gave *Phaſael*, his eldeſt Son and the Captain of the Guards, the Government of *Jeruſalem*, and all that Province: That of *Galilee*, to *Herod*, his ſecond Son, though very young, with the ſame Powers; who being naturally bold and active, was not long without an honourable Occaſion of ſhewing the Greatneſs of his Mind. *Syria* was terribly infeſted, and over-run with Troops of Robbers, till he took *Hezekias*, the Head of them, and put to Death the Captain himſelf, and ſeveral of his Followers. This Exploit was ſo acceptable a Service to the *Syrians*, that all the Towns and Villages were full of *Panegyricks* and Acclamations, to the Honour of *Herod*, as the Reſtorer of them to their Liberties and Poſſeſſions. The Glory of this Atchievement made *Herod* known to *Sextus Cæſar*, the Kinſman of *Cæſar the Great*, who was then Governour of *Syria*. The Fame of this Action inſpir'd *Phaſael* with an honeſt and a generous Emulation to outdo his Brother, and to gain more and more upon the Hearts of the People of *Jeruſalem*; where he exerciſed his Power with ſuch a Tenderneſs of Moderation and Juſtice, that no Creature had Reaſon to complain. The Wiſdom and Conduct of this Adminiſtration gave the People as great a Reverence for *Antipater*, as if he had been their abſolute Sovereign; and he behav'd himſelf all this while with a great Exactneſs of Faith and Kindneſs toward *Hyrcanus*.

Hyrcanus *bears a ſecret Grudge to the two Brothers.*

Hyrcanus *irritated by evil Counſel.*

But to ſhew now that it is a Thing utterly impoſſible to ſecure great Men and glorious Actions from the Stroke of Envy, we find it evidently in this Inſtance of *Hyrcanus*. He had born a Kind of a ſecret Grudge for ſome Time already, out of his own Head, toward theſe illuſtrious young Men, (and *Herod* eſpecially) for the Honour they had acquir'd in the World; all Mouths being full of the Hiſtory of their Virtues and Adventures. Now this envious Diſpoſition was further wrought upon by a Parcel of fleering Paraſites, and Court-Earwigs, to whom the exemplary Integrity of *Antipater*'s Sons was an Eye-ſore. [*What!* ſaid they, *is the Authority of the Government to be divided betwixt* Antipater *and his Sons, and* Hyrcanus *to ſtand like a Property, with only the empty Name of it? How long will you go on at this Rate, of ſetting up Kings againſt your ſelf! It is now come to that paſs, that they do not ſo much as pretend to act any longer as Deputies or Subjects; but, in one Word, bare-fac'd as Sovereigns: Witneſs* Herod's *putting ſo many Men to Death, in a flat Contradiction to the* Jewiſh *Law, and without any Mandate or Direction of yours. Is* Herod *a private Man, or a King? If the former, Why is he not call'd to an Account for this, and to anſwer, both to the King himſelf, and to the Law, for the Murder of ſo many innocent Perſons?*]

Herod *ſummon'd to attend the Council.*
His Manner of appearing.

Herod *declared General in* Syria *and* Samaria.

Hyrcanus was mov'd at this by little and little, till he came at laſt, in a Fit of Wrath and Indignation, to command the ſummoning of *Herod* to make his Appearance. *Herod* thought himſelf ſo ſafe in his own Innocency, that with the Advice of his Father, he ſecured his Garriſons in *Galilee*, and without any more ado went forthwith to the King, taking only ſuch a Guard along with him, out of a Reſpect to *Hyrcanus*, as might be competent for the ſecuring of his Perſon, without an Affront to the Prince. *Sextus Cæſar* had ſo great a Kindneſs for the young Man, that for Fear of Miſchief when they had him among them, he ſent to *Hyrcanus* to acquit him of the Charge; who ſeemed willing enough to do it, out of an Inclination he had to oblige him. But *Herod* was yet a little doubtful how far he might depend upon fair Words, and ſo repair'd to *Sextus* at *Damaſcus*, with a Reſolution not to appear any more in Caſe of a ſecond Summons. *Hyrcanus* was ply'd over and over to the ſame Purpoſe, as before, and by the ſame Sort of People. They told him that *Herod* was gone away in a Huff, and with a Deſign upon ſome deſperate Attempt. *Hyrcanus* was eaſily impos'd upon, and which Way to turn himſelf he knew not; for he found his Enemy too hard for him. But when *Sextus* came afterwards to declare *Herod* General of all his Troops in *Syria* and *Samaria*, it ſtruck ſuch a Terror into *Hyrcanus*, betwixt the Conſideration of his own Strength, and the Affections of the People, that he fanſied him marching at the Head of an Army againſt him already.

Herod *upon the March to depoſe* Hyrcanus.

And he was not much miſtaken neither. For *Herod* in a Tranſport of Indignation to ſee himſelf treated as a Criminal, gathered an Army together, and march'd toward *Jeruſalem*, with a full Determination to depoſe *Hyrcanus* from the Government; which he had certainly done, if his Father and his Brother had not put a

His Father and Brother divert him.

Stop to the Violence of his Paſſion: [*deſiring him to take out his Revenge in Menaces and hard Words, rather than to offer any Indignity to the King; under whoſe Countenance he had advanced himſelf to this Dignity. If it troubled him,* they ſaid, *that he was arraign'd, it might paſs for ſome Sort of Attonement that he was acquitted; and then it was but ſetting the Conſervation of his Life againſt the Hazard of it. If he valu'd himſelf upon his Arms, let him at the ſame Time bethink himſelf of the Iniquity of his Cauſe; and that no Subject can ever hope for a Bleſſing from Heaven, that draws his Sword againſt his Prince; and not only his Prince neither, but his familiar Friend, Benefactor, and Patron; and a Prince that never dealt unkindly by him, but when he was provok'd and ſeduc'd by Calumny and evil Counſel.*] Upon this Expoſtulation, *Herod* let the Conteſt fall, and contented himſelf with giving the whole Nation this Inſtance of his Intereſt and Power.

Sextus Cæſar *baſely murder'd by* Cæcilius Baſſus.

At this Time the *Romans* fell into a civil War near *Apamia*. *Cæcilius Baſſus* caus'd *Sextus Cæſar* to be baſely murder'd, and then took his Command to himſelf. This he did as a Service to *Pompey*. The Officers of *Julius Cæſar*, in Revenge for the Death of *Sextus*, fell with all the Power they had upon *Baſſus*: And *Antipater*, out of the Honour he had for both the *Cæſars*; the Dead as well as the Living, *Sextus* and *Julius*, ſent his Sons to join them with Succours. But the War ran out at Length, and [a] *Marcus* was order'd out of *Italy* to ſucceed *Sextus* in the Government.

CHAP. IX.

The Murder of Julius Cæſar *in the* Capitol; *and the horrible Factions and Confuſions that follow'd it.* Caſſius, *a great Oppreſſor*; *and* Herod *inſinuates himſelf into his Friendſhip. The baſe Ingratitude of* Malichus, *who ingratiates himſelf with* Phaſael, *and* Herod. Cæſar *and* Anthony *in War with* Brutus *and* Caſſius. Herod *made Governour of* Syria. Antipater *poyſon'd in his Drink by the Contrivance of* Malichus: *Who was afterward cut to Pieces by* Herod's *Officers.*

See Ant. l. 14. c. 17, 18, 19, 20. Julius Cæſar *murder'd in the* Capitol.

THERE fell out at the ſame Time among the *Romans*, a ſharper War than the former. *Cæſar* being now murder'd by the Treachery of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, in the third Year of his Government, and the ſeventh Month, his Death was follow'd with a horrible Confuſion of Factions in the Empire. The great Men were all divided into Parties: Every Man acting as his Humour and Intereſt led him, without any Regard to the Publick. *Caſſius* took his Way into *Syria* to get Poſſeſſion of the Troops that were then before *Apamia*; where he made [b] *Marcus* and *Baſſus*, with ſome malecontented Cohorts, Friends: Raiſing the Siege of *Apamia* at the ſame Time. He laid the Cities under the moſt unreaſonable and exceſſive Contributions; a Tax of ſeven hundred Talents upon the *Jews*; which *Antipater* provided for in Time by an equal Diſtribution of the Charge, and appointing his Sons and his Friends to take a ſeaſonable Care of the Levy; reckoning *Malichus*, his profeſs'd Enemy, into the Number of his Friends, upon that Pinch. The firſt that wrought himſelf into the good Graces of *Caſſius* was *Herod*; who preſented him with a hundred Talents for the *Quota* of *Galilee*: And for that Reaſon was eſteemed one of his beſt Friends. But for the reſt that were not ſo ready with their Proportions, *Caſſius* was ſo tranſported at the Delay, that he ras'd *Gophna*, [c] *Thamna*, and two other Cities of leſs Note, to the Ground: And when this was done, he took up a Reſolution of killing *Malichus* for being ſo dilatory. But *Antipater* having firſt ſweeten'd *Caſſius* with a hundred Talents, prevented the Execution of his Diſpleaſure upon other Places.

Marcus *lays horrible Taxes.*

Herod *makes a Friend of* Caſſius.

Caſſius *in a Rage at* Malichus; *but pacify'd by* Antipater.

But ſo ſoon as *Caſſius* was gone, all *Malichus*'s Obligations to *Antipater* were not only forgotten; but on the contrary, he enter'd into a Practice upon the Life of that Man, whom he had ſo often over and over own'd for his Saviour: Who was to be remov'd out of the Way as an Obſtruction to his Deſigns. *Antipater* kept an Eye upon him, as a Man both of Power and Cunning; and ſo paſs'd the *Jordan* to put himſelf in Condition to ſtand upon his own Guard, and take his Revenge. *Malichus* finding himſelf ſuſpected, had no Way to come off but by wheedling, and outfacing the Sons of *Antipater* into a better Opinion of him. *Phaſael* being Governour of *Jeruſalem*, and *Herod* Captain of the Guards, he held them ſo artificially in Hand with Excuſes, Oaths, and Proteſtations of his Plain-dealing and Integrity,

The Ingratitude of Malichus.

Malichus *makes fair with* Phaſael *and* Herod.

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[a] *Caſaubon* reads *Murcus*, Exercit. 1. An. DCCVI.

[b] Al. *Murcus*.

[c] *Ammaus*, Joſ.

Cæſar *and* Anthony *in War with* Brutus *and* Caſſius.
Herod *made Governour of* Syria.
Antipater *poyſon'd in his Drink.*

tegrity, that he engag'd the Sons themſelves in a Mediation to the Father for a Reconciliation; and by the ſame Inſtrument he made his Peace alſo with [a] *Marcus* the Governour of *Syria*, who was otherwiſe reſolv'd to put him to Death as a Mutineer. *Cæſar* and *Anthony* being now in War with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Marcus* and *Caſſius* having had ample Proofs of the Bravery of *Herod*, made him Governour of the whole Province of *Syria*, with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot for his Guard: Nay, *Caſſius* went ſo far as to promiſe him the Kingdom of the *Jews* at the End of the War. But it ſo fell out, that the Hope and Bravery of the Son occaſioned the Death of the Father; for *Malichus* was in ſuch a Dread of him, that he could never think himſelf ſafe while t'other was living: And ſo he corrupted *Hyrcanus*'s Butler to poyſon *Antipater* in his Drink. This was the Requital that great Man receiv'd from this ungrateful Wretch. He was indeed a Perſon of Wiſdom and Courage; and the ſame, in Fine, to whom *Hyrcanus* was indebted for the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. The People were ſo enrag'd at *Malichus*, upon a Suſpicion of this execrable Practice, that they were ready to tear him to Pieces: But upon his renouncing and abjuring any Knowledge of the Matter, the Multitude ſoften'd a little, and ſuſpended; and *Malichus* in the mean Time, by Way of Prevention, put himſelf into a Condition and Poſture of Defence; for it could not be expected that this horrid Murther ſhould ever go off thus. He knew *Herod* was abſolutely for taking his Revenge in the Head of an Army; but his Brother *Phaſael* diſſuaded him by all Means from making any publick Buſtle about it, for Fear of raiſing a Tumult. The Brothers, upon this, gave him the Hearing with a Semblance of allowing his Defence; and a Countenance, as if they thought him innocent, and then proceeded to the funeral Rites and Duties for their Father; which were very ſplendid and magnificent.

Samaria being at this Time torn with Factions, *Herod* went down to quiet them; but ſo as to return upon all ſolemn Days, to keep his Feſtival ſtill at *Jeruſalem*, and his Guards about him, going and coming. *Malichus* did not like this Face of Things, and therefore put *Hyrcanus* upon telling *Herod* plainly, *that it was a Prophanation of the Sacredneſs of the holy Religion and Profeſſion, to intermix Strangers with Natives.* *Hyrcanus* did as he was directed; but *Herod*, in Contempt, both of the Cauſe it ſelf, and of the Authority, enter'd by Night into the City. *Malichus* went preſently to him all in Tears for *Antipater*: And *Herod* carry'd it on the other Side, as if he believ'd every Word he ſaid; though ready to burſt with Rage and Indignation. But yet at the ſame Time he wrote to *Caſſius* for Juſtice upon *Malichus*, for the Death of his Father, which was eaſily obtain'd, upon ſeveral Accounts; *Malichus* being a Perſon that was odious to *Caſſius* already: So that *Caſſius* did not only leave *Herod* to his Courſe at Law againſt *Malichus*; but ſent alſo private Orders to his Tribunes to be aſſiſting to *Herod*, if there ſhould be Occaſion.

Herod *demands Juſtice upon* Malichus *for the Death of his Father.*

Laodicea was juſt now taken, and Men of Quality came thronging in from all Parts, to *Herod*, with their Gratulations and Preſents. He look'd upon this as the faireſt Opportunity in the World for the Execution of his Purpoſe; but *Malichus* ſuſpecting foul Play, laid a Plot to give him the Slip, by getting away his Son from *Tyre*; who was then a Hoſtage there: And ſo ſteal away with him into *Judæa*. But then, well conſidering the deſperate State of his Affairs, he was afraid that would not ſecure him neither: And ſo he ſet his Brains at Work upon a nobler Exploit; which was to ſet up the whole Nation of the *Jews* againſt the *Romans*, while *Caſſius* had his Hands full in his War with *Anthony*: In which Caſe he flatter'd himſelf that it would be no hard Matter to depoſe *Hyrcanus*, and take Poſſeſſion of the Government. But the Fates had otherwiſe determin'd it ſeems; for *Herod*, having a Jealouſy of ſome great Miſchief a working, invited both *Malichus* and *Hyrcanus* to Supper with him: Sending a Servant out under Pretence of having every Thing put in Order for the Entertainment; but in Truth, with ſecret Inſtructions to the Tribunes to attend, and act according to the Agreement betwixt *Caſſius* and *Herod* before-mentioned. They march'd out with their Arms toward the Sea-Side of the City; where they met *Malichus* upon the Way; ſurrounded him, and cut him to Pieces. The Surprize put *Hyrcanus* into ſo dangerous a Swoon, that they could hardly bring him to Life again; but ſo ſoon as ever he was come to himſelf, he call'd out to *Herod* to know who it was that had kill'd *Malichus*? One of the Tribunes made Anſwer, that it was *Caſſius*'s Order. Why then, ſays *Hyrcanus*, *Caſſius* has ſav'd me and my Country at once, in the Deſtruction of ſo dangerous a Traytor to both. Whether this was good Faith, or Fear, no Body knows; but this was *Herod*'s Revenge, and this the End of *Malichus*.

Malichus *cut to Pieces by* Herod's *Officers.*

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[a] Al. *Murcus*.

CHAP. X.

Felix *makes War upon* Phaſael *and* Herod. Herod *falls ſick at* Damaſcus. Felix *routed by* Phaſael. *The Ingratitude of* Hyrcanus. Marion *the King of the* Tyrians *driven out of* Galilee. Marion *and* Antigonus *march againſt* Herod. Antigonus *routed. Several Embaſſies with Complaints to* Anthony *againſt* Phaſael *and* Herod. *The Plaintiffs diſcharg'd without a Hearing. Repeated Complaints againſt the Brothers.* Meſſala *and* Hyrcanus *plead for them.* Anthony *makes them both* Tetrarchs *of* Judæa, *and treats the inſolent Deputies very ſeverely.*

WHen *Caſſius* had quitted *Syria*, there happen'd new Troubles in *Jeruſalem*, upon the Occaſion of *Felix*'s making War againſt *Phaſael* and *Herod*, to revenge the Death of *Malichus* upon the Brothers. It ſo fell out that *Herod* being then at *Damaſcus* with *Fabius* the Governour, he was taken ſo ill that it put him out of Condition to march to the Relief of his Brother. But as it happen'd, *Phaſael* had no need of Help; for he routed *Felix* with his own Troops, and did his Buſineſs without it: but exclaiming bitterly againſt *Hyrcanus* for his Ingratitude in ſiding with *Felix*, and in putting ſeveral Caſtles into the Hands of the Brother of *Malichus*: As there were many of them, and *Maſſada* among the reſt; one of the ſtrongeſt Holds in the Country. But this avail'd them little againſt the Power of *Herod*; who was no ſooner got abroad again, but he retook all he had loſt, and brought *Hyrcanus* to his Knees, even in *Maſſada* it ſelf: Diſmiſſing him however upon his Humiliation. He drove *Marion*, the King of the *Tyrians* out of *Galilee*, and recover'd from him three Caſtles that he had gotten; not only ſparing the Lives of the *Tyrians* that he took, but gratifying divers of them over and above with Donatives and Bounties: By which Means the People became *Herod*'s Friends, and *Marion*'s Enemies both at once. This *Marion* was a fit Inſtrument for *Caſſius*, who had ſet ſo many Tyrants over *Syria* already; and marching againſt *Herod*, he took *Antigonus*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus* along with him; and *Fabius* alſo, who was effectually, but *Antigonus*'s Mercenary: And all this, becauſe they were Enemies to *Herod*: *Ptolemy*, the Father-in-Law of *Antigonus*, ſupplying them with all Neceſſaries.

See Ant. *l.* 14. c. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Felix *makes War upon* Phaſael *and* Herod.

Herod *falls ſick at* Damaſcus.

Felix *routed by* Phaſael.

The Ingratitude of Hyrcanus.

Hyrcanus *brought to his Knees.*

Marion *driven out of* Galilee.

Marion *and* Antigonus *march againſt* Herod.

Herod made ready for the Encounter, and it came to a Battle upon the Borders of *Judæa*; *Antigonus* was routed; *Herod* carry'd the Day, and return'd to *Jeruſalem*; where he was receiv'd with all Tenderneſſes of Honour and Reſpect, even by thoſe that had deſpis'd him before: But this was out of a particular Regard to the Relation he had to *Hyrcanus*. For this *Herod* was formerly marry'd to a Woman of his own Country: She was nobly born, and her Name *Doris*. By this Woman he had *Antipater*, but he was afterward married to *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Alexander*, the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, and of *Alexandra* the Daughter of *Hyrcanus*. This was the Relation he had to the King. But upon *Cæſar*'s coming into *Italy*, and *Anthony* into *Aſia*, after the Death of *Caſſius* at the Battle of *Philippi*; Embaſſadors were diſpatched from ſeveral Places to *Anthony* in *Bithynia*; and the Heads of the *Jews* appear'd alſo, with noiſy Complaints againſt *Phaſael* and *Herod* for uſurping arbitrary Power to themſelves, and allowing *Hyrcanus* only the bare Name of Sovereignty. *Herod* being within Diſtance of over-hearing the Accuſation, manag'd ſo well with *Anthony*, by the Mediation of a Sum of Money, that the Complainants were all diſcharg'd without a Hearing.

Antigonus *routed.*

Doris *the Wife of* Herod, *and Mother of* Antipater.

Embaſſadors ſent with Complaints to Anthony.

Complaints againſt Phaſael *and* Herod.

The Plaintiffs diſcharg'd without a Hearing.

Anthony being after this, at *Daphnis* in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, (about the Beginning of his *Intrigue* with *Cleopatra*) there came to him a *hundred* of the principal Men of the *Jews* all in a Body; ſelect Men for Quality and Ability: And their Buſineſs was the ſame Complaint over again againſt the two Brothers. They had made Choice of the beſt Speakers they had, for the Advantage of the Plea; and *Meſſala* ſtood up for the Brothers, *Hyrcanus* for Kindred-ſake, putting in to ſecond him. Upon the Hearing of both Parties, *Anthony* asked *Hyrcanus*, whom he look'd upon as the fitteſt Man for a Character in the Government. *Hyrcanus* reply'd, that for his own Part, he knew not any other comparable to the two Brothers. *Anthony* was overjoy'd at this Declaration, having been ſo highly oblig'd to *Antipater* of old, for a generous Reception and Entertainment, upon his coming into *Judæa* with *Gabinius*. So he pronounced them both *Tetrarchs* of *Judæa*, and committed the whole Adminiſtration to their Conduct.

Repeated Complaints againſt the Brothers.

Meſſala *and* Hyrcanus *plead for them.*

Anthony *makes them Tetrarchs of* Judæa.

The Deputies ſeditious and inſolent. Anthony *treats them ſeverely.*

The Deputies look'd ſo ſour and diſguſted upon this Proceeding, that *Anthony* committed fifteen of the hundred to Priſon; and they ſcap'd narrowly with their Lives too. The reſt he treated coarſly, and ſo let them go. This did but inflame the Mutineers at *Jeruſalem* to a higher Degree, ſo that inſtead of a *hundred*, they ſent now a *thouſand* Deputies open Mouth to *Anthony* at *Tyre*; who was at that Time making ready to fall upon *Jeruſalem*. They were ſo clamorous, that the Magiſtrates of *Tyre* were order'd to diſperſe them; and in Caſe of Reſiſtance, to put all to Death that they took: *Anthony* giving them further in Charge to maintain the Authority of the *Tetrarchs*, which he had ſet up. *Herod* and *Hyrcanus*, being inform'd of this Diſorder, went out to the Deputies as they were walking before the Port, and adviſ'd them civilly to have a Care how they engag'd themſelves and their Country, by ſuch Intemperances, in one common Ruine. But the better they were us'd, the worſe they were: Inſomuch, that *Anthony* was fain to bring them to Reaſon by armed Troops, and a great many of them were kill'd and wounded. *Hyrcanus* was pleas'd however to take Care of the wounded, and to provide for the burying of the Dead. But all this wrought nothing at all upon thoſe that got away; for they ſtill went on embroiling the City and irritating *Anthony*, till they provok'd him to put all his Priſoners to Death.

CHAP. XI.

Lyſanias *treats with* Barzapharnes *to depoſe* Hyrcanus, *and ſet up* Antigonus. *The* Carmelite Jews *joyn* Antigonus; *rout and purſue the Enemy to* Jeruſalem. Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *force them into the Temple. A Peace propoſed by* Antigonus; *and* Pacorus *for the* Umpire. *The Treachery of* Pacorus. Herod *jealous of him.* Barzapharnes *falſe and perſidious. The whole Story of the Contrivance.* Phaſael *caution'd to look to himſelf. He charges* Barzapharnes *to his Face.* Phaſael *and* Hyrcanus *ſeiz'd by the* Parthians. Pacorus's *Plot upon* Herod. Herod *ſlips away by Stealth, and withdraws to* Maſſada. Herod *gets a great Victory. He leſſens his Train, and advances to* Petra. *The* Parthians *at* Jeruſalem *ravage Town and Country.* Mariſſa *laid waſte*; Antigonus *declar'd King.* Phaſael *and* Hyrcanus *deliver'd up to him in Chains.* Antigonus *bites off* Hyrcanus's *Ears.* Phaſael *daſhes out his own Brains.* Herod *order'd by* Malichus *to depart* Arabia. Herod *nobly treated by* Cleopatra. *He paſſes to* Brunduſium, *and ſo to* Rome. *The Generoſity of* Auguſtus *and* Anthony *to* Herod. Herod *declar'd King of the* Jews *in the Senate.*

See Ant. *l.* 14. *c.* 23, 24, 25, 26.

Lyſanias *the Succeſſor of* Ptolemy, *the Son of* Mennæus. *He contracts with* Barzapharnes *to depoſe* Hyrcanus *and ſet up* Antigonus.

Ptolemais *and* Sidon *receive* Pacorus, *and* Tyre *denies him Entrance.*

SOme two Years, after this, when *Barzapharnes* a noble *Parthian* held the Government of *Syria*, with *Pacorus* the King's Son; *Lyſanias* the Succeſſor of *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Mennæus* ſtruck up an Agreement, and confirm'd it with Articles, to deliver up to them a thouſand Talents and five hundred Women upon the dethroning of *Hyrcanus*, and ſetting *Antigonus* in his Place. They fell to work upon the Project immediately; *Pacorus* took the Way of the Sea-Coaſt, and *Barzapharnes* was to march over the Midland: *Ptolemais* and *Sidon* open'd their Gates to *Pacorus*, but the *Tyrians* abſolutely refus'd him Entrance. He ſent before him a Party of Horſe into *Judæa*, under the Command of *Pacorus* the King's Butler (an Officer of his own Name) with Inſtructions to hearken after the Enemy's Counſels and Motions; and to aſſiſt *Antigonus* upon Occaſion.

The Carmelite Jews *join* Antigonus; *rout the Enemy, and purſue them to* Jeruſalem.

Hyrcanus *and* Phaſael *force the Enemy into the Temple.*

The *Jews* of Mount *Carmel* offer'd their Service to *Antigonus*, of their own Accord; who order'd them forthwith to advance, and poſſeſs themſelves of that Quarter of the Country they call *Dryma*. They brought it to a Battle, and got the better of it; and when the Enemy was routed and diſpers'd, their Numbers encreaſing, they march'd out right to *Jeruſalem*; where *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſael* made a very brave Reſiſtance, and after a ſharp Diſpute in the Market-Place, forc'd them to retire into the Temple. *Herod*, upon this, clapt a Guard of ſixty Men into the adjoining Houſes; but the People ſet Fire to them out of a mortal Hatred they had for the two Brothers. Theſe Practices tranſported *Herod* to ſuch a Degree of Indignation, that he fell on upon the Enemy; cutting off great Numbers of them; and there paſs'd not a Day without Blows and Slaughter. The Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* being now at Hand, and the City crouding full from one End of it to the other, up to the very Temple it ſelf, of People that came up to the Solemnity from all Quarters; and moſt of them with their Arms: *Phaſael* took Charge of the Walls, and *Herod*, with a ſmall Party of the Palace. The latter made ſo unexpected a Sally into the *Suburbs*, that he kill'd ſeveral, and routed the whole Multitude: Some fled into the City; others into the Temple, and ſome again ſhelter'd themſelves behind the Rampart.

When Things were brought to this Paſs, *Antigonus* propos'd a Treaty of Peace, and offer'd *Pacorus* (the King's Officer before mentioned) for an Umpire. *Phaſael* entertain'd the Motion, and took the *Parthian*, with five hundred Horſe, into the City: His Pretence was only the compoſing of a Mutiny, but the plain Truth of his Intention was the aſſiſting of *Antigonus*. This inſinuating perfidious Wretch prevail'd afterwards with *Phaſael* to ſend an Embaſſy to *Barzapharnes* upon the ſame Subject. This was much againſt the Liking, and Opinion of *Herod*; who caution'd him all the Way to have a Care how he truſted him; for he was falſe, and it was but natural for a *Barbarian* ſo to be. He was a Traytor, he ſaid, and deſerv'd to be treated as one. *Pacorus*, for the better Colour of the Buſineſs, went out with *Hyrcanus*, and ſo with the reſt of the Company follow'd *Phaſael*; leaving with *Herod* ſome of thoſe Cavaliers that the Barbarians call'd Freemen.

Antigonus *propoſes a Peace, and* Pacorus *for the Umpire.*
Phaſael *entertains the Motion, and takes* Pacorus *into the City.*
The Treachery of Pacorus.
Herod *jealous of him.*

When they came to *Galilee*, they found the People divided, and in Arms; but the Governours of Places however came out to meet them. *Barzapharnes* had the Wit to cover the Falſeneſs of his Heart with external Civilities, ſuch as ſoft Words and Preſents; but ſo ſoon as they were parted, he had an Ambuſh in Readineſs to ſurpriſe them on their Return. They were conducted to a Place near the Sea, call'd *Ecdipon*; and there they had the whole Story of the Treachery: A thouſand Talents promis'd, and five hundred Women to be deliver'd up to the *Parthians*, and ſeveral of their own, Part of the Number: That the *Parthians* were always falſe: And they were told farther, that this horrid Perfidy had not been put-off ſo long, but that they waited for *Herod*'s coming up to *Jeruſalem*; for Fear the Plot ſhould take Air, and be diſappointed. And to ſhew now that this was more than Talk, the Ambuſh was juſt now at Hand to ſeize them.

Barzapharnes *falſe and perfidious.*
The whole Story of the Treachery.

Ophelius was the Man, to whom *Saramalla* (a *Syrian*, and the richeſt Man of the Country) had communicated the Minutes of the whole Deſign. This *Ophelius* ply'd *Phaſael* with Importunity upon Importunity, to ſhift for himſelf; but *Phaſael*'s Reſolution was, whatever he ſuffer'd, not to abandon *Hyrcanus*; ſo that he choſe rather to lay it Home to *Barzapharnes*, and to tell him to his Teeth what a mercenary, perfidious Creature he was. *If Money be your Buſineſs*, ſays he, *I can give you more for my Life than* Antigonus *has promis'd you for the Kingdom.* This put the *Parthian* upon a violent Denial of the whole Matter, with execrable Oaths and Imprecations; and ſo he went his Way to *Pacorus*. No ſooner was he gone, but *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus* were taken into Cuſtody by the *Parthians* that ſtay'd behind, according to their Order: And had only the Liberty left them of exclaiming againſt ſo horrid a Perjury and Treaſon.

Orphelius *preſſes* Phaſael *to look to himſelf.*
Phaſael *charges* Barzapharnes *to his Face.*
Phaſael *and* Hyrcanus *ſeized by the* Parthians.

The *Parthian*, all this while, had his Leſſon given him, to try if he could decoy *Herod* out of the Town, and take him. This he attempted, but *Herod* was ſo well acquainted with the treacherous Practices of thoſe *Barbarians*, that he would not ſo much as ſtir out of the Walls. He made no Doubt but *Phaſael* had written him the whole Story at length, of the Treachery; and that the *Parthians* had intercepted thoſe Letters: But all that *Pacorus* could do would not draw him out of his Hold; though he was preſs'd with a Pretence plauſible enough; which was, that he ſhould meet his Letters upon the Way; for he'd find no ſuch Thing in them as Impriſonment or Treachery, nor any Thing more than the common Buſineſs of familiar Letters. *Herod* kept himſelf ſtill upon his Guard; for he had been told by others, that his Brother *Phaſael* was taken up: Beſide, that *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Hyrcanus* and one of the wiſeſt of Women, begg'd of him, upon any Terms, not to ſtir abroad, nor expoſe himſelf to the manifeſt Deſigns of thoſe *Barbarians*.

Pacorus *Attempts to decoy* Herod.

Herod was too wiſe and wary to be impos'd upon bare-fac'd: So that *Pacorus* was put to his Shifts, and to bethink himſelf how he might trick him out of his Life ſome other Way. While this was in Agitation, *Herod* ſlipt away by Night, with ſome of his neareſt Relations, (and when his Enemies leaſt thought on't) toward *Idumæa*. The *Parthians* had no ſooner Notice of his Departure, but they got up, and follow'd him; ſending his Mother, Brother, *Mariamne* (to whom he was contracted) and *Mariamne*'s younger Brother, before him; while he and his People about him made good againſt the *Barbarians*, and got the better of them in ſeveral Encounters; retiring at laſt to the Caſtle of *Maſſada*. The Jews were harder upon him in his Flight, than the *Parthians*, (though ever troubleſome) and fell upon him about ſixty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*, where they puſh'd it to a down-right Battle. *Herod* got the Victory with a great Slaughter of Men; and for the eternal Honour of the Action, he erected a moſt magnificent Palace upon the Place, with a ſtrong Caſtle in it; which he call'd *Herodion*, after his own Name.

Herod *ſlips out of the Town by Night.*
He withdraws to Maſſada.
The Jews *preſs him harder than the* Parthians.
Herodion *erected in Memory of this Action*,

Herod *leſſens his Train.*

And advances to Petra.

A great many People came in to him in his Retreat; and at [a] *Threſſa* in *Idumæa*, his Brother *Joſeph* adviſed him by all means to leſſen his Train; which he took to be upward of three thouſand Men, and the Caſtle of *Maſſada* would not hold them. *Herod* took his Counſel, and diſcharg'd all the unprofitable Mouths with a *Viaticum* to *Idumæa*; diſpoſing of his Kindred, and the moſt neceſſary Perſons for his Service into the Caſtle, with a Body of eight hundred Men over and above for the Guard of the Women; and Proviſions ſufficient to hold out a Siege, if there ſhould be Occaſion. This he did, and ſo went forward to *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*.

The Parthians *at* Jeruſalem *ravage Town and Country.*

The Hearts of the *Parthians* at *Jeruſalem* were altogether ſet upon Booty; breaking into the Houſes of thoſe that were gone, and rifling the royal Palace it ſelf: but without ſo much as touching *Hyrcanus*'s Treaſure, which was not above three hundred Talents. But they poſſeſs'd themſelves of other Riches, though not ſo much as they expected. For *Herod* had the Providence, for Fear of the lewd *Barbarians*, to take out what was moſt pretious; and to tranſport it long before, to *Idumæa*, his Companions alſo taking the ſame Courſe. But after the *Parthians* were Maſters of the Spoil of the Town, they were not content with that Ravage, but infeſted the Countries alſo with a bloody and an implacable War. They laid waſte the City of *Mariſſa*, and not only conſtituted *Antigonus* King, but deliver'd up *Phaſael* and *Hyrcanus* in Chains, into his Hands. He tore off the Ears of *Hyrcanus* with his Teeth, to render him by that Maim incapable of the *Pontiſicate*, in caſe Times ſhould turn: For the holy Office is not to be adminiſter'd by any Perſon maim'd or blemiſh'd.

Mariſſa *laid waſte: And* Antigonus *declar'd King.* Phaſael *and* Hyrcanus *deliver'd up to him in Chains.* Antigonus *bites off* Hyrcanus's *Ears.* Phaſael *daſhes out his own Brains.*

But the Cruelty of *Antigonus* was fruſtrated by the Courage of *Phaſael*; who without either the Help of a Sword, or his Hands at Liberty, daſh'd out his Brains againſt a Stone; ſhewing himſelf the true Brother of *Herod*, and *Hyrcanus* a Degenerate. He dy'd like a Man of Honour, and his End was ſuitable to the Glory of his Life. There goes yet another Report of him; and that he repented after that Violence upon himſelf; but that a Phyſician was ſent him from *Antigonus*, that poyſon'd the Wound, and ſo diſpatch'd him. But whether the one or the other, we ſhall not contend. There paſſes another Story, that, before he dy'd, he was told by a Woman that *Herod* had made his Eſcape. Well! ſays he, I ſhall now dye in Peace; for I ſhall leave a Friend behind me that will revenge my Wrongs.

Antigonus *could not keep touch with the* Parthians.

This was the End of *Phaſael*, and it was now a great Mortification to the *Parthians*, that *Antigonus* could not make good his Promiſe of the five hundred Women to them: But the Buſineſs was made up at *Jeruſalem*, and *Hyrcanus* ſent bound into *Parthia*. *Herod* knew nothing as yet of the Death of his Brother; but was ſo ſenſible of the covetous Humour of the *Barbarians*, that he concluded there was no redeeming of him but by a Sum of Money: And on that Account he reſolv'd upon a Journey into *Arabia*; in Hope of ſupplying himſelf from the King, upon that Occaſion, either as a Bounty upon the Score of an old Friendſhip betwixt the *Arabian* and *Antipater*, or as a Loan, upon the Pawn of his Nephew the Son of *Phaſael*, a Youth of ſeven Years of Age; whom he had at that Time with him for his Security. The Sum he propoſed to give, was three hundred Talents; the *Tyrians* joining with him in the Requeſt.

Herod *order'd by* Malichus *to depart* Arabia.

But his generous Intentions were moſt unhappily prevented by this Fatality in the Death of *Phaſael*; ſo that *Herod* could do him no good: Over and above that he durſt not truſt himſelf among the *Arabians*. For *Malichus*, their King, ordered him to depart immediately out of his Territories; pretending that the *Parthians* had demanded, by their Embaſſadors, that *Herod* might be driven out of *Arabia*: But the true Reaſon was his Ingratitude to *Antipater*, and the Narrowneſs of his Soul, that he would not make himſelf a Debtor to the Sons (being then in Diſtreſs) for the Obligations he had to the Father. He had, in Fine, impudent Adviſers about him, without either Faith, or Honour; and theſe were the Perſons that were moſt in Credit with him.

When *Herod* came to find the *Arabians* to be his Enemies: And for thoſe very Reaſons that he thought would have made them his Friends, he diſpatch'd the Meſſengers back again, with ſuch an Anſwer as he was prompted to by the Paſſion of a troubled Mind: And ſo march'd toward *Ægypt*. He came in the Evening to a certain Temple, where he had left ſeveral of his Company in his Paſſage. He got next Day to *Rinocolura*: And that was the Place where he receiv'd the firſt News of his Brother's Death. This Surpriſe undoubtedly tranſported him; but ſo ſoon as ever the firſt Heat of his Paſſion was over, and that he had done Juſtice to the Softneſſes of Humanity and natural Affection, he proceeded on his Journey.

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[a] Al. *Reſſa*. See *Antiq.* l. 14 c. 25.

The *Arabian* repented himſelf, by this, of what he had done; and with all Speed ſent after the Perſon he had ſo barbarouſly abus'd, to call him back again; but it was now too late; for he was gotten to *Peluſium*, where the Officers made a Difficulty of letting him paſs; till upon Application to the Magiſtrates, he was left at Liberty to go whither he pleas'd, out of the Veneration they had for the Fame and Worth of the Man. He took his Paſſage for *Alexandria*, where he was receiv'd by *Cleopatra*, upon his Entrance into the City, with all pompous Formalities of Honour and Reſpect, in Hope that he might be prevail'd with to accept of the Command of an Army, which ſhe was then providing for ſome great Deſign. But *Herod*'s Heart was ſo ſet upon his Voyage for *Rome*, that neither the Queen's Entreaties, the extream Cold of the Seaſon, nor the Hazzards of the Seas, could divert him from it. Upon his putting to Sea, he took his Courſe by the Way of *Pamphylia*; where there happen'd ſo outragious a Tempeſt that they were forced to caſt the Goods over-board to ſave the Veſſel. But with great Difficulty at laſt, he got ſafe to *Rhodes*; where he found all Things in a terrible Confuſion, by Reaſon of a War at that Time with *Caſſius*. He was there receiv'd by two Friends of his, *Ptolemy* and *Saphinias*; and, notwithſtanding his preſent Want of Money, made a Shift to provide himſelf a ſtout Veſſel, that carry'd him and his Friends to *Brunduſium*, and ſo to *Rome*. The Perſon there to whom he made his firſt Application, was *Anthony*; upon the Score of an ancient Kindneſs and Acquaintance betwixt him and *Antipater*. And to him he recounted the Adventures and Misfortunes, both of himſelf, and his Family; with the Story of his Friends and Relations that were at preſent ſhut up, and beſieg'd in the Caſtle of *Maſſada*: And how he had made a Winter Voyage of it, to pay his Duty to him, and to implore his Aid.

Herod *nobly receiv'd by* Cleopatra *at* Alexandria.

Herod *paſſes to* Brunduſium, *and ſo to* Rome.

Anthony was ſo affectionately mov'd with a generous Compaſſion for *Herod*'s Diſtreſs, and an honourable Deference to the Memory of *Antipater*; together with a virtuous Senſe of what was due to the Character of ſo excellent a Perſon, that he reſolved in the very Inſtant to make *Herod* now *King* of the *Jews*, as he had declar'd him *Tetrarch* before; and this not only out of a Reſpect to *Herod*; but the Averſion *Anthony* bare to *Antigonus*, had ſome Part likewiſe in the Reſolution; looking upon him as a Man turbulent and ſeditious, and an Enemy to the *Romans*. And now after all theſe gentle Diſpoſitions of *Anthony* in *Herod*'s Favour, *Auguſtus* was yet rather the forwarder Friend of the two; for he was never well and eaſy, but when he was talking of *Antipater*'s Services in *Ægypt*; and what *Antipater* and *Cæſar* had ſuffer'd together there; the Honour, and the Hoſpitality of the Converſation; beſide the Worthineſs of *Herod*'s Mind and Courage.

The Generoſity of Auguſtus *and* Anthony *to* Herod.

Upon this, there was a Senate call'd; where *Meſſala*, and after him, *Atratinus* (*Herod* himſelf preſent) enlarg'd upon the Merits of *Antipater*, and his Fidelity to the People of *Rome*: Expoſing *Antigonus* at the ſame Time, for a publick Enemy: not only for falling off ſo ſoon, but for receiving a Crown from the Hands of the *Parthians*, in Contempt of the *Romans*. The *Senate* was ſo poſſeſs'd with theſe *Harangues*, that they gave their Voices unanimouſly for *Herod* to be *King of the Jews*: Eſpecially *Anthony* declaring himſelf that he would be for the Advantage of the War with the *Parthians* to have it ſo. Upon the Riſing of the *Senate*, *Anthony* and *Cæſar* went out with *Herod* betwixt them; the Conſuls, and other Magiſtrates going before, to give Order for the killing of Sacrifices, and the depoſiting of this Decree of the *Senate* in the *Capitol*. *Herod*, on the firſt Day of his Reign, ſupp'd with *Anthony*.

Herod *declar'd King of the* Jews *in the Senate*.

CHAP. XII.

Antigonus *beſieges* Maſſada; *and* Joſeph, Herod'*s Brother*, *defends it.* Ventidius *and* Silo *join with* Herod *againſt* Antigonus. Herod *takes* Joppa, *and relieves* Maſſada; *and ſo advances to* Jeruſalem, *and begirts the City. The Beſiegers are repuls'd. The Craft and Corruption of* Silo. *A deſperate Mutiny, but quieted by* Herod; *who poſſeſſes himſelf of* Sepphoris, *takes* Jericho, *and rifles it. The Hiſtory of his War with the Robbers. He goes back to* Samaria, *and* Ptolemy *commands in his Place.* Machæras *commits a barbarous* Maſſacre *upon the* Jews. Anthony *beſieges* Samoſata, *and* Antiochus *delivers up the Place.*

See Ant. *l.* 14. *c.* 24, 25, 26, 27.
Maſſada *beſieg'd by* Antigonus, *and in extreme Want of Water.*

A providential Fall of Rain.

ANtigonus was at this Time before *Maſſada*; where they wanted Water to Extremity, and nothing elſe; inſomuch that *Joſeph*, the Brother of *Herod*, underſtanding that *Malichus* the King of *Arabia* had repented of the Injuries he had multiply'd upon *Herod*; he took up a Reſolution with two hundred of his familiar Friends to ſteal out of the Caſtle by Night, and to betake himſelf to the *Arabians* for Succour. And he had certainly left the Caſtle, if upon the preciſe Point of Time, when he was juſt about to make the Sally, there had not fallen ſo plentiful a Shower of Rain, that their Pits, Ciſterns, and other Veſſels, were all repleniſh'd with it; ſo that there was now no Need of ſtirring. After this Relief, the Garriſon fell to their Sallies; and betwixt Surprizes and open Force, they did conſiderable Execution upon the Enemy; not but that they had the Fortune to be ſometimes worſted themſelves.

Ventidius *ſeizes* Antigonus'*s Treaſure.*

While this paſt, *Ventidius*, one of the *Roman* Generals, being ſent to drive the *Parthians* out of *Syria*, enter'd into *Judæa*, under Colour of a Deſign to relieve *Maſſada*; but in Effect to make a Seizure of *Antigonus*'s Treaſure. Now when he had done his Buſineſs at *Jeruſalem*, he went off again with the greateſt Part of the Army; but left *Silo* with a ſmall Body behind him, for the better Countenance of the Cheat; for if he had quite clear'd the Country, it would have been ſaid, that he came only to feather his own Neſt. *Antigonus* however made fair with *Silo*, having ſome Hope yet that he might piece again with the *Parthians*; and ſo long as there was Hope, he thought the People would be quiet.

Ventidius *and* Silo *join* Herod *againſt* Antigonus.

Silo deſerts.

Herod being now tranſported out of *Italy* to *Ptolemais*, liſted a conſiderable Army, both of his own Nation, and Strangers; and ſo poſted away thorough *Galilee* toward *Antigonus*, with the Aſſiſtance of *Ventidius* and *Silo*; who were prevail'd upon by the Solicitation of *Dellius*, at the Inſtance of *Anthony*, to help *Herod* into the Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. But *Ventidius* was taken up with compoſing the Broils that the *Parthians* had rais'd in the Cities; and *Silo* was already corrupted by *Antigonus*, in *Judæa*. But *Herod* wanted no Men, for they came in to him every Day, all the Way he march'd; and *Galilee*, all but a very few, went along with him entire. The firſt, and the moſt neceſſary Thing he had in his Thought, was the raiſing of the Siege of *Maſſada*, to ſet his Friends and his Kindred at Liberty. But *Joppa* was a Block in his Way, and the firſt Obſtacle to be remov'd; for there was no meddling with *Jeruſalem*, with that Enemy at their Backs. *Silo* took this Occaſion to withdraw; and the *Jews* of *Antigonus*'s Party purſuing him, *Herod* with a Handful of Men, fought and defeated them, and brought off *Silo*, after a faint and a weak Reſiſtance.

Herod *takes* Joppa, *and poſts away to relieve* Maſſada.

Antigonus *lays Ambuſhes for* Herod.
Maſſada *reliev'd; and* Herod *advances to* Jeruſalem.

Joppa being now taken, *Herod* haſten'd away to ſet *Maſſada* free; the Country very frankly joining with him; ſome for his Father's Sake, ſome for his own, others in Gratitude for the Obligations they had to both; but the greater Part of them, for the Hope of Honour and Reward. He was by this Time Maſter of a conſiderable Army; but *Antigonus* did what he could however to obſtruct his Paſſage, by planting Ambuſhes in his Way, though with little or no Damage to the adverſe Party. *Herod*, in fine, found no great Difficulty in raiſing the Siege, and in withdrawing his Friends and his Goods out of the Caſtle. He advanced from thence to *Jeruſalem*, where divers of *Silo*'s Men, and of the Inhabitants, came over to him, out of an Awe they had for his Power.

Herod *begirts the City, and offers an univerſal Amneſty.*

He pitch'd his Camp upon the Weſt-ſide of the Town; whence the Enemy gall'd him with Showers of Darts and Arrows, and the Defendents made ſeveral ſtrong Sallies upon him. The firſt Thing *Herod* did, was the publiſhing of a Proclamation quite round the Walls of the City by a Herald in Form, ſetting forth that he had no other Deſign in this Expedition, than the common Good of the People, and the Safety of the City, with the Offer of an univerſal Act of Oblivion to all his Enemies, of what Sort or Degree ſoever, without Exception. *Antigonus*, on the other Hand, did all he could, with Noiſe and Harangue, to keep his People, either from hearing the Conditions of the Declaration, or from being mov'd with the Reaſon of it: And ſo he commanded his Men to fall on; whereupon the Beſiegers were beaten off with Shot from the Towers, and forc'd to a Retreat.

The Beſiegers repuls'd.

The Corruption of *Silo* was now as clear as the Sun, by the Clamours of the Soldiers, that he had tamper'd and ſuborn'd to put all into a Flame. *They were undone, they cry'd, for Want of Neceſſaries They had neither Meat nor Money: And as* Antigonus *had order'd it, the Skirts of the City were all eaten up, and they were ruin'd for Want of convenient Winter-Quarters.* At this Rate were the People animated to a Revolt, and *Silo* would have gone off for Company. This was ſo dangerous a Practice, that *Herod* was glad to apply himſelf, not only to *Silo*'s Officers, but to the common Soldiery alſo, to prevent a worſe Miſchief.

The Craft and Corruption of Silo.

He ſtirs up the People to a Revolt.

Fellow Soldiers, ſays he, *you know very well, that I have the Commiſſion of* Cæſar, Anthony, *and the* Senate, *for what I do. Do but ſtay by me one Day longer, and all your Wants ſhall be ſupply'd.* Upon this Aſſurance, he went away himſelf to give Orders for Proviſion, and forthwith ſent them ſo prodigious a Quantity, that *Silo*'s Mouth was ſtopt, and no Room left for any further Complaint. And to ſecure them likewiſe for the future, he wrote to *Samaria* (which was then under his Protection) to ſend him all Manner of Proviſions to *Jericho*: As Corn, Wine, Oyl, Cattle, &c. When *Antigonus* heard this, he preſently diſpatch'd his Troops abroad, and laid Ambuſhes to intercept the Convoys. They follow'd their Orders, and there was now a great Army gotten together near *Jericho*; and Parties up and down the Mountains, to obſtruct any Relief.

Herod *compoſes the Mutiny.*

Herod was not idle all this while, but with ten Companies, half *Romans*, half *Jews*, and a ſmall Body of Horſe, he advanced to *Jericho*; where he found the City abandon'd, not a Creature left in't, and only five hundred of the Inhabitants, with their Wives and Families, fled to the Mountains. Theſe he took, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. The Town had a World of rich Pillage in it; which the *Romans* rifled and carry'd away: And *Herod*, leaving a Garriſon in the Place, went his Way back again. The *Roman* Troops had their *Winter-Quarters* aſſign'd them in the Cities that came over to *Herod*; as *Idumæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*. *Antigonus* alſo, upon *Silo*'s Account, had Part of his Army quarter'd in *Lydda*, to ſtand fair with *Anthony*. The *Romans* were now eaſy and quiet, and in a full Enjoyment of Peace and Plenty. But *Herod* could not yet be at Reſt; for he ſent his Brother *Joſeph* with 400 Horſe and 2000 Foot to fortify *Idumæa*, for Fear *Antigonus* ſhould enter upon any new Practice: While he went himſelf, with his Mother and the reſt of his Kindred, to *Samaria*; whom he had reſcu'd at *Maſſada*. After the ſecuring of his Friends, he advanc'd into *Galilee* to reduce certain Garriſons that *Antigonus* was poſſeſs'd of in that Province. He came up to *Sepphoris* in a deep Snow, and took the Place without any Difficulty; for the Garriſon quitted it without a Blow. When he had ſtaid there a while, and refreſh'd his Men after a Winter's Fatigue, (as there was great Plenty of Proviſions) he turn'd his Arms againſt the *Free-booters*, that ſhelter'd themſelves in Caves, and by Sallies and Incurſions made a worſe Ravage in the Country than a regular War. He ſent away three Companies of Foot, and a Wing of Horſe before him, to *Arbela*, and follow'd them himſelf forty Days after with the reſt of his Army. Theſe Robbers were not at all daunted with this Incurſion; but, on the contrary, advanc'd againſt them in a Body, in the Confidence they had of the Conduct and Courage of their Leader. When the Armies came afterward to the Shock, the Thieves right Wing put *Herod*'s left Wing to an abſolute Rout; but *Herod* wheeling immediately upon them with his Right, did not only put a Stop to the Flight of his own Men, but brought them on again with ſuch a Fury, that the Robbers were not able to ſtand before them. He had the Chace of them as far as the *Jordan*: A great many of them cut off in the Purſuit, and the reſt got over the River. *Galilee* was now deliver'd from this Peſt, ſaving only ſome Stragglers that kept ſtill in their Faſtneſſes; which was the Occaſion of *Herod*'s ſtaying a little longer in the Country.

Herod *advances to* Jericho.

Jericho *taken, rifled, and garriſon'd.*

Herod *removes his Friends from* Maſſada *to* Samaria, *and poſſeſſes himſelf of* Sepphoris.

He bends his Force againſt the Free-booters.

An Encounter betwixt Herod *and the Robbers.*

Herod, after this Exploit, as the firſt Fruits of his Soldiers Services, gave the common Soldiers a hundred and fifty Drachma's a Man, and to their Officers ſo much more in Proportion: And then diſmiſs'd them into their Winter-Quarters. He gave it in Charge to his youngeſt Brother *Pheroras* to take Care for Proviſions, and likewiſe to run up a Wall about the Caſtle of *Alexandrion*: Which was all done accordingly.

Anthony was now at *Athens*; and *Ventidius* ſent to *Silo* and *Herod*, to join him in the War againſt the *Parthians*: But writing to them in the firſt Place, to ſettle the Affairs of *Judæa*. *Herod* was well enough content to ſend *Silo* to *Ventidius*, while he

Herod *attacks the Thieves in their Holes.*
A Deſcription of their Caves and Hiding-Places.

he himſelf advanc'd againſt the Thieves again to ferret them out of their Dens. Now theſe Dens or Caverns were in the Craggs of the Rocks; hardly acceſſible on any Side, but by narrow Turns and Windings, and a direct Precipice from Top to Bottom. The Place was ſo nice and difficult, that it coſt the King ſome Time before he could reſolve what to do; but he bethought himſelf at laſt of an Experiment, bold and deſperate enough. There were ſtrong Cheſts, with Soldiers in them, let down with Ropes from the Top of the Mountain to the Mouth of the Entrance into the Cave. Theſe Soldiers deſtroy'd the Thieves in their Holes: Some with their Arms; and others that reſiſted, with Fire. When *Herod* had a Mind to ſave any of them, a Cryer ſummon'd them to come to him. But upon the Main, there was not one Man that render'd himſelf upon his own Accord: And for thoſe that were forced to it, a great many of them preferr'd their Liberties before their Lives.

The wonderful Reſolution of an old Man.

There was one very remarkable Paſſage. An old Man, the Father of ſeven Sons. The Mother and the Children lay begging at him only for Leave to go out, and render themſelves to the Enemy. This old Man commanded them to come out one after another, and ſtill as many of them appear'd, he put them to Death. This Spectacle ſtruck *Herod* to the Heart; who ſaw it from a Place of Proſpect near at Hand, and beſought the poor Man, with Signs, and Words at Length, to ſpare his Children. But no Words or Actions of Tenderneſs had the Power to work upon him. The Man went forward in his Reſolution; kill'd the Children firſt, and then the Mother: Caſting their dead Bodies down the Rock, and himſelf next; reproaching *Herod* for a Man of an abject, mean Spirit.

The Country clear'd of the Thieves.
Herod *goes back to* Samaria, *and* Ptolemy *commands in his Abſence.*
Ptolemy *ſurpriz'd, and ſlain.*
Herod *returns, and diſperſes the Thieves.*
Ventidius *aſſiſts* Herod *againſt* Antigonus.

When *Herod* had hunted the Thieves out of their Dens, he left only ſuch a Force behind him, as he thought ſufficient to keep the Peace. *Ptolemy* had the Command of it; and ſo he return'd to *Samaria*; marching againſt *Antigonus* with three thouſand Foot arm'd with Bucklers; and ſix hundred Horſe. The Troublers of *Galilee* made Advantage of *Herod*'s Abſence, and fell upon *Ptolemy* by Surprize, and kill'd him. They laid the Country waſte alſo, and then fled to Bogs and Defiles for their Retreat. *Herod* had no ſooner Notice of this Diſorder, but he was in with them immediately, and cut off great Numbers of their People; ſet all the Caſtles at Liberty that they had as good as blockt up, and fin'd the Cities a hundred Talents for the Riot.

The *Parthians* being now beaten, and *Pacorus* kill'd; *Ventidius*, by the Order of *Anthony*, diſpatch'd *Machæras* to *Herod* with a thouſand Horſe and two Legions againſt *Antigonus*: Who ſent *Machæras* a complaining Letter of the Indignities *Herod* had put upon him, with the Offer of a conſiderable Sum of Money to enter into his Intereſt: But *Machæras* ſtood off; partly for their Sakes to whom he was recommended, and in Part becauſe *Herod* was the franker Bidder of the two. But *Machæras* made fair however with *Antigonus*, and put on the Countenance of a friendly Diſpoſition to diſcourſe the Matter with him: But his Buſineſs, in Truth, was only to feel his Pulſe, and learn the State of his Affairs, which was a Method abſolutely againſt the Opinion and Advice of *Herod*. Now *Antigonus* finding by this Time whereabouts he was, did not only refuſe him Entrance upon his Approach to the City; but kept him off from the Walls with Darts and Arrows, as an actual Enemy. *Machæras* was ſo aſham'd of himſelf upon this Diſappointment, that away he went to *Herod* at [a] *Ammaus*; and in a Rage put all the *Jews* to Death that he could meet with, whether Friends or Foes, and the *Herodians* as well as the reſt: Neither did the *Antigonians* eſcape any better than their Neighbours.

Machæras *goes to* Herod *to* Ammaus, *and puts all the* Jews *there to Death without Diſtinction.*

Herod *meditates a Revenge.*

Herod was ſo tranſported at this bloody Outrage, that he was once thinking to take his Revenge upon *Machæras*, bare-fac'd, and as an open Enemy: But upon ſecond Thoughts he check'd himſelf, and choſe rather to carry the Cauſe immediately to *Anthony*. *Machæras* was ſo conſcious to himſelf of what he had done; that ſo ſoon as ever *Herod* was gone, he poſted, in that Inſtant, after him; and overtaking him upon the Way, after a thouſand Submiſſions, Proteſtations, and other begging Importunities, with much ado he made his Peace. But this did not divert *Herod* yet from going to *Anthony*. So he went forward; and hearing upon the Way that *Anthony* was at that Time with a great Army before *Samoſata*, (a ſtrong Place upon the *Euphrates*) he made the more Haſte to be up with him Time enough to give ſome ſignal Proofs of his Faith and Courage, and at the ſame Time to ingratiate himſelf with *Anthony*. The Arrival of *Herod* put a quick End to the Siege: He deſtroy'd a Multitude of the *Barbarians*, and a great Part of the Booty fell to his Share. *Anthony*, that had always a mighty Value for *Herod*, had a greater Eſteem for him upon this Occaſion yet than ever; which contributed exceedingly to his Honour, and to the Hopes he had of eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Kingdom. *Antiochus*, in fine, was forc'd to deliver up *Samoſata*.

Machæras *makes his Peace with* Herod.
Anthony *beſieges* Samoſata.

Antiochus *delivers up the Place.*

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[a] *Al.* Emmaus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Joſeph *commands in* Herod's *Abſence.* Joſeph, Herod's *Brother, kill'd in a Skirmiſh.* Antigonus *inſults upon the Body, and cuts off his Head. Strange Changes upon his Succeſſes.* Soſius *made General of* Syria. *A fore-boding Dream of* Herod's. *Three wonderful Deliverances.* Jeruſalem *beſieg'd, and taken by Aſſault; and* Herod *compounds for the Pillage.* Pappus's *Head cut off in Revenge of* Joſeph. *A mean Character of* Antigonus. *He is ſent in Chains to* Anthony, *and loſes his Head.* Cleopatra *covetous and ill natur'd.*

WHile theſe Things paſs'd *Herod*'s Affairs went ill in *Judæa*; which he left in his Abſence, under the abſolute Command of his Brother *Joſeph*; upon this expreſs Condition, that he ſhould not attempt any Thing upon *Antigonus* while he was away: His Reaſon was, that he had a Jealouſy of *Machæras*, upon an old Account, and durſt not lay any Streſs upon his Honeſty. But *Joſeph*, when his Brother was at a Diſtance, forgot that Article, and march'd towards *Jericho* with five Companies that *Machæras* had provided him, to carry off the Corn that was then ripe upon the Ground. The Enemy fell upon him from the Mountains, and betwixt the Advantages of the Place, and the Occaſion, gave him an utter Defeat; cutting all the *Romans* to Pieces, and the General himſelf; who left behind him the Character of a great and a valiant Man; theſe being only new-rais'd Troups levy'd in *Syria*, and no *Veterans* among them to ſupply the Want of Skill and Experience in their Fellows.

See Ant. l. 14. *c.* 27, 28. *l.* 15. *c.* 1. 5.
Joſeph *commands in* Herod's *Abſence.*

Joſeph, Herod's *Brother, kill'd in a Skirmiſh.*

But ſuch at laſt was the Brutality of *Antigonus*, that the Victory would not ſerve his Turn, without unmanly Inſolencies upon the Dead: Inſulting over the Body of *Joſeph* himſelf, with Affronts and Blows, and then ſtriking off his Head; though *Pheroras* offer'd fifty Talents Compoſition for that laſt Indignity. Things were ſo alter'd in *Galilee* upon the Succeſs of *Antigonus*, that they took the *Herodians* of the firſt Quality, and plung'd them into the Lake. There was a great Change in *Idumæa* too; where *Machæras* repair'd the Walls of the Caſtle of [a] *Gath*. *Herod* knew nothing of theſe Matters all this while; for upon the taking of *Samoſata*, *Anthony* made [b] *Soſius* Governor of *Syria*, with a Charge to aſſiſt *Herod* againſt *Antigonus*, and ſo he departed into *Ægypt*. *Soſius*, upon this, ſent away two Companies into *Judæa* to join *Herod*, and he himſelf follow'd ſoon after with the reſt of the Army.

Antigonus *ſtrikes off his Head.*
Strange Changes upon his Succeſſes.

Soſius *made General of* Syria.

While *Herod* was at *Daphne*, (the Suburbs of *Antioch*) he had a Kind of Preſage of the Death of his Brother, in a Dream. He leapt out of his Bed upon't, and the Meſſengers that brought the News, came into his Chamber at that very Inſtant. The Surprize ſtruck him at firſt; but when his Paſſion had a little ſpent it ſelf, he diſpatch'd away with all poſſible Speed, to find out the Enemy. Coming to *Libanus*, he took eight hundred Inhabitants of the Place, and one *Roman Cohort* to his Aſſiſtance. With this Body he enter'd *Galilee* before Day; charg'd the Enemy, and beat them back into the Caſtle whence they came. He ſat down before it, and aſſaulted it Day after Day; but before he could make himſelf Maſter of it, the Winter came on ſo faſt, that he was fain to draw off his Army into the next Village. *Anthony*, ſome few Days after this, ſent him an Enforcement of another Company; which put the Garriſon into ſuch an Apprehenſion, that they ſlipt away out of the Caſtle by Night.

A fore-boding Dream of Herod's.

Herod's next Remove was in all Haſte to *Jericho*, to take his Revenge for the Death of his Brother; where he was preſerv'd by a Providence ſo wonderful, that it fell little ſhort of a Miracle; but God in his Goodneſs had him under his particular Care. *Herod* had had at Supper with him that Night, ſeveral Perſons of great Quality, and ſo ſoon as the Entertainment was over, the Room clear'd, and the Company gone, the Roof of the Eating-Room fell flat down to the Ground. He took this remarkable Eſcape for ſo auſpicious a Preſage, with a Reſpect to the War he was engag'd in, that he decamped next Morning early. The Enemy in a Body of about ſix thouſand came down the Mountains, and had a Skirmiſh with his Van-Guard; but they did not much preſs to any Action with the *Romans*: only they aſſaulted them with Darts and Stones at a Diſtance; and *Herod* himſelf, as he paſs'd by, receiv'd a Wound in his Side.

A ſtrange Eſcape of Herod's *upon the Fall of a Dining Room.*

Antigonus, that valu'd himſelf upon being thought *Herod*'s Superior, both for Number and Courage, ſent a familiar Friend of his, one *Pappus*, with a Body of

[a] Γιτθὰ & Γιττᾶ *Joſ.*
[b] Σόσιος *Joſ.*

Men into *Samaria* to try an Encounter with *Machæras*. *Herod* in the mean Time, takes five Towns, and ravages the Enemy's Country; deſtroys two thouſand of the Inhabitants; lays their Houſes in Aſhes, and ſo returns to the Army not far from a Village call'd *Cana*. There came to him every Day a World of *Jews*: Some from *Jericho*; ſome from elſewhere; others for Spite to *Antigonus*, and ſome again in Reſpect to *Herod*: Nay, ſome there were ſo ſenſeleſs, that they lov'd Change purely for Change-Sake. Now the Thing that *Herod*'s Heart was moſt ſet upon, was to puſh it to a Battle; and *Pappus*, with his Men on the other Hand, was as ready to put it to an Iſſue: So that his Troops, without any Dread, either of Force or Numbers, march'd fiercely up to the Combat. When they came to charge, *Pappus*'s Men upon the Main, made a tolerable Reſiſtance; but wherever *Herod* came, he was ſo tranſported with the Spirit of Revenge for his Brother's Death, that his Enemies fled before him. It was his Method, wherever he ſaw them in a Body, to break them into a Diſorder, and by that Means he put them all to Flight.

A terrible Slaughter and Confuſion.

There was a terrible Slaughter: Some beaten back into the Place whence they came; and ſome running one Way, ſome another: *Herod* ſtill preſſing and purſuing them, till at laſt he fell in with them pell-mell into the Town. The Houſes were preſently crouded with Fugitives, and the very Roofs cover'd with them. But thoſe were eaſily deſtroy'd; and then upon beating down the Buildings, ſeveral periſh'd under the Ruins, and others by the Sword; and they that eſcap'd the one, were deſtroy'd by the other. The Streets, in fine, were ſo block'd up with Piles of Carcaſſes, that they found ſome Difficulty to march over the dead Bodies. The Spectacle was ſo frightful, that the People were not able to ſtand the very Sight of it. In the Fluſh of this Succeſs, *Herod* had certainly march'd directly to *Jeruſalem*, if the extream Rigour of the Seaſon had not made the Ways impaſſable. This was the only Thing that hinder'd the perfecting of his Victory, and the irreparable Ruin of *Antigonus*; who was now diſpoſing of himſelf to quit the City.

A providential Deliverance.

Herod, in the Evening, having diſcharg'd his Friends to refreſh themſelves after the *Fatigue* of the Day, went to waſh himſelf, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, being hot and ſweaty, with only one Servant to attend him. As he was in his Way to the Bath, one of *Antigonus*'s Soldiers met him with a Sword drawn; and after him, another and another, and ſtill more. Now theſe were Men that fled thither with their Arms out of the Battle for Sanctuary. Upon the Sight of the King they fell into ſuch a Dread and Trembling, that they minded nothing but the ſaving of themſelves, and ſo paſs'd him by. It ſo happen'd that no Body being at hand to ſeize them, they all got off; and as Providence would have it, *Herod* 'ſcap'd untoucht. On the Day following he order'd the Head of *Pappus* (*Antigonus*'s General) to be ſtuck off, and ſent it to his Brother *Pheroras*, in Revenge for the Blood of *Joſeph*; for it was *Pappus* that kill'd him.

Pappus's Head ſtruck off in Revenge for Joſeph.

Herod lays Siege to Jeruſalem.

When the Winter was well over, *Herod* advanc'd to *Jeruſalem*; drew his Men to the Walls; and for the Advantage of the Attack, encamp'd before the Temple: being the Quarter from whence *Ptolemy* took it formerly. This was the third Year after *Herod*'s being declared King at *Rome*. He aſſign'd all his Troops their Offices and Stations, and every Man his Poſt in the Suburbs. He order'd the caſting up of three Ramparts, and the Building of Turrets over them: And when he had given theſe Commiſſions in Charge to his Friends and Officers that he could beſt confide in, he went himſelf to *Samaria*, to conſummate a Marriage with *Mariamne*, (the Danghter of *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Alexander*) to whom he had been contracted ſome Time before: So that the Siege and the Match went on together, in Contempt of his Enemies; as who ſhould ſay, *I have Time enough for both.*

Upon his Marriage, he came back again to *Jeruſaleam* with ſeveral additional Troops; beſides a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot under *Soſius* the *Roman* General, that was ſent to joyn him: The greater Part of them took their March by the Way of the Midland, and he himſelf by *Phœnicia*. The whole Army upon the Muſter, amounted to eleven Regiments, and ſix thouſand Horſe; beſides a ſtrong Enforcement of *Syrian* Auxiliaries. They order'd the Aſſault upon the North ſide. *Herod* founded his Right upon the Decree of Senate that made him King; and *Soſius* pleaded the Commiſſion of *Anthony*, for the Aſſiſtance of *Herod* with the Troops under his Command.

The *Jews* within the City were now in a very great Confuſion and Diſtreſs; the meaner Sort of them gathering together about the Temple, and paſſing their Judgments upon the Times in a Kind of an enthuſiaſtical Way of fore-boding Calamities to come. The bolder Part of this Rabble went trooping up and down, and pillaging whatever they could come at; eſpecially near the Town, where they left no Neceſſaries, neither for Horſe, nor Man. The Soldiery all this while, omitted nothing for the Defence of the Place. They kept the Beſiegers off from their Walls, and ſtill oppoſed one Inſtrument and one Stratagem to another: But their greateſt Excellency lay in mining and breaking in upon the Enemy before they were aware. The King, on the other Hand, took Care to provide againſt the Excurſions of the Robbers, and for a Supply of Proviſions by Convoys and Tranſportations from abroad, to anſwer the Neceſſities of the People. The *Jews* muſt be allow'd to have been bold and daring in Battle, even to the higheſt Degree. But yet when it came to military Skill and Addreſs, they were conſtantly outdone by the *Romans:* But maintaining the Diſpute however, though they were in a Manner ſure to die for't. And in Caſe of any ſurprizing Attempt of the Enemy from their Trenches, by Sally, or Attack, they found ſome Way or other in an Inſtant, to make all good. And, in one Word, they ſpar'd for neither Art nor Labour, in the Reſolution they had taken to defend it to the laſt. But after a *five Months Defence* againſt ſo vaſt an Army, a ſelect Party of *Herod*'s Men were ſo hardy at laſt as to mount the Wall, with ſome of *Soſius*'s Centurions to ſecond them, and ſo they brake into the City. The firſt Thing they did, after their Entrance, was to poſt themſelves round the Temple, and as near it as they could get; while the Army diſpers'd it ſelf, and carry'd Death and Deſolation along with it, in the moſt hideous Forms, wherever it mov'd. The *Romans* were outragious in Revenge for the Hardſhips they had endur'd in the Siege, and the Cruelty of the *Herodian Juws* was an implacable Spite, for Fear any of their Adverſaries ſhould eſcape. The narrow Paſſages, and the Houſes, were all fill'd, and peſter'd with Heaps of dead Bodies. They ſpar'd neither Age nor Sex, and the Temple it ſelf was no longer a Sanctuary. Nay though the King himſelf commanded them every where upon their Allegiance to hold their Hands, they went on nevertheleſs with the Butchery, to the Degree of an inhumane Madneſs.

Jeruſalem *taken by Aſſault.*

Antigonus, in this Hurry and Confuſion, was ſo mean and heartleſs, that without any Regard to his Quality, or to his paſt or preſent Fortune, he came down from *Baris*, and caſt himſelf at the Feet of *Soſius*; who, without any Sort of Pity for his Calamity, received him with this Taunt, that his Name ſhould be no longer *Antigonus*, but *Antigona*. But though he behav'd himſelf like a Woman, he was not us'd like one; for he was laid in Chains, and kept a Priſoner. *Herod*'s Enemies were now at his Mercy, but his Friends were yet ſo troubleſome, that he had much ado to keep his Auxiliaries and Strangers quiet; for the Multitude preſs'd ſo violently into the Temple, out of a rude Curioſity to ſee Things and Faſhions, that *Herod* had enough to do by fair Means and foul, as Menaces, Entreaties, nay, and ſometimes with Blows, to keep them in Order: Accounting upon it that his Victory would be worſe than a Defeat, if he ſhould ſuffer thoſe ſacred Privacies to be expos'd to common Eyes, which the Law had kept in Reſerve.

Antigonus *a mean pitiful Wretch.*

He proceeded then to the Regulation of the Soldiery in the Matter of Pillage; telling *Soſius*, that at that Rate of leaving neither Men nor Money, the *Romans* would render him a King of a Deſart, rather than of a City and People; and that to gain the whole World, he would not be a Governour upon thoſe Terms. *Soſius* made this Reply, that he thought the Soldiers, after what they had done and ſuffer'd, might be allowed ſome Sort of Right to the Advantage of the Booty. You ſpeak Reaſon, ſays *Herod*, and take my Word and Honour for it, that I will ſee Juſtice done to every Man of them out of my own Fortune. By this Way of Proceeding, *Herod* preſerv'd the Remainder of his Country, and afterward made good his Promiſe to the Army: For there was not a common Soldier that had not his Donative, and the Officers were all rewarded in Proportion, even to *Soſius* himſelf; and to ſuch a Degree, that every Creature was abundantly ſatisfy'd. *Soſius*, after this, dedicated a golden Crown to God; and leaving *Jeruſalem*, carry'd *Antigonus* away bound to *Anthony*, flattering himſelf all the Way with the Hope of Life to the very Minute of his Execution: When his Head was cut off for not deſerving to live.

Herod *compounds for the Booty.*

Antigonus *loſes his Head.*

The Multitude of the City were divided, and *Herod* diſtinguiſh'd Party from Party accordingly; treating his Friends with great Honour and Kindneſs, to make the ſurer of them: But the *Antigonians* he put to Death. When he fell ſhort of Money, he divided what he had that was precious, betwixt *Anthony* and thoſe about him that he had the moſt Value for; but all this was not enough to ſecure him yet; for *Anthony* was at this Time beſotted with the Love of *Cleopatra*, and ſo abandon'd to his Paſſion, that he could deny her nothing. Now *Cleopatra* had already fall'n ſo bloodily upon her own Relations, that when ſhe had not left one near Kinſman living, ſhe turn'd the Point of her Rage againſt Strangers; by calumniating Men of Honour and Quality, to *Anthony*, and prevailing with him to have them put to Death, as the ready Way to make her Miſtreſs of their Eſtates. Her Avarice tranſported her ſo far after this againſt the *Jews* and *Arabians*, that ſhe enter'd into a ſecret Practice againſt the Lives of their Kings themſelves; *Herod* and [a] *Malichus*. *Anthony* held her in Hand upon it with fair Words, and ſeeming Compliances: But for taking away the Lives of two good Men, and two ſuch Princes, it was ſo execrable a Propoſition, he could not but have a Horrour for it. He went ſo far however as to break Friendſhip with them, and to put her in Poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Part of their Territories: As for Inſtance, the Lands in *Jericho*, ſo famous for *Palm-Trees* and *Balſam*, and all the Cities upon the River *Eleutherus*, except *Tyre* and *Sidon*. When he had gratify'd her with this Preſent, ſhe accompany'd him as far as the *Euphrates* in his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and ſo took her away into *Judæa* by *Apamia* and *Damaſcus*.

Cleopatra *covetous and ill natur'd.*

Herod had already parted with large Sums toward the mollifying of *Cleopatra*; but her ill Nature was ſo implacable, and ſo inſatiable was her Avarice, that all this would not do, without extorting an Annuity of *two hundred Talents* out of the Revenue of *Judæa*; and ſo, with great Obſequiouſneſs and Reſpect, he conducted her to *Peluſium*. It was not long before *Anthony* came back from the *Parthian* War, with [b] *Artabazes* the Son of *Tigranes* his Priſoner; whom he made a Preſent of to *Cleopatra*, with the whole Booty.

CHAP. XIV.

The Craft and Treachery of Cleopatra. Herod *would have aſſiſted* Anthony *againſt* Auguſtus, *and ſhe hinder'd him.* Herod *gains one Battle, and loſes another. A prodigious Earth-quake in* Judæa. *The* Jews *in a Conſternation, and ſeveral of their Embaſſadors put to Death upon it. A generous Speech of* Herod*'s to encourage his Soldiers. The Army takes Heart upon* Herod*'s Exhortation.* Herod *forces the* Arabians *to a Battle; and gives them a total Overthrow. The* Arabians *render themſelves at Diſcretion; and petition* Herod *to take them into his Protection.*

Ant. l. 15. c. 6, 7, 8.

The Craft and Treachery of Cleopatra. Herod *would have aſſiſted* Anthony *againſt* Auguſtus, *and ſhe hinder'd him.* Herod *defeats the* Syrians; *and is routed himſelf afterwards by the* Arabians.

UPON the breaking out of the War at *Actium*, *Herod* was now at Liberty, and propoſed to himſelf to accompany *Anthony* in that Expedition; for he had gotten [c] *Hyrcania* into his Hands, from the Siſter of *Antigonus*; and all Things were now compos'd and eaſy at Home. But *Cleopatra*, for Fear of *Herod*'s being Companion in the Dangers with *Anthony*, craftily diverted him from his Deſign. This Princeſs, having a mortal Hatred for both the Kings, perſuaded *Anthony* to commit the *Partbian* War to *Herod*; *for*, (ſays ſhe to herſelf) *if he get the better of it, I ſhall be Queen of* Arabia; *and if he be worſted, of* Judæa: Propounding only the daſhing of the one againſt the other. This Advice happen'd well enough for *Herod*; who, having gotten together a mighty Body of Horſe, ſent them againſt the *Syrians* near *Dioſpolis*, where he fell upon them; they made a handſome Reſiſtance, for a while, but in the End were beaten out of the Field. Upon this Defeat, the *Arabians* drew out a prodigious Army, and poſted themſelves at [d] *Canatha* in *Cœle-Syria*, there to expect the coming up of the *Jews*. *Herod* was now advancing toward them; but, upon Sight of their Numbers and Diſpoſition, he found it convenient to keep himſelf upon a more than ordinary Guard, and therefore order'd the running of a Wall about the Camp. But the People were ſo puff'd up with one Victory, that *Herod*'s Precaution would be Time loſt, they thought, to make them wait for another: So that without any more Ceremony they fell on, and routed the *Arabians* at the very firſt Puſh: But *Herod* 'ſcap'd very narrowly himſelf upon the Purſuit, by a Body of *Canathenes* that were ſent in by *Athenion* to the Relief of the *Arabians*. Now this *Athenion* was an Officer of *Cleopatra*'s, and ever a deadly Enemy to *Herod*. Upon the Encouragement of this Relief, the *Arabians* took Heart, and came on again; ſcatter'd the *Herodians*; and following them cloſe through Crags and Woods, they kill'd a World of them in the Chace. They that 'ſcap'd the Battle, fled to a Village there at Hand call'd *Ormiza*: Where they were coopt up and ſurrounded; and the *Arabians* made themſelves Maſters of their Camp, and the Men that were in it. A very little while after the Blow was given, *Herod* came up with Succours; but the Miſchief being firſt done, there was no Remedy. This Diſaſter was all long of the Contumacy and Diſobedience of his Officers: For if they had not been ſo haſty and hot-headed, *Athenion* could never have had an Opportunity to put his Plot in Execution. But *Herod* reveng'd himſelf afterwards on the *Arabians* by Surprizes and Incurſions, over and over; and atton'd by ſeveral little Victories for one great Defeat.

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[a] Μάλιχος, Joſ. *Malichus*, Ruf.

[b] Al. *Artabaſdes*.

[c] Al. *Hyrcanion*.

[d] *Cana*, Antiq. l. 15. c. 6.

Herod *takes his Revenge.*

While *Herod* was in the Courſe of his Succeſſes, there befel him a moſt judicial Calamity. This was in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, and in the Beginning of the Spring, when the War at *Actium* was at the hotteſt. There happen'd at this Time ſo dreadful an Earth-quake, that it ſwallow'd up Cattle innumerable, and a Matter of thirty thouſand People; but the Army that lay in the Field, ſuffer'd nothing. It was, in Truth, a diſmal Accident; but Report (as it is uſual) making it much greater than effectually it was, the *Arabians* took it for granted that *Judæa* was totally ſunk and loſt; and flatter'd themſelves with an Opinion that they might have the whole Province now for the asking. In this Confidence they put certain *Jewiſh* Embaſſadors that were then with them to Death, and without any more ado, advanc'd into the Country to take Poſſeſſion of it. This formidable Inroad of the *Arabians* ſtruck the *Jews* with ſuch a Terror; (eſpecially conſidering the heart-broken Condition they were in at that Time, with one Calamity upon the Neck of another) that *Herod* was fain to try if he could reaſon a diſtracted, ſpiritleſs People into their Reſolutions and Wits again.

A prodigious Earthquake in Judæa.

Several Jewiſh *Embaſſadors put to Death upon it.* The Jews *in a Conſternation.*

You are here, in my Opinion, ſays *Herod, under a moſt unreaſonable Apprehenſion. I will allow you,* ſays he, *to indulge your Sorrows under the Hand of an offended God; but to ſubject your ſelves to the ſame Deſpondencies and Paſſions, for Fear of the Power of Men, is a Meanneſs of Soul below the ordinary Pitch of your Courage. Nay, ſo far am I from any Dread of an Enemy, after this Earth-quake, that it looks to me rather as if Providence had order'd the enſnaring of your Adverſaries by this Temptation, into a Vengeance for the Injuries they have done you: Neither do they lay ſo much Streſs upon the Force of their own Arms or Valour, as upon the Opinion they have of our Abjection and Miſery. But thoſe are falſe Hopes, when Men ſupport themſelves upon the Infirmities of other People rather than upon their own Virtue: Nor is there any Certainty, either in proſperous, or adverſe Fortune; but they are both unſteady, and take their Turns: And for a Confirmation of this Doctrine, you need go no farther than to the late Battle; where we were Maſters one Hour, and at Mercy the next. This is the very Caſe of our Enemies at preſent, or I am much deceiv'd. They think they take, and they are taken. People that are over-confident are unwary: But a conſiderate Fear makes Men provident; ſo that the very Ground of your Apprehenſion is the Foundation of my Aſſurance. You would needs be charging the Enemy contrary to Order, and forwarder than you ſhould have been; and* Athenion, *you ſee, made Advantage of your Errour. But you your ſelves are now upon the Reſerve: Your Deliberations are ſober, and not fantaſtical; which is a Diſpoſition that I look upon as an Omen of a certain Victory. This is the right Temper of a brave Man, before he comes into Action: But let him keep his Fire and Heat to himſelf till he has Occaſion for it, in the Field. And ſo let it be your Buſineſs now to convince your wicked Enemies by Force of Arms, that the* Jews *will ſooner part with their Lives than their Reputation; and ſtand firm at laſt under all Judgments and Misfortunes; and never own the* Arabians *for their Maſters, who have ſo often been their Slaves.*

A generous Speech of *Herod's* to encourage his Soldiers.

But why this Fear at laſt for Things inanimate? How comes an Earth-quake *to be a* Portent; *or a Preſage of Things to come? Is there any Thing more natural than the Agitations and Diſorders of the Elements? They do not* foretel *Calamities; but they actually* bring *and* create *them. 'Tis poſſible that there may be ſome fore-running Signs of Plagues, Famine, and Earth-quakes, to come: But when they are once come, the greater they are, the ſooner will they be over. Or put the Caſe we ſhould be conquer'd now, pray which is worſe, the* War, *or the* Earth-quake? *But here's a Deſtination of theſe People to Ruine, even by their own Hands, without the Help of Enemies, that could be ſo impious and inhumane, as, contrary to the Laws of Nature and Nations, to dip their Hands in the Blood of our* Embaſſadors, *and dedicate the Sacrifice to God for the Succeſs of the War. Can they ever think to eſcape the all-ſeeing Eye, and the almighty Power of a vindictive God, whenever we ſhall but rouze in us the Courage and Zeal of our Forefathers, and call theſe perfidious Violators of Leagues and publick Faith to a ſevere and juſt Account! Wherefore ſtand up, my brave Fellow-Soldiers, not for your Wives, Children, or Country; but to revenge the Murder of your Embaſſadors; whoſe very Blood will conſecrate the Cauſe, and thoſe* Heroes, *dead as they are, will do you more Good in the Head of your Army, than the living Commanders of it. Do you but follow where I'll lead you, and I'll ask no more. Only one Word of Caution; be not over-hot and raſh; and when it comes to the Puſh, they will not dare to look you in the Face.*

The Army takes Heart upon Herod's *Exhortation.* Herod *ſacrifices.*

He forces the Arabians *to a Battle;*

And gives them a total Overthrow.

The Arabians *render themſelves at Diſcretion;*

And petition Herod *to take them into his Protection.*

This Exhortation put the Soldiers in ſuch a Heart, that *Herod* cloſ'd with the good Humour, and ſacrific'd: And ſo without any Delay paſs'd his Army over the River *Jordan.* He pitch'd his Camp at *Philadelphia*, not far from the Enemy, with a Caſtle between them; which look'd as if that Caſtle were to be the Subject of the Diſpute. *Herod*, at that Diſtance, provok'd the Enemy to a Battle; deſiring nothing more than to bring it to a ſpeedy Tryal. The Enemy had already ſent People before to take Poſſeſſion of this Caſtle; but the *Herodians* without much Difficulty beat them back, and gain'd the Hill. *Herod* drew out every Day in Order of Battle, to dare the *Arabians* to a Combat: But when he ſaw they would not anſwer the Challenge, (for they were all in a Conſternation, and [a] *Altemus* their General above the reſt) *Herod* attack'd them in their Trenches, and ſo forc'd them to a Battle: But in ſuch a Huddle they were, Horſe and Foot marching out together, that it was all Hurry and Confuſion. They did indeed out number the *Jews*; but fell much ſhort of them in Valour, though one would have thought their very Deſperation ſhould have made them bolder. The Slaughter was not great ſo long as they ſtood; but when they turn'd their Backs once, betwixt thoſe that fell in the Purſuit, and thoſe that were trampled to Death by their own People, there were five thouſand miſſing, and the reſt were driven into their Camp; where *Herod* preſently hemm'd them in, and beſieg'd them: And this was not all neither; for the Pinch they were in for Want of Water, was a Miſery equal to all the reſt. In this Streight they ſent Embaſſadors to *Herod*, with an Offer of fifty Talents for a Compoſition; but he treated them with Contempt, and would not ſo much as give them the Hearing. They came out after this in Troops, in the Torment of a raging, burning Thirſt, and deliver'd themſelves up to the *Jews*, at Diſcretion: So that in five Days the *Jews* had four thouſand of them in Bonds. Upon the ſixth Day, the Remainder of them in a Tranſport of Deſpair provok'd the *Jews* to a Battle; where about ſeven thouſand more were kill'd upon the Place. This Blow finiſh'd *Herod*'s Revenge upon the *Arabians*; for it brought down their Stomachs to that Degree, that they choſe him afterwards for their Protector.

CHAP. XV.

Herod's *generous Addreſs to* Auguſtus *at* Rhodes, *upon the Defeat of* Anthony *at* Actium. Cæſar's *Goodneſs and Humanity to* Herod *in Return.* Herod's *magnificent Entertainment of* Cæſar *in* Syria. Herod *confirm'd in his Government, with large Additions.* Herod *made Governour of all* Syria. Herod's *Character, and the Greatneſs of his Mind.*

Ant. *l.* 15. *c.* 9, 10, 11, 12 Anthony *defeated at* Actium.

HEROD's Matters went well enough at preſent; but the News of *Anthony*'s Defeat at *Actium* (for whom he had the greateſt Friendſhip in the World) put him quite out of his eaſy Humour: Though his Fear was, in ſome Reſpect, more than needed; for *Cæſar* could never think *Anthony* abſolutely ſuppreſs'd, ſo long as *Herod* was living. Upon this Turn of Fortune, *Herod* bethought himſelf how he might obviate all Difficulties, and ſo went to *Rhodes*; where *Cæſar* was at that Time. He preſented himſelf without any Enſigns of Royalty about him, and in the Habit of a private Man; but with a Mein of Majeſty: Behaving himſelf with great Candour, and Frankneſs, and this was his Declaration.

A generous Addreſs of Herod's *to* Auguſtus *at* Rhodes.

I muſt confeſs, mighty Cæſar, ſays he, *that as* Anthony *made me a King, I was not wanting to employ the kingly Powers he gave me, to the Service of my Benefactor, from whom I receiv'd them: And, if I may ſpeak freely, you your ſelf, Sir, would have found the Effects of that Juſtice, if I had not been diverted by the* Arabian *War; but this did not hinder me yet from ſending him what Supplies I could, both of Troops and Proviſions: Neither hath this laſt fatal Blow at* Actium, *ſtagger'd me one Jot in my Gratitude and Juſtice to my Patron. I could not furniſh him, 'tis true, with Men and Arms, nor attend him in my Perſon; but I gave him a Piece of good Counſel that would have been more worth to him, if he had follow'd it: Which was to rid his Hands of* Cleopatra; *for ſo long as ſhe liv'd, he could never be ſafe: And that being done, I promis'd him Moneys, ſtrong Holds, Troops; nay, and my ſelf too for a Party to the War againſt you: But betwixt the Love of* Cleopatra *that hinder'd him on the one Side, and the ſecret Appointments of Providence that gave you Victory on the other, it came all to nothing. Now ſo it is, great Prince, that* Anthony's *Fate and mine are wrapt up in one. We both fell on the ſame Day, and with his Fortune I have now laid down my Crown. I*

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[a] Ελθεμος, Joſ.

have no Pretence, Sir, to your Clemency and Favour, but under the Character of an honeſt Man, and a true Friend.

Well! Herod, ſays Cæſar, *be ſafe and happy, and a King ſtill; and depend upon it that your Crown ſhall ſit ſurer on your Head than ever. So good a Friend cannot but make a good Governour. Pray be as faithful to the Fortunate as you have been to the contrary; and I cannot but promiſe my ſelf great Things from the Dignity of ſo great a Mind. As to* Anthony'*s hearkening to* Cleopatra *rather than to you, his Folly has made us all Gainers; for we had never had* Herod *elſe. I muſt not forget the Enforcements you ſent to* [a] Ventidius *againſt* Anthony'*s Gladiators, and that you were before-hand with me in that Obligation. Wherefore content your ſelf at preſent with the Confirmation of the Kingdom to you, and I ſhall take ſuch further Care for the future, that you may have no Miſs of* Anthony.

Cæſar'*s Goodneſs and Humanity to* Herod *in Return.*

Cæſar, after this Speech, with great Humanity adjur'd *Herod* not to doubt of his Friendſhip; and ſo placing the Crown upon his Head, confirm'd his Title to it by an Act of State, with glorious Expreſſions in it much to his Honour. When *Herod* had prepar'd his Way by fair Words and large Preſents, he made Interceſſion to *Cæſar* on the Behalf of one *Alexander* a Friend of *Anthony*'s, to get his Pardon; but *Cæſar* cut him ſhort with a Refuſal; telling him, that the Affronts he ſuffer'd for were wholly unpardonable.

Herod *begs* Alexander'*s Pardon, but* Cæſar *refuſes it.*

Herod'*s magnificent Entertainment of* Cæſar *in* Syria

As *Cæſar* was afterward paſſing through *Syria* into *Ægypt*, *Herod* receiv'd him upon the Way with a moſt incredible Magnificence, and while *Cæſar* was taking a Review of his Troops, he cauſed *Herod* to ride about *Ptolemais* along with him; where he treated *Auguſtus*, and all his Friends and his Troops, with all imaginable Splendor, Order, and Plenty. He took Care alſo for the Supply of Water at *Peluſium*, and other dry Places, for Goers and Comers, with all Sorts of Utenſils and Neceſſaries even for common Uſe. This illuſtrious Expence gave Occaſion to *Cæſar* and his Train, to ſay, that the Kingdom of *Judæa* was too little for the Mind of ſo great a Prince.

Herod *confirmed in his Government, with large Additions.*

Cleopatra and *Anthony* being both dead when *Cæſar* came into *Ægypt*, *Cæſar* did not only confer new Honours upon *Herod*, but annexed to his Kingdom that Part of the Borders which *Cleopatra* had taken from him, with *Gadara*, *Hippon*, *Samaria*, and the *maritime* Cities *Gaza* and *Anthedon*; *Joppa*, and *the Tower of Straton*: He gave him alſo four hundred *Gauls*, which had been formerly of the Guards to *Cleopatra*. Now *Cæſar* proportion'd all his Bounties to the Merit and Virtue of the Receiver. After the [b] *firſt Actias*, he gave him alſo the Province of *Trachon*, annexing it to his Command; and ſo likewiſe *Batanæa*, and *Auranitis*, upon this Account.

It was a common and a conſtant Practice of *Zenodorus*, who liv'd in a Houſe he had hir'd of *Lyſanias*, to ſend Thieves out of *Trachon* to *Damaſcus*. The Inhabitants apply'd themſelves to *Varus* (at that Time Governour of *Syria*) for Relief; begging him to poſſeſs *Cæſar* with the Miſery of their Condition. *Varus* did it accordingly, and *Cæſar*'s Anſwer was, that he ſhould utterly ſuppreſs all Robbers, and Robberies. *Varus* ſent Parties abroad into all ſuſpected Places, and ſo clear'd the Land of that Peſt. *Varus* having taken away Part of *Zenodorus*'s Eſtate, upon this Order, *Cæſar* beſtow'd it upon *Herod*, to ſecure it from being any longer a Receptacle for this Sort of Vermine; making him Governour of all *Syria*, over and above.

Herod *made Governour of all* Syria.

Auguſtus coming into that Province again ſome ten Years after, caution'd the Governours in all Matters of Importance to conſult *Herod*; and *Zenodorus* being then dead, he gave *Herod* likewiſe all the Land betwixt *Trachon* and *Galilee*. But the Thing at laſt that *Herod* valu'd himſelf upon, above all the reſt, was this; that *Herod* was belov'd by *Cæſar*, above all Men living, next to *Agrippa*; and by *Agrippa*, next to *Cæſar*. From theſe Circumſtances he was advanc'd to the higheſt State of Humane Felicity, and his Mind grew more and more illuſtrious with his Fortune; for he employ'd the greateſt Part of his Acquiſitions, in Works and Offices of Piety and Religion.

The Character of Herod.

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[a] *Or* Q. Didius. *See* the Jewiſh Antiquities, *l.* 15. *c.* 7.

[b] *i. e.* Anno primo Actiadis ſecundæ.

CHAP. XVI.

Several famous Works of Herod's, *both at Home and Abroad. The Temple repair'd. The Caſtle of* Antonia *alluding to* Anthony. Cæſarion *and* Agrippion, *to* Cæſar *and* Agrippa. Herod's *glorious Dedications.* Sebaſte *in* Samaria. Cæſar's *Royal Bounties to* Herod. Antipatris *to the Honour of* Antipater. Cypros *in Memory of* Cypris; *and* Herodion, *of* Herod. Straton's Tower *repair'd, and a ſtately Palace erected. A wonderful Port betwixt* Dora *and* Joppa; *and an exact Deſcription of it.* Herod's *Bounties to Strangers, as well as to his own People, and in common for the Good of Mankind. He was a great Soldier, in fine, and an excellent Sword-Man, with a Strength of Body anſwerable to the Dignity of his Mind.*

Ant. *l.* 15. *c.* 11, 12, 13, 14. *l.* 16. *c.* 9. Herod's *Works. The* Temple *rebuilt and repair'd. The Palace of* Antonia.

Cæſarion *and* Agrippion.

IN the fifteenth Year of *Herod*'s Reign, he apply'd himſelf to the repairing and rebuilding of the Temple; which he did with a ſplended Magnificence, and at a vaſt Charge: Witneſs the ſtately Galleries round about it, that were all raiſed up intire from the very Foundation, and the Caſtle on the North-ſide adjoining to it; which, for Majeſty and Beauty, was not inferior to the Royal Palace it ſelf; calling it by the Name of *Antonia*, alluding to *Anthony*. He made the Encloſure about the Temple, twice as large as it was before. He raiſed alſo upon an Eminence that overlook'd the City, too rich and ſpacious Structures; no Temple upon the Face of the Earth to be compar'd with them; and theſe he call'd *Cæſarion* and *Agrippion*, in Honour of his two noble Friends, *Cæſar* and *Agrippa*.

Sabaſte *in* Samaria.

Neither did *Herod* reſtrain the Zeal and Paſſion he had for the eternizing of theſe great Men's Names and Memories, to Palaces and particular Fabricks; but he dedicated whole Cities alſo to the immortalizing of their Fame to Poſterity; as *Sebaſte* in *Samaria*, for Example; a City of *twenty Furlongs in Compaſs*, with a fair Wall about it; a Colony of ſix thouſand Inhabitants planted in it, and an Endowment of excellent Lands belonging to it, with peculiar Franchiſes and Immunities, in Proportion, to the People. Among other eminent Buildings, he did likewiſe erect a majeſtick Temple, with an *Area* about it of three Furlongs and a Half; and this Temple he dedicated to *Auguſtus*.

Cæſar's *Bounty to* Herod.

Cæſar, after this, gave *Herod* an additional Donative of Lands; and *Herod*, in Acknowledgment, built another Temple alſo of white poliſh'd Marble, near the Head of the River *Jordan*, at a Place called [a] *Panium*; and this was alſo dedicated to *Cæſar*. Not far from hence ſtands a Mountain of a moſt prodigious Height, that looks down among the Craggs and Rocks into a deep Valley; and at the Bottom, a dark hideous Cavern, that's worn and hollow'd to ſuch a Depth, by the conſtant Fall of Waters upon it from above, that there's no ſounding of it. From the Foot of this Cavern, there comes bubbling forth an Iſſue of ſeveral Springs: And this by Tradition paſſes for the Source of the River *Jordan*. But we ſhall ſpeak farther to the Matter of *Fact* hereafter.

It was much after the ſame Manner alſo at *Jericho*; where *Herod* cauſed to be erected, betwixt the Caſtle of *Cypros* and the old Palaces, ſome other Buildings more commodious; and theſe he call'd by the Names of the ſame Perſons. *Herod*, in fine, did not leave one conſiderable Place in the whole Kingdom, without ſome monumental Memorial to the Fame of *Cæſar*. When he had garniſh'd the Borders with Temples, he did the like in the Provinces, diſtinguiſhing ſeveral of them by the Name of *Cæſarea*.

Straton's Tower *repair'd. And a ſtately Palace erected.*

A famous Port, and a Deſcription of it.

As *Herod* was in his Progreſs along the Coaſt, he took Notice of one maritime City among the reſt, with all the Decays upon it of Time and Antiquity. It is known by the Name of *Straton*'s *Tower*; and a Place, for the Quality and Situation of it, worthy of *Herod*'s royal Care and Bounty. This Caſtle he did not only repair with beautiful white Stone; but erected alſo a princely Palace there, and never gave a clearer Proof of the natural Dignity of his Mind than upon this Inſtance. It lies betwixt *Dora* and *Joppa*, where the Coaſt is hardly abordable, and the Paſſage ſo dangerous, that whoever takes his Courſe that Way toward *Ægypt* from *Phœnicia*, runs a great Riſque of a Miſcarriage; eſpecially with the leaſt Breath of a *South-Weſt-Wind*; which ſets ſo hard upon the Rocks, that it breaks back again in Eddies, and makes a troubled Sea for a good while after. But the King's Liberality and Reſolution, in Spite of Charge and of Nature it ſelf, ſurmounted all Oppoſition; and he built a Port there, larger than the *Pyræneum* it ſelf, with Stations for the faireſt Ships to ride ſafe in, againſt Wind and Weather. It was ſo fortify'd, in fine, againſt the impetuous Violences of the Sea; and the

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[a] Al. Paneas. *See* Harduin's Nummi illuſtrati, *p.* 112.

Ornament of it ſo agreeable to the Eye, that nothing could be added, either to the Strength, or to the Beauty of the Contrivance. Upon *Herod*'s taking his Meaſures for the Dimenſions of the Port, he order'd mighty Stones to be caſt into the Sea, at twenty Fathom-Water: The greater Part of them fifty Foot in length, nine Foot deep, and ten over; and ſome bigger than theſe. When they had fill'd up the Space to the Surface of the Water, they carry'd on a Wall of two hundred Foot: The one half to break the Force of the Sea, in the Nature of a Mole, from whence they took the Name of *Procymæa*; and the other, for the Support of the Turrets that were planted upon it; which were great and graceful, and he gave the faireſt of them the Name of *Druſion*, in a Compliment to *Druſus*, *Cæſar*'s Kinſman. There were alſo a great Number of Vaults for Stores; and before, and about theſe Vaults, a Paving of large Stones, that ſerv'd Paſſengers, both for a landing-Place, and for a Walk. It fronted toward the *North*; which upon that Quarter is the gentleſt Wind that blows. On each Side of the Entrance, there ſtood *three Coloſſes* mounted upon Pillars: Thoſe on the left Hand, at the going in, were ſupported by a ſtrong Tower of one entire Stone: And thoſe on the right, were born up by two large Stones, *Column-wiſe*, and joyned together; overtopping the other. The Buildings next the Port were all of white Stone: And the Streets that led from the City to the Key, uniform and anſwering one another. Upon a Hill over againſt the Port-Gate, ſtood [a] *Cæſar*'s Temple; a Piece incomparable, both for Majeſty and Beauty: And in that Temple, *Cæſar*'s Statue, a Work not inferiour, either for Curioſity or Bulk, to that of the *Olympian Jupiter*, and made after that Model; [b] as alſo another of *Rome*, that did not fall ſhort of *Juno*'s at *Argos*. *Herod*'s Deſign in the the Building of this ſtately Town and Port, was the Advantage of the Province, and the Security of Travellers that Way: But *Cæſar* all this while was to be reputed the Founder of it, and it was called *Cæſarea* after his Name.

There were alſo ſeveral famous Works and Bounties of *Herod* not to be forgotten; as a Famous Market-Place, a Theatre, an Amphitheatre, and the Inſtitution of the *Ludi Quinquennales* to be celebrated every fifth Year, which he dedicated to the Honour of *Auguſtus*. He was the firſt alſo, who in the hundred ninety and ſecond *Olympiad*, propounded honourable Rewards, not only to him that ſhould carry the Prize in the firſt Place, but to the ſecond and the third alſo, in their Courſe, one after another. He repair'd *Anthedon*, that had been ruin'd by the War, and call'd it *Agrippion*; and out of a generous Exceſs of Tenderneſs for his Friend, he inſcrib'd *Agrippa*'s Name upon the Gate of the Temple that he had built there.

A Theatre *and* Amphitheatre.

Agrippion *erect-ed to the Honour of* Agrippa.

He was as dutiful Son alſo, as a generous Friend and Patriot; for he erected a City to the Honour of his Father, in the moſt Pleaſant and fruitful Part of his Dominions, and moſt deliciouſly wooded and watered; which he called *Antipatris*. There was a Caſtle alſo over *Jericho*; which, by Situation, was both ſtrong and delightful. This Place he wall'd in, and gave it the Name *Cypros*, after his Mother. Neither did he forget his Brother *Phaſael*, upon ſeveral Occaſions; as in a Tower he built at *Jeruſalem*; which he call'd by that Name (I ſhall ſay ſomewhat of the Compaſs, and the Glory of it elſewhere) and ſo likewiſe another City in the Country, to the *North* of *Jericho*; which he call'd alſo by the ſame Name.

Antipatris *in the Memory of* Antipater.

Cypros *from* Cypris.

When he had done Honour to his Friends and Relations, he did not at laſt abſolutely forget himſelf; for he built and fortified a Caſtle upon a Mountain of *Arabia*: Which he call'd by his own Name, *Herodion*. And he gave the ſame Name alſo to a Hill that he caſt up, in the Form of a Woman's Breaſt, at about ſixty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*; which was ſet out with great Care and Expence: And this Mount was encompaſs'd, at the Top, with round Turrets: The Circuit of it fill'd with Royal Palaces; as rich and ſparkling both within and without, as Art, Care, and Coſt could make them. He ſupply'd it with Water from a very great Diſtance, and at a mighty Charge. The Stairs were all of pure white Marble, and two hundred Steps up to the Top. This Eminence was all forc'd by the Hand, and of a wonderful Height. Now at the Foot of it, he built a princely Palace, and provided for Inns alſo, and Houſes of Entertainment; where he might diſpoſe of his Friends and their Luggage: Inſomuch that, conſidering the Proviſion that was made for all Manner of Conveniencies, it ſeem'd to be

And Herodion, *from* Herod.

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[a] *The Temple of* Rome *and* Auguſtus.

[b] *'Tis thus agreeable to the Original: The* Latin *Interpreter has mangl'd the Senſe, as* Alb. Rubenius *has ſhewn in his Diſſertation* De Gemma Auguſtea. *See* Parthius'*s Animadverſions upon* Statius, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 9, 10.

a City rather than a Caſtle; but upon the Main, it was all no more than the King's Houſe.

Herod *provides for the common Good of Mankind.*

But after theſe glorious Structures, *Herod* could not yet be ſatisfy'd, unleſs he made Strangers alſo Partakers of his Generoſity and good Will to Mankind; for at *Tripolis*, *Damaſcus*, and *Ptolemais*, he caus'd *publick Baths* to be ſet up: Strong *Walls* at *Byblis*; *Galleries*, *Council-Chambers*, *publick Magazines*, *Market-Places*, and *Temples* at *Berytas* and *Tyre*: *Theatres* at *Sidon* and *Damaſcus*; an *Aquæduct* at *Laodicea*, upon the Coaſt; *Water-Works* and *Baths* at *Askalon*, with *Cloiſters* and *Piazza*'s; every Way admirable, both for the Work and Size: In ſome Caſes he gave Woods and Harbours; and and upon other Cities he beſtow'd Lands; as if he had made them Sharers in his Kingdom. In ſome Places again, (as at *Coos*) he gave an everlaſting Revenue toward the Maintaining of *Baths*: And the Donative was to Perpetuity, that they might never forget the Benefit. He gave Corn to all that wanted it; and furniſh'd the *Rhodians* many and many a Time with Moneys for the Setting out of a Navy, when they had Occaſion for it. He repair'd the Temple of *Apollo* (call'd *Pythium*) out of the very Aſhes, at his own Coſt, and made it better than it was at firſt. What ſhall I ſay of his Liberality to the *Lycians* and the *Samians*? His Largeſſes all over *Ionia*, to every one that ask'd him? Are not the *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Nicopolitans*, and thoſe of *Pergamus* in *Lycia*, are they not all ſenſible Witneſſes of *Herod*'s Bounty? In what a Condition was *Antioch* the Capital of *Syria*, that ſtood in ſuch a Bog for *twenty Furlongs* together, that there was hardly any coming near it till *Herod* caus'd the Paſſage to be pav'd all along with white Marble, and ſet up Contrivances upon the Way for a Shelter againſt foul Weather!

But it will be ſaid perhaps that theſe were all private Caſes, and only concern'd ſome few Particulars that were the better for them. What ſhall we ſay then to his Obligations upon the *Elians*; wherein not only *Greece*, but the whole Body of Mankind are engag'd: At leaſt ſo many of them as have heard the Fame of the *Olympick Games!* For when he found upon his coming to *Rome*, that theſe Games were all that now remain'd of ancient *Greece*; and that the Solemnity it ſelf was now a falling for want of Money to maintain it, he did not only take the Charge upon himſelf, for that Year, of being [a] *Agonotheta*, but ſettled an annual Allowance toward the Upholding of it for ever. In would be an endleſs Work to run through the Debts and Tributes, that he remitted; and particularly thoſe of [b] *Phaſaelites* and [c] *Balameotes*: Beſide ſeveral Towns in *Cilicia*; where he diſcharg'd their Penſions. He did great Things, in Fine, and would have done greater; but the Apprehenſion he had of drawing Envy upon himſelf, as if he had ſome farther Deſign in his Head, kept him in awe: For why ſhould he do more, they cry'd, for other Princes Subjects, than their own Maſter would do for them?

This Prince had a Strength of Body anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Mind. He was a great Maſter of the Chace, and gain'd his Point in it; for no Man was better a Horſeback than himſelf. He kill'd forty Beaſts once in one Day. That Country breeds a great many Boars; but more Deer and wild Aſſes. He was a Soldier and a Sword-Man not to be reſiſted. He was terrible in his very Exerciſes; the ſureſt Marks-Man living, either with Dart, or Arrow: And, beſide the Excellencies of his Body and Mind, he had Fortune a Friend too; for the Fate of the War went very ſeldom againſt him: Or, when it did, it was either by Treachery ſomewhere or other, or by the Raſhneſs of his Soldiers; and not by his own Fault.

A great Soldier and an excellent Sword-Man, and a Strength of Body anſwerable to the Dignity of his Mind.

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[a] *Whoſe Office was to preſide over the Games, and reward the Victors.* *See* Mercurialis de re Gymnaſtica, *l.* 1. *c.* 18.

[b] *Al.* Phaſelites.

[c] *Al.* Balaneotes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The Diſorders of Herod's *Family. He puts away his Wife* Doris, *and takes* Mariamne; *who had five Children by him.* Antipater *expell'd.* Hyrcanus *put to Death.* Ariſtobulus *drown'd by* Herod's *Order.* Herod *jealous of his Wife and Siſter; and upon what Ground.* Joſeph *and* Mariamne *put to Death.* Herod *marries his two Sons.* Herod *takes* Antipater *Home to him. The Craft of* Antipater. Herod *charges* Alexander *to* Cæſar. Alexander's *Defence.* Herod *and his Son made Friends.* Herod *entertain'd by* Archelaus. *He calls an Aſſembly, and diſcourſes the Caſe.* Antipater's *Character.* Antipater's *Mother manages the Plot.* Salome *picks up Informations.* Herod's *Advice to his Sons.* Pheroras *and* Salome, *their mortal Enemies. A Plot pretended upon* Herod's *Life.* Herod's *Cruelty and Injuſtice.* Antipater *the Occaſion of all.* Alexander *taken up, and his Friends tortur'd. He feigns a Plot, and pretends to confeſs it.* Archelaus *debates the Caſe with* Herod. Pheroras *confeſſes and obtains his Pardon.* Herod *an Advocate for* Alexander. Archelaus *brings* Alexander *to his Father.* Eurycles, *the Confident of* Herod; *and the Death of* Alexander. *An Accuſation againſt* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. *Several put to the Torture. A Forgery of* Diophantus. Salome *an Incendiary.* Herod *in a Rage, and the Brothers in Chains. A Council meets at* Berytus *about it. The King opens the Cauſe. A Sentence of Death upon them. The Bravery of* Tyro, *and the Baſeneſs of* Tryphon. *The Death of* Alexander. *The Sons ſtrangled at* Sebaſte.

THE Felicity of *Herod*'s Reign was mightily diſorder'd by Troubles in his Family; and the Creature that he lov'd above all earthly Things was the Cauſe of it: For being now poſſeſs'd of the Kingdom, he turn'd off *Doris* his firſt Wife that was a *Jew*, and took *Mariamne*, the Daughter of *Alexander* the Son of *Ariſtobulus*: Which cauſed miſerable Diviſions in his Houſe, eſpecially after his Return from *Rome*.

Ant. l. 15. *c.* 3, 4, 9, 11, *l.* 16. *c.* 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 16, 17.

Herod *turns off his Wife* Doris, *and takes* Mariamne; *which proves his Ruine.*

He did, in the firſt Place, baniſh out of the City, *Antipater*: Whom he had by *Doris*, for the Sake of Children he had by *Mariamne*; allowing him only the Liberty of the Town upon Feſtivals. And then he put to Death, *Hyrcanus*, his Wive's Grandfather, (who was now come back from the *Parthians*) on Suſpicion of a Plot upon his Life. For *Barzepharnes* having brought him away Priſoner to the King of *Parthia*, after the taking of *Syria*; the *Jews* on the other Side of the *Euphrates*, out of pure Compaſſion, ſet him at Liberty, and paid his Ranſom: At which Time, if he had follow'd their Counſel, and not come to *Herod*, he might have liv'd ſafe and happy: But betwixt the Snare of a Match, and the paſſionate Deſire he had to ſee his own Country again, he was inveigled to his Ruine. The Thing all this while that wrought upon *Herod*, was not that he had any Deſign upon the Government, but that he had a rightful Title to it.

Antipater, Herod's *Son by* Doris: *Expell'd the City.*

Hyrcanus, *his Wife's Grandfather, put to Death.*

Mariamne had five Children by *Herod*: Two Daughters, and three Sons; and the youngeſt of the three dy'd in the Courſe of his Studies and Exerciſes at *Rome*. The two elder were train'd up in a royal Education, in Regard both of the Nobility of the Mother, and that they were born while he was in Poſſeſſion of the Crown. But nothing mov'd *Herod* ſo powerfully in their Favour, as the wonderful Aſcendant that *Mariamne* had upon the Spirit of her Husband: Whoſe Fondneſs ſo far encreas'd upon him, that it made him utterly inſenſible of all Indignities and Affronts: While *Mariamne* requited this infinite Tenderneſs of his with an equal Degree of Averſion. She did not want Matter of Pretence for a Diſguſt: And then preſuming upon the extravagant Paſſion he had for her, ſhe did not ſtick to charge him Point-blank with the Murder of *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, and to load her Reproaches with Aggravations: The latter an innocent Youth, ſhe ſaid; but ſeventeen Years of Age when he was created High-Prieſt, and cut off ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd the Order. The firſt Time that he appear'd in his holy Robes, upon a Feſtival Day, to officiate at the Altar, it was ſo moving a Spectacle, that the People wept with Joy at the Sight of him. But the very ſame Night was *Ariſtobulus* ſent away to *Jericho*, and there drown'd in a Lake, by the *Gauls*, and by *Herod*'s Order.

Mariamne *had five Children by* Herod.

She fell bitterly foul upon Herod.

Ariſtobulus *drown'd in a Lake at* Jericho, *by* Herod's *Order.*

Mariamne did not yet content her ſelf with theſe Outrages againſt *Herod*; but ſhe fell fouler alſo upon his Siſter, and his Mother: Which he heard without one Word ſpeaking; for Love had ty'd up his Tongue. This nettled the Women to that Degree, that they laid their Heads together how they might touch *Herod* more to the Quick; and ſo they let fall ſome Words of Reflexion upon his Wife's Honour and Virtue: And among other Things plauſible enough, they told him a

Herod's *Love made him put up all Affronts.*

The Women make Herod *jealous of his Wife and Siſter.*

Story of his Wife's ſending her Picture to *Anthony*; and what Pains ſhe took to make her ſelf known to him, out of the Heat of an ungovernable Appetite: For *Anthony* was the greateſt Libertine in Nature, and a Man that would ſtick at nothing for the gaining of his Ends; though it ſhould be the very Life of *Herod* himſelf. What betwixt the Rage of an implacable Jealouſy, the Conſideration of *Cleopatra*'s inſatiable Avarice and Cruelty, and the Power ſhe had over *Anthony*, in the Inſtance of *Lyſanias*, and [a] *Malichus* the King of *Arabia*, who were both put to Death at her Inſtigation; *Herod* was as if he had been Thunder-ſtruck: For he found himſelf in Danger of Loſing not only his Wife, but his own Life alſo.

Herod *goes to* Anthony, *and leaves the Care of his Wife to* Joſeph *the Husband of his Siſter* Salome, *with a ſecret Inſtruction, that if* Anthony *kill'd* Herod, Joſeph *ſhould deſtroy* Mariamne. Joſeph *lets fall a Word of this to* Mariamne, *that coſt them both their Lives. The Ground of* Herod's *Jealouſy.* Joſeph *and* Mariamne *put to Death upon't.*

In this Perplexity of Thought, *Herod* reſolv'd to go to *Anthony*, and ſo recommended the Care of his Wife during his Abſence, to *Joſeph*, the Husband of his Siſter *Salome*; whom he had ever found kind and faithful to him: But with this ſecret Inſtruction over and above, that if *Anthony* kill'd him, he ſhould deſtroy *Mariamne*. Now *Joſeph* innocently gave a Hint of this to the Queen, with an Intent to poſſeſs her how wonderful a Kindneſs the King had for her, that he could not endure the Thought of a Separation even in Death it ſelf. *Herod*, upon his Return, in the Courſe of his Gayeties and Love Stories, fell to ſwearing and proteſting that in his whole Life he never had a Paſſion for any other Woman. No, ſays *Mariamne*, that I perceive, by the Order you left with *Joſeph* to ſee me diſpatch'd. The Bolting of this Privacy made *Herod* ſtark mad; for it ran ſtrongly in his Head, that *Joſeph* would never have blabb'd ſuch a Secret, but in the Confidence of an Amour. In this Diſtraction he leap'd off from his Bed, and took a Walk in the Court; and whom ſhould he meet there but *Salome?* Who would not loſe ſo fair an Opportunity of calumniating *Mariamne*; and ſhe did it in ſuch a Manner too, that it ſerv'd to confirm *Herod* in his Suſpicion. So that he preſently gave Order, in a furious Fit of Jealouſy, to have them both put to Death. So ſoon as the Word was out, he repented of it; but the Execution was done firſt: His Love and his Madneſs governing him by Turns. Nay, ſuch was the Tranſport of his Extravagance, that he would not believe her to be dead, when he did as good as know ſhe was ſo: But like a Mad-man he went on talking to her, as if ſhe had been yet alive. In a ſhort Time the funeral Solemnities put that Point out of Diſpute: And *Herod*'s Grief for his dead Wife was not inferior to the Love he had for his living one.

The Marriage of Herod's *two Sons, one of them to the Daughter of* Salome, *the other to the Daughter of* Archelaus. *This Match enflames the Jealouſy.* Herod *takes* Antipater *Home to him.*

The paſſionate Violences of the Mother were now exercis'd upon the Sons; and ſuch was the horrid Barbarity of the Proceeding, that they look'd no otherwiſe upon their Father than as a common Enemy. They had been of the ſame Opinion a long Time, even when they were at *Rome* together; but much more confirm'd in it ſince their coming back into *Judæa*; for the Strength of their Minds grew up with that of their Bodies. They were now of Age to think of Marriage; and one of them marry'd the Daughter of his Aunt *Salome*; who was a mortal Enemy of their Mother: The other took the Daughter of *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*. In the Liberty of this Condition, they talk'd more at Freedom than formerly, and that Confidence betray'd them to the Malice of Informers: Inſomuch that their Enemies made no Difficulty of telling the King bare-fac'd, that his Sons were in a Conſpiracy againſt him, and that the Son-in-Law of *Archelaus* had a Deſign to ſlip away to his Father-in-Law; and thence to *Rome*, with a Complaint againſt *Herod* himſelf to *Cæſar*. When theſe Fancies were buzz'd into *Herod*'s Head, he takes *Antipater* Home to him that he had by *Doris*; propoſing to make Uſe of him, as a Countermine againſt the Brothers; and ſo begun with a remarkable Preference of *Antipater* before the reſt.

And formally ſettles upon him the Succeſſion.

The crafty Menage of Antipater.

The Brothers found this Change ſo intolerable, for Men of their Blood to be ſubjected to the Son of an obſcure private Woman, that their Stomachs were too big to bear the Indignity, without declaring their Reſentment of it; which they did very frankly upon all Occaſions: But they loſt Ground daily by it; which turn'd to *Antipater*'s Advantage; for he play'd his Game ſo artificially with his Father, that by the Help of Flatteries and Calumnies, (which Calumnies were manag'd, partly by himſelf, partly by his Inſtruments and Friends) he brought it to this Iſſue at laſt, that his Brothers were not only put out of all Hope of the Succeſſion; but himſelf publickly and formally entitled to it by his Father's Teſtament. He was ſent, after this, to *Cæſar*, in a Kind of a royal State and Character; for he had the Robes and the Train of a King, only he wanted the Crown. He was ſo puffed up with the Vanity of this Pomp, that he got his Mother introduc'd into *Mariamne*'s Bed-Chamber, by the Help of Inſinuations and Slanders; which was his Way of Practice againſt his Brothers: Inſomuch that he wrought his Father by Degrees into a Deſign upon their Lives.

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[a] *Al.* Malchus.

Upon

Herod *charges* Alexander *to* Cæſar *as a Conſpirator againſt the Life of his Father.*

Alexander's *Defence.*

Herod *and his Sons made Friends.*

Upon this Subject, *Herod* took *Alexander* to *Rome* with him, and there charg'd him before *Cæſar* as a Confederate toward the poyſoning of his Father. When *Alexander* was admitted to his Defence, and before a Judge that was not to be impos'd upon by *Antipater* and *Herod*, he ſoften'd his Father's Miſtakes all that was poſſible; ſpake home and ſubſtantially to the Points charg'd upon himſelf; acquitted his Brother *Ariſtobulus*, who was involv'd in the ſame Accuſation; and from thence proceeded to lay open the Impoſtures, Frauds and Contrivances of *Antipater*: And all this with ſo good a Grace, that the Innocency of his Conſcience was yet farther illuſtrated by the Force of his Eloquence, being a ſharp and a ready Speaker: Concluding, in Fine, with this modeſt Reſignation; that it is no Crime for a Father to puniſh his Children, if they be guilty. This Farewel drew Tears from the whole Audience; and had alſo ſuch an Effect upon *Cæſar*, that all Diſputes and Accuſations apart, he made them all Friends; provided that for the future, the Sons ſhould be obedient to their Father, and the Father at Liberty to leave the Kingdom to whom he pleas'd.

Herod *magnificently entertained by* Archelaus.

Herod, at his Return from *Rome*, could not but acquit his Sons of the Crime charg'd upon them; yet the Suſpicion ſtuck by him ſtill: For *Antipater* ply'd him ſo hard upon that Topick, that he kept his Jealouſies waking: Though he did not dare to ſay or do any Thing publickly that might claſh with the Senſe, or the Authority of the Reconciler. *Herod* took his Paſſage by *Cilicia*, and ſo to [a] *Eleuſa*; where he was receiv'd by *Archelaus* with great Pomp and Reſpect, who gave him a thouſand Thanks upon his Son-in-Law's Account, wiſhing him much Joy of the Accommodation. *Archelaus* in the mean Time had not been wanting himſelf, by Letters and other Inſtances to his Friends at *Rome*, to get Voices, and make an Intereſt for *Alexander*. He conducted *Herod*, in Fine, as far as *Zephyrium*; where he made him a Preſent of thirty Talents, and ſo departed.

Herod *calls an Aſſembly at* Jeruſalem,

and makes a wonderful Diſcourſe upon the whole State of the Caſe.

When *Herod* came to *Jeruſalem*, he call'd an Aſſembly; and in the Preſence and Hearing of his three Sons, gave the People an Account of his Journey and Buſineſs, with Thanks innumerable to *GOD* and to *Cæſar* for compoſing the Breaches in his Family, and ſettling his Sons in Unity and Peace: *A Bleſſing*, ſays he, *which I ſhall ever value incomparably above the Glories of a Crown, and which I ſhall endeavour to preſerve and improve accordingly. It is to* Cæſar *that I ſtand indebted for my Dignity and Eſtate; and to* Cæſar *again, that I owe for the Liberty and Privilege of appointing my own Succeſſor. It is to him alſo, that I am to pay my Acknowledgments; with this Declaration, that I deſign them all three, both for the Sovereignty and the Succeſſion; if it may be agreeable to the Will of God and your good Liking. The eldeſt of them has the Title of Seniority; the other two may pretend to the Dignity by their Extraction, and the Command at laſt is large enough for all three.*

As for thoſe that Cæſar *hath united, and the Father ſet up, you muſt be ſure to pay them all due Reſpect: That is to ſay, it muſt be impartial, equal and juſt; with a Regard to a Precedency of Birth-right: For the advancing of one Man before his Time, will not be near ſo great an Obligation upon him that is prefer'd, as a Heart-breaking to the other that is poſtpon'd. But now for Fear of evil Counſel or Example, (as there's no Danger like that of ill Inſtruments under a Man's own Roof) it ſhall be my Care to place wiſe and ſober People about them: Such as I can depend upon, and ſuch as ſhall be anſwerable for their Order and good Agreement.*

Now I do further expect alſo from theſe Miniſters, as well as from the Officers of my Army, that for the preſent they ſhall own no other Maſter than my ſelf; for it is not the Government, but the honorary Part of it that I have tranſmitted to my Sons: So that they ſhall have the Pleaſure of a Kind of Regency in the Adminiſtration; but the Burden of it is to reſt upon my Shoulders, and the laſt Reſult of Matters in the Judgment and Determination of Things, muſt be my Province, even whether I will or no. If you conſider my Age, the Courſe of my Life, or the Piety of my Manners; I am not yet ſo far gone upon the firſt Point, but by the Courſe of Nature I may be allow'd many a fair Day to live yet: Neither have I done any Thing to ſhorten my Life by intemperate Pleaſures; and then for my Duty to God, I have been ſo true to his holy Worſhip, that I will not deſpair of the Bleſſing of a longer Time yet in this World, even in Conſideration of that Zeal and Devotion. But if any of you ſhall take upon him to advance the Sons, while I am yet living, in Contempt of the Father, let him expect to be ſeverely puniſh'd for it: Not but that I ſhould be glad to have my Children honourably treated in the World; but young Men are hot and pragmatical, and 'tis but throwing a Temptation in their Way to make them more meddling than becomes them. People ſhould do well to conſider, before they make theſe Applications; for it is my Part, as Men do well or ill, to ſee them rewarded or puniſh'd: And I will not be wanting to that Article of my Duty. The beſt Way will be

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[a] Ελεῦσα Joſ.

for Sons and Father to be all of a Mind; for it is their Intereſt to have me govern, and it is mine for them to agree among themſelves.

And now, my dear Children, ſays Herod, *conſult in the firſt Place, that natural Affection which Providence hath made common even to Beaſts with Men, and acquit your ſelves like dutiful Children to your Father. Bleſs* Cæſar *in the next Place for the good Office of his Mediation; and pray take it kindly from me in the third Place, that I only deſire what I have a Right to command: That is to ſay, let me entreat you to live amicably, as Brethren. I ſhall now take Care to provide you ſuch a Train and Equipage, as may be ſuitable to your Quality. Be ſure you live peaceably one with another, and I beſeech God keep me ſteady in the ſame Mind.*

When he had made an End of Speaking, he embrac'd his Children, and diſcharg'd the Meeting. Some Malecontents went away muttering and pretending that they could not hear one Word he ſaid: Others were deſcanting upon this and that; and wiſhing upon the whole, that they might find him as good as his Word.

The Brothers are ſtill jealous.

Antipater's Character.

His cloſe and artificial Way of Menage by Spies and Informers.

The Brothers were ſtill divided among themſelves, and ſo jealous one of another, that they were glad to part for Fear of worſe. *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* took it heinouſly that *Antipater* ſhould have the Preference: *Antipater* on the other Hand, was as much troubled that the other Brothers ſhould be allow'd any Share at all in the Government. Now *Antipater* being a falſe Man, cloſe and malicious, and one that could keep his Thoughts to himſelf, had a mortal Hatred for the Brothers, but made no Shew of it: Whereas the other two, that were frank and open, made a Point of Honour of it to diſguiſe or diſſemble any Thing. Their Enemies in the mean Time had Inſtruments every where at Work to make Advantage of Words and Diſcourſes: Some, by provoking them to bold and dangerous Liberties; others, to gain upon them by Inſinuations, under the Mask of Confidence and Friendſhip: Inſomuch that not a Syllable paſs'd at *Alexander*'s, but it was preſently carry'd to *Antipater*, and from him to *Herod*; with Additions and Deſcant. There was nothing ſo innocent but by Interpretation it was made criminal: And whereſoever there was the leaſt Ground for a Calumny, that Mole-Hill was made a Mountain.

Antipater all this while was never without his Agents about *Alexander*, to pump Things out of him: And one poſſible Circumſtance was enough to countenance a thouſand palpable Impoſtures: And ſo one Truth in a whole Maſs of Lies, was ſufficient to make the whole Story current. It was remarkable again, that *Antipater*'s Tools as well as himſelf, were all upon the Reſerve: Whether this was a natural Cloſeneſs, or that their Mouths were ſtopp'd with Money, it matters not: But ſo it was, that this Man's whole Life was but one Myſtery of Iniquity. *Antipater*, in Short, ſo order'd the Matter, that *Alexander*'s Friends, Servants and Acquaintance were all corrupted, either by Flatteries or Rewards, into the betraying of him in whatſoever he ſaid or did. But *Antipater*'s Maſter-piece, after all was this, inſtead of declaring himſelf an open Enemy, he had his Confidents at Hand to accuſe the Brothers; and ſtill as any Thing came in againſt *Alexander*, he ſeem'd to take his Part at firſt, and afterward, with a ſide Wind turn'd all againſt him; with ſuch ſly, glancing Intimations, that they made *Herod* ſtark Mad, in a full Perſuaſion that the whole Story of *Alexander*'s Plot upon his Life was true: Neither did any Thing give more Credit to the Calumny, than *Antipater*'s artificial Way of Mincing the Matter.

Antipater's Mother order'd the Plot.

Herod was mortally incens'd againſt the two Brothers by theſe Practices of *Antipater*: And juſt as much as they loſt in the good Opinion of the King, *Antipater* got, and thoſe that were for the Government fell in with him: Some of their own Accord; others for Faſhion Sake; as *Ptolemy*, the moſt conſiderable of his Friends; the King's Brothers, and effectually the whole Family; for *Antipater* was all in all; and nothing went ſo near *Alexander*'s Heart, as to conſider that this Wickedneſs was altogether manag'd by the Counſel and Conduct of *Antipater*'s Mother; who was worſe than a Step-Mother, in the Hatred the bare to the Queen's Children. Now though great Court was made to *Antipater*, with an Eye to the Credit he had with *Herod*; the Order of the King himſelf went yet a great deal farther, in forbidding all People effectually, upon their Peril, to entertain any Intercourſe with *Alexander* or his Brother, or to make any Sort of Application to either of them. This Interdiction ſtruck a Dread, not only into the King's Houſhold, but to their Friends abroad; for *Herod* had Privileges conferr'd upon him by *Auguſtus*, that he never granted to any other: As the Liberty of fetching Deſerters out of other Princes Juriſdictions, where he himſelf had nothing to do. The Brothers knew nothing at this Time of their Fault; for *Herod* had not as yet exhibited any publick Charge againſt him, which made the Danger ſo much the greater, for want of Precaution how to defend themſelves. They collected the State of their own Caſe however, from the cooling of the King's Kindneſs towards them, and their Troubles conſequently encreas'd.

Antipater did his Buſineſs the ſame Way too, with his Brother *Pheroras* and *Salome* his Aunt, and talk'd as freely to them againſt his Brothers, as he could have done to his own Wife. The Feud went very high already, but it was mightily enflam'd by *Glaphyra* the Wife of *Alexander*; who upon all Occaſions would be vaunting of the Nobility of her Extraction, and ſetting up her ſelf above all others. She deriv'd from *Themenus*, ſhe ſaid, on the Father's Side, and from *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, on the Mother's: Reflecting at the ſame Time upon *Herod*'s Wife and Siſter, as Upſtarts; and treating them, in fine, with all imaginable Contempt. *Herod* did not marry for Quality, ſhe ſaid, but for Beauty. We have taken Notice already that *Herod* had ſeveral Wives, and that he was well enough pleas'd with *Polygamy*, being allow'd by the *Jewiſh* Law; and they were all exaſperated againſt *Alexander* for the Pride and Stomach of *Glaphyra*.

Meanneſs of Birth among Women is a Crime.

Ariſtobulus made *Salome* his Enemy too, though his Mother-in-Law; and ſhe was ſo, in Truth, before: Being piqu'd ſufficiently at the outragious Haughtineſs of *Glaphyra*, who would be ſtill caſting her in the Teeth with the Meanneſs of her Birth, and telling him, that his Wife was only a private Woman, but his Brother *Alexander* had marry'd a Queen. The Daughter of *Salome* carry'd the Story preſently to her Mother, with Tears in her Eyes: And then another at the End of it, how *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* had threaten'd all *Herod*'s Wives, if ever they came to the Crown, and would make the Mothers and the Daughters ſpin for their Living; and for the Boys, they might ſerve well enough, they cry'd, for Pariſh-Clerks; which was only a Jeſt put upon them for their Love of Letters. This Diſcourſe put *Salome*; in ſuch a Fret, that away ſhe went with it immediately to the King; and for the Credit of the Accuſation, it was the Evidence of a Mother againſt a Son-in-Law. And there was yet another Report beſides, that ſtung *Herod* more than all the reſt. It was given out, that *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* would be often bemoaning the miſerable Condition of their Mother, with Sighs and Groans; and curſing the Father. It was ſuggeſted further, that upon *Herod*'s dividing *Mariamne*'s Wearing-Cloaths among the reſt of his Wives, the Brothers would be foreboding ſtill, how ſoon that Gaudry would be turn'd into Mourning.

Salome *does the Office of a Tale-bearer.*

Herod, upon theſe Inſinuations, knowing his Sons to be bold and vigorous young Men, was not without ſome Apprehenſion of Violence from them; but unwilling however to force Things beyond Recovery. So that being upon the very Point of going away to *Rome*, he order'd his Sons to be call'd; and betwixt the Severity of a King, and the Tenderneſs of a Father, he gave them good Counſel, and Advice to agree among themſelves, and to love one another; with the Promiſe of an abſolute Pardon for what they had done amiſs, upon Condition of their Repentance and Amendment. The Anſwer they return'd was a flat Denial of the Charge; which they undertook to prove, not only falſe, but impoſſible, if they might be allow'd the Hearing: Giving their Father to underſtand, that ſo long as his Ears were open to Tale bearers, there would be no End of Calumnies,

Herod's *Advice to his Sons.*

When the Brothers had pacify'd *Herod*, and ſet their own Hearts at Reſt from any further Apprehenſion of Danger, they fell into new Anxieties for the future. *Pheroras* and *Salome* they, knew very well, were their deadly Enemies, and two Perſons harſh enough, and very conſiderable: *Pheroras* eſpecially; for he did as good as ſhare with *Herod* in all the Regalities of the Government, ſaving only the Crown it ſelf. He had a hundred Talents of his own proper Revenue; beſides the Profit of all the Lands beyond *Jordan*, which he enjoy'd by the Bounty of *Herod*: At whoſe Requeſt, *Cæſar* was prevail'd with to make him a *Tetrarch*. *Herod* honour'd him alſo with a Royal Match; beſtowing upon him his Wive's Siſter in Marriage, and after her Death, he offer'd him his eldeſt Daughter with three hundred Talents for her Portion. But *Pheroras* was ſo captivated with a Paſſion for an ordinary Perſon, that he declin'd the Propoſal. *Herod* took this in ſuch Indignation, that he gave her to the Son of his Brother; who was afterwards ſlain by the *Parthians*. He was mightily incens'd for the preſent; but upon ſecond Thoughts, he imputed the Refuſal to the Violence of his Paſſion, and ſo pardon'd his Folly.

Pheroras *and* Salome *deadly Enemies of the Brothers.*

Pheroras *highly oblig'd to* Herod.

There had been a Rumour, it ſeems, of a long Standing; that *Pheroras* had a Deſign, even in the Life of *Mariamne*, to poyſon his Brother. This was a Time ſo favourable to Spies and Informers, that *Herod*, though one of the kindeſt of Brothers, was yet ſtartled at the Report; tho' he could not altogether believe it. There were a great many ſeized upon Suſpicion, and ſeveral put to the Queſtion; paſſing from one

A Report that Pheroras *had a Deſign to poyſon his Brother.*

Herod *ſtartled at it.*

Divers ſeiz'd and put to the Queſtion upon't.

Pheroras and Salome found guilty, but Herod pardons them both.

one to another, till they came at laſt to the Friends of *Pheroras*. They confeſs'd nothing of the Poiſon; but *Pheroras*, they ſaid, had ſome Thoughts of ſlipping away with his Miſtreſs into *Parthia*; and that *Coſtobarus*, *Salome*'s ſecond Husband, was privy to the Purpoſe and Deſign. It was this *Coſtobarus*, to whom *Herod* deliver'd her up, after her former Husband was put to Death for her Adultery. And *Salome* did not come off without an Accuſation neither; for her Brother *Pheroras* laid it to her Charge, that ſhe had been treating a Match with *Syllæus*, Governor of *Arabia* under King *Obodas*, and the bittereſt Enemy that *Herod* had in the World. *Salome* was found guilty of every Article that her Brother *Pheroras* charg'd upon her; but *Herod* however pardon'd them both.

Three Court Officers put to the Torture, and confeſs Alexander's Part of the Story.

The Storm of the Faction fell now wholly upon the Head of *Alexander*. As for Inſtance: There were *three Eunuchs* in the Houſe, that were all in the good Graces of the King, and well known by the Offices they had in the Family, that is to ſay, a *Cup-bearer*, a *Sewer*, and a *Valet de Chambre*: One of them to fill his Maſter's Wine; the ſecond to provide his Supper, and the third to put him to Bed, and ſupply the Office of a Bed-fellow. Now theſe were all *Alexander*'s Creatures, as far as Flatteries and Rewards could make them. *Herod* took up a Jealouſie, and putting them to the Torture, out came the whole Buſineſs; the Practice, the Promiſe, and the Inſtrument; together with *Alexander*'s Way of impoſing upon them. *There was no Hope of* Herod, he ſaid, *a wicked old Man, that had his Hair dy'd like a Fop to make him look young: The Reſpect you pay to him*, ſays he, *belongs to me, that am to be his Succeſſor to the Kingdom, and he cannot hinder it. I ſhall have it in my Power then*, ſays he, *to revenge my ſelf of my Enemies, and to reward my Friends; your ſelves in the firſt Place.* The Informers added this further, that the great Miniſters and Officers were all for *Alexander* in their Hearts, and manag'd their Matters together in their private Meetings and Cabals.

Herod at his Wits End upon't.

His outragious Cruelty and Injuſtice.

This was ſuch a Thunder-bolt to *Herod*, that he durſt not be too quick in publiſhing the very Diſcovery; but his Tale-bearers and Agents were at Work Night and Day, to ſpy up and down in all Families and Places what was ſaid and done; and it was certain Death, to be but ſo much as ſuſpected. There was nothing to be heard of in this Part of *Herod*'s Hiſtory, but Cruelty and Injuſtice. Every Diſguſt made Way for a Calumny, and that Calumny was made a mortal Crime; for *Herod* did but execute the Malice that other People put in his Head: No Witneſs ſo infamous, no Impoſture ſo groſs and ridiculous, but it found Credit, and the Puniſhment was ſo quick, that it ſcarce waited for the Offence, but the accuſed and the Accuſer went off together; for *Herod* reckoned all Formalities of Law to be but Fooleries, where the Life of a Prince was in Danger.

Antipater the Source of all.

Alexander taken up, and his Friends tortur'd. Some ſtand mute, others tell a Lie, to ſave themſelves.

Nay, he was now diſtemper'd to ſuch a Degree of Outrage, that it was not enough for a Man to be innocent, or to eſcape an Accuſation; but his very Friends far'd the worſt of all others: Some he baniſh'd the Kingdom; and where he could not exercise his Power, he wreak'd his Spite upon them in foul Words. But *Antipater* was the Source of all this Miſchief, and betwixt Himſelf, his Friends, and his Rabble, there was nothing omitted to enflame the Accuſation Nay, he had ſo frighted the King with a Company of idle fooliſh Stories, that he fanſy'd *Alexander* ſtill before him with a Sword drawn to deſtroy him. In this Dread he cauſed him immediately to be taken up, and bound; and ſo proceeded to the tormenting of his Friends. Many of them dy'd mute, and ſacrific'd their Lives to a good Conſcience. Others that had not the Heart to ſtand the Torment, patch'd up a Lie, and brought the two Brothers into a Plot upon the Life of the King: That Plot to be put in Execution one Day as they were a Hunting, and they themſelves in the mean Time to ſlip away for *Rome*. This was a very unlikely Story; but the Invention paſs'd upon this Pinch, for want of a better; for *Herod* did not only believe it, but made Uſe of it in his own Juſtification for committing his Son to Priſon.

When Denying would do no good, Alexander confeſſes Guilty; and gives Herod four Papers of the pretended State of the Caſe.

Archelaus upon this Point of Time comes into Judæa.

Herod being now under the Judgment of ſo incurable and implacable a Jealouſie, *Alexander* troubled his Head no longer with the unprofitable Way of Argument and Excuſe, in his own Defence; but bethinking himſelf of another Expedient, he reſolv'd for the future to ſay as they ſaid, and by confeſſing himſelf guilty, to involve his Enemies in the ſame Condemnation. So that he drew up four Papers owning himſelf a Confederate againſt the Life of his Father; with the Names of divers of the Conſpirators; but *Pheroras* and *Salome* in the firſt Place, charging *Salome* with the Impudence of forcing herſelf into his Bed one Night, whether he would or no. Theſe Papers being in *Herod*'s Hands, and a World of bloody Reflections in them upon ſeveral of the Nobility, it ſo fell out by Providence, that *Archelaus* in this very nick of Time came into *Judæa*, in a thouſand Frights for his Son-in-law and Daughter, and with a Deſign to ſerve them all he could. And he did it effectually; for it was his Conduct and Addreſs, that in ſome Degree brought *Herod* to his Wits again.

Upon their coming together, *Archelaus* brake out into an Outrage of paſſionate Exclamations, *Why where's this execrable Son of mine,* ſays he. *Why does he not ſhew his parricidal treacherous Head, that I may tear him to Pieces with my own Fingers; and provide a new Husband and a better Man for my poor Daughter? But alas! She is tainted with the very Memory of the Relation ſhe had to this Wretch, and conſequently fit for no Body: Though as innocent as ſhe was born, of his Practices and Counſels. But the greateſt Miracle of all, as it appears to me here, is your Patience; in ſparing the Life of a Conſpirator to the Hazzard of your own. Little did I think, when I made ſuch Haſte out of* Cappadocia, *to have found* Alexander *yet alive: So that my Buſineſs was rather to have had ſome Diſcourſe with you about my Daughter; whom I parted with to this wicked Man, only out of a Reſpect to you. But as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, ſomewhat may be ſaid upon both Accounts. Now you are too much a Father, and perhaps too much a Man too, to puniſh a rebellious treacherous Son as he deſerves: Wherefore let us only change Hands, and leave it to me to do right upon your Son, as I ſhall recommend to your Generoſity the Care of my Daughter.*

And debates the Caſe of Alexander *with* Herod

This Diſcourſe of *Archelaus*, as it put *Herod* in a better Humour toward *Alexander* ſo it ſet him yet more and more againſt *Pheroras*; for this was the chief Argument of the four Papers which *Herod* gave him to read: And ſo from End to End they ran quite thorough them from one Article to another. *Archelaus* was now Maſter of an Opportunity to his own Wiſh, and inſinuated himſelf by little and little into the Merits of the Cauſe; laying the Blame upon the Ringleaders, as they were marked out in the Papers: And chiefly upon *Pheroras*. *Archelaus* finding by this Time that he had ſome ſort of Credit with the King, made Advantage of the Occaſion, and ſo took another Biaſs.

Archelaus *gains* Herod *over to the Intereſt of* Alexander, *and ſets him more againſt* Pheroras.

In my Opinion, ſays he, *your Son is in more Danger of being undone by a Faction, than you are in of being deſtroy'd by a Son. Why* Alexander *muſt be a ſtark Madman, to enter into any ſuch Practice of his own Head. He does in a Manner divide the Government already with his Father; and a fair Pretence he has likewiſe to the Succeſſion: And what would he more, if it were not for the Importunity of ſome violent Spirits at hand to debauch and ſeduce him? Youth, alas! is raſh and ſlippery, and eaſily impos'd upon by ill Company and corrupt Counſels, for Want of Conſideration and Experience. Now there are a ſort of Inſtruments, that neither young nor old are able to reſiſt: Such a Cabal of Makebates and Incendiaries, that whereever they appear, Men, Families, and whole Kingdoms, fall before them.*

Herod began now to be of *Archelaus*'s Opinion, and to think more favourably of *Alexander*, and worſe of *Pheroras* than he had done: This being the Argument of the four Papers. When *Pheroras* came to find *Herod* in a more tractable Temper than uſual, and that *Archelaus* was the Man that he moſt depended upon; he ſet a bold Face upon it; and with a ſhameleſs Impudence, to ſupply all other Defects, he quitted *Alexander*, and betook himſelf to *Archelaus:* Who told him plainly how impoſſible a Thing it was for him ever to come off from an Accuſation ſo manifeſtly prov'd againſt him; for the Sun was not clearer than the Evidence of his being in a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Brother: Beſide that the Ruine of *Alexander* was alſo of his Contrivance. *Now*, ſays *Archelaus*, *why cannot you give over this Way of ſhuffling and outfacing Things, and rather make a frank Confeſſion of what your very Soul knows you to be guilty of? Your Brother has a natural Tenderneſs for you, and I am perſuaded he might be prevail'd upon for your Pardon. If you like the Propoſal, make the Experiment, and you may be ſure of my Help to do you the beſt Offices I can.*

Archelaus *gives* Pheroras *good Advice.*

Pheroras bethought himſelf, and took the Hint; and with a rueful mourning Dreſs, and Countenance diſmal and ſad, on Purpoſe to move Compaſſion, he went and caſt himſelf at *Herod*'s Feet; made his Confeſſion, and begg'd Forgiveneſs: Acknowledging his Faults; but at the ſame Time caſting them all upon the Tranſport of a fooliſh Paſſion he had for a Woman, that made him idle headed, ſo that he knew not what he ſaid or did. So ſoon as *Pheroras* had given this Evidence againſt himſelf, *Archelaus*'s next Work was to qualify Matters with *Herod*, and to bring him into a more converſable Humour. *Well!* ſays *Archelaus*, *this is a very ill Thing from ſo near a Relation, and yet I my ſelf have ſuffer'd a great deal more from a Brother than this comes to. But in that Caſe I thought it Prudence to ſacrifice my Revenge to a natural Affection and Duty. It is in Kingdoms as it is in Bodies: When an ill Humour falls down into any one Part, 'tis more adviſable to try Remedies than to cut it off.*

Pheroras *humbles himſelf, confeſſes, and begs* Herod'*s Pardon.*

Archelaus had now ſweeten'd *Herod* toward *Pheroras*, and treated *Alexander* in Semblance at leaſt, with Reproaches and Menaces; and in Concluſion, *he would e'en*

Herod *becomes an Advocate for* Alexander.

Archelaus *brings* Alexander *to his Father.*

take away his Daughter, he ſaid, *without any more ado.* This ſeeming Fierceneſs of *Archelaus* wrought ſo ſenſibly upon the Spirit of *Herod*, that he became an Advocate for his Son upon it, and made it his Suit to *Archelaus* not to make void the Marriage. His Anſwer was; *that out of the Reverence he had for the Rights of Alliance, he was content to leave his Daughter abſolutely at* Herod's *Diſpoſal, provided only that he ſhould not give her to* Alexander: (But this was all Counterfeit and Diſguiſe.) *Herod* was for the continuing of the young Couple together. *They had Children*, he ſaid, *and ſo great a Kindneſs one for the other that it would be Death to part them. If ſhe ſtays*, ſays *Herod*, *we'll have an Act of Oblivion: If ſhe goes away, the Caſe is deſperate; for there's nothing puts Relations in better Order than the Comfort of a Family Converſation.* This Deliberation was ſcarce over, but *Archelaus* went out and came back again in a Trice, and brought in *Alexander* along with him; whom he preſently reconciled to his Father. *Archelaus* was much of Opinion for *Herod*'s going to *Rome*, with an Account to *Cæſar* of all the late Tranſactions; for, ſays he, I have written at large already upon this Subject.

Herod's *magnificent Preſents to* Archelaus *at his Departure.*

This was a crafty and a healing Counſel of *Archelaus*'s, to deliver his Son from Danger, and at the ſame Time to celebrate the Feſtival of the Reconciliation, with all Inſtances of Humanity and Reſpect. *Archelaus* was now upon his Departure, and *Herod* made him a Preſent of ſeventy Talents; a Throne ſet with precious Stones, with a Train of Eunuchs, and a Concubine call'd *Pannychis*. All the King's great Miniſters, Friends and Relations, were likewiſe treated by *Herod*'s expreſs Order with rich Preſents, every Man in his Proportion: *Herod* himſelf and his Nobility conducting *Archelaus* on his Way as far as *Antioch*.

Eurycles, *a falſe lewd Wretch; brings* Alexander *to his End.*

He inſinuates himſelf into Herod's *good Graces.*

There came a Perſon into *Judæa* not long after this; a Man of Policy that outdid *Archelaus* himſelf: One that did not only overthrow the Project of *Alexander*'s Reconciliation to his Father; but ſo order'd the Matter, that he brought *Alexander* himſelf to his End. His Name was *Eurycles*; a Native of *Lacedæmon*: Corrupted by the Love of Money into an Affectation of Power, and ſo laviſh in his Expences, that the Revenue of a Prince would not anſwer his Profuſions. He made *Herod* ſeveral Preſents of great Value, that look'd like Baits to draw on more; for *Herod* ſent him greater preſently in Return. He ſet little Value upon any Bounty that was not the Price of royal Blood: So that he made his Way to *Herod*'s good Graces; one while, by crafty enſnaring Diſcourſes, and another while, by the groſſeſt of *Hyperbolical Flatteries*; till in the End he got ſo perfect a Meaſure of the King's weak Side and Humour, that whatever he ſaid or did, was all to *Herod*'s Liking. By this paraſitical Way of Complaiſance, he made himſelf a very conſiderable Intereſt at Court; beſide that being a *Spartan*, they had an Honour for his Country as well as for his Perſon.

His main Buſineſs is to get Antipater's *Money, and to betray* Alexander.

Alexander *makes* Eurycles *his Confident.*

When *Eurycles* came to diſcover the Weakneſſes of the Family, with the Factions and Diviſions of the Children, and to ſee how *Herod* ſtood affected to them in Particular, he took up his Lodging with *Antipater*; and pretending a wonderful Kindneſs to *Alexander*, told him a long Tale of his Friend *Archelaus*, and what a Greatneſs had ever been betwixt them: Which was as good as a Letter of Recommendation to *Alexander*, who not only ſwallow'd it himſelf, but poſſeſs'd his Brother *Ariſtobulus* alſo with the Belief of the ſame Story. When *Eurycles* had ſounded all the People he had to do withal, he put on ſeveral Shapes and Forms, and went ſeveral Ways to Work as the Caſe required: His Buſineſs being upon the Main to get *Antipater*'s Money, and to betray *Alexander*. *'Tis an admirable Thing to me*, ſays *Eurycles* to *Antipater*, *how you, that are the eldeſt Son, and next Heir to the Crown, can ſuffer your ſelf to be impos'd upon by Pretenders to your Right!* And then to *Alexander*. *How can you*, ſays he, *that are both the Son and the Husband of a great Princeſs, endure to ſee the Son of a private Woman interpoſe betwixt you and the Crown; eſpecially having ſuch a Friend to ſecond you as* Archelaus? All this went down now with the young Man for good Faith, upon the Credit of profeſſing a Friendſhip for *Archelaus*. *Alexander* was ſo far from diſtruſting any Thing, that he took *Eurycles* into a cloſer Confidence, and open'd his very Heart to him in the Matter of *Antipater*. *It is no Wonder*, ſays he, *for Herod, that took away the Life of the Mother, to take away the Kingdom from the Son.* *Eurycles* at the Hearing of this, Bleſſing himſelf at the Barbarity of the Practice; and with a Countenance of Pity, and Condoling, he engag'd *Ariſtobulus* likewiſe in the Diſcourſe, and conſequently hamper'd him in the ſame Snare. When *Eurycles* had fiſh'd out Matter enough againſt them both, away goes he to *Antipater* with the Story, and ſome additional Circumſtances to it of his own making; as if the Conſpiracy were juſt upon the Point of Execution, and the King's Life every Moment more and more in Danger. *Antipater* made *Eurycles* a Preſent of a vaſt Sum of Money for this Service, and his good Word to his Father over and above. And to to the very Death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, *Eurycles* offer'd himſelf for an Evidence againſt the Brothers.

Eurycles went now to *Herod* with this Speech in his Mouth;

I am here come in Gratitude, ſays he, *to acknowledge all your Favours, and to give you your very Life in Requital. It is now a long Time that your Death has been reſolv'd upon: Inſomuch that* Alexander *had a drawn Sword in his Hand once, with a full Determination to have done the Deed. And let me tell you, Sir, this horrid Wickedneſs had been compleated, if I had not put a Reſpite to the Diſpatch by ſeeming to approve of the Thing, and offering my ſelf to join in the Exploit. What! ſays* Alexander, *cannot* Herod *content himſelf with the Uſurpation of a Kingdom; the Death of my Mother, and the tearing of the Government to Pieces, without declaring that pitiful Wretch* Antipater *his Succeſſor, to the Scandal of all crowned Heads? But it belongs to me to do Juſtice to the Ghoſts of* Hyrcanus *and* Mariamne: *Neither would it be congruous that the Government ſhould deſcend from ſuch a Father to ſuch a Son without Blood. There's not a Day paſſes over my Head without freſh Arguments and Provocations, to confirm me in my Purpoſe. There's not a Word paſſes my Lips but it is made a Snare to me. Drop but one Syllable upon the Subject of honourable Families and Extraction, and* Herod *caſts it in my Teeth as an Affront that ſtruck at him. No no, ſays he,* Alexander *is the only Man of Honour I warrant you, and his Father no better than a Scoundrel. When I am a hunting with him, If I ſay nothing,* Why do not you talk, *he cries; or if I talk,* Why do I not hold my Tongue? *Nay, I cannot ſo much as commend him, but he calls it picking of a Thank. I can do nothing in Fine to his liking; and it is only* Antipater *that has the good Fortune to pleaſe him. So that (ſays* Alexander*) if this Plot ſhould miſcarry, I had rather be in my Grave than outlive the Diſaſter: If it ſucceeds, I can eaſily get off to my Father-in-Law, and thence to* Cæſar *who knows but little, alaſs! of this Hiſtory, or of the Temper of* Herod. *I ſhall not now ſtand trembling when I come to* Rome, *as formerly, under the Awe of a ſevere Father; who was then preſent: Nor ſhall I much inſiſt upon private Injuries done to my ſelf, but rather turn my Diſcourſe to publick Grievances; as horrible Corruptions and Oppreſſions, and the ſquandring away of unmerciful Impoſitions in Luxury and Pleaſure. I ſhall ſhew which Way they went, into what Hands; the miſerable Slavery of the Cities, and the true Reaſons of it: And to conclude, I ſhall deliver ſuch a Hiſtory of the Death of my Grandfather* Hyrcanus, *and my Mother* Mariamne; *and make ſuch a Diſcovery of the Wickedneſs of that Prince, that no Man living, after theſe neceſſary Truths, ſhall ever take me for a Murderer of my Father.*

A falſe and ſcandalous Story of Alexander.

A Panegyrick of Eurycles *to the Honour of* Antipater.

A Charge againſt Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

Jucundus and *Tyrannus* put to the Torture.

A Forgery of Diophantus.

When *Eurycles* had finiſh'd this Invective againſt *Alexander*, he turn'd the Remainder of his Diſcourſe into a Panegyrick to the Honour of *Antipater:* The only Son, he ſaid, that truly lov'd his Father, and put a ſeaſonable Stop to the Progreſs of the Deſign. The King being ſtill labouring under his former Jealouſies, brake out upon this Hint into the Impatience of a moſt intolerable Rage; and it was now *Antipater's* Time, and Maſter-piece, to inflame his Extravagance, by trumping up new Matter, and Witneſſes againſt the Brothers. The Evidence was this. *That* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus *held a private Correſpondence with* Jucundus *and* Tyrannus, *two Horſe-Officers that for ſome Miſdeameanour were diſcharg'd of their Command.* This Information put *Herod* into ſuch a Fury, that he order'd them immediately to the Torture. But they knew nothing, they ſaid, of the Matter in Queſtion; only there was a certain Letter it ſeems, ſent from *Alexander*, as to the Governour of *Alexandrion*; deſiring him to receive himſelf and *Ariſtobulus* into the Caſtle, in Caſe of their Father's Death; and to furniſh them both with Arms and other Neceſſaries, if ſuch a Thing ſhould happen. *Alexander* charg'd this Letter as a Forgery of *Diophantus*; a bold Man, and wonderfully dexterous at counterfeiting Hands, and beſide all this, he was the King's Secretary. And it is to be noted, that he was at laſt put to Death for Forgery. The Governour of the Caſtle was alſo tortur'd; and there was nothing gotten out of him neither. The Sons were effectually quitted: But for *Eurycles*; that Peſt of Mankind, and the Projector of this whole Buſineſs: How was he celebrated by *Herod* for his Friend, and Preſerver, and complemented at laſt with a Preſent of fifty Talents for his Pains! This abandon'd Wretch, before *Archelaus* could have any Certainty of the Impriſonment of the two Brothers, made a Journey to him by Stealth, and had the Face to tell *Archelaus*, that all was well betwixt *Herod* and *Alexander*, and that he himſelf had made them Friends. From thence he went into *Achaia* with his Treaſure; where he ſpent it as lewdly as he got it. In the End, he was arraign'd by *Cæſar*, for ſeditious Practices, Broils, and Oppreſſions. He was in the Concluſion baniſh'd; and this was the Puniſhment he ſuffer'd for his lewd Practices againſt *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*.

It may do well enough in this Place to oppoſe *Evaratus* of *Coos*, in the contrary Extreme to *Eurycles* the *Spartan*. He was much a Friend of *Alexander*'s, and in *Herod*'s Court at the ſame Time when the *Spartan* was there. The King put him to it very ſtrictly what Credit he gave to that Report of the Conſpiracy, and to the Accuſations that were given out upon it. *Evaratus* declar'd upon his Oath, that he never knew the young Men guilty of any Thing like it. But the miſerable Priſoners were never the better for it; for *Herod*'s Ears were only open to Calumnies; and People were more or leſs in his Favour, according to the Degree of being more or leſs infamous; and there was no other Way to pleaſe him but by ſaying, doing and believing, as he did.

Herod's *Ears open only to Calumnies.*

Salome *an Incendiary to the Father againſt the Sons.*

Salome in the mean Time was a terrible Incendiary to *Herod* againſt his Sons, for the ſecuring of her ſelf. *Ariſtobulus* gave her a Caution, both as a Mother-in-Law and as an Aunt, to have a Care of her ſelf; intimating that ſhe was in as much Danger from *Herod* now, as any Body elſe, lying under a ſecond Charge for the ſame Crime ſhe was accuſed of before: That is to ſay, that ſhe had contracted a League with *Syllæus* the *Arabian*, with a Deſign to marry him, though ſhe knew him to be the King's Enemy; and that ſhe gave him a ſecret Account, from Time to Time, of the King's Councels. *Ariſtobulus* gave her this Warning on Purpoſe to involve her in the ſame common Fate with his Brother and himſelf; but it fell out unhappily; for this was the Rock they ſplit upon, and the very Tempeſt that ſunk them both. For *Salome* in that Moment went to the King, and told him what *Ariſtobulus* had done; which tranſported him to that Degree of an impetuous Rage, that he caus'd the Brothers to be immediately taken apart, and laid in Chains.

Herod *in a Rage lays the Brothers in Chains.*
And ſends Cæſar *an Account of the Matter.*

Herod, in this Heat, ſent *Volumnius*, a Colonel of Horſe, and *Olympus*, one of his particular Friends, to *Cæſar*, with Copies of the Proceedings. Upon their Arrival at *Rome* they deliver'd their Letters, and *Cæſar* was in great Trouble for the young Men upon the reading of them; but he was tender however of exerting his civil Power to the Prejudice of the natural Power of a Father over his Children: So that he return'd *Herod* an Anſwer to this Effect. *That he was Maſter of himſelf, and of thoſe that belong'd to him.* But *Cæſar* thought it yet adviſable to call an Aſſembly of his Friends and Relations, and the Governours of the Province, to enquire into the Conſpiracy: And ſo proceed to do Juſtice upon theſe that ſhould be found guilty of perpenſe Malice: But if there were no more than a Thought of withdrawing, or flying, in the Caſe; a ſlender Puniſhment, he thought, might ſerve the Turn.

Herod *cal's a Council to meet about it at* Berytus, *according to* Cæſar's *Order. The Aſſembly meets.*

But the Sons not brought into Court for Fear of Miſchief.

The Emperour had marked out *Berytus* for the Place of Meeting; and *Herod* in Conformity to *Cæſar*'s Direction, call'd a Council there. The Preſidents were of *Cæſar*'s Appointment in writing; *Saturninus* and *Pedanius*, Embaſſadors, with *Volumnius* the Governour of the Province; the Friends and Relations of *Herod*; not omitting *Salome* and *Pheroras*: And after theſe, the principal Men of *Syria*, King [a] *Archelaus* only excepted; for *Herod* had a Jealouſy of him, being the Father-in Law of *Alexander*. The Councel was againſt bringing the Sons into Court, and prudentially enough too; for the very Sight of them would have endanger'd the moving of a troubleſome Compaſſion; and then if they had been heard ſpeak for themſelves, *Alexander* would with great Eaſe have baffled all their Objections: ſo that they were rather kept under Cuſtody at a Diſtance, in *Platane* a Village of *Sidonia*.

The King opens the Cauſe with great Partiality, and Paſſion.

When the King ſtood up to ſpeak, he behav'd himſelf paſſionately, and vented his Diſpleaſure againſt his Sons, as if they had been Preſent. When he was upon the Subject of the Conſpiracy, his Voice was low and faint, and he did not care for bearing too hard upon that Topick becauſe his Proofs were weak; but when he came to muſter up malicious Expreſſions, Indignities, Injuries, and Diſobediences committed againſt himſelf, his Voice was heard all over the Court, giving the Aſſembly to underſtand that thoſe Reproaches were worſe to him than Death: and finally, when he ſaw that all paſs'd without Contradiction, he only lamented the Miſery of his Condition in the gaining of ſo ruinous a Victory; and upon this, order'd the Court to proceed to a Sentence.

And meeting with no Contradiction, He bids the Court proceed to a Sentence.

A Sentence of Death paſt upon them.

Saturninus gave his Opinion firſt, that they deſerv'd to be puniſh'd; but not with Death: For it would not look well, having three Sons preſent in the Aſſembly to paſs a Sentence upon thoſe that were abſent. The two Legats were of the ſame Mind, and ſo were others that came after. The firſt Man that gave Sentence of Death was *Volumnius*, and others follow'd him as they were influenc'd by the Paſſions and Intereſt of *Herod*; but not a Man of them, out of any ill Will to the Priſoners. *Judæa*, and *Syria* was all in Dread and Suſpence, what would be the Iſſue of this Affair; though at the ſame Time no Body thought that *Herod* could ever have the Heart to murder his own Children. But he had yet ſo little Tenderneſs of Nature, as to ſend his Sons to *Tyre* in Chains, and thence by Sea to *Cæſarea*; deliberating in the mean Time what Death to put them them to.

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[a] *See* Antiq. *l.* 16. *c.* 16.

And the next Thing was to conſider what Death they ſhould dye.

In the mean Time, up comes one [a] *Tyro*, an old Soldier of the King's, and a great Lover of the young Princes: He had a Son too that was much in Favour with *Alexander*. This *Tyro*, in a Horror of Indignation for what *Herod* was a doing, went about raving and crying out like a Madman, (as in Truth he was no better.) *Juſtice*, ſays he, *is trampled upon; Truth is loſt, and there's nothing but Villany and Iniquity left in this World. There's no ſuch Thing as Humanity and natural Affection upon the Face of the Earth.* At this Rate he went on, raging and exclaiming like a Man weary of his Life. Nay, he had the Courage at laſt to advance to the King himſelf. *Of all Men living*, ſays he to *Herod*, *you your ſelf are certainly the moſt miſerable; a Man given over to the Judgment of believing the falſeſt and the worſt of People, to the Prejudice of the beſt Friends you have. As for Inſtance. There is* Salome *and* Pheroras, *two Perſons that you your ſelf know deſerve to ſuffer Death, and you have declared as much; and yet theſe are the People, upon whoſe Teſtimony you are about to take away the Lives of your Sons. You never conſider what an Eaſe it will be to* Antipater, *when the Right Heirs are removed, and you two left alone; for their Buſineſs is to have a King they may govern as they pleaſe. But let him have a Care then of the Soldiers too; for if they come to take Fire at this Butchery, who knows how far it may go? For there's not a Soul but pities the Brothers, and Men of Quality grumble publickly at it to ſee how Things are manag'd.* *Tyro*, upon this Occaſion, named ſeveral of the Male-Contents; which in the ſame Minute were taken up by *Herod*'s Order, together with *Tyro* and his Son.

The generous Bravery of Tyro *a common Soldier, in Favour of the Brothers.*

There was one *Tryphon* by, at that Time; a Kind of Madman, and the King's Barber. This *Tryphon* leap'd out to ſhew himſelf to the Company, and ſo ſet up for a Witneſs. *That ſame* Tyro, ſays he to *Herod*, *offer'd me a conſiderable Reward in the Name of* Alexander, *if I would but undertake to cut your Throat in the Shaving.* Upon this Information, *Tyro* and his Son, and the Barber, were preſently order'd to be put to the Queſtion. *Tyro* and his Son deny'd all, and the Barber was wholly ſilent: Whereupon *Herod* commanded *Tyro*'s Torments to be encreas'd, when his Son out of pure Tenderneſs and Pity to his Father, promis'd the King a Diſcovery of the whole Tranſaction, if he might have his Pardon. Upon this, he was taken off the Torture, and then declar'd that his Father was put upon it by *Alexander* to kill the King. This was taken by ſome only for a Shift in the Boy to get himſelf eas'd; but there were others again that gave more Credit to it.

Tryphon *the King's Barber ſets up for an Evidence againſt them.*

Herod, after this, made a bitter Speech againſt ſome great Officers of the Army, together with *Tyro*; which ſo exaſperated the common People, that they fell upon theſe Officers, *Tyro* and the Barber, with Stones and Cudgels, and put them all to Death. As for the Sons that were now at *Sebaſte*, not far from *Cæſarea*, *Herod* cauſed them to be ſtrangled, and the dead Bodies to be carry'd afterwards to *Alexandrion*, and laid by *Alexander* there, the Mother's Uncle. This was the End of *Ariſtobulus* and *Alexander*.

The Sons ſtrangled at Sebaſte.

[a] Al. Τήρων.

CHAP. XVIII.

Antipater *in a Plot againſt his Father. The Children of* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus. Herod*'s plauſible Pretence of Piety and good Nature. He calls a Council, and propounds convenient Alliances.* Antipater *prevails with* Herod *to undo what he had done. The Caſe of* Salome *and* Syllæus. *The Inſolence of* Antipater. *A Court Cabal of* Women. Salome *informs the King of it. Foul Practices charg'd upon her.* Antipater *forbidden the Converſation of* Pheroras *or his* Wife. Herod *ſends* Antipater *to* Rome, *and his laſt Will along with him; declaring* Antipater *his next Succeſſor, and his Son* Herod *by* Mariamne, *next after him.* Syllæus *takes another Journey to* Rome, *to try his old Cauſe with* Antipater *over again. Corruption and Subornation prov'd againſt* Syllæus, *with a Deſign upon the Life of* Herod.

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 1, 3, 4.

Antipater *in a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Father's.*

ANtipater by this Time reckon'd himſelf ſure of the Kingdom; but never was any Man ſo univerſally odious to the People; for they well enough underſtood the whole Train of this Wickedneſs to be of his Contrivance. But he was as uneaſy on the one Hand, as he thought himſelf unſafe on the other, for Fear the Children of the ſlaughter'd Brothers ſhould riſe up to revenge the Death of their Fathers. *Alexander* had by *Glaphyra* two Sons; *Tigranes* and *Alexander*: *Ariſtobulus* had likewiſe by *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Salome*, *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Ariſtobulus*; and two Daughters, *Herodias* and *Mariamne*. *Glaphyra* was now ſent away with her Portion into *Cappadocia*, after the Death of *Alexander*; and *Berenice*, the Widow of *Ariſtobulus*, was married to the Uncle of *Antipater*; who bethought himſelf of this Match to make Friends again with *Salome*, and put an End to all Quarrels. *Antipater* ply'd *Pheroras* with Complements and Preſents; making Court at the ſame Time to *Cæſar*'s Friends, and ſending vaſt Sums of Money to *Rome* to engage them. Neither was he leſs bountiful to *Saturninus* and the reſt of his Friends in *Syria*. But all this would not yet do his Work, for the more he gave, the leſs they valu'd him; and ſo far was this Expence from any Appearance of a generous Bounty, that it was look'd upon to be only a Squandring out of Fear. So it was, in fine, that he was never the better for what he gave; and where he gave nothing, he made People ſo much the more his Enemies. He was the larger in his Liberalities, becauſe he ſaw, contrary to all People's Expectation, that *Herod* took ſuch Care of the poor Orphans; which gave to underſtand, by the Commiſeration he had for the Children, the penitent Senſe and Regret he had for the Death of the Fathers.

He tries all the Arts of ſmooth Words, Bribes and Preſents, to make himſelf an Intereſt, but to no Purpoſe.

Herod's *Tenderneſs for the Children looks like a Regret for the Death of the Father's.*

A Council call'd.

Herod, having now call'd his Friends, and Kindred together, ſent for the young Princes, and ſo addreſs'd himſelf to the Company with Tears in his Eyes upon this Occaſion.

Herod's Addreſs to the Aſſembly.

His Care for the Settlement of the Royal Family in convenient Matches.

You have here before you, ſays Herod, *the Children of an unfortunate Family. Their Fathers have been taken from me by a ſad Fate, and I find myſelf bound in Humanity and good Nature to do the beſt I can for the Orphans, in diſcharging the Part of a Grandfather, more to my Satisfaction, than I did that of a Father. In Purſuance of this Purpoſe, I ſhall make it my Care in the firſt Place to leave theſe Children in good Hands, and under the Charge of the beſt Friends I ſhall leave behind me when I am gone. To begin with you*, Pheroras, ſays he, *I would have you marry your Daughter to* Alexander*'s eldeſt Son, and to ſupply the Place to him of a Father, and a neceſſary Guardian. As for your Part*, Antipater, ſays he, *I would have your Son to take one of the Daughters of* Ariſtobulus: *Under which Relation, you will be as good as a Parent to the Orphan. And ſo for my Son*[a] Herod, *the Grandchild of* Simon *the High-Prieſt by the Mother's Side, let him marry the other Siſter. This is my Will and Deſire; and no Creature that has any Regard or Kindneſs for me will diſpute it. Thus I would have it; and I beſeech God to proſper theſe Alliances to the Comfort of my Kingdom and my Family, and grant in Mercy that the Children may be look'd upon with a more favourable Eye than their Fathers.*

Herod *concludes with a Benediction, and ſo diſmiſſes the Court.*

With this Benediction *Herod* concluded; and joining the Hands of the Princes, and weeping over them, he took a particular Leave of the whole Aſſembly one by one, and ſo diſmiſs'd the Council.

Herod's *Speech goes to the Heart of* Antipater.

Antipater, upon the hearing of this, ſtood like a Statue, inſomuch that every Body took Notice of the Surprize; for he look'd upon all the Reſpects his Father paid the Children, to be no other than a Derogation from himſelf. This was a Way, he thought, to put all Things into Confuſion again; at leaſt if *Pheroras* the *Tetrarch* ſhould join Intereſts with *Archelaus*, in Favour of *Alexander*'s Sons. It ran in his Head again, the univerſal Hatred he had drawn upon himſelf; the Compaſſion of the People for thoſe fatherleſs Children; and, in fine, the Concern the whole Nation had in the Matter; betwixt a Tenderneſs for the living Children, and a Reverence for the Memory of the Dead: In which Caſe, *Antipater* was look'd upon as neither better nor worſe than the Murderer. Theſe Things well conſider'd, *Antipater* had nothing elſe to do, but to diſſolve the Contracts: And how to gain that Point, was now the Queſtion; for *Herod* being fierce and ſuſpicious, was not to be dealt withal by Craft and Circumvention. So that he went rather a frank barefac'd Way to Work, and openly deſir'd of him (but with all Modeſty and Deference) that he would only make good the Honour he had thought him worthy of, and beſtow'd upon him: For all the reſt was but the Shadow of a Kingdom, without the Subſtance; which would be certainly the Caſe, if *Alexander*'s Son ſhould not only have *Archelaus* for his Grandfather, but *Pheroras* alſo for his Father-in-Law. *Antipater* preſs'd *Herod* with violent Importunities to change the Diſpoſition of the Marriages, having a numerous Family, he ſaid, and the Thing would be eaſily done.

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[a] *By the* Evangeliſts *call'd* Philip.

Antipater *finding no Remedy but by diſſolving the Contracts,*

Preſs'd it earneſtly to Herod, *and after ſome ſew Difficulties carries his Point.*

Herod had nine Wives, and Children by ſeven of them: *Antipater* by *Doris*; *Herod* by *Mariamne* the Daughter of the High-Prieſt; *Antipas* and *Archelaus* by [a] *Malthace* a *Samaritan*; and a Daughter, *Olympias*: Whom [b] his Brother *Joſeph* marry'd; *Herod* and *Philip* by *Cleopatra* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Phaſael* by *Pallas*. He had alſo other Daughters, *Roxane* and *Salome*: The one by *Phædra*, the other by *Elpis*; and two Wives that had no Children; the one was the Daughter of his Brother, the other his Couſin German; and over and above theſe, he had by *Mariamne* the two Siſters of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*. *So that here's Choice enough*, ſays *Antipater*, *for the ordering of the Matches ſome other Way.*

The King perceived by this Time what Thoughts *Antipater* had of the Children, and what Purpoſes and Intentions towards them; and was very much diſturbed at it, for Fear he ſhould ſerve the Survivors, as he had done their Predeceſſors, whom he himſelf had murder'd before. *Herod* was ſo very angry with him for this Expoſtulation, that he gave him hard Words, and made him quit the Room: But with a little Flattery, and Cajoling, he was quickly wrought upon to make ſome Alteration in his Project: So that he gave to *Antipater* himſelf the Daughter of *Ariſtobulus*, and married the Son to the Daughter of *Pheroras*. This was enough to ſhew what an Aſcendant the glozing Way of *Antipater* had over the Spirit of *Herod*. But this would not do yet in the Caſe of *Salome*, though his own Siſter, and a Siſter ſeconded alſo with the Intereſt of the Empreſs [c] *Julia* in her Favour. *Salome* had a Mind to marry *Syllæus* the *Arabian*, and engaged *Julia* in the Requeſt: Which *Herod* did not only oppoſe in the Thing it ſelf, and all Interceſſions for it, but bound himſelf with an Oath to treat her as the greateſt Enemy he had in the World, if ſhe did not give over the Thought on't. After this, he forc'd her upon a Match with *Alexas* a Friend of his, and ſo to marry one of her Daughters to the Son of *Alexas*, and the other to the Uncle of *Antipater* by the Mother's Side. He gave alſo one of the Daughters of *Mariamne* to *Antipater* the Son of his Siſter, and the other to *Phaſael* the Son of his Brother.

The Caſe of Salome *and* Syllæus.

When Matters were thus ſhuffled and alter'd, and every Thing ſettled to the Humour and Convenience of *Antipater*, and conſequently to the manifeſt Excluſion of the Orphans, his Malignity was now bolſter'd up with ſo audacious a Confidence, that it made him wholly inſupportable. He found that all People *hated* him, and that he could not be ſafe unleſs he made them *fear* him too: Beſide that *Pheroras* treated him as a Prince eſtabliſhed in his Sovereignty.

The Inſolence of Antipater.

There brake out at the ſame Time new Broils at Court, upon a Faction among the Women; for the Wife, the Mother, and the Siſter of *Pheroras*, together with the Mother of *Antipater*, behaved themſelves inſolently and contemptuouſly, even toward the King's Daughters: Which *Antipater* was well enough pleas'd withal, for he hated them mortally. And for the reſt of the Women, they ſtood all in Awe of the Cabal; ſave only *Salome*, who gave the King plainly to underſtand the Truth of the Matter, and that their ſecret Meetings and Conſultations were not for his Service. When the Women came to underſtand that the King had Notice of theſe Conventicles, and took great Offence at them, they gave over that open Way of caballing, and on the contrary, would ſtill be jangling, and thwarting one another in the King's Hearing, as if they were rather Enemies than Conſpirators. *Antipater* under the Cloak of this Diſguiſe, made direct Sport with *Pheroras*, and betwixt Jeſt and Earneſt banter'd and abuſed him: But then they kept up their Night-Clubs and Collations, and the more they were obſerv'd, the more they ſtuck together. But nothing of all this eſcap'd *Salome*, and from her it went immediately to the King. This put *Herod* into a Rage, eſpecially againſt the Wife of *Pheroras*: Upon whom *Salome* laid the greateſt Streſs. *Herod*, upon this,

A Court Cabal of Women.

Salome *gives the King Notice of the Faction.*

The King highly offended at it.

After this they met no more in publick.

But the Night-Clubs went on ſtill.

Salome *a Spy upon them; but preſſed hardeſt upon the Wife of* Pheroras.

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[a] Al. *Marthace.*

[b] *His* Nephew, *not* Brother, *unleſs the Word* Brother *be taken in a large Senſe.*

[c] Al. *Livia.*

Foul Practices charged upon her.

Antipater *not to have any Thing to do directly or indirectly with* Pheroras *or his Wiſe.*

Herod *ſends* Antipater *to* Rome, *and his laſt Will along with him. Declaring* Antipater *his next Succeſſor, and after* Antipater, *his Son* Herod *by* Mariamne.

call'd a Council of his Friends and Relations, and among other foul Practices, exhibited a Complaint againſt her for affronting his Daughters; engaging the *Phariſees* againſt him, and giving his Brother a Potion to make him hate him. *And now,* ſays *Herod*, turning to *Pheroras*; *which of the two would you part with, your* Brother *or your* Wife, *if it were put to your Choice?* I would rather part with my Life it ſelf, ſays *Pheroras*, than with my dear Wife. This Anſwer put *Herod* to a Stand; and thereupon he gave *Antipater* in Charge, that he ſhould never entertain any Diſcourſe, or have any Thing more to do with either *Pheroras* or his Wife, or any Body elſe that belong'd to them. *Antipater* made a Shew of Readineſs to comply with his Order; but this notwithſtanding they ſpent ſeveral whole Nights together, for fear of Diſcovery; however he ſo order'd the Matter with ſome Friends he had in *Italy*, that Letters were written to *Herod*, by any Means to ſend *Antipater* over to *Rome*, to make his Court a-while to *Cæſar*. Upon this Invitation, *Herod* immediately provided him a princely Equipage, with Money and all Neceſſaries, and ſo diſpatch'd him away for *Rome* with his *Will* and *Teſtament* along with him: Wherein *Herod* declar'd *Antipater* himſelf his Succeſſor, and *Herod* after *Antipater*, whom he had by *Mariamne* the Daughter of the High-Prieſt.

Syllæus *takes another Journey to* Rome, *to try his old Cauſe with* Antipater *over again.*

Syllæus's Practices of Subornation *and* Corruption, *laid open.*

A Deſign upon the Life of Herod, *prov'd againſt* Syllæus.

Syllæus the *Arabian* made at this Time another Journey to *Rome*, (without any Regard to *Cæſar*'s Command) to diſpute the ſame *Cauſe* over again with *Antipater*, that he had formerly defended againſt *Nicholas*. It was a Controverſy of great Moment alſo, that he had with his Sovereign *Aretas*, having put ſeveral of his Friends to Death, and *Sohemus* for one, the moſt eminent Perſon both for Power and Wealth in the whole City of *Petra*. He likewiſe corrupted *Tabatus*, one of *Cæſar*'s Governours, with a Sum of Money to aſſiſt him againſt *Herod*; but *Herod* afterward out-bidding him, drew *Tabatus* off again from *Syllæus*, and made him Receiver of *Herod*'s Duties. Now *Syllæus* finding that he came to no Account, gave *Auguſtus* to underſtand by Way of Complaint, that *Tabatus* was not *Cæſar*'s Governour, but *Herod*'s. This Provocation tranſported *Tabatus* to ſuch a Degree, that being as yet in great Credit with *Herod*, he went and betray'd *Syllæus* to him; telling the King, that he had engag'd *Corinthus*, one of the Guards, with a Sum of Money, to joyn with him in a Conſpiracy: Adviſing withal, that he might be forthwith taken into Cuſtody. The King made no Difficulty of doing it at firſt Word; for this ſame *Corinthus*, though he had his Education in the Court, was nevertheleſs by Birth an *Arabian*. So that in a ſhort Time *Corinthus* was not only taken up himſelf, but two *Arabians* more that were found with him; the one of them a Friend of *Syllæus*, and the Name of the other was *Phylarchus*: Who being put to the Queſtion, confeſs'd upon the Torture, that they had prevail'd upon *Corinthus* for a mighty Sum of Money to undertake the killing of the King. *Saturninus* the Governour of *Syria* took the Examinations, and ſent them away to *Rome*.

CHAP. XIX.

Herod *baniſhes* Pheroras *the Court, for refuſing to turn away his Wife; who vows never to return while* Herod *lives.* Herod *falls ſick, and ſends for him, but he refuſes to come.* Herod *recovers, and* Pheroras *falls Sick.* Herod *viſits him, and he dies ſome few Days after. Proofs of* Pheroras*'s being poyſon'd, and by the Advice of* Syllæus. *The Witneſſes all agree.* Antipater*'s coarſe Way of treating his Father. The Diſcovery clear and certain.* Herod*'s unmerciful Rigour. The Teſtimony of* Pheroras*'s* Widow. *His confeſſion at his Death.* Mariamne *proved to be in the Plot.*

HErod preſs'd every Day harder and harder upon *Pheroras* to turn away his Wife. He found Matter in Abundance to hate her for; but no Way to puniſh her, till in a frantick Outrage, he baniſh'd both her ſelf and her Husband the Court. *Pheroras* bore the Affliction well enough, and ſo went ſtrait away to his *Tetrarchy*, with an Oath never to return again while *Herod* liv'd; and that nothing but his Death ſhould put an End to his Baniſhment. *Herod* fell now into a Fit of Sickneſs, and ſent ſeveral Times for *Pheroras* to come to him, as having ſomewhat to communicate to him before he dy'd: But *Pheroras* would not be prevail'd upon to go; and *Herod* on the other Hand, beyond all Expectation, recover'd. *Pheroras*, after this, fell ill himſelf, and *Herod* upon that Occaſion gave a ſingular Inſtance of his Humanity and Patience; for he gave him a Viſit, and treated him with all the Care and Affection imaginable: But that Diſeaſe took him off in a ſhort Time. It was generally thought that *Herod* had a very particular Kindneſs for *Pheroras*, to the laſt Hour of his Life: And yet there goes a Report for all this, that he made him away by Poiſon. The Body however was carry'd away to *Jeruſalem*; a publick Mourning appointed for him, and a moſt magnificent Funeral. This was the End of one of the Murderers of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*. But the Puniſhment of this Wickedneſs fell afterwards upon the Head of *Antipater*, the Author of it: And his Ruine took it's Riſe from the Death of *Pheroras*; for ſome of his freed Men, in the Agony of their Paſſion for ſo irreparable a Loſs, went boldly to the King, and told him that his Brother was poiſon'd, for his Wife had given him ſomething to eat, that was neither dreſs'd nor ſeaſon'd after the uſual Manner; and that, upon the ſwallowing of it, he was immediately ſick at Heart. It was obſerv'd, that two Days before, there was a cunning Woman brought out of *Arabia*, at the Inſtance of the Mother and Siſter, to prepare a Philtre for *Pheroras*; but inſtead of a Love Potion, it prov'd to be a deadly Poyſon, and given by the Advice of *Syllæus*; to whom this Woman was well known.

Ant. l. 17. c. 3, 5, 6, 7.

Herod *cannot get* Pheroras *to turn away his Wife. Whereupon he baniſhes them the Court.*

Pheroras *goes away with a Vow, never to return during* Herod*'s Life.*

Herod *falls deſperately ill, and ſends for* Pheroras, *who refuſes to come.*

Herod *recovers, and* Pheroras *falls ill himſelf.*

Herod *gives* Pheroras *a Viſit; who dies of that Sickneſs ſome few Days after.*

The Body bury'd at Jeruſalem, *with* Pomp *and* Solemnity.

Pheroras *ſaid to be* poyſon'd, *with ſtrong Evidences and Preſumptions to confirm it.*

A Poyſon inſtead of a Love Potion adviſed by Syllæus.

Here were ſo many Suſpicions ſtarted, and the Preſumptions ſo ſtrong, that the King order'd the putting of ſeveral Perſons, bond and free, to the Queſtion: One of them crying out in the Extremity of her Torments, *God* (ſays ſhe) *the Ruler of Heaven and Earth, avenge thy ſelf and us upon the Mother of* Antipater, *for all the Miſeries we ſuffer here for her Sake.* When the King had gotten this Light, he follow'd it as far as it would lead him; and a Woman laid open the whole Story of the Familiarity betwixt the Mother of *Antipater*, and *Pheroras*, and his Women; their clandeſtine Meetings; and how *Pheroras* and *Antipater*, when they came from Court, ſat up and made merry with them all Night, and not a Servant admitted into the Chamber. It was one of the free Women that gave this Evidence.

When they came to be examin'd apart, there was ſuch an Agreement in their Informations, that the Truth of the Charge was no longer to be doubted. It came now into *Herod*'s Head that *Antipater*'s withdrawing to *Rome*, and *Pheroras*'s (in Effect) procuring his own Baniſhment, were only Contrivances to get out of the Way: For they were often heard to ſay, that *Herod* would never ſtop at *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*; but that they themſelves and their Wives, muſt prepare to take their Turns: For why ſhould any Body hope to fare better at *Herod*'s Hand, after the execrable Murder of his Wife and Children? So that there is no Fence againſt this Monſter, but getting out of his Reach.

The Witneſſes agree among themſelves, and with one another.

The Women depoſed further, that *Antipater* would be often complaining to his Mother, *that when I* (ſays he) *am Grey-headed, my Father grows every Day younger and younger; and who knows but I may die before I come to govern? Or what if my Father ſhould die before me,* (*as that may be a long Time firſt*) *I ſhall have loſt the very Reliſh of the Pleaſure of a Crown: Beſide the* Hydra*'s Heads that are now ſhooting out again in the Children of* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus: *And as for my own Children, they are cut off by my Father's Will from any Pretence of claiming to the Succeſſion; for he has made the Son of* Mariamne *his Heir; at leaſt if the Will of a Dotard may paſs for any Thing. But he'll take Care to put a Stop to this Diſpute, by not leaving one Soul of his Family alive to*

Antipater*'s ordinary Way of treating his Father.*

pretend to't. He is certainly of all Fathers that ever liv'd, the moſt unnatural and malicious to his Sons; and yet worſe, if it be poſſible, to his Brothers: Witneſs the hundred Talents he gave Antipater, *never to have any Thing more to do with* Pheroras: And then when *Pheroras* cry'd out, *what Hurt have we done him? Nay, for that,* ſays Antipater, *I wiſh he would but content himſelf to ſtrip us naked, and then leave us alive. But what can a Body hope for from ſo very a Brute, that makes the open Profeſſion of Friendſhip intolerable and dangerous? But,* ſays he, *here do we content our ſelves to meet and enjoy one another by Stealth: Whereas if we had but the Hearts and Hands of Men, we might find Means to aſſert our Rights and Liberties in another Way.*

The Diſcovery clear and certain.

This was the Women's Confeſſion; and that *Pheroras* had ſome Thoughts of getting away with them to *Petra.* It was a clear Diſcovery; but the greateſt Evidence of all to *Herod*, was the hundred Talents: For he had only mention'd that particular to *Antipater.* So that he began with *Doris*, *Antipater*'s Mother, as the firſt Object of his Fury; took away all the Ornaments, and precious Things he had given her, to the Value of many Talents: And, after the rifling of her, he baniſh'd her. After this, upon the cooling of his Choler, he caus'd *Pheroras*'s Women to be taken off the Torture: But trembling all the while, and diſtracted betwixt Jealouſies and Fears. Nay, he was ſo ſtrict and cautious in his Cruelties, that he put the innocent to the Torture without Diſtinction, for Fear any of the guilty ſhould 'ſcape.

Herod's *mercileſs Rigour.*

The Evidence of Antipater's *Deputy about the Poyſon.*

The next that took his Turn was *Antipater* the *Samaritan*, the Deputy of the other *Antipater:* And it appear'd by his Evidence, that *Antipater* ſent for Poyſon into *Ægypt*, by a certain Friend of *Antiphilus*, with a Deſign upon the King's Life; which he receiv'd from *Theudion*, the Uncle of *Antipater*, and upon his Order deliver'd it to *Pheroras*; who had taken upon him the doing of the Deed, while he himſelf ſhould be at *Rome*, and out of Diſtance to be ſuſpected: *Pheroras* comitting the Care of the Poyſon to his Wife to lay it up.

The Evidence of Pheroras's *Widow.*

The King ſent preſently, upon this, for the Widow of *Pheroras*, and commanded her without any Delay to ſhew him the Secret ſhe had receiv'd. She went out in that Moment with a Pretence to fetch it; but caſt her ſelf head-long from the Top of the Houſe, to prevent both the Torture and the Diſcovery: But God's Providence would not ſuffer *Antipater* to 'ſcape thus; for her Fall was not mortal. She was taken up, and carry'd to the King, and ſo ſoon as ever ſhe came to her ſelf (for her Head was troubled) the King put her to it to tell him what made her to take that deſperate Leap: Aſſuring her upon his Oath, that if ſhe ſpake the Truth, ſhe ſhould have no further Puniſhment; but if ſhe falſify'd, ſhe ſhould dye upon the Torture, without allowing her ſo much as the Rites of a Burial.

Pheroras's *Declaration and Confeſſion at his Death.*

By this Time ſhe was come a little to her Senſes, and bolted out this Ejaculation. *Am I,* ſays ſhe, *to keep Secrets, now* Pheroras *is dead and gone, in Favour of* Antipater *that has been the Deſtruction of us all? Great Prince! Give me the Hearing, and I call that God that cannot be deceiv'd to bear Witneſs to the Truth of what I ſay. When you* (ſpeaking to *Herod) were upon a Viſit to* Pheroras *in his Sickneſs, and weeping over him, my Husband call'd me to him. See, my dear Wife,* ſays he, *how much I have been miſtaken in my Opinion of my Brother's Kindneſs to me; for in plain Terms, I hated him, and meditated the Death of this Man, that ſhew'd ſo generous a Pity for me in my Diſtreſs, (though yet among the Living) but I have the juſt Reward of my Iniquity. And now fetch me immediately the Remainder of the Poyſon that* Antipater *gave you to keep, and burn it before my Face: I ſhall carry the Vengeance of a troubled Conſcience into the other World elſe. I brought it as I was bid, and threw the greater Part of the Poyſon into the Fire before his Eyes: The reſt I reſerved for a Time of Need in Caſe of the worſt.* With theſe Words, ſhe produc'd a Box, with a little of the Poyſon in it. The Brother and the Mother of *Antiphilus* were then put to the Queſtion: And *their Information was that* Antiphilus *brought that Box out of* Ægypt; *and that he receiv'd the Poyſon it ſelf from a Brother of his at* Alexandrion, *that practis'd Phyſick.* It look'd as if the very Ghoſts of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* had been every where at Work to make Diſcoveries, and to draw Proofs from the moſt unlucky Perſons and Circumſtances. It was now evident that *Mariamne* the Daughter of the High-Prieſt had a Hand in the Plot; as was made appear by her Brothers upon the Queſtion: But *Herod* puniſh'd the Mother in the Son; for he ſtruck *Herod* the Son of *Mariamne* out of his *Will*, having formerly declared him in his Teſtament the Succeſſor of *Antipater.*

Mariamne *prov'd to be in the Plot.*

CHAP. XX.

Bathyllus *a ſtabbing Witneſs againſt* Antipater: *A Counterfeit of Letters, and a notorious Hypocrite.* Pheroras's *Death ſtartles him. He goes his Way to* Sebaſte, *where, to his Wonder, no Body owns him. He addreſſes himſelf to his Father, who bids him prepare for his Tryal next Day. The Court meets; and the Witneſſes are produced. A plauſible Diſcourſe of* Herod's *to* Varus. Nicolaus *enters upon the Proofs.* Antipater's *Defence.* Nicolaus *ſharp upon him. The Evidences of the poyſon brought in Order.* Antipater *in a Plot with* Acme *againſt* Salome. *A Reſolution taken to put* Antipater *to Death, but* Herod's *falling ſick prevents Execution.* Herod *ſtrikes* Antipater *out of his Will; and puts* Antipas *in his Place, and ſettles his Legacies.*

THE laſt and the ſtabbing Witneſs, in Confirmation of all the reſt, was *Bathyllus*, one of *Antipater*'s *Freemen*, that was juſt now come back from *Rome*, and brought with him a ſupplemental Poyſon: That is to ſay, the Poyſon of an Aſp and of other Serpents, for *Pheroras* and his Wife to finiſh the Work withal, if the other ſhould fail; beſide another Invention over and above: Which was, the counterfeiting of ſeveral Letters againſt the Brothers, which were of *Antipater*'s Compoſition.

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 6, 7.

Bathyllus *a ſtabbing Witneſs againſt* Antipater. *A ſupplemental Poyſon.*

Antipater *counterfeits Letters againſt the Brothers.*

Archelaus and *Philip* were at that Time at *Rome*, in the Courſe of their Studies. They were now grown up, and young Men of great Hope and Courage; and to all that, the Sons of the King, and ſo dangerous a Rub in the Way of *Antipater*, that he had little Hope of gaining his Point, unleſs he could get them remov'd: And in Order to that End, he got Letters forg'd againſt them in the Name of ſeveral of his Friends then living at *Rome*; ſome of them altogether upon the Subject of their irreverend Diſcourſes upon their Father; openly and violently exclaiming againſt the Death of *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*; taking it very ill that they ſhould be now ſent for away (as their Father had order'd them to return:) And this was the Thing that troubled *Antipater* more than all the reſt. Nay, *Antipater* was in a Practice of Forgery, and ſecret Intelligence, even before he left *Judæa*, and procur'd Letters from *Rome* to *Herod* upon the ſame Subject; while he himſelf, for the avoiding of Suſpicion, apply'd himſelf to his Father as a Kind of Advocate for his Brothers. *He hop'd they were not ſo bad*, he ſaid, *ſome Things might be falſe, and others might have more of Heat and Raſhneſs in them than of Malice.* It was a vaſt Expence he was at all this while upon his Intelligencers, toward the Deſtruction of his Brothers: And to confound the Account, he brought a great many rich Garments, Carpets, Gold and Silver Plate, and ſeveral other Curioſities of great Price, to the Value of two hundred Talents upon the whole; which he plac'd to the Account of the Suit they had with *Syllæus*, as a Blind to the Subornation.

Archelaus *and* Philip, *Princes of great Hope*

Antipater *a great Dealer in Forgery, and falſe Intelligence.*

Nothing but Fraud and Hypocriſy.

Thus it went, but the greater Evil ſwallow'd up the leſs: For when the whole Country rung of the *Parricide*, and all Letters and Witneſſes agreed in the Proof and Deteſtation of a repeated Deſign upon the Lives of the Brothers, there was not ſo much as one Word mention'd upon the Road out of *Judæa*, of the preſent State of *Herod*'s Family; though it was now full ſeven Months betwixt the Proof of the Fact and *Antipater*'s Return. But all the World hated him, or who knows but it might be a peculiar Providence that ſtopp'd People's Mouths, that would otherwiſe have been blabbing; in Order to the Execution of a divine Vengeance upon ſo many horrid Murders?

Antipater wrote *Herod* Word now, that he was juſt entring upon his Journey, and how honourably *Cæſar* had treated him, and diſmiſs'd him. But the King was ſtill in Pain till he had him ſure; ſo that for Fear of having him diverted by any Precaution, he wrote him the kindeſt Letters, in Pretence, imaginable; and, in a familiar Way, deſir'd him to be with him as ſoon as poſſible: For if he made Haſte, he might compound for his Mother's Fault; whom *Antipater* knew to be baniſh'd already. The firſt Notice he had of the Death of *Pheroras* was by a Letter he receiv'd at *Tarentum*; which wounded him to the very Heart. Some look'd upon it as a Matter of Decency and good Nature in ſo near a Relation, but others again imputed this Exceſs of Sorrow, not ſo much to his Tenderneſs for *Pheroras*, as for the Loſs of a wicked and ſo neceſſary an Inſtrument, and for the Diſappointment of the Plot: Beſide that he was in ſome Apprehenſion too of being detected in what he had done, and for Fear the Story of the Poyſon ſhould come out. Upon his coming into *Cilicia*, he receiv'd his Father's Letter above-mentioned: And then haſten'd away preſently.

Herod *in Pain till he had* Antipater *ſure.*

The News of Pheroras's *Death ſtartled* Antipater *upon divers Accounts.*

Antipater's *Friends divided, whether he ſhould return to his Father or not.*

The latter carried it, and ſo he went forward to Sebaſte.

At his coming to *Celenderis*, he had a Kind of ſuperſtitious Foreboding upon him: And, in particular, his Mother's Condition ran mightily in his Head. The wiſer and the more cautious Part of his Friends, were abſolutely againſt going to his Father, till he were certainly inform'd upon what Pretence his Mother was turn'd away, for Fear he himſelf ſhould come to be involved in his Mother's Crime. But the ſhort-ſighted People about him, that were altogether for being at Home again, without any Regard to *Antipater*'s Intereſt: They were abſolutely for making what Haſte they could, for Fear his Delay might make him ſuſpected, and ſuggeſt Matter for Calumny to work upon. For if any Thing ſhould be mov'd againſt him, it would be done in his Abſence; and no Man would dare to open his Mouth againſt him, if he were upon the Place. Beſide that it would be a Madneſs to hazzard a certain Advantage upon a wild Fancy: Whereas he was rather immediately to poſt away to his Father, to be within Diſtance of receiving a Kingdom that could be no Body's but his. *Antipater* was over-rul'd by the Fatality of an Impulſe, and ſo he proſecuted his Voyage to *Sebaſte* a Port of *Cæſarea*.

When Antipater *came to the Place, to his great Admiration, not a Creature would own him.*

Antipater *had nothing left him to truſt to, but Confidence and Impoſture.*

But upon his Arrival, to his great Admiration, the People all avoided him, and not a Creature durſt come near him. They hated him as much before, 'tis true; but they were not ſo much at Liberty to ſhew it. Some were afraid of the King; for all the Talk was now of *Antipater*: And *Antipater* the only Man all this while that knew the leaſt of himſelf. Never was any Man more glorious at his going outward for *Rome*, or ſo abject and contemptible as he was upon his Return. He was no Stranger to the Broils and Confuſions of the Family; but he had the Wit to keep his Fears as much as poſſible to himſelf, and with a chearful Countenance to cover an aking Heart. There was no Poſſibility of making an Eſcape, or of any other Way of relieving himſelf in this Extremity. He had no Certainty of the Affairs of the very Houſe; for no Body durſt come at him to inform him: So that he had now and then ſome Intervals of Hope, either that Things were not diſcover'd, or in Caſe of the worſt he did not deſpair of bringing himſelf off by Confidence and Impoſture; which were the only two Friends he had to truſt to.

Antipater *enters the Palace, and addreſſes himſelf to his Father.*

Herod *turns ſharp upon him.*

And bids him prepare for his Tryal the next Day.

Being thus arm'd and prepar'd, he advanc'd without his Friends into the Palace; for his Train was repuls'd with Contempt at the firſt Gate. It ſo fell out that *Varus* the Governour of *Syria* was then preſent. Upon his Entrance, he had the Impudence to addreſs himſelf to his Father, as in a Way of Duty and Reſpect: But as he came nearer him, *Herod* put out his Hand to ſtop him, and with a down Look cry'd out to him. *What!* ſays he, *ſhall a Parricide preſume to embrace me? A Curſe upon the impious Soul of thee, for daring to come near me till thou haſt clear'd thy ſelf of all thy Crimes! And you have here your Judge before you,* Varus; *who ſhall paſs Sentence upon you according to your Demerit. Wherefore be gone, and prepare againſt to Morrow for your Defence; which is all the Time I ſhall allow you.* *Antipater* ſtood mute, and without one Word in Return, went his Way back again. His Mother and his Wife came to him afterwards, and inform'd him of the whole Proceeding. This brought him to himſelf again, and to conſider what he had to ſay in his own Juſtification.

The Court met the Day following.

The Witneſſes produced.

Antipater *enters the Court, and at his Father's Feet prays only for an impartial Hearing.*

Herod, having a Council next Day of his Friends and Relations, call'd likewiſe the Friends of *Antipater* to be there preſent: Himſelf and *Varus* ſitting Preſident. He cauſed all the Witneſſes to be brought in: Of which Number there were certain Servants of *Doris* the Mother of *Antipater*, that had been long ſince Priſoners. Theſe Servants brought Letters from the Mother to the Son, to this Purpoſe. *Your Father knows all, and therefore have a Care of coming near him, unleſs you can depend upon Cæſar for his Protection.* After the introducing of the Witneſſes, *Antipater* enter'd the Court; and caſting himſelf at the Feet of his Father: *I beſeech you Sir*, ſays he, *grant me an impartial Hearing without prejudging my Cauſe, and I make no Doubt of clearing my ſelf to be an innocent Perſon.*

A plauſible Diſcourſe of Herod's *to* Varus.

Herod call'd out to him aloud to hold his Tongue, and ſo directed his Diſcourſe to *Varus*. *I do certainly know*, ſays he, *that you* Varus, *or any other unbiaſs'd Judge, will be fully ſatisfy'd that* Antipater *deſerves to dye: But I am afraid, in the mean Time, what Opinion you may conceive of my invidious Fortune; as if this Calamity were juſtly befall'n me for being the Father of ſuch Children. But I have ſome Right however to your Humanity and Compaſſion, for having been ſo indulgent a Father to ſuch profligate Wretches. As for the young Men that are now dead and gone, I deſign'd them for the Government, and train'd them up at* Rome *in the Court and Favour of* Cæſar, *the better to prepare them for the Exerciſe of royal Dignity: And none at laſt ſo great Enemies of my Peace and Safety, as thoſe that I had rais'd in the World, even to be the Envy of Princes. But* Antipater *made his Profit of their Ruine; for he found his Account in it, as a Security* *to himſelf in the Succeſſion. And what is the Requital now that this Monſter deſigns me for all theſe Tenderneſſes, but the entering into a Practice againſt the Life of his Maker? I was likely to live too long, he thought: Nay, I had liv'd too long already, and that was his Grievance. The Crown alone would not content him, it ſeems, unleſs he made his Way to it through the Blood of his Father. And in this truly he ſeem'd to have ſome Colour of Reaſon, for my bringing him back to Court out of a private Condition, to the Excluſion of the Sons I had by the Queen, in declaring him my Succeſſor.*

Now to confeſs my ſelf to you, Varus, *I am convinc'd of my Errour. I did not do well to provoke my Sons by cutting off the Succeſſion to their Wrong, and in Favour of* Antipater: *For what did I ever do for them comparable to what I did for him. He had a great Part of the Adminiſtration in his Hands while I was living; and the Succeſſion actually ſettled upon him after my Death: And beſide other Gratifications, a ſeparate Revenue of fifty Talents, and his Expences every where upon my Charge: Three hundred Talents upon his Voyage to* Rome, *and the only Perſon of my whole Family that I recommended to* Cæſar, *as my Preſerver. Take them all together, they had not half the Wickedneſs in them of* Antipater, *and the Proofs againſt them were infinitely ſhort of what I have againſt him; and yet this bloody Wretch has the Face to plead* innocent, *and does not deſpair, I perceive, of baffling the Truth with a Trick.* Varus, *look to your ſelf; for he will tell his Tale well enough; but I know the Beaſt thorough all his Diſguiſes and Impoſtures, and that he is falſe at the Bottom.*

This is the Man that was ſo earneſt with me, in Time paſt, to have a Care of Alexander, *and how I expos'd my Perſon. How often would he come into my Bed-Chamber, and look about and hunt for Fear of Treachery? This Man was my Guardian, and my Security, while I ſlept; my Comforter in my Mourning for the dead Brothers; and one that would undertake for the Duty of thoſe that were living: My Champion, in fine, and my Guard. When I call to Mind, and conſider the Addreſs, and the Hypocriſy of this Man, how artificially he laid his Snares, and cover'd his Deſigns; I can hardly think my ſelf alive at this Day, or how it was poſſible for me to 'ſcape the Nooſe. But ſince my Fate will have it ſo, and that my greateſt Enemies are to be thoſe of my own Family, and thoſe I have been the kindeſt to; I ſhall only deplore the Hardſhip of my inevitable Deſtiny, and keep my Sorrows to my ſelf; but with this Reſolution, that not one Man comes off that ſhall be found guilty of thirſting after my Blood, though the whole Houſe ſhould fall in the Condemnation.*

Nicolaus *enters upon the Proofs.*

Antipater's *Defence.*

Herod brake off upon this Period, in a Confuſion of Thought, and gave Order to *Nicolaus*, one of his Friends, to enter upon the Proofs. *Antipater*, that had lain proſtrate all this while at *Herod*'s Feet, now rais'd his Head, and with a little Exclamation addreſs'd himſelf to his Father. *You have had the Goodneſs, Sir,* ſays he, *to plead my Cauſe: For how can I be a* Parricide, *and yet recorded by your ſelf for your* Preſerver? *If my Piety be only Impoſture and Pretence, as you are pleaſed to ſay it is, how come I to be ſo crafty in one Caſe, and ſo beſotted in another, as not to underſtand, that though Men may be impos'd upon, yet the all-ſearching and the all-ſeeing Eye of God, that knows our Hearts, will not ſuffer ſo great a Wickedneſs to paſs unpuniſh'd! God's Vengeance overtook my Brothers becauſe of their Undutifulneſs to you. But what Temptation had I now to practiſe upon your Life? The Hope of a Kingdom? Why, I did as good as reign already. Or was it that I thought you hated me? That was impoſſible, after ſo many Demonſtrations to the contrary. Was I afraid of you? When quite on the other hand, others ſtood in awe of me, in Conſideration of the Zeal I had for your Safety. Or was it that I wanted any Thing? So far from it, that all my Profuſions were ſupply'd out of your Treaſure: So that certainly I muſt be the worſt, even of Men, and of Brutes, to be wanting in good Offices toward ſo kind a Father; being a Perſon that you your ſelf, as you ſay, receiv'd into your Favour; prefer'd before ſo many of your other Sons, and whom you declar'd King while you your ſelf were yet living; beſide other Benefits, in proportion, to make me the Envy of other Men.*

Wretch that I am! And this fatal Journey of mine to give ſo much Time and Matter for Envy and Treachery to work upon. But it was, Sir, for the Service of your ſelf, and of your Affairs, that I undertook this Voyage; and to keep Syllæus *from putting Affronts upon your old Age.* Rome *is the Witneſs of my Loyalty, and ſo is the Prince of* Rome, *and of the World,* Cæſar *himſelf; that has ſo often celebrated me for my Reverence to my Father. Be pleaſed, I beſeech you, to receive theſe Letters that have more Truth in them than all the Forgeries that have been trump'd up againſt me: Theſe Letters are my Juſtification, and the infallible Arguments of a ſincere Affection for you. You may remember, Sir, how unwillingly I took that Journey to lay my ſelf at the Mercy of all the Enemies I left behind me. It was your Command, Sir, that ruin'd me, how unwillingly ſoever, in forcing me to give my Adverſaries Time for concerting their Malice againſt me.*

If I had been a Parricide, *Divine Juſtice either by Sea or Land would have found me out. But I ſhall not lay the Streſs of my Innocence upon that Argument; for I know very well that with God's Permiſſion you have condemn'd me in your Heart already. All that I beg even in this State, is only that I may not ſuffer upon the Credit of Proofs extorted by Torment: But let me rather be put to the Teſt, either of Fire, Screws, or what other Inſtruments of Cruelty you ſhall think fit; without any Mercy to a miſerable Carcaſs: For if I am a* Parricide, *no Pain can be too much for me. Antipater* deliver'd theſe Words with ſuch a Paſſion of Tears and Outcries, that the whole Court, *Varus* and all, were ſoften'd at it. *Herod* alone was ſo tranſported with a Senſe of the Wickedneſs, and the Clearneſs of the Evidence, that all *Antipater*'s Tears and Ejulations paſs'd with him only for Matters of Courſe.

Nicolaus *very ſevere upon* Antipater.

This Declamation of *Antipater's* was followed by *Nicolaus*; who prefac'd what he had to ſay, with a Diſcourſe upon the Craft of *Antipater*, as the King had order'd: Which, upon the Main, amounted to a mortal Accuſation without leaving any Hope of Mercy. For all the Iniquities of the Kingdom were imputed to *Antipater*; eſpecially the Deſtruction of the Brothers, which was manifeſtly the Effect of his Calumnies; beſides his Practices upon the Survivors, as ſtanding in the Way of his Preferment. And it could not be expected, that he that could think of poiſoning his Father, would ever ſpare his Brothers. When he came to the Proof of the Poiſon, the Evidences were produc'd in Order; with Aggravations upon the Crime of *Pheroras*, and *Antipater* all this while the Promoter of the Wickedneſs; the King's beſt Friends corrupted, and the whole Palace fill'd with Lewdneſs. This he ſaid, with a great Deal more to the ſame Purpoſe, and ſo concluded.

The Evidences of the Poiſon produc'd in Order.

In the next Place, *Varus* call'd upon *Antipater* to anſwer for himſelf; who ſaid no more than that *God was Witneſs of his Innocence*, and ſo laid himſelf down in Silence. *Varus* then call'd for the Poiſon, and gave a Draught of it to a condemn'd Perſon, who dy'd immediately. He had afterward ſome private Diſcourſe with *Herod*, tranſmitted the Proceeding to *Cæſar*, and ſo departed the next Day. The King kept *Antipater* in Chains, and gave *Cæſar* an Account of the Proſecution.

Antipater *in a Plot with* Acme *againſt* Salome.

Antipater was charg'd, after this, with a treacherous Deſign upon *Salome*: For a Servant of *Antiphilus*, at his Return from *Rome*, brought the King a Letter from one *Acme* that waited upon the Empreſs; wherein ſhe gave him to underſtand that finding ſeveral Letters from *Salome* to *Julia*, among the Miſtreſs's Papers, ſhe thought it might be a good Office privately to ſend him the Papers. Now theſe Letters were ſtuffed with the moſt virulent Scandals and Reproaches upon the King that could be invented, and all of *Antipater*'s Contrivance; and *Acme* only employ'd as an Inſtrument, for a Sum of Money to convey them to *Herod*. And the Thing was made yet more evident by another Letter to *Antipater* from the ſame Woman, in theſe very Words. *I have written to your Father, according to your Direction; and I have likewiſe ſent him other Letters. You may depend upon it that the King will never forgive his Siſter after the reading of them. Pray take Care, when I have done my Part, that you do not forget your Promiſe.*

Herod *grows ſad upon it;*

And reſolves to ſee Juſtice immediately done upon Antipater.

Herod *falls ſick in that Inſtant, and prevents the Execution.*

He ſtrikes Antipater *out of his Will, and puts* Antipas *in his Place.*

He ſettles his Legacies.

Upon the detecting of this Forgery, and other Subornations againſt *Salome*, *Herod* grew extremely ſad, and penſive, to think how narrowly *Salome* had eſcap'd the Snare of *Antipater*: And it would not out of his Head but that *Alexander* himſelf, for ought he knew, might be taken off too by ſuch another Impoſture: So that he took up a peremptory Reſolution, without any more Delay, to do Juſtice upon *Antipater* in the Name of the whole Family. But in this very Nick of Time, *Herod* was diverted by a ſudden Fit of Sickneſs from the Execution of it. He ſent *Cæſar* however an Account of *Acme*'s Part in the Intrigue, and the treacherous Practices againſt *Salome*. He alter'd his Will upon it, ſtruck *Antipater* out of it, and ſubſtituted *Antipas* in his Place, taking no Notice of *Archelaus* and *Philip*, though the elder Brothers, upon the Suggeſtions of *Antipater*. He bequeath'd to *Cæſar*, beſide other Conſiderations in Money by the by, a thouſand Talents; and to the Empreſs, her Sons, Friends, and Freemen, about fifty Talents more; with Lands, and conſiderable Bounties to others. He gave alſo to his Siſter *Salome* Legacies to a mighty Value. This was all ſettled accordingly by his Laſt Will.

CHAP. XXI.

Herod's *Miſery, both in Body and Mind. A Tumult about* Herod's Golden Eagle; Judas *and* Matthias *the Heads of it. Upon a Report of* Herod's *being given over, the Rabble cuts the Eagle to Pieces. The Guards maſter the Faction; and the People reaſon the Caſe with* Herod. *The two Ringleaders are put to Death.* Herod *worſe and worſe, and attempts a Violence upon himſelf.* Antipater *put to Death by* Herod's *Order.* Archelaus *declar'd Succeſſor inſtead of* Antipas. *The Death of* Herod. *A bloody Order diſappointed.* Herod's *Will read.* Archelaus *receiv'd as Succeſſor to* Herod *with Acclamations. The Funeral Solemnity.*

Ant. l. 17. *c.* 8, 9, 10.
The Miſery of Herod, *both in Body and Mind.*

HEROD, betwixt Age, Sickneſs, and Grief, grew every Day weaker and weaker. He was now threeſcore and ten, and ſo inconſolably afflicted about the Death of his Sons, that in his beſt Health he had no Joy even in Life it ſelf. He was at this Time very ill; but the Thought of *Antipater*'s being ſtill alive, was yet the moſt ſenſible Part of his Trouble: For his Head ran upon nothing ſo much as the Appointment of *Antipater*'s Execution, ſo ſoon as ever he ſhould find himſelf in Condition to order it. And,

An outragious Tumult.

Judas *and* Matthias, *two popular Sticklers, the Heads of it.*

They tamper the People into an Uproar againſt Herod's Golden Eagle.

Upon the Neck of theſe Calamities, there happen'd a new Broil upon a popular Tumult: And the two Heads of it were *Judas* the Son of [a] *Sephoræus*, and *Matthias* the Son of [b] *Margalus*: Two *Sophiſts*, famous for their Skill in the Laws, and conſequently of great Reputation among the People. They were mightily follow'd by the younger Sort, and their Lectures daily throng'd and crowded with numerous Congregations. When theſe Rabbies found the King languiſhing, betwixt Anguiſh of Thought and Diſtemper; they brake it one to another how fit a Time that might be to vindicate the Honour of God, in the demoliſhing of all Works whatſoever erected contrary to his holy Laws: And to take this along with them, that the ſetting up of Images in the Temple, or the Likeneſs of any living Creature, was abſolutely forbidden. Now this was underſtood to point at the *Golden Eagle* that *Herod* had plac'd upon the great Gate; and ſo ſet the Multitude at work preſently to pluck it down, as the moſt glorious Hazzard they could run, for their Laws and their Country, even if they ſhould die in the Attempt; for ſuch an End would be follow'd with everlaſting Life and Happineſs, and with immortal Honour: Whereas none but narrow groveling Souls, and pitiful ſhort-ſighted Creatures, would rather chuſe to die in their Beds of a Diſeaſe, than fall a Sacrifice to Religion and Virtue. While this Humour was a working, came the ſurprizing News all on a ſudden that the King was juſt upon the Point of Death: This made the Rabble bolder, and more outragious than before: Inſomuch that they mounted the Temple at Noon-Day; and letting down themſelves with Ropes and Axes, cut the *Golden Eagle* to Pieces: A huge Multitude of People in the Temple looking on. The Captain of the Guards had no ſooner Notice of this Uproar, but he fell in among them preſently with a Party; ſeiz'd about forty of the [c] forwardeſt, and carry'd them away to the King. *Are you ſo inſolent*, ſays *Herod*, *as to break the golden Eagle?* They told him yes, they had done it. *By what Order*, ſays *Herod* again? By the Laws of our Country, they cry'd. *Well!* ſays he, *and what makes you ſo chearful now when you are ſure to die?* We are chearful, ſaid they, in the Aſſurance of a better Life after this. The King was ſo mov'd at this Behaviour, that his Anger put new Life into him, and made him in ſome Meaſure forget his Diſeaſe. He call'd them over and over ſacrilegious and ſeditious Miſcreants, under a Colour of Law to attempt the over-turning of the Government! But, ſays he, like a Company of wicked Creatures you have behav'd your ſelves, and like ſuch you ſhall be puniſh'd. The People were afraid the Severity might go too far, and therefore made it their Requeſt to *Herod*, that he would content himſelf with Juſtice upon the Ring-leaders and the Priſoners, and ſhew Mercy to the reſt. The King was at laſt prevail'd upon, and order'd thoſe that came down by the Ropes and the [d] two Heads of the Faction to be burn'd alive: And thoſe that were taken together, to have their Heads ſtruck off by the common Hangman.

In this Inſtant comes News that Herod *was given over.*
The Rabble grows bolder upon't, and cuts the Golden Eagle *to Pieces.*
The Guards maſter the Faction, and carry their Priſoners to the King.
The People reaſon the Matter with Herod.

The two Rabbies and the Ringleaders are put to Death.

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[a] Al. *Saripheus.*
[b] *In the Antiq.* Μαργαλώθου υἱός.
[c] *In the Antiq l.* 17. *c.* 8.
[d] *The two Sophiſts.*

Herod

A ſtrange Complication of Diſeaſes.

Herod *tries ſeveral Remedies and Phyſicians, but to no Purpoſe.*

Herod by this Time was all over in Pain from Head to Foot: A violent Fever; an intolerable Itching all over his Body; Gripes of the Cholick; dropſical Humours; windy Pains in his Stomach; his privy Parts putrify'd, and crawling with Worms; Difficulty of Breathing; broken Sighs; Contraction of the Nerves, and Convulſions all over. Some were ſuperſtitious enough to make this Calamity a Judgment upon him, in Revenge for the [a] *two Rabbies:* But yet notwithſtanding all the Torments and Diſeaſes he had to ſtruggle with, he was ſtill ſo deſirous of Life, that in this very Extremity he ſought for new Remedies, and cheriſh'd ſome Hope yet of his Recovery. He croſs'd the *Jordan*, and try'd the warm Baths of *Callirrhoe* that run into the Lake *Aſphalitis*; a Water not only medicinal, but pleaſant to the Taſte. His Phyſicians then adviſ'd him to a Bath of warm Oyl; but upon dipping into the Veſſel he loſt his Senſes, and his Eyes were ſet in his Head. This laſt Fit was ſo ghaſtly, that his Keepers brake all out into a Clamour at the Fright; ſo that the very *Outcry* brought him a little to himſelf again. But at laſt when he found that there was no Hope, he order'd the Soldiers fifty Drachma's a Man, and Money to a great Value to be divided betwixt his Governours and his Friends.

Herod *leaves a bloody Order with* Salome *and* Alexas.

When he came back to *Jericho*, and found his Caſe deſperate, he did in a Manner threaten Death it ſelf by one of the moſt dreadful Reſolutions that ever was heard of: The raging Violence of his Choler having put him directly into a Flame. He ſent out an Order quite through *Judæa*, for the ſeizing of all the Nobility, and ſhutting them up in the *Circus* or *Hippodrome*. Upon this, he ſpake to *Salome*, and her Husband *Alexas*. *I know very well*, ſays he, *that the* Jews *will make Holiday of the Day of my Death; but I ſhall take Care not to want Mourners, or a ſplendid Pomp of Funeral Solemnities, if you two will but follow my Direction. Let it be your Care then, ſo ſoon as ever the Breath is out of my Body, to ſee the Soldiers turn'd looſe upon the Perſons in the* Circus, *and put every Man of them to the Sword. Now this will be a certain Way to make the whole Province of* Judæa, *and every particular Family in it, true Mourners for my Death.*

Letters from Rome *of* Acme*'s being put to Death, and* Antipater *condemn'd to die.*

Herod, *in the Horror of his Pains, attempts to kill himſelf.*

Juſt upon the Diſpatch of this Order, *Herod*'s Deputies brought him Letters from *Rome*, that *Cæſar* had order'd *Acme*, the Servant of *Julia*, to be put to Death; and that *Antipater* was alſo condemn'd to die: But the Letters ſaid withal, that if his Father ſhould think fit to content himſelf with Baniſhment, *Cæſar* would not be againſt it. *Herod*, for the preſent, was ſomewhat reliev'd by this Meſſage: But then relapſing into his Pains (as he was at that Time afflicted with a tearing Cough) he had ſome Thought of laying violent Hands upon himſelf: And ſo took an Apple and call'd for a Knife, as if it had been only to cut or to pare it. After he had look'd a little about him for Fear of being taken Notice of, he rais'd his Hand with the Action of a Man about to ſtab himſelf: But his Nephew *Achiab* perceiving it, ran up to him, and catching hold of him, prevented the Miſchief.

A Report in the Palace that Herod *was dead.*

Antipater *treats with his Keepers upon it, about an Eſcape.*

The King orders his Guards to diſpatch him immediately,

And makes Archelaus *his Succeſſor inſtead of* Antipas.

There was preſently, upon this, a Hubbub rais'd in the Palace, on a Report that the King was dead. *Antipater* was over-joy'd at the Hearing of it, and had the Confidence to treat with his Keepers for a Sum of Money to let him go; but the head Officer did not only refuſe to comply with the Propoſal, but went in that Inſtant to the King with the Story: Who, upon the Hearing of it, burſt out into an Exclamation ſtronger than one would have expected from a Man in his Condition: And thereupon order'd his Guards to go out that Moment, and diſpatch him, and to ſee his Body depoſited in the Caſtle of *Hyrcanion*. Upon this he alter'd his Teſtament once more, and declar'd the eldeſt Brother *Archelaus* his Succeſſor in the Place of *Antipas*, and made *Antipas* a *Tetrarch*.

The Death of Herod.

The Father dy'd five Days after the Son, thirty four Years from the Death of *Antigonus*, and thirty ſeven Years after he was declared King by the *Romans*. He was a fortunate Man as ever liv'd, ſaving the Troubles in his own Family. He was advanced to the Crown out of a private State. He kept it a long Time, and at laſt left it to his Sons.

Salome *and* Alexas *diſappointed* Herod*'s cruel Order.*

The Soldiers knew nothing as yet of the King's Death: So that *Salome* went out before-hand with her Husband to the *Hippodrome*, and order'd all the People to be ſet at Liberty that were ſhut up there, (though appointed for Death;) and every Man diſmiſs'd to his own Home. This was upon a Pretence that *Herod* had chang'd his Mind. So ſoon as the Company was gone, Publication was made of the King's Death to the Soldiery: Who being then drawn together into a Body at the *Amphitheatre* of *Jericho*; *Ptolemy*, the Keeper of the *royal Signet*, entertain'd them with a Speech in Honour of the deceas'd: Whom he celebrated for a fortu-

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[a] *The two Sophiſts.*

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nate Prince, condoling at the ſame Time with the People for ſo ſenſible a Loſs. After this, he read over a Letter to them that *Herod* had left for the Soldiers, being a paſſionate Recommendation of his Succeſſor to the Tenderneſs and Good-Will of the People. After this Letter, he read the Will: Wherein *Philip* was declar'd Heir of *Trachon*, and the Neighbourhood to it: *Antipas*, *Tetrarch*, (as I ſaid before) and *Archelaus* to inherit the Kingdom. *Herod* gave Order for the Delivery of his Ring alſo to *Cæſar*; and to preſent him with the Knowledge of the whole Matter: For there was nothing to be done, diſpos'd of, or confirm'd, but by *Cæſar*'s Authority and Direction: And for the reſt, the *former Teſtament* to ſtand as it was.

Herod's *Will read.*

This was follow'd by an unanimous Shout of Gratulations and Acclamations, with a *Long live* Archelaus. Both Soldiers and People preſſing in with their good Wiſhes and Prayers. The next Work was to be the interring of the Body: Wherein *Archelaus* ſpar'd neither for Coſt nor Care; and all the Enſigns of Royalty were made Uſe of for the Pomp and Ornament of the Funeral. The Herſe was cover'd all over with an Embroidery of Gold and precious Stones, and an Intermixture of Purple: And upon this was the Body laid, and cover'd with Purple too: A Diadem upon the Head: A Crown of Gold over that: A Scepter in his Right Hand, and his Children and near Relations round about him: The Guards and the *Thracian* Troops, *Germans* and *Gauls*, march'd in the Head of this Solemnity; in a Form and Order of Battle: All the reſt of the Troops following their Leaders alſo in very good Order. And now to cloſe up the Pomp; five hundred Officers, Domeſticks, and Freemen, brought up the Train. The Body was carry'd 200 Stadia to the Caſtle of *Herodion:* Where it was bury'd according to the King's *Mandate*. And this was the End of *Herod*.

Archelaus *Succeſſor to* Herod, *receiv'd with the unanimous Acclamations, and good Wiſhes of the People.*

The Pomp and Order of the Funeral Solemnity.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
WARS of the *JEWS*.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

The Ceremony of Mourning and Feaſting. The new King's gracious Declaration to his People. The Multitude clamorous upon the Subject of Grievances. An Uproar little ſhort of a Rebellion. The Guards worſted, till the Army fell in with the whole Body. Archelaus *takes Shipping for* Rome, *and* Philip *acts in his Abſence.* Sabinus *advanced to* Cæſarea *in his Way for* Judæa. Varus *puts a Stop to his Journey.* Sabinus *goes to* Jeruſalem, *and demands Poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles and Monies. The Officers civilly refuſe him.* Antipas *ſet up againſt* Archelaus. Sabinus *and* Salome *bring in a Charge againſt him.* Archelaus's *Defence.* Cæſar *bears both Sides, and proceeds to a Tryal.* Antipater *opens the Caſe againſt* Archelaus. Nicolaus *for the Defendent.* Archelaus *graciouſly receiv'd by* Cæſar, *and ſo the Court is adjourn'd.*

Ant. l. 17. c. 10. The Ceremony of Mourning and Feaſting in the Caſe of Archelaus.

THE Neceſſity of *Archelaus*'s going to *Rome* upon the Death of *Herod* prov'd the Occaſion of new Troubles. For after the Ceremony of the *ſeven Days Mourning* was over, and the People magnificently feaſted, a Cuſtom among the *Jews* that ruines many a Man with the Expence, for Fear of being thought impious in the Neglect; *Archelaus*, I ſay, after this Solemnity advanced all in *white* up to the Temple; where the People joy'd him with large Expreſſions of Reverence and Reſpect: And he himſelf from a ſtately Tribunal, and his Throne of Gold, ſhew'd as much Grace and Humanity to the People.

His gracious Declaration in Favour of the People.

He gave them Thanks for the Care they had taken of his Father's Funeral, and for the royal Honours they had now paid to himſelf, as to an anointed King. *But yet*, ſays he, *till* Cæſar, *the declar'd Lord and Maſter of all, ſhall have confirm'd the Succeſſion, I ſhall not entitle my ſelf ſo much as to the Name, and much leſs to the Power and Authority of a King. This was it, that when the Army would have ſet the Crown upon my Head at* Jericho, *made me refuſe it at their Hands: Though*, ſays he, *I ſhall never forget the Kindneſs and the hearty good Will, both of the Soldiers, and of the People, whenever I ſhall come to be poſſeſs'd of regal Power from him that hath a Right to confer it: And let them depend upon it*, ſays he, *that they ſhall find me upon all Occaſions readier to oblige them than ever they found my Father.*

The Multitude brake out into unreaſonable Demands. Archelaus *ſacrifices, and treats his Friends.*

The Multitude was mightily pleas'd with this Declaration, and in the ſame Inſtant put him to ſome Sort of Tryal how far he would be as good as his Word. They ply'd him with ſeveral Petitions: Some to have their Taxes eas'd; others to have them wholly taken off; and ſome again for a Diſcharge of Priſoners: But upon the whole Matter, *Archelaus* deny'd them nothing. This being over, he ſacrific'd and feaſted with his Friends.

The common People began upon the Subject of Grievances.

And clamours for Juſtice againſt Herod'*s Mercenaries.*

A little after Noon, there were gotten together a Rabble of Male-Contents; and not one Word more upon the Subject of the common Mourning for the Death of the King: But they began now to open upon the People's Grievances. *It was hard*, they ſaid, *for* Herod *to put People to Death for cutting down the* Golden Eagle *from the Gate of the Temple*; and this was not a Diſcontent in ſecret neither; but what with beating of Breaſts, Lamentations, and impetuous Outcries for the Loſs of ſo many good Men that effectually dy'd Martyrs for the Religion and Laws of their Country, the whole City rang of the Clamour. *We demand Juſtice*, they cry'd, *upon* Herod'*s Mercenaries, the accurſed Inſtruments that executed this Wickedneſs. Wherefore, in the firſt Place, let* Herod'*s High-Prieſt be turn'd out, and a Man of more Piety and Integrity put in his Place.*

Archelaus was tranſported at this to the uttermoſt Degree of Indignation; but being in Haſte upon his Journey, he was not at Leiſure then to wait for a Revenge: So that for Fear of loſing his Opportunity one Way, and leaving a Tumult behind him the other, he thought it more adviſable to deal with them by Admonition and fair Words, than by Violence. Upon this, he ſent his Maſter of the Horſe to deſire them to be quiet; but the Heads of the Sedition, ſo ſoon as ever he came up to the Temple, fell to pelting him with Stones, without hearing him ſpeak one Word. *Archelaus* ſent, after him, ſeveral other Meſſengers upon the ſame Errand, and they all far'd alike: Inſomuch that they wanted but Number to make it a downright Rebellion.

Archelaus *finding there was no dealing with them by Force, ſends his Officers to quiet them by fair Words.*

An Uproar little ſhort of a Rebellion.

The Feaſt of *unleavened Bread* was now at Hand; the *Jews* call it their *Paſſover*. This Feſtival gave an Occaſion for Sacrifices in Abundance, and brought a World of People up to the City upon the Account of Religion: Divers of the Faction of the two *Sophiſts* among the reſt, who came thither to lament the Death of thoſe pretended Patriots, and there they ſtood their Ground; waiting for Matter to inflame their Party, would not be got out of the Temple.

The Feaſt of the Paſſover.
And a violent Tumult upon that Occaſion.

Archelaus had the Foreſight to ſend a Band of Soldiers and a Tribune, with Orders to ſeize their Principals, if they ſhould be troubleſome: And this he did to obviate the Danger of a general Tumult. The Multitude made Head againſt this Party: Some they kill'd with Stones, and the Tribune himſelf came off ſorely wounded; the Mutineers going as innocently back again to their Devotions, as if nothing had been done. *Archelaus* finding to his Coſt that this Tumult was not to be compos'd without Blood, turn'd the whole Army looſe upon them; the Foot in the City, and the Horſe before the Walls. The Foot fell upon them, even in the Act of ſacrificing, and kill'd near three thouſand of their Men at the very Altar. The Remainder fled to the Mountains; and *Archelaus* cauſing Proclamation to be made for all People to depart to their own Homes, put an End to the Feſtival.

The Multitude worſted the Guards:

Till the Army fell in and routed the whole Body.

This Sedition being ſuppreſs'd, *Archelaus* with his Mother and his three particular Friends, *Poplas*, *Ptolemy*, and *Nicolaus*, took ſhipping together for *Rome*; leaving *Philip* behind him, both as his Viceroy, and as a Truſtee to manage his particular Eſtate. *Salome* with her Children went along with him, together with the Sons of the King's Brothers, and others of the Kindred, under a Pretext of aſſiſting *Archelaus* toward the gaining of the Succeſſion: But upon the Truth of the Matter, their Buſineſs was to call him to an Account for the Violation of the holy Temple.

Archelaus, *upon this, takes ſhipping for Rome.*
And leaves Philip *to act in his Stead.*

As they were upon the Way, they met with *Sabinus* the Governour of *Syria*, at *Cæſarea*; who was then going into *Judæa*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Moneys that *Herod* had left behind him; but *Varus* at the Inſtance of *Archelaus*, and upon the Mediation of *Ptolemy*, put a Stop to his Journey: So that *Sabinus*, for *Varus*'s Sake neither meddled with the Caſtles, nor with the Money, to the Prejudice of *Archelaus*; and paſs'd his Promiſe, that he would do nothing in it, but with *Cæſar*'s Approbation; and upon that Account ſtay'd at *Cæſarea*. But yet ſo ſoon as *Varus* was gone for *Antioch*, and *Archelaus* for *Rome*, *Sabinus* upon the removing of theſe Obſtacles, took his Time to go to *Jeruſalem*, where he lodg'd himſelf in the Palace, and ſent from thence to the Governours of the Caſtles, and the Officers of the Treaſury, to put the one into his Hands, and to give him an Account of the other. But the Officers were ſo juſt to the Orders and Inſtructions of *Archelaus*, that they kept Touch with him to a Tittle, and put off *Sabinus* with this Anſwer, that they were *Cæſar*'s Officers, not *Archelaus*'s. *Antipas*, at the ſame Time, put in for the Kingdom too; inſiſting upon it, that the *former Teſtament* was the better Will of the two; and the Succeſſion in that *Teſtament* was ſettled upon *Antipas*: And he was ſure to have the Intereſt of *Salome* and others of their Relations that ſail'd with *Archelaus*, toward the ſupporting of that Pretence. He carry'd his Mother with him, and *Ptolemy*, the Brother of *Nicolaus*, and a try'd Friend of *Herod*'s; which went a great Way in that Caſe; for there were no two Men dearer than they: But the Perſon that he chiefly depended upon was *Irenæus*, a ſharp Man, and an excellent Orator. *Antipas* reckon'd himſelf ſo ſure in the Strength of theſe Seconds, that whoever adviſ'd him to any Sort of Deference, either to the Seniority of *Archelaus*, or to the Authority of his Father in his *ſecond Teſtament*, he would ſcarce afford him the Hearing. When they came to *Rome* all the Enemies of *Archelaus* were ſure to joyn with *Antipas*: Thoſe eſpecially that had a Mind to ſhake off the Yoke of Government, or at leaſt to be under a *Roman* Magiſtracy; and in Caſe they could not obtain that, they would have *Antipas* for their King.

Sabinus *was now at* Cæſarea *on his Way for* Judæa:
But Varus *put a Stop to his Buſineſs, and his Journey.*
Upon the Departure of Archelaus *and* Varus, Sabinus *goes his Way to* Jeruſalem.
Where he formally demands Poſſeſſion of ſome Caſtles, and Herod's *Money.*
The Officers put him off with a civil Refuſal.
Antipas *ſets up for the Succeſſion againſt* Archelaus.
Irenæus *the Counſel* Antipas *chiefly depends upon.*

Antipas laid a great Streſs alſo upon the Help of *Sabinus*; who had already exhibited an Accuſation againſt *Archelaus*, by Letters to *Cæſar*; with a Character on the

Sabinus's *Charge againſt* Archelaus.

Salome'*s Charge againſt him.* Archelaus'*s Defence.*

Cæſar *hears both Sides and proceeds to a Tryal.*

the other Hand, much to the Advantage of *Antipas*. *Salome* and her Companions ſtated the very Caſe of the Charge againſt *Archelaus*, and preſented it to *Cæſar*; while *Archelaus* did as much, on the other Side, for himſelf, in a Memorial under ſeveral Heads for his own Juſtification: Beſide his Father's Seal-Ring, and an Account of what Treaſure he left behind him; which was all tranſmitted to *Cæſar* by the Hand of *Ptolemy*. *Cæſar* computing with himſelf what he had heard on both Sides; conſidering alſo the Greatneſs of the Kingdom, and the Variety of large Revenues; the numerous Family of *Herod*, together with the Letters of *Varus* and *Sabinus*, he call'd the *Roman* Nobility to meet in Council; where *Caius Cæſar*, the Son of *Agrippa* and his Daughter *Julia* was the firſt Time commanded to take his Place at the Board: And ſo they proceeded to the Tryal.

Antipater *opens the Cauſe againſt* Archelaus.

Antipater, the Son of *Salome*, (a nimble Orator, and a bitter Enemy to *Archelaus*) open'd the Cauſe, ſuggeſting, in the firſt Place, *That* Archelaus *had long ſince exercis'd ſovereign Authority in Effect, and that it was now, but Matter of Form to contend about the Name. For what ſignifies a Hearing before* Cæſar, *to him that has already refus'd him for a Judge? For* Herod *was no ſooner dead, but People were immediately engag'd, and ſuborn'd to ſet the Crown upon his Head*; *while he himſelf did not only ſit like a King in a royal State and upon a golden Throne, but act like one two*; *as in changing the Order of the* Militia; *diſpoſing of Charges*; *receiving and granting Petitions*; *exerciſing the Power of Life and Death in publick Crimes*; *ſetting his Father's Priſoners at Liberty*, &c. *which are all regal Privileges. Now for this Perſon that has already engroſs'd to himſelf the Powers and Enſigns of Royalty, to come to* Cæſar *only for the Title of it, makes* Auguſtus *but a Shadow of a Prince, and a King in Sound not in Effect.*

And then farther, ſays *Antipater*, *what's all the Clutter* Archelaus *makes, with the Solemnity of his mourning Weeds, and his ſour Faces, for his dead Father, more than a Part in a Play? He looks ſorrowfully all Day, and then ſits up fudling and feaſting, and making merry all Night. And what was it at laſt, but the Deteſtation the People had for this Hypocriſy, that rais'd the late Sedition!* But the main Streſs of the Charge was yet to come; which was, *a horrible Slaughter about the Temple. It was a feſtival Day; the People gather'd together to worſhip, and pay their Devotions, and they themſelves were made the Sacrifice. Their Throats, in ſhort, were cut, and ſuch Heaps of dead Bodies pil'd up in the Temple, as in the moſt implacable and mercileſs of foreign Wars was hardly ever heard of. Now* Herod *was ſo well acquainted with the Cruelty of this Man's Nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him ever to give him the leaſt Hope of a Crown, ſo long as he was in his right Senſes. And that, alaſs! was the King's Caſe in the latter Teſtament: His Mind was more out of Order than his Body*; *and he did not know what he did. Beſide, that after all this, there was no Diſability or Defect charg'd upon* Antipas *the Succeſſor by the former Will*; *but People gave him the Character of a Prince very well qualify'd for the royal Function. Or what if it ſhould be ſuppoſed now, that* Herod *was, in Truth, ſound and in his right Senſes?* Archelaus *has as good as abdicated the royal Dignity by acting againſt the Laws of the Conſtitution. What Havock would this young Man make now, if he had* Cæſar's *Authority to cover him in his Cruelties, that does all this upon his own Account without any Power at all?*

Nicolaus *for the Defendent.*

Antipater ſpake abundantly to this Effect, and a great many near Relations of *Archelaus* gave Evidence againſt him to the ſeveral Points. When *Antipater* had now finiſh'd his Plea for the *Plantiff*, up ſtood *Nicolaus* for the *Defendent*: who, in the firſt Place, made it appear, *that the Slaughter committed in the Temple was not only of abſolute Neceſſity, but the People that were kill'd were* Cæſar's *Enemies.* He ſhew'd likewiſe, *that for the other pretended Crimes, the preſent Oppoſers of* Archelaus *were themſelves the Adviſers of them.* As to the Validity of the ſecond Teſtament, he argu'd, *That it ought to ſtand, in regard that* Herod *had at that Time the Conſideration and Reſpect to refer the Confirmation of it to* Cæſar. *Now he that had the Judgment to know the right Lord and Maſter, had certainly Senſe enough to appoint the right Heir.*

Archelaus *caſts himſelf at* Cæſar's *Feet, who receives him graciouſly.*

With theſe Words *Nicolaus* concluded his Argument, and *Archelaus* then ſtepp'd out on a ſudden and caſt himſelf at *Cæſar*'s Feet; who took him preſently up again with ſo ſingular a Grace of Benignity and Reſpect, that he gave to underſtand by it, he thought him worthy to ſucceed his Father; but no poſitive Reſolution taken at that Time.

And ſo adjourns the Court.

This being done, *Cæſar* diſmiſs'd the Council for that Day, and enter'd into a Deliberation with his Friends what was to be done in the Caſe: Whether to chuſe any of thoſe that were in the *Will*, for a Succeſſor, or to make an equal Partition of the Principality among the whole Family: For they were numerous, and it would require a great Expence to maintain them all with Honour.

CHAP. II.

The Death of Malthace *the Mother of* Archelaus. *The* Jews *in an Uproar.* Sabinus *inflames the Quarrel. The Feaſt of* Pentecoſt. *The People come flocking up to it from all Quarters. The Manner of the* Jews drawing up. Sabinus *preſſes* Varus *for Relief; and takes Sanctuary in the Tower of* Phaſael. *An Aſſault given to the Temple, and a bloody Fight upon it. The* Jews *gall the* Romans *from the Galleries above. The* Romans *ſet Fire to the Galleries, with a great Slaughter. The Soldiers pillage the holy Treaſure. The* Jews *ſummon the Palace, and ſit down before it. They offer* Sabinus *Conditions, which he refuſes for Fear of a Snare.* Rufus *and* Gratus *two eminent Officers.* Judæa *all over in Fractions and Broils. The Perſon and Exploits of* Judas *the Son of* Hezekias *the great Robber.* Simon *formerly a Servant of* Herod's. Athronges *a Shepherd, and his four Brothers: Men of Ambition and Courage.*

BEfore *Cæſar* came to any Reſolution upon the Succeſſion, *Malthace* the Mother of *Archelaus* ſicken'd and dy'd. At this Time there came Letters from *Varus*, out of *Syria*, of a Revolt among the *Jews*; which *Varus* foreſeeing, went up to *Jeruſalem* upon *Archelaus*'s Journey to *Rome*, to reſtrain the Incendiaries, and to keep Things quiet. When he found this would not do, and that the Multitude was ſtill unruly, he quarter'd one of the three Legions he brought out of *Syria*, in the City; and ſo went back again to *Antioch*.

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 15.
The Death of Malthace *the Mother of* Archelaus.
The Jews *in an Uproar.*

But when *Sabinus* came afterward to *Jeruſalem*, he furniſhed the *Jews* with new Matter to work upon. For finding himſelf enforc'd with *Varus*'s Troops, beſide a Band of his Domeſticks that were all arm'd, and within Call, to ſerve the Turn of his Violence and Avarice; his Deſign was to get the Caſtles, and *Herod*'s Monies into his Hands, by Force and Menace, upon the Governours and other Officers that had them in Charge. It was now the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, or the *fiftieth Day*; ſo call'd from the Term of the Revolution after *ſeven times ſeven Days*. The People gather'd together in prodigious Number, not ſo much for Religion, as for Spite and Indignation; a World out of *Galilee*, *Idumæa*, *Jericho*, and the Country beyond *Jordan*, with the Inhabitants of *Judæa*; that for Number and Courage were more conſiderable than the reſt. They divided into three Bodies, and pitch'd their Tents in three Quarters: One upon the *North* of the Temple; another upon the *South*, toward the *Hippodrome*; and the third to the *Weſtward* of the Palace. So that the *Romans* were now beſet.

Sabinus *enflames the Quarrel.*
The Feaſt of Pentecoſt.
The People come flocking up to it from all Quarters.
The Manner of the Jews *drawing up.*

Sabinus's Heart began to fail him, betwixt the Courage, and the Number of the Enemies: So that he preſs'd *Varus*, by one Meſſenger upon the Heel of another, to bring him Relief immediately, or all would be loſt elſe. He ſhifts for himſelf however, and gets into the Tower of the Caſtle that commands all the reſt; which takes its Name from *Phaſael* the Brother of *Herod*, that was ſlain by the *Parthians*. *Sabinus*, from this Tower, gave a Signal to the Legionaries to break in upon the Enemy: But he had not the Heart himſelf to lead on the very Men that he was to command. The *Romans*, according to their Order; made a deſperate Attempt upon the Temple, and it came to a very bloody Fight: But ſo long as the *Jews* had no Help from above, either with Darts or Arrows; the *Romans*, being the better Soldiers, had the Advantage of the *Jews*. But when the *Jews* afterward came to get Poſſeſſion of the Galleries, and to gall the *Romans* from over Head, there were Abundance of them kill'd, and at the ſame Time out of Diſtance to take their Revenge: But Hand to Hand, they would have been much too hard for them.

Sabinus *preſſes* Varus *for Relief.*
And takes Sanctuary in the Tower of Phaſael.
An Aſſault given to the Temple, and a bloody Fight upon it.
The Jews *gall the* Romans *from the Galleries above*

Upon this Pinch, the *Romans* put Fire to the Galleries; which, for the Workmanſhip, Proportions, and Ornament, were every Way incomparable. There were Abundance of the *Jews* that periſh'd in the Fire: Some cut off by the Enemy upon their Fall; others puſh'd off from the Battlements; and ſome again, in Deſpair, choſe rather to die by the Sword, than by the Fire, and laid violent Hands upon themſelves. Thoſe that made any Attempt upon the *Romans* from the Walls, were deſtroy'd without any Difficulty; till at laſt, when they were either kill'd or ſcatter'd, the Soldiers made a Booty of the holy Treaſure, carrying off four hundred Talents, and leaving the Remainder to *Sabinus*, all but what was carry'd away by Stealth.

The Romans *ſet Fire to the Galleries, with a great Slaughter.*
The Soldiers pillage the holy Treaſure.

This Loſs of Men and Treaſure brought on an Inforcement of a more dangerous Body of *Jews* upon the *Romans* than the other, both for Valour and Number. They ſummon'd the Palace, and ſet down before it, with a Menace of giving no Quarter unleſs they immediately quitted it, and offering *Sabinus* Liberty to depart with

The Jews *ſummon the Palace, and ſit down before it.*
They offer Sabinus *Conditions, which he refuſes, for Fear of a Snare.*

Rufus *and* Gratus, *two eminent Officers.*

with his Legion, and what other Troops he had about him, if he thought fit; as there were a great many Court-Volunteers; and three thouſand Men of *Sebaſte*; (the braveſt Fellows *Herod* had in his Army.) Theſe were commanded by *Rufus* and *Gratus*: *Rufus* a Horſe-Officer; and *Gratus*, a Foot; both of them Men of Mettle and Conduct, and a conſiderable Advantage to the Parties they ſided with, even in their ſingle Perſons. The *Jews* ſtill preſs'd the Siege, and attempted the Walls of the Caſtle; calling out to *Sabinus* all the while to quit and be gone, without oppoſing himſelf any longer to the Reſolution they had taken of recovering their Liberties. *Sabinus* would willingly have gone off, if he durſt have truſted them; but their Civility look'd ſo like a Snare, that he ſuſpected it: And therefore, in the Hope of Relief from *Varus*, he ſtood the Siege.

Judæa *all over in Factions and Broils.*

Judæa was at that Time all over in Tumults, and Pretenders of all Sorts waiting for an Opportunity to break in upon the Government; as there were gotten together a Band of two thouſand *Veterans* in *Idumæa*, that had formerly ſerv'd under *Herod*. They were well arm'd and appointed, and had ſeveral Encounters with the King's Troops; with *Achiab*, *Herod*'s Kinſman, in particular; who had often to do with them upon Sallies out of wall'd Towns, but in the plain Field he was not able to deal with them.

The Perſon, and Exploits of Judas *the Son of* Hezekias, *the great Robber.*

In *Sepphoris* of *Galilee*, there was one *Judas*, the Son of *Hezekias*, (the famous Captain of the Robbers that was formerly taken by *Herod*.) This *Judas* had at that Time gather'd together a conſiderable Body of Men, forcing the King's Magazines, and arming himſelf and his Companions out of thoſe Stores, ſetting himſelf againſt all Oppoſers, and extremely haraſſing the Country.

Simon *formerly a Servant of* Herod's.

There was then alſo on the other Side of the River, one *Simon*, formerly a Domeſtick of *Herod*'s. He was a Man of a huge Size and Stature; a robuſt Body; and of ſo exact a Symmetry, that nothing could be more graceful in the Proportions of one Part to another. He had at his Heels a Parcel of Thieves, and went up and down roving with a Crown upon his Head, burning and laying waſte wherever he came, as at *Jericho*, he ſet Fire to the King's Palace there, and laid ſeveral glorious Buildings in Aſhes round about it; where, with much Eaſe, he made himſelf Maſter of a very rich Booty. He was in a fair Way to have gone thorough with his Work, and made a clear Country of it; if *Gratus* that commanded the King's Foot had not brought his Bowmen from *Trachon*, and a brave Body of *Sebaſtens*, ſeaſonably in to their Relief. In ſhort, they fought, and *Simon* was worſted; a great Part of his Foot cut off, and himſelf put to the Rout; but as he was upon his Flight acroſs a ſteep Bottom, *Gratus* gain-cop'd him, and with a Blow athwart the Neck and Shoulders cut him down. This was the End of *Simon*. But there was another Gang yet of the ſame Sort of People that were gotten together about [a] *Amathus* and the Borders of *Jordan*; which laid all the Palaces in Rubbiſh thereabouts.

Athronges *a Shepherd, and his four Brothers, Men of Ambition and Courage.*

There was alſo at that Time a certain Shepherd, whoſe Name was [b] *Athronges*; who had the Confidence to ſet up for a King. He had a Body to execute any Thing, and ſo daring a Reſolution that he feared neither Danger nor Death it ſelf: So that in the Strength of this Impulſe he would run all Hazards. He had for his Seconds four Brothers like himſelf, that ſerv'd him for his Officers, both of War and Counſel. They had every Man his Troop, and with theſe Parties he made his Incurſions. When he was upon any Buſineſs of Moment, he ſat mounted on his Throne, with a Crown upon his Head; pronouncing Judgment, and giving his Orders like a very King indeed. At this Rate the five Brothers went on for ſome Time, ſpoiling the Country, and deſtroying whatever ſtood in their Way: The *Romans* in the firſt Place, and the King's Troops; nay, and the *Jews* themſelves, wherever they could make a Booty of them. There was a Convoy one Day with Corn and Arms that the *Romans* were carrying to one of their Legions. Theſe Freebooters met them by [c] *Emmaus*, and fought them; they kill'd *Arius* the *Centurion*, and ſome forty of his beſt Men, and they had been all loſt, if *Gratus* with his *Sebaſtens* had not come in the Nick of Time to bring them off. This Ravage went on a good while with great Spoil and Havock; and nothing came amiſs to them, either Natives or Strangers. But in the End, three of the Brothers were taken; the eldeſt, by *Archelaus*; and the two next, by *Gratus* and *Ptolemy*; a fourth render'd himſelf to *Archelaus*, upon Conditions. This was the End of the Adventure of theſe five Men. But *Judæa* was at this Time all over-run with a pillaging, plundering War.

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[a] Betharamath *Joſ.*

[b] Antiq. *l.* 17. *c.* 12. *al.* Atharongeus.

[c] *Al.* Ammaus.

CHAP. III.

Varus *joyns with the* Romans *againſt the* Jews. Sepphoris *burnt to the Ground.* Sappho *taken and pillag'd.* Emmaus *laid in Aſhes. Upon the Approach of* Varus, *the* Jews *quit the Siege in a Confuſion. The Citizens waſh their Hands of the Sedition, and complement* Varus *into the Town. Near two Thouſand of the Ringleaders crucify'd.* Varus *diſcharges the* Arabians *for their Misbehaviour. The Generoſity of* Varus *towards the* Idumæan Jews.

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 12.
Varus *joins with the* Romans *againſt the* Jews.

Sepphoris *burnt to the Ground.*

V*Arus*, being given to underſtand from *Sabinus* and the chief Officers at *Jeruſalem*, that the Legion there was in Danger to be loſt, he haſten'd away all that was poſſible to their Succour, and ſo march'd with the two other Legions he had under his Command, and four Wings of Horſe, to *Ptolemais*; ordering the King's and the Prince's *Auxiliaries* to join him there at the *Rendezvous.* The People of *Berytus* brought him an Enforcement of fifteen hundred Men well arm'd, in his Paſſage. Upon his coming to *Ptolemais*, *Aretas* the King of *Arabia* (being a bitter Enemy of *Herod's*) join'd him with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot. When he had drawn up his Troops near *Ptolemais*, he ſent Part of his Army into *Galilee*, under the [a] Command of his Friend *Gallus*; who ſoon after encounter'd a Party, and gave them a total Rout; enter'd the City of *Sepphoris*, burnt it to the Ground, and made all the Inhabitants Slaves.

Sappho *taken and pillag'd.*
Emmaus *laid in Aſhes.*

Varus carry'd his Army after this into *Samaria*; but ſpar'd the City, becauſe they had not intermeddled in the Revolt. He encamped at [b] *Arus*, a Village belonging to *Ptolemy*; which the *Arabians* deſtroy'd for no other Reaſon but that he was a Friend to *Herod*: The Army advanc'd next to [c] *Sappho*, a ſtrong Place; which they took, rifled, and pillag'd. The *Arabians* carry'd all before them with Fire and Sword: [d] *Emmaus* was abandon'd, and that they burnt by the Command of *Varus*, in Revenge for the Death of *Arius* and his Companions.

Upon the Approach of Varus, *the* Jews *quit the Siege in a Confuſion.*
The Citizens waſh their Hands of the Sedition, and complement Varus *into the two.*

Near two thouſand of the Ringleaders crucify'd.

He advanced from hence with his Army to *Jeruſalem*; where the *Jews* quitted the Siege upon the very Tidings of his Approach. Some ſhifted away into the Fields and the Woods; but the Citizens, on the contrary, carry'd it fair, and welcom'd him into the Town. They had nothing to do, they ſaid, in the Sedition, but laid the Blame upon others; and they were ſo far, from joining with the Mutineers, that they were as much blockt up in the Town themſelves as the *Romans*. But it was a great Day, and they could not hinder People from coming into the City. *Joſeph* the Nephew of *Archelaus*, with *Rufus* and *Gratus* the King's Generals, the *Sebaſtenes*, and the *Roman* Soldiers alſo in the military Habit: Theſe, in the firſt Place, march'd all out of the Town to meet him. *Sabinus* durſt not look *Varus* in the Face, and had ſlipt away ſome Time before out of the Town to the Sea-Side. *Varus* in the mean Time diſpers'd his Troops up and down all over the Country, in Search of the principal Authors of this Tumult. They took up great Numbers of them: And for thoſe Sticklers that *Varus* found to be leaſt malicious, he order'd them to be kept in Cuſtody; and for the reſt that were more Criminal, he cauſed near two thouſand of them to be crucify'd.

Varus *diſcharges the* Arabians *for their Misbehaviour.*

The Generoſity of Varus *towards the* Idumæan Jews.

Varus had Intelligence yet once again of ten thouſand *Jews* in Arms about *Idumæa*; ſo that he immediately diſcharg'd the *Arabians*, and ſent them Home: For they did not act as Men of Honour and Soldiers, but gave themſelves wholly up to Spoil and Rapine, laying the Country waſte wherever they came, which was much againſt his Liking. Upon the Receiving of this News, he put himſelf in the Head of his own Troops, and march'd directly againſt the Enemy: But before it came to Blows, they bethought themſelves, and upon the Advice of *Achiab*, render'd and laid down their Arms. *Varus* was eaſy to the Multitude, but ſent the Officers to anſwer for themſelves to *Cæſar*. After he had pardon'd ſome, finding ſome Kinſmen of *Herod's* in the Number, he proceeded againſt them as Traytors for taking up Arms againſt their King. By this Means, *Varus* accommodated Matters at *Jeruſalem*; and leaving the ſame Legion again in the City that he made Uſe of before for their Guard, he return'd to *Antioch*.

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[a] *See* Antiq. *l.* 17. *c.* 12.
[b] *See* Antiq. 17, 12.
[c] *Sampho*, Antiq.
[d] *Al.* Ammaus.

CHAP. IV.

The Jews *petition* Cæſar *for a free Exerciſe of their Religion:* Cæſar *calls a Council of noble Men and Friends, to adviſe upon't. The* Jews *and their Deputies on the one Hand;* Archelaus *and his Friends on the other. A bloody Invective of the* Jews *againſt* Herod *and his Sons.* Nicolaus *ſtands up in the Defence of* Archelaus. Cæſar *hears the Cauſe; and ſoon after ſettles the Government; and ſees* Herod's *Will executed.*

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 11.

The Jews *petition* Cæſar *for a free Exerciſe of their Religion.* Cæſar *calls a Council of Noblemen and Friends to adviſe upon it. The* Jews *and their Deputies on the* one *Hand,* Archelaus *and his* Friends *on the* other.

WHILE this paſs'd in *Judæa*, there happen'd another Wrangle with the *Jews* at *Rome*, that put a further Delay to the Pretenſions of *Archelaus*. There were fifty Deputies that had been ſent to *Rome* from their Principals at *Jeruſalem*, before this Confuſion brake out, (and it was with *Varus*'s Licence too.) Their Buſineſs was to petition *Cæſar* in the Name of the reſt, for a free Liberty and Exerciſe of their Profeſſion: And there were *eight thouſand Jews*, Inhabitants of *Rome*, that went along with them in the Requeſt. *Cæſar* called a Council of the *Roman* Nobility, and of his own particular Friends, to meet in the *Temple* of *Apollo* upon the *Mount-Palatine:* A Structure of his own erecting, and as rich or curious as Coſt and Ornament could make it. The Council being aſſembled, there was a Multitude of *Jews* and their Embaſſadors ranged on the one Hand, and *Archelaus* with his Friends on the other. The Kindred kept themſelves upon the Guard of a Kind of diſcreet Neutrality: The Envy and Hatred they had for *Archelaus* would not ſuffer them to ſide with him, and then they were aſham'd on the other Hand to take Part with the Enemies of a Prince of the Blood. Among others, there was *Philip* the Brother of *Archelaus*, whom *Varus* ſent before, upon two friendly Accounts: The one, that he might be within Diſtance of aſſiſting his Brother upon Occaſion; the other, in Caſe *Auguſtus* ſhould think fit, to divide the Government among the Children of *Herod*, he himſelf might come in for his Share.

A bloody Invective of the Jews *againſt* Herod *and his Sons.*

The Accuſers were now to be heard; and the firſt Point in Queſtion was this: *What had* Herod *done contrary to the Law?* It was then urg'd, *that he never demean'd himſelf like a King; but on the contrary, as the moſt intolerable Tyrant upon the Face of the Earth. And his Cruelty did not ſtop neither at the Profuſion of innocent Blood, and the Violence of Juſtice: But he made the very Living wiſh themſelves Dead. And he did not only tear the Bodies of his Subjects to Pieces with Torments; but ſtript his Towns and Cities of all that was choice and precious, and gave it away in Oſtentation to Foreigners: Sacrificing the very Lives alſo of the* Jews *to Strangers. Inſtead of the Bleſſings of our ancient Laws and Liberties, he hath left his People nothing but Beggery and Iniquity in Exchange: Inſomuch that they have ſuffer'd more Plagues ſince his coming to the Crown, than there Forefathers ever felt ſince their Deliverance from* Xerxes, *out of the Captivity of* Babylon.

But the Jews *have been now ſo wonted to Slavery, that they are grown modeſt and patient under the Yoke, even to the Degree of entailing a voluntary Servitude upon their Poſterity, in the Perſon of* Archelaus, *the Son of the late Tyrant: Whom they ſaluted as King immediately upon the Death of his Father. They mourn'd for* Herod *together, and offer'd up their joint Vows for the long and proſperous Reign of his Succeſſor. And then to put it out of Doubt that he was the true Son of his bloody Father, he made his auſpicious Entrance upon the Government, with the Slaughter of three thouſand Citizens: And the better to entitle himſelf to the Succeſſion, this Butchery was his Oblation to God of three thouſand Victims: And all this upon a Holy Day, and the Carcaſſes pil'd-up in the Holy Temple.*

What Wonder is it now for Men that have outliv'd ſo many Miſeries, and ſcap'd ſo dangerous a Rock, to own their Averſion to this Man, and to fall (if periſh they muſt) like Men of Honour with their Faces to the Enemy! All that the Jews *deſire at the Hands of the* Romans, *is only that* Cæſar *will judge the wretched Remainder of them ſo far worthy of Pity, as not to expoſe them to the Rigour of their mercileſs Oppreſſors: But rather to annex* Judæa *to* Syria, *and range them under the Laws and Rules of the* Roman *Government. It will then be ſeen whether the Jews are in Truth ſo turbulent and ſeditious a Sort of People as they are given out to be; when they fall once into the Hands of humane and temperate Governours.* With this Prayer the Deputies clos'd their Charge.

Nicolaus *ſtands up in the Defence of* Archelaus.

Nicolaus, in his Reply, clear'd the Kings in the firſt Place of the Crimes ſuggeſted againſt them, and ſo proceeded to a Character of the very Nation of the *Jews:* Setting them forth to be a People uneaſy under any Government, but naturally averſe to Kingſhip: concluding his Diſcourſe with ſome Remarks upon the Relations of *Archelaus*, that joyn'd with his Accuſers.

Cæſar *hears the Cauſe; and ſoon after ſettles the Government; and ſees* Herod's Will *executed.*

When *Cæſar* had heard both Sides, he diſſolv'd the Court, and after ſome few Days beſtow'd upon *Archelaus* one Half of the Kingdom under the Name of an *Ethnarchy*, and with a Promiſe to make him KING in a ſhort Time, if he found he deſerv'd it. The other Half he divided into *two Tetrarchies*; which he gave to two other Sons of *Herod:* One to *Philip*; the other, to *Antipas*; who had had a Diſpute with *Archelaus* about the Sovereignty. There fell to his Share the Country beyond the River; and *Galilee*, of two hundred Talents yearly Value. But *Batanæa*, *Trachon*, and *Auranitis*, and ſome Part of the Land of [a] *Zenon* about *Jamnia:* This was aſſign'd to *Philip*, and yielded a Revenue of a hundred Talents. There fell into *Archelaus*'s *Ethnarchy*, *Idumæa*, all *Judæa* and *Samaria*; [b] which laſt was eas'd of a fourth Part of their Tribute, as a Reward for not joyning in the Rebellion with their Neighbours. *Straton*'s *Tower*, *Sebaſte*, *Joppa*, and [c] *Jeruſalem*, were all caſt into *Archelaus*'s Lot: But *Gaza*, *Gadara*, and *Hippon* (*Greek* Cities) were detach'd from the Kingdom, and annexed to *Syria*. The Income, upon the whole, to *Archelaus*, amounted to [d] four hundred Talents. *Cæſar* beſtow'd upon *Salome*, beſide what was left her by the King's Will, *Jamnia*, *Aſotus*, and *Phaſaelis:* He gave her a Palace alſo at *Askalon*; which were valu'd in all at ſixty Talents: But her Palace was ſubjected to the Juriſdiction of the *Ethnarchy*. When *Cæſar* had diſcharg'd all *Herod*'s Legacies to his Kindred, he gave to his two Virgin-Daughters five hundred thouſand Pieces of minted Money over and above, and marry'd them to the Sons of *Pheroras*. But, in the End, upon the Diviſion of *Herod*'s Patrimony, *Cæſar* made a generous Diſtribution of a thouſand Talents more, that were bequeath'd to himſelf: Reſerving only ſome particular Things of little Value, to keep by him in Memory of the deceas'd.

CHAP. V.

A Counterfeit Alexander. *The Manner of the Contrivance. The Method and Menage of the Cheat. The Impoſtor detected, and condemn'd to the Galleys. The firſt Projector put to Death.*

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 12.

A Counterfeit Alexander.

The Manner of the Contrivance.

The Method and Menage of the Cheat.

AT this Time there ſtarted up a certain young Man, by Nation a *Jew*, and brought up in *Sidon*, with the Free Man of a *Roman* Citizen. This Man took upon him to perſonate *Alexander*, whom *Herod* put to Death; and went to *Rome* on Purpoſe to ſet up the Impoſture. He had with him, for Countenance, and Counſel, another *Jew*, that was perfectly well inform'd in the Train and *Intrigues* of *Herod*'s Court. This *Jew* gave his Companion his Leſſon; which was, that the People that were employ'd by his Father to put himſelf and *Ariſtobulus* to Death, had ſo great a Compaſſion for them, that they ſubſtituted other Bodies in their Places, and convey'd the Brothers out of the Way. This paſs'd for current with many *Jews* in *Crete*; who furniſh'd the Pretender there with plentiful Supplies. He went from thence to *Melos:* Where he was receiv'd again with ſtill more Honour and Bounty. Nay, and he carry'd the Matter ſo far too, that he took ſeveral of his Friends along with him to *Rome*. Upon his Arrival at [e] *Puteoli*, the *Jews* of the Place made him magnificent Preſents: And his Father's Friends treated him all the while as a ſovereign Prince. The wonderful Likeneſs, in Fine, had got him ſuch Credit, that as many as had ſeen *Alexander* would not ſtick to ſwear that this was the Man. The Story made ſuch a Noiſe in the World, that the *Jews* at *Rome* came all flocking in to ſee him: Nay the very Streets and Ways were throng'd where he was to paſs. In Short, this Conceit ran ſo ſtrong in their Heads, that they carry'd him up and down in a Chair of State, and ſpar'd for nothing either of Coſt or Reſpect that might ſort with his Pretence.

[a] *Zenodorus*, Antiq. *l.* 17. *c.* 13.
[b] *See* Antiq. *l.* 17. *c.* 13.
[c] *Some read* Anthedon *for* Jeruſalem.
[d] *See* Antiq. *l.* 17. *c.* 13.
[e] Gr. Δικαιαρχία

Now *Cæſar* calling to Mind the Lines and Air of *Alexander*'s Face: (whom he remember'd ever ſince he was before him upon *Herod*'s Accuſation) he bethought himſelf of ſending one *Celadus* (who knew him as well as any Man) to fetch the young Man to him; not but that *Cæſar* gave it for a Cheat all along: But however, for the Humour's Sake, ſomething was to be done in Form. *Celadus* found him out; and upon the firſt Sight of him, concluded him to be a Counterfeit: but when he came to conſider the Coarſneſs of his Skin, Shape, and Manner of Addreſs, his Suſpicion was confirm'd beyond all Peradventure. The Thing indeed that mov'd *Celadus* the moſt, was his bold Way of out-facing People. Asking about *Ariſtobulus*; *he was very well*, he ſaid; *but liv'd on Purpoſe at* Cyprus, *to be out of Harmſway: For if they kept together, there would be more Danger of Miſchief by a Surprize.* When *Celadus* had kept his Countenance thus far, he took him aſide, and told him plainly; This is all a Juggle, ſays he: Do but you diſcover the Author of this Contrivance, and *Cæſar* will give you your own Life for your Pains. He promis'd him that he would, and ſo follow'd him to *Cæſar:* Where he nam'd the *Jew* that had put him upon it to get Money by it. And, in Effect, the Sums that he rais'd from the Cities, upon this Fancy, were more than *Alexander* himſelf could have procur'd, if he had been alive. The Menage was ſo ridiculous that *Cæſar* could not but ſmile at it: And yet however in the End, he condemn'd the falſe *Alexander* to a Galley; (as a Service that his Body was made for) and commanded the Adviſer to be put to Death: But for the fooliſh People of *Melos*, they had pay'd dear enough for their Madneſs, he thought, in the Expence; and ſo that Charge was their Puniſhment.

The Impoſtor detected, and condemn'd to the Gallies. The firſt Projector put to Death.

CHAP. VI.

Archelaus *baniſh'd for his Oppreſſion, and his Goods ſeiz'd. A foreboding Dream. The Dream expounded and made good. Another Dream, of the Princeſs* Glaphyra's. Glaphyra's *Viſion of her firſt Husband. She tells her Dream, and dyes within two Days.*

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 12.

Archelaus *baniſh'd for his Oppreſſion, and his Goods ſeiz'd. A foreboding Dream.*

WHen *Archelaus* came to be ſettled in his *Ethnarchy*, he did not forget old Grudges, but preſs'd bloodily hard, upon both *Jews* and *Samarians:* And upon an Embaſſy from both, to *Cæſar* againſt him, in the ninth Year of his Government, he was baniſh'd to *Vienne*, a City of *Gaul*, and his Eſtate confiſcated.

The Dream expounded.

And comes to paſs.

There goes a Story of a ſtrange Dream *Archelaus* had before his Summons to attend *Cæſar*. He had a Dream of nine large, full Ears of Corn, and Oxen eating them. Upon this he apply'd himſelf to ſeveral of the *Magicians* and *Chaldæans* to unriddle this Dream. Some ſaid one Thing; ſome, another; but *Simon*, an *Eſſene*, gave it this Interpretation. Theſe Ears of Corn, ſays he, are Years: By Oxen, is to be underſtood Changes, and Overturning of Things; as the Earth is overturn'd with the Plough. So many Years as there were Ears of Corn you are to reign: And after many ſtrange Revolutions, to dye. Within the Compaſs of five Days after this Reſolution, *Archelaus* was call'd upon to plead his Cauſe before *Cæſar*.

Another ſtrange Dream of the Princeſs Glaphyra.

Glaphyra had a Viſion of her firſt Husband.

Glaphyra tells her Dream, and dyes two Days after.

There was another memorable Dream alſo of the Princeſs *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of *Archelaus* the King of *Cappadocia*, and the Wife of this *Archelaus:* Whoſe firſt Husband was *Alexander*, the Brother of him we are now ſpeaking of, and the Son of *Herod*; by whom he was afterwards put to Death. This Princeſs, after his Death, marry'd *Juba* the King of *Libya:* And upon his Deceaſe went Home again, and liv'd with her Father in her Widowhood. *Archelaus* the *Ethnarch* fell ſo deſperately in Love with her at firſt Sight, that he preſently put away *Mariamne*, and took her to his Wife. In ſome ſhort Time after this ſhe went back into *Judæa*, and had there a Viſion of her firſt Husband *Alexander*, appearing to her: *Audacious Creature!* ſays he, *was not one Husband enough for thee, after me? But haſt thou the Face now to take a third, and this under my own Roof? And which is yet worſt of all, my own Brother? Theſe are Injuries not to be put up. But this will not do: For I will have you again in Spite of your Heart.* She told this Dream to her Friends and dy'd within two Days.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Three Sorts of Jews: Phariſees, Sadducees *and* Eſſenes. *Of the* Eſſenes; *their Temperance, and Opinion of Marriage; their Goods in common; their Apparel, Charity, and Way of Living: Their Scruples of Conſcience. Men of Peace and good Faith; and againſt all Oaths. The Method of entring into the Society. Their Way of puniſhing Offenders. The juſteſt People alive. They have a Veneration for Antiquity. Strict Obſervers of the* Sabbath. *They are commonly long liv'd; and firm in the Contempt of Death it ſelf. Their Opinion of the Soul. Some of them pretend to the Spirit of Prophecy. Another Sort of* Eſſenes. *Of the* Phariſees. *Of the* Sadducees. *They are ſevere, even to one another; but inhumane to Strangers.*

Ant. *l.* 17. *c.* 12.

THE Eſtate of *Archelaus* being now reduced into a Province, *Cæſar* ſent down *Coponius*, a *Roman* Knight, with a full Commiſſion to govern it. In his Days, one [a] *Judas* a *Galilean*, ſtirr'd up the People to a Revolt; upon a Suggeſtion, that in owning the *Romans* for their Maſters, and in paying them Tribute, they ſerv'd God and Man both alike. Now this Man was of a Sect by himſelf, and in Truth without a Fellow. There are among the *Jews* three Sects of [b] Religion; as *Phariſees*, *Sadducees* and *Eſſenes*: The laſt is the faireſt of the three for the Exerciſe of [c] Holineſs and Severity.

Three Sorts of Jews; Phariſees, Sadducees *and* Eſſenes.

Of the Eſſenes.

Their Temperance.

Their Opinion of Marriage.

Theſe *Eſſenes* are by Nation *Jews*; the moſt united and friendly People one with another under the Sun. They have the ſame Averſion to Pleaſure that they have to Vice, and reckon upon Continence, and the Command of the Paſſions, as a Virtue of the firſt Rate. They have no great Reverence for Marriage; but for other People's Children, that they take under their Care while they are young and tender, they value them as their own Fleſh and Blood, and train them up accordingly. They are not yet againſt Marriage, as Enemies to the Race and Succeſſion of Mankind; but they have an Opinion that the fair Sex is frail and intemperate, and hardly to be kept within the Compaſs of Fidelity to one ſingle Man.

As for the Goods of this World, they have all in common.

As to the Matter of Wealth, and the Goods of this World, they have it all in Contempt, and do not ſo much as know what it is to be rich or poor, for it lies all in common, as a Condition of the Society. By this Means, no Man ſhall be contemptible for being poor, nor honourable for being rich: But the whole Party ſhall live like Brethren, being all equal Sharers in one common Patrimony.

Their Apparel plain and cleanly.

They will not ſuffer any Oyl to come upon their Bodies; or if ſuch a Thing ſhould happen, they are never quiet till they get it out again. They value themſelves upon the plain Simplicity of their Appearance, though never ſo coarſe; provided only that their Garments be white and clean.

The extent of their Charity.

They chuſe their Stewards for the Receipt and Menage of the Revenues, out of the beſt Men they have, and leave it to their Diſcretion to make a Diſtribution of them to every Man in Proportion, according to his Need.

Their Way of Living.

They have no one certain Place of Abode, but diſperſe themſelves up and down into ſeveral Cities; where they are ever ready and open to entertain all Comers of their own Sect, and as free as if they were at Home, though they never ſaw one another in their Lives before.

And travelling.

They carry nothing about them when they travel, but Arms for their Security upon the High-Way. They have ſome Body or other in every City to take Care of their Friends, that they want neither Lodging, Food, Garments, nor other Neceſſaries. [d] The Dreſs they wear reſembles that of Children when they are under the Charge of Maſters and Governours.

They neither buy nor ſell, one with another.

They never change either their Garments or their Shoes, but when the one is torn, or the other worn out. They neither buy nor ſell among themſelves; but help one another with what they want, and what one wants the other ſupplies: Not by the Way of Exchange; but the one is oblig'd to give, and the other at Liberty to receive.

Their Scruples in Matter of Conſcience.

They are the ſtricteſt People to God-ward of all Men Living. They make a Conſcience of ſpeaking one Word of common Buſineſs before the Sun riſes; but they have certain traditional Forms of Prayer for that Occaſion, imploring particularly from [e] God, that the Sun may ſhine upon them. After this Act of

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[a] *In* Rufinus *'tis* Simon. *See* Antiq. *l.* 18. *c.* 1.

[b] *See* Jonſius de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. *l.* 3. *c.* 4.

[c] *See* Druſius de tribus Sectis Judæorum, *l.* 3. *c.* 22.

[d] *See* Druſius de tribus Sectis Judæorum, *l.* 3. *c.* 22.

[e] *See* Sam. Petitus's Var. Lect. *l.* 2. *c.* 7.

Devotion, they are all diſmiſs'd to their ſeveral Tasks and Employments: And when they have ſtudy'd, and wrought hard till eleven at Noon, they meet again with Linen Clothes thrown over them, and ſo waſh themſelves all over with cold Water. Upon this Purification, they retire to their Cells; where no Mortal of any other Profeſſion is allow'd ſo much as to breathe upon them. From thence they enter into a Refectory, which they account little leſs holy than the Temple it ſelf. When they have ſtay'd there a while without a Word ſpeaking, the Baker brings up every Man his Loaf, and the Cook, every Man his Plate, or Meſs of Soup, and ſets it before him. The Prieſt then bleſſes the Meat, and not a Creature dares ſo much as touch it till the Grace be over. And ſo after Dinner, another Grace again; for they never fail to give God Thanks, both before and after Meat, as the Author of the Bleſſing. This Duty being over, they quit their Habits, as in ſome Meaſure ſacred; and ſo to their ordinary Work again till Evening. They go next to Supper, as before; where they ſit together, Gueſts and all, if they have any at the ſame Table.

There's no Manner of Noiſe or Diſorder in thoſe Houſes. They ſpeak by Turns: And this Way of Gravity and Silence gives Strangers a great Veneration for them. This is the Effect of a conſtant Courſe of Sobriety, in their Moderation of eating and drinking only to ſuffice Nature.

The Reverence they have for their Superiors.

They are not allow'd to do any Thing without the Advice of their Superiors; ſaving only in Offices of Aſſiſtance and Compaſſion, and there they are left at Liberty; for every Man is free to help the Virtuous, and to relieve good Men in Want. 'Tis true they are not allow'd to give any Thing to their Relations without Leave of their Governours.

Men of Temper, Peace and good Faith. The Eſſenes are againſt all Oaths.

They are great Maſters of their Paſſions; Men of good Faith; Lovers of Peace, and their *Word* at leaſt as ſacred as their Oath: For they do effectually look upon the taking of an Oath worſe than Perjury, and account of him for a Liar and a Man of no Credit, that cannot be believ'd without bringing in God for a Witneſs.

They have a mighty Honour for the Wiſdom of the Ancients.

They have a mighty Reverence for the Works and Writings of Antiquity; eſpecially in what concerns the good either of Soul or Body: As in the Caſe of Remedies for Diſeaſes; the Virtues of Plants, Metals, Stones, Minerals, and the like.

The Form and Method of entring into the Society.

When any Man has a Mind to come into the Society, they do not preſently admit him Hand over Head; but keep him out of the Pale for one whole Year; admitting all of the ſame Claſs to the ſame Order of Diet: Giving every Man alſo a Pick-Ax, a Girdle, and a white Garment (as aforeſaid.) When a Man has been long enough among them to give ſome competent Proofs of his Continence and Virtue, they change his Courſe of Diet, and allow him the Benefit of purifying Waters to waſh himſelf: But he is not yet admitted to the Table in the Refectory, till he has ſtood a two Years Probation for his Integrity and good Manners; and upon that Tryal he is taken into the Society: That is to ſay, upon this further Condition, before he can be eſtabliſh'd a Member of the Community.

With theſe further Conditions.

He is firſt to bind himſelf by ſolemn Execrations and Profeſſions, to love and worſhip God; to do Juſtice toward Men; to wrong no Creature willingly; no, nor to do it though commanded; to declare himſelf an Enemy to all wicked Men; to join with all the Lovers of Right and Equity; to keep Faith with all Men; but with Princes eſpecially, as they are of God's Appointment and his Miniſters. He is likewiſe to declare, that, if ever he comes to be advanc'd above his Companions, he will never abuſe that Power to the Injury of his Subjects; nor diſtinguiſh himſelf from his Inferiors by any Ornament of Dreſs or Apparel: But that he will love and embrace the Truth and brings falſe Speakers to Juſtice. He binds himſelf likewiſe to keep his Hands clear from Theft and fraudulent Dealing, and his Soul as untainted with the Deſire of unjuſt Gain: That he will not conceal from his Fellow-Profeſſors any of the Myſteries of his Religion; nor communicate any of them to the prophane, though it ſhould be to ſave his Life. And then for the Matter of his Doctrine, that he ſhall deliver nothing but what he hath receiv'd: That he will endeavour to preſerve the Doctrine it ſelf that he profeſſes; the Books that are written of it; and the Names of thoſe from whom he had it.

Theſe Proteſtations are made Uſe of as a Teſt for new Comers, and as a Security to keep them faſt to their Duty.

Upon

Their Way of puniſhing Offenders.

Upon the taking of any Man in a notorious Wickedneſs, he is excluded the Congregation; and whoever incurs that Sentence, comes probably to a miſerable End. For he that is ty'd up by theſe Rites and Sacraments, is not allow'd ſo much as to receive a Bit of Bread from the Hand of a Stranger, though his Life it ſelf were in Hazard; ſo that Men are driven to graze like Beaſts, till the Fleſh rots from the Bone. In this Diſtreſs, the Society hath ſometime had the Charity and Compaſſion to receive ſome of them again, when they were at the very Point of Death; computing that the Puniſhment they ſuffer'd might in ſome Degree attone for the Offence.

The Eſſenes the juſteſt People alive.

In the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, they are the moſt regular and exact People alive. They determine nothing but what is carried by a hundred Voices at leaſt; and when the Judgment is once paſt, there's no recalling it.

The Eſteem they have for their Legiſlators.

Their Debates in Council.

Next to the ſupreme Authority of God himſelf, they reckon that of their Legiſlators; making it Death to ſpeak ill of them, or to blaſpheme them. They aſcribe great Honour to their Elders, and to the Majority of the People; and think it very reaſonable to obey the one, and to hearken to the other. When there are ten together in Council, no particular Perſon is to ſpeak, if the other nine be againſt it.

They make it a Matter of Immorality to ſpit toward the Middle of the Company, or upon the Right-hand.

The ſtricteſt Sort of Jews in the Obſervation of the Sabbath.

They are the ſtricteſt Obſervers of the *Sabbath* of all Sorts of *Jews*; for they do not only make ready their *Sabbath-Day*'s *Meal* the Night before, to avoid kindling a Fire on that Day; but they dare not ſo much as remove a Pot or a Diſh from one Place to another, or eaſe themſelves of the Neceſſities of Nature.

Upon other Days, when they are preſs'd at any Time to ſtep aſide, they take a *Pick-Ax* (as I ſaid before) and open the Ground a Matter of a Foot deep: When they have diſcharg'd themſelves, they fill up the Hole again, out of a ſuperſtitious Scruple not to pollute the [a] Beams of the Sun with ſuch an Object. And though there be no more in it than a natural Purgation, it is yet follow'd with the Solemnity of a formal Purification.

They live temperately and long.

The People that make Profeſſion of this Manner of Life, are divided into four Sorts, according to their reſpective Obligations; and the younger are reputed ſo much inferior to their Elders, that if they do but touch one another, they are fain to purify, as if it were upon the Contact of a Stranger. They live to a great Age; a hundred Years and upwards many of them; which I aſcribe in a great Meaſure to the Simplicity of their Way of Feeding, and to the Temperance of their Manners.

And ſtand firm to the Contempt of Torments, and Death it ſelf.

They are firm and hardy againſt all Dangers too, and reſolute, to the Contempt of Torments; inſomuch that they account an honourable Death much more deſirable than Life it ſelf. We need go no further for the Proof of this Aſſertion, than to the War betwixt the *Jews* and the *Romans*. And upon ſeveral Occaſions, what Torments did the *Jews* endure! as burning, breaking of Bones, and all Manner of Pains, rather than let fall one irreverent Word of their *Legiſlator*, or but touch one Morſel of a forbidden Meat. And all this, not only without Supplications and Tears, or any Abjection of Mind, but with a Chearfulneſs of Countenance in the very Anguiſh of their Pains; defying and triumphing over their very Tormentors, and delivering up their Souls with a ſerene Conſtancy of Courage, in the Aſſurance of exchanging a preſent Life for a better to come.

The Eſſenes Opinion of the Soul.

They firmly believe the Mortality of the Body; and that the Soul, being of the ſame Subſtance with the ſubtileſt Air, is incorruptible and immortal; and, by a Kind of natural Inclination, or Attraction, ſhut up in the Fleſh as in a Priſon. But when it ſhall be freed from theſe corporeal Bonds, as out of a long Slavery, it ſhall then chearfully mount up to the Region of endleſs Bliſs. This Opinion ſuits well enough with ſome Conceits of the *Greeks*, who fanſy a Place beyond the Ocean, where there's neither Rain, nor Snow, nor raging Heats, but only gentle refreſhing Gales: And this do they make to be the Seat of the bleſſed Souls. As for the wicked Souls on the other Hand, they ſtand condemn'd to impetuous Tempeſts, killing Froſts, and everlaſting Pains and Groans, World without End.

This is much after the *Grecian* Story of the *Fortunate Iſlands*: Which are the Places ſet apart for the Entertainment of thoſe glorious Spirits they call *Heroes*, and *Demi-Gods*: And then they have their *Hell* too, in the Deſcription of an infernal Pit, with Plagues and Puniſhments for ſuch as *Siſyphus*, *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, *Tityus*, and the like; computing all this while the Soul to be immortal, from the natural Diſpoſition it hath to the Love of Virtue, and to the Deteſtation of Vice; for good Men are made better even in this World by the Hope of better Things yet to come in another; beſide the Check that it puts to Impiety and Lewdneſs; when Men ſhall come to conſider, that though they may 'ſcape the Eye and the Stroke of humane Juſtice in this World, divine Vengeance will yet find them out in that to come, and puniſh them with Pains everlaſting. This is the *Eſſenes* Philoſophy upon the Subject of the Soul: And we find very few, when they have once imbib'd this Doctrine, that ever depart from it.

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[a] *See* Sam. Petitus's Var. Lect. *l.* 2. *c.* 7.

Some of them pretend to the Spirit of Prophecy.

There are among the *Eſſenes* alſo, that take upon themſelves to foretel Things to come; building their Confidence upon ancient Prophecies and holy Writ; and not without preparatory Sanctifications to fit them for the Work. But be it as it will, they ſeldom fail in their Predictions

Another Sort of Eſſenes.

There is now another Sort of *Eſſenes*, agreeing with the former in the ſame Meats, Manners, and Laws; but they are yet divided upon the Point of Wedlock; for they look upon thoſe that are directly againſt Marriage, as the profeſt Enemies of Mankind: That is to ſay, in cutting off the Succeſſion, and ſo extinguiſhing the Race. Now if all People were of the ſame Mind, the World would quickly be at an End. But they proceed with this Caution yet, that the Woman muſt be ſubjected to a *Three-Years-Probation*, and if ſhe ſhall be found in a Condition of Health fit for Child bearing, ſhe ſhall be reputed after that Trial qualify'd for Marriage. The Women are likewiſe to be cover'd when they waſh, as the Men are; and this is enough ſaid of the *Eſſenes*.

Of the Phariſees.

To come now to the two former Sects, the *Phariſees*, and the *Sadducees*: The *Phariſees* are, in the firſt Place, the great Doctors of the Law, and the beſt read Men in the *Jewiſh* Rites and Ceremonies. It is, in Effect, the firſt Article of their Creed, that *Fate and God do all*; and yet that whether we do well or ill, it is much in our own Power which of the two; only that Deſtiny interpoſes ſometimes in this or that Particular. They believe the Soul to be immortal, and they believe likewiſe a Tranſmigration of the Souls of good Men into other Bodies; but at the ſame Time, that the Souls of the Wicked are tranſmitted into a State of everlaſting Woe.

Of the Sadducees.

The *Sadducees*, on the other Hand, abſolutely deny *Fate*. *God can do no ill*, they ſay, *himſelf*; *and he leaves Men at Liberty to do what they liſt.* They have Good and Evil before them, and they take their Choice. But for Reward or Puniſhment in another World, they underſtand nothing of it. The *Phariſees*, in fine, are ſociable, and live in a good Intelligence one with another; but the *Sadducees*, are harſh, and ill-natur'd even among themſelves, but directly inhumane and intolerable to Strangers. This is all I have to ſay of the Philoſophy of the *Jews*, and I ſhall now return to my Text.

They are harſh, even among themſelves, but inhumane to Strangers.

CHAP. VIII.

Auguſtus *dies, and* Tiberius *ſucceeds him.* Pilate *made Governour of* Judæa. *A Tumult upon conveying* Cæſar's *Enſigns into* Jeruſalem. Pilate *ſummons the* Jews *under Colour of a Hearing. The generous Behaviour of the* Jews *prevail'd with* Herod *to remove the Enſigns. Another Broil about a Tax upon the holy Treaſure.* Agrippa *complains of* Herod *to* Tiberius. *A dangerous Expreſſion of* Agrippa's *to* Caius, *and he was kept Priſoner for it till the Death of* Tiberius. Caius Cæſar *ſucceeds* Tiberius; *and advances* Agrippa, *to the Grief of* Herod *and his Wife.* Herod, *at the Inſtance of* Herodias, *addreſſes himſelf to* Caius *for his Favour.* Caius *checks him for't.* Herod *and* Herodias *die in* Spain.

Ant. l. 17. c. 1, 2.

THE *Ethnarchy* of *Archelaus*, being now reduc'd into a Province, the two Brethren, *Herod* and *Philip*, (call'd *Antipas*) continued in the Command of their *Tetrarchies*. *Salome* dies, and bequeaths her *Toparchy* to the Empreſs [a] *Livia*; together with *Jamnia* and a Nurſery of Palm-Trees at *Phaſaelis*.

Auguſtus *dies, and* Tiberius *ſucceeds him.*

Auguſtus being now dead alſo, after a Reign of ſeven and fifty Years, ſix Months, and two Days, *Tiberius* the Son of *Livia* ſucceeded to the *Roman* Empire. *Philip* the *Tetrarch* built a City in *Paneas*, which he call'd *Cæſarea*: It was erected at the very Head of the River *Jordan*: And he rais'd another alſo in *Gaulanitis*; which he call'd *Julias*. *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, was built by *Herod*; and ſo was *Julias* alſo in [a] *Peræa*.

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[a] Julia, *Joſ.*

Pilate was now Governour of *Judæa*; and being ſent thither by *Tiberius* to take Charge of his Command, he ſecretly convey'd late one Night into the City certain Enſigns of *Cæſar's*, with his Image upon them. This put the *Jews* into ſo outragious a Tumult the next Day, that they were all at their Wit's End to think what would become of their Liberties and Religion, if their Laws were trampled upon, and prophan'd at this Rate: For the bringing of Images into the City was a Thing abſolutely forbidden. This Diſorder in the Town was quickly ſeconded and inflam'd by a vaſt Confluence of People from all Parts of the Province. The *Jews*, upon this, went in a great Body to *Cæſarea*, to move *Pilate* for Relief; and there they earneſtly beſought him to be tender of their Laws, and to order the removing of the Images out of the City. *Pilate* gave no Heed at all to what they ſaid; ſo that the *Jews* threw themſelves flat upon the Ground round about his Houſe, and in that Poſture they continued five Days and five Nights without ſo much as moving from the Place.

Pilate *made Governour of* Judæa.
Cæſar's *Image and Enſigns convey'd ſecretly into* Jeruſalem.
The People brake out into an Uproar upon it, as an Indignity to their Liberties and Religion.
They petition Pilate *at* Cæſarea *for Relief.*

On the ſixth Day, *Pilate* mounted the Tribunal which was in the great [b] Court, and gave the *Jews* a Summons, as if it had been only to receive his Anſwer: When all on a ſudden, the Deſign being ſo laid, and a Signal given, the *Jews* were immediately ſurrounded with armed Troops, three Deep, quite round about them. This was ſuch a Surprize, that the *Jews* might well be amaz'd at it; and in that Inſtant *Pilate* declar'd that they ſhould die every Man of them, unleſs they receiv'd the Colours into the City: And upon that Word he order'd the Soldiers to draw their Swords. The *Jews* in this Confuſion caſt themſelves proſtrate, one and all before them, ſtretch'd out their Necks, and offer'd themſelves to the Execution; crying out with one Voice, that they would rather die than ſee the Prophanation of their Laws. *Pilate* was ſo aſtoniſh'd at the daring Zeal of theſe People in the Defence of their Religion, that he gave Order preſently to have the Statues remov'd.

Pilate *ſummons the* Jews *under Colour of a Hearing, but in Truth with Deſign to cut them all off that ſhould oppoſe the receiving of the Image or Colours.*
The generous Behaviour of the Jews, *prevail'd upon* Pilate *to remove the Statues.*

This Broil was follow'd with another. The *Jews* have a holy Treaſure which they call [c] *Corban*; and *Pilate* laid a Tax upon it toward the Charge of *Aquæducts*, for the bringing in of Water at the Diſtance of *three hundred Furlongs*. The common People were ſo tranſported at this Impoſition, that they came open-mouth to *Pilate* about it, as he was upon the very Tribunal. But he had the Fore-ſight to provide for a Tumult, by intermixing Soldiers in Diſguiſe with the Multitude, to be in Readineſs to fall on, when ever *Pilate* ſhould give the Word: But with this Caution however, in Caſe of any Uproar, to make Uſe only of Cudgels without drawing their Swords. The People grew clamorous and unquiet: And upon that Provocation, *Pilate* gave the Soldiers the Signal; who did Execution according to their Orders. There was a great Number of *Jews* deſtroy'd; what with thoſe that dy'd by Blows, ſome crowded and trampled to Death, others that periſhed upon the Purſuit. The Rabble took this Rebuke for a Warning, and gave over Muttering: So that this Severity put an End to the Riot.

There followed another Broil about a Tax upon the Corban, *or the holy Treaſure.*
The Rabble affront Pilate *upon the very* Tribunal.
But by mingling Soldiers with the Multitude, the Miſchief of the Intention was utterly defeated.

Agrippa the Son of *Ariſtobulus*, who was put to Death by his Father *Herod*, went ſome Time after to *Tiberius* with a Complaint againſt *Herod* the *Tetrarch*. *Tiberius* never minded the Accuſation: So that *Agrippa* was eaſy and quiet at *Rome*, in the Condition of a private Man; and made his Court the mean while to Perſons of the firſt Quality, and in particular to *Caius* the Son of *Germanicus*. *Agrippa* was treating him one Day with the Compliment of a Collation; and when he was well warm in his Cups, and the good Humour upon him, *Agrippa* ſtretching out his Arm with an Exclamation: *Ah*, ſays he, *how glad ſhould I be to ſee* Caius *Maſter of the World inſtead of* Tiberius. This was carry'd to *Tiberius* by one of the Company, where he was kept in great Miſery till the Death of the Emperour, ſome ſix Months after: Which was when he had reigned two and twenty Years, ſix Months, and three Days.

Agrippa *complains of* Herod *to* Tiberius, *who takes no Notice of it.*
So that Agrippa *keeps his Credit ſtill, and makes his Court to* Caius.
A dangerous Expreſſion of Agrippa *to* Caius, *for which he was kept a Priſoner till the Death of* Tiberius.

Caius Cæſar, upon coming afterward to the Empire, diſcharg'd *Agrippa*, and gave him *Philip's Tetrarchy*, (who was now dead) and the Title of *King* too. This Advancement of *Agrippa* went to the envious Heart of *Herod* the *Tetrarch*: And his Wife *Herodias* was not wanting neither to the inflaming of his ambitious Mind into the Hope of the Kingdom; and at this Rate ſhe twitted him. *You were lazy*, ſays ſhe, *and might have had it for the asking, if you had but thought it worth a Journey to* Cæſar. *If* Caius *was prevail'd upon to make* Agrippa *a King, of a private Man, he would never have ſtuck certainly at making* Herod *a King, of a* Tetrarch. *Herod* was now prevail'd

Caius Cæſar *ſucceeds* Tiberius *in the Empire.*
He diſcharges Agrippa: *Gives him a Tetrarchy, and the Name of a King too.*
This Advancement went to the envious Hearts of Herod *and his Wife.*

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[a] *In the Region beyond* Jordan.

[b] *See* Selden *de* Synedr. Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 15. *p.* 377. Ed. Amſtel.

[c] Κορβονᾶς, *Joſ.*

The Emperour, with a ſevere Check, gives away his Tetrarchy to Agrippa. Herod *and his Wife die in* Spain.

upon by his Wife to go to *Caius*, and *Agrippa* his Accuſer follow'd him upon the Heel. But ſo far was the Emperour from gratifying his Ambition, that on the contrary, he check'd him ſeverely for his Avarice, and gave away his *Tetrarchy* to *Agrippa*. *Herod*, upon this Diſappointment, ſlipt away for *Spain*, and his Wife along with him; where he dy'd in Exile.

CHAP. IX.

Caius Cæſar *ſets up for a* God. *His barbarous Cruelties.* Petronius *orders* Cæſar's *Statues to be ſet up in the Temple. Death without Mercy to all Oppoſers.* Petronius *marches with an Army from* Antioch *towards* Judæa. *The Situation and Deſcription of* Ptolemais. Memnon's *Sepulchre. The* Jews *petition* Petronius *at* Ptolemais *for Relief: Who ſummons them to* Tiberias, *and there reaſons the Caſe with them.* Petronius *relents; and diſſolves the Court once again, without coming to any Reſolution. He promiſes his Mediation to* Cæſar: *Diſmiſſes the Multitude, and draws off to* Antioch. Petronius *writes to* Cæſar *what had paſs'd, who, in Return, orders the putting of* Petronius *to Death; but the Death of* Caius *prevented the Execution.*

Ant. l. 17. c. 13. Caius Cæſar *ſets up for a God. His bloody and mercileſs Executions.* Petronius *order'd to ſet up* Cæſar's *Statues in the Temple. Death without Mercy to all Refuſers; and the reſt to be all made Slaves.* Petronius *marches with a great Army from* Antioch *towards* Judæa. *The Soldiers ſeiz'd at* Ptolemais *with a panick Terror. The Situation and Deſcription of* Ptolemais. Memnon's *Sepulchre.*

C*Aius Cæſar* had the blaſphemous Vanity, in this Tide of his Fortune, to ſet up for a God, and to aſſume to himſelf both the Name and the Worſhip. He ſtruck off the Heads of ſuch Numbers of the *Roman* Nobility, that the very Order was in a Manner ſuppreſs'd, and his Country diſabled, by thoſe frequent Executions. And his impious Cruelty did not ſtop here neither, but he carried it into *Judæa* too; ſending *Petronius* with a Commiſſion, and a Charge to ſet up his Statues in the Temple, and to put every Soul to the Sword, that ſhould dare to refuſe them: And for the reſt of the *Jews* to make them all Slaves. But God in his Mercy order'd Matters otherwiſe. *Petronius* marched away all in Haſte from *Antioch* toward *Judæa*, with three Legions and a conſiderable Number of Auxiliaries out of *Syria*. The Report of this Expedition was ſuch a Surprize to the *Jews*, that the greater Part of them could not believe it; and thoſe that did, were not in any Condition to provide for a Defence: But the Army being now advanc'd as far as *Ptolemais*, they were all ſeiz'd with a mortal Terror.

This *Ptolemais* is a City upon the Coaſt of *Galilee*, ſituated on a large Plain, and ſurrounded with Mountains to the *Eaſtward* at the Diſtance of ſome *ſixty Furlongs*; but belonging to *Galilee*; to the *Southward* with *Carmel*, at about *a hundred and twenty Stadia* to the *North*, and a very high Mouutain, call'd the [a] *Tyrian Ladder*, at *a hundred and twenty alſo*. Some *two Stadia* from the Town it ſelf, there was a little River called [b] *Belus*, and not far from it ſtands *Memnon*'s *Sepulchre*, bordering upon a Proſpect of near *a hundred Cubits* over; which has ſomewhat in it that is very remarkable. There is the Appearance of a round Valley that yields a Kind of a glaſſy Sand: The Ships meet and carry it off, and as faſt as they fetch it away, the Winds from the Top of the Mountains fill up the Place again. It is the Nature of that Place to turn any Thing to Glaſs that comes into't. But the moſt wonderful Thing of all, to me, is this: That after thoſe Sands are vitrify'd, 'tis but caſting any Part of them upon the Skirts of that Place to make it common Sand again; ſuch is the Nature and Condition of the Soil.

The Jews *in a Fright, petition* Petronius *at* Ptolemais *for Relief.* Petronius *relents. He ſummons all the* Jews *to* Tiberias. *He expoſtulates the Matter with the* Jews.

In this Conſternation, the *Jews* with their Wives and Children went to *Petronius*, at *Ptolemais*, and there beſought him as well for their Country Sake, as their own, not to preſs the Violation of their Laws to the Ruine of ſo many miſerable People. The Petitioners were ſo many and ſo earneſt, and their Caſe ſo deplorable, that *Petronius* was prevail'd upon to leave his Army and the Emperour's Statues at *Ptolemais*: And ſo advancing toward *Galilee*, he ſummon'd the *Jews* of all Sorts to attend him at *Tiberias*. Being come to *Tiberias*, he enter'd upon a Diſcourſe to them of the Strength and Power of *Rome*, and the Menaces of *Cæſar*: Adding withal, that the *Jews* Requeſt was in Truth but a tacit Affront: For why ſhould they take upon them to diſpute thoſe Orders that all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire beſide themſelves ſubmitted to: That is to ſay; the placing of the Emperour's Statues in the Temples among their other Gods. This Expoſtulation he told them, was within a little of a Revolt: And next after *Cæſar*, he himſelf was concern'd in the Matter.

They had nothing to ſay for themſelves, but that the Laws and Cuſtoms of their Country would not allow them to ſet up any Images whatſoever, either of God or

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[a] Κλίμαξ Τυρίων, *Joſ.* [b] Βήλαος, *Joſ.*

Man; or in any Place whatſoever, either ſacred or profane. Well, ſays *Petronius*, and am not I to keep my Maſter's Laws as well as you are to keep yours? Or in Caſe I ſhould tranſgreſs them in your Favour, ſhould not I deſerve to be puniſh'd; Neither is it *Petronius* that oppoſes you, by *Cæſar*: For I am as much under Command as you are your ſelves. The whole Multitude upon this, brake out into an unanimous Outcry, that if they were ſure to die for't, they would never yield to the Violation of their Laws.

When the Hubbub was a little laid: What! ſays *Petronius*, you are reſolved to take up Arms againſt *Cæſar* then, are you not? No, ſaid they, there's not a Day goes over our Heads, but we offer up Vows and Sacrifices to God for his Proſperity, and for the whole People of *Rome*; but if he goes about to impoſe Images upon us in the Temple, he goes the Way to work to make the whole People of the *Jews* but one Sacrifice, and in that Caſe, we our ſelves, with our Wives and Children, are all ready to give our Lives for the Asking. *Petronius* was ſo divided upon this, betwixt Admiration and Pity, to ſee the invincible Force of ſuch a Zeal for Religion, and ſuch a Multitude of People united in the ſame Reſolution, that the Meeting broke up once again without any Thing done.

Petronius *ſo charm'd with the Bravery of the* Jews, *that he diſſolved the Meeting yet once again, without coming to any Reſolution.*

But *Petronius* went the next Day, and ſo from Time to Time in private, and Man by Man, to ſome of the moſt eminent Perſons among them, and ſpake in Publick alſo at the ſame Time to the common People; one while adviſing them as a Friend, and then minding them of the inſuperable Courage of the *Romans*, and the Danger of incurring *Cæſar*'s Diſpleaſure; beſide, ſays he, that I am under an abſolute Neceſſity of obeying my Orders. But when he ſaw that nothing of this would work upon them, and that they had already loſt their Seed-time to attend this Controverſy; having been already near fifty Days about it, *Petronius* told them at laſt that for their Sakes he was reſolv'd to expoſe himſelf to a deſperate Hazard. I will either ſatisfy *Cæſar*, ſays he, and ſave you and my ſelf both at once; or, if nothing will ſerve him but Extremities, I will lay down my Life for you. And ſo he diſmiſs'd the Multitude with a thouſand Vows and Prayers for him, and drew off his Army from *Ptolemais* to *Antioch*. From *Antioch* he ſent immediately to *Cæſar*, with an Account of the Manner of his entring into *Judæa*: How the whole Nation were joyn'd in one common Petition; which he was afraid could not be oppos'd or deny'd without the Hazard of the whole Province. They deſir'd nothing more, he ſaid, than the Maintenance of their Laws againſt all Innovations. The Anſwer that *Caius* gave to this Letter, was an Order for the putting of *Petronius* to Death for not executing his Command. But it ſo fell out that the Bearers of this Order were kept three whole Months upon the Way by contrary Winds; and in the mean Time comes the Tidings of the Death of *Caius* by a quicker Paſſage, and ſeven and twenty Days before the other.

Petronius *reaſons the Matter with the Petitioners;*

And promiſes them his Mediation to Cæſar.

He diſmiſſes the Multitude, and ſo draws off from Ptolemais *to* Antioch.

Petronius *writes* Cæſar *Word of what paſs'd.*

Cæſar *anſwers this Letter with an Order to put* Petronius *to Death.*

The Death of Caius *prevents the Execution.*

CHAP. X.

The Army declares Claudius *the Succeſſor of* Caius; *and the Conſuls meet about it.* Agrippa *in Favour both with* Claudius *and the Senate. He ſides with* Claudius, *and is ſent upon an Embaſſy to the* Senate. Agrippa, *in Juſtification of* Claudius, *and the Army. The* Senate's *Anſwer to* Agrippa, *and* Claudius's *Return to the* Senate. *A Soldier ſtands up for the Honour of* Claudius. *The Soldiers deſert, and the Senate follows their Example.* Claudius's *Party had been loſt if* Agrippa *had not prevented it.* Claudius *makes himſelf popular. He pays his Vows and Sacrifices in Form. His royal Bounties to* Agrippa *and* Herod. *The vaſt Wealth and Power of* Agrippa. *The walling in of* Jeruſalem. Agrippa *reign'd three Years, and dy'd at* Cæſarea. *The Family of* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.

Ant. l. 17. *c.* 14.

Caius being cut off by Treachery, when he had reign'd three Years and ſix Months, *Claudius* was advanced to the Government by the Army which was then at *Rome*. The Conſuls, *Sentius Saturninus* and *Pomponius Secundus*, appointed, according to the Reſolution of the Senate, three Companies for the Guard of the City, and ſo they met in the *Capitol*; where they determin'd to oppoſe *Claudius* in Spite, for the Barbarities of *Caius*, out of a Deſign to bring the Government again to an *Ariſtocraſy*, as it was of old, when the worthieſt Men were taken into the Adminiſtration. It ſo happen'd that *Agrippa* came, while this paſt, and was invited both into the Councel by the Senate, and into the Army of *Claudius*; as a conſiderable Addition to what Party ſoever he eſpous'd. Now *Agrippa*, finding *Claudius* to be as good as Emperour already, he went over into his Intereſt without much Difficulty, and was immediately employ'd upon an Embaſſy to the Senate: giving

The Army declares Claudius *the Succeſſor of* Caius.

The Conſuls ſet a Guard upon the City, and meet in the Capitol.

A Change of Government deſign'd.

Agrippa *courted both by* Claudius *and the Senate.*

He eſpouſes the Intereſt of Claudius, *and is ſent immediately upon an Embaſſy to the* Senate.

Agrippa *in Juſtification of* Claudius *and the Army.*

Claudius a Prince of Tenderneſs and Moderation.

giving them to underſtand, that the Army's ſetting of him up for Emperour, was an abſolute Force upon him, and in Truth, purely their Act, whether he would or no: But that now ſince the Thing was done, he could not recede, either with Honour or Safety; for it would look like an undervaluing of the Good Will of the Soldiers, to decline the Dignity; as it would provoke them to a Revenge, if he ſhould ſeem inſenſible of the Obligation; telling them over and above, that now he was brought on, there was no coming off; for the Envy of the Choice would ſtick by him ſtill, even if he ſhould lay down the Sovereignty. But however, ſince the firſt Point was over, and that he was in Poſſeſſion of the Government, he had determin'd within himſelf to attend and execute the Office; not as a Tyrant to domineer at Will and Pleaſure, but as a Prince of Tenderneſs for his People. He ſhould content himſelf with the Honour of the *Name* of *Emperour*, and in Caſes of State to hearken to the Advice of the Senate; for, ſays he, if *Claudius* were not modeſt and temperate in his own Nature, the exemplary Fate of *Caius* was enough to make him ſo.

The Senate's Anſwer to Agrippa. Claudius's *Return to the Senate.*

When *Agrippa* had gone thus far, the Senate (depending upon their Credit with the Army, and the Prudence of their own Conduct) they made him this ſhort Reply; *That they were not a People to be made voluntary Slaves.* *Agrippa* carry'd this Anſwer to *Claudius*, and was preſently ſent back again to tell the Senate that *Claudius* was not a Man to betray his Friends that promoted him to the Empire. He was very much troubled at the Thought of having a Quarrel with the Senate: But if it muſt come to a Deciſion by Arms, *Claudius* deſir'd them only to appoint ſome Spot of Ground without the City for the Place of Battle; for it would be a thouſand Pities to have *Rome* it ſelf laid in Blood and Aſhes, only to gratify the Humour of a few hot-headed People. This was it that *Agrippa* had in Charge from *Claudius*, and he deliver'd it accordingly to the Senate.

A Soldier ſtands up for the Honour of Claudius.

The Soldiers deſert;

And the Senate *follows their Example.*

Claudius's *Friends had been all deſtroy'd, if* Agrippa *had not prevented it.*

While Things were in this Diſpoſition and Poſture, one of the Soldiers who was there preſent ſtood forth, and drawing his Sword; *My fellow Companions*, ſays he, *what's the Matter here that we are now at Daggers-drawing with the beſt Friends we have, and upon the very Brink of a Civil War, only for adhering to* Claudius? *An Emperour without a Blemiſh, and a Prince that we ſhould rather treat with Duty and Reſpect, as our Protector, than with Arms, as an Enemy.* With theſe Words he march'd off through the Middle of the Court, and the reſt of the Soldiers follow'd him. This Deſertion put the Nobles into ſuch a Fright for Fear of the Conſequences, that when they found Huffing would do no Good, they very fairly did as the military Man had done before them; they went their Way, and declar'd for *Claudius*. In this *Interim*, divers of the officious pick-thank Soldiery lay upon the Watch, with their Swords drawn, under the Walls, to diſpatch them at their coming out; and they had been kill'd every Man of them, before *Cæſar* could have known any Thing of the Matter, if *Agrippa* had not given timely Notice to prevent it, telling *Cæſar* plainly, that if he did not put a Check to the Licence of the Army; eſpecially toward the Nobility, there would be nothing but cutting of Throats, in a ſhort Time, and inſtead of making him the Maſter of a glorious Empire, they would leave him only the Prince of a Deſert.

Claudius *makes himſelf popular. He pays his Vows and Sacrifices in Rome. His Royal Bounties to* Agrippa *and* Herod.

Claudius took *Agrippa*'s Advice, and put the Soldiers in better Order, treated the Senators in his Camp with all Honour and Kindneſs; and then went out with them according to Cuſtom, to offer Vows and Sacrifices for the Proſperity of the Empire. He beſtow'd upon *Agrippa*, not only his Father's Kingdom entire, but thoſe Places over and above that *Auguſtus* had conferr'd upon *Herod*; as *Trachonitis*, and *Auranitis*, with a Command alſo that was call'd the Kingdom of *Lyſanias*; appointing the Particulars of this Grant to be notify'd by Proclamation to the People; and giving it likewiſe in Charge to the *Senate*, to have it cut in Braſs, and ſet up in the *Capitol*. He gave the Kingdom of *Chalcis* alſo to *Herod*, the Brother of *Agrippa*; who was become his Son-in-law too, by matching him to *Berenice* his Daughter.

The vaſt Wealth and Power of Agrippa. *The walling in of* Jeruſalem. Agrippa *reign'd three Years and dy'd at* Cæſarea.

Agrippa was now grown great in Weath and Power, beyond all Thought or Imagination; and the Treaſure that he got, he did not ſquander away neither, upon Vanities or Trifles. His firſt Enterprize was the walling in of *Jeruſalem*; and if it had been carry'd on anſwerable to the Beginning, the *Romans* would never have done any Good upon it. But after a three Years Reign as King, he dy'd at *Cæſarea*, and left the Work unfiniſhed; having govern'd three Years before, in the Quality of *Tetrach*. He left three Daughters that he had by *Cypris*; *Berenice*, *Mariamne*, and *Druſilla*; and one Son, whoſe Name was *Agrippa*. He was very young when his Father dy'd; ſo that *Claudius* reduc'd the Kingdom into a Province, and made [a] *Cuſpius Fadus* Governour; after whom came *Tiberius Alexander*;

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[a] *Ceſtius Feſtus* Ruf.

The Family of Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus.

der; who, making no Alteration in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country, kept the People in Peace. A little after this, dy'd *Herod* that govern'd in *Chalcis*, and left by *Berenice*, the Daughter of his Brother, two Sons; *Berenicianus*, and *Hyrcanus*: And by *Mariamne* his former Wife, *Ariſtobulus*. There was another Brother *Ariſtobulus* alſo that dy'd a private Man, and left a Daughter whoſe Name was *Jotapa*. Theſe, as we have ſaid before, were the Children of *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Herod*. But *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* were the Sons of *Herod* by *Mariamne*, whom the Father himſelf put to death. The Children of *Alexander* govern'd afterward in the greater *Armenia*.

CHAP. XI.

Herod *of* Chalcis *dies, and* Agrippa *ſucceeds him.* Cumanus *ſucceeds* Tiberius Alexander. *A beaſtly Affront upon the* Jews; *and a horrible Uproar upon it. Another Tumult occaſion'd by a Robbery. A Soldier tears and burns the Books of* Moyſes. *The Offender put to Death. A Quarrel betwixt the* Jews *of* Galilee *and thoſe of* Samaria; *with the Occaſion of it.* Jeruſalem *all in a Flame about it. The Ringleaders of theſe Outrages.* Cumanus *marches to their Relief. The Rabble reaſon'd into their Wits again. The Countries infeſted with Robbers; and complain of them to* Quadratus. *The Riſe of the Tumults charged upon the* Samaritans, *and the Conſequences upon* Cumanus. Quadratus *goes to* Jeruſalem *to be farther informed.* Cæſar *gives* Cumanus *and the* Samaritans *a Hearing at* Rome. *He paſſes Judgment againſt them, and orders the Execution of it.* Cæſar's *Bounties.* Claudius *Dies, and* Nero *ſucceeds him.* Nero, *the* worſt, *and the* weakeſt *of Princes.*

Herod *of* Chalcis *dies, and* Agrippa *ſucceeds him; and* Cumanus *ſucceeds* Tiberius Alexander.

A beaſtly Affront upon the Jews *by a Soldier, at a ſolemn Feſtival.*

A horrible Uproar.

Ten thouſand ſmother'd in the Preſs.

AFTER the Death of *Herod* that govern'd in *Chalcis*, *Claudius* introduc'd *Agrippa* the Son *Agrippa*, into his Uncle's Kingdom: And *Cumanus* ſucceeded *Tiberius Alexander* in the Kingdom of *Judæa*. During the Time of his Adminiſtration, the *Jews* fell into new and grievous Troubles. The People being gathered together at *Jeruſalem* in vaſt Numbers to celebrate the Feaſt of unleavened Bread, and a Band of Soldiers ſtanding at the Gate of the Temple (as it was cuſtomary upon theſe Meetings,) for Fear of Tumults. There was one Soldier among the reſt that turned up his Back-Side naked in the Face of the Congregation, and made a beaſtly Noiſe with it anſwerable to the Brutality of the Action. This put the whole Multitude into ſuch a Rage, that they preſs'd in Throngs up to *Cumanus* for Juſtice upon the Soldier for that Affront: And ſome hot mutinous young Men, among the reſt, made a direct Brawl and Quarrel of it; falling on with hard Words and Stones, and ſtriking the Soldiers. *Cumanus*, for Fear of further Miſchief by a popular Uproar, ſent an Enforcement of freſh Men to ſupport the former. This put the *Jews* in ſuch a Fright, that they ſhifted for themſelves to get out of the Temple as ſoon as they could; but the Paſſages were ſo crowded and wedg'd up, that a Matter of ten thouſand were trod and ſqueez'd to Death in the Preſs. This Encounter made it a diſmal Feſtival to the whole Nation: Tears and Wringing of Hands in every Houſe; and not a Family but had a Share in the Mourning.

Another Tumult occaſion'd by a Robbery.

A Soldier tears the Books of Moyſes *to Pieces, and throws them in the Fire.*

Cumanus *orders the Offender to be put to Death.*

This Calamity was ſcarce over, but another follow'd upon the Back of it. One *Stephen*, a Domeſtick of *Cæſar*'s, was travelling upon the High-way, with ſome Houſhold-Stuff of his Maſter's. He was ſet upon near [a] *Bethoron*, and robb'd, by a Band of Thieves. *Cumanus* ſent a Party to take up the People in the Neighbour-Villages, and bring them to him bound; making them anſwerable for not taking the High-Way Men. While they were upon this Enquiry, a common Soldier, happening in the Search to lay his Hands upon the Books of *Moyſes*, tore them to Pieces, and threw them into the Fire. This brought the *Jews* together in Throngs, as if their whole Country had been in a Flame. They all met in the ſame Inſtant, as if they had been mov'd by a Machine and then in the Heat of a ſuperſtitious Zeal, they repair'd immediately to *Cumanus* at *Cæſarea*: Where they preſs'd him with violent Importunities, not to let that Wretch 'ſcape unpuniſh'd, that had put ſo audacious an Affront upon God and his Law. *Cumanus* found there was no quieting theſe People without ſome Sort of Satiſfaction: So that he commanded the Soldier to be brought out, and put to Death in the Sight of the whole Field. And that put an End to the Tumult.

A Quarrel betwixt the Jews *of* Galilee, *and thoſe of* Samaria.

The Occaſion and Matter of it.

There happen'd at the ſame Time an unfortunate Difference betwixt the *Jews* of *Galilee* and thoſe of *Samaria*. There was a certain *Jew* of *Galilee*, paſſing through a Village call'd [b] *Geman*, in the great Plain of *Samaria*, that was there kill'd as he was going up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip at a ſolemn Feſtival. The People of *Galilee* preſently drew out a Body to revenge themſelves of the *Samaritans* by Arms: The better Sort of them applying themſelves to *Cumanus*; and adviſing him by all Means, before it went too far, to go over to *Galilee*; and upon a ſtrict Enquiring into this Matter, to ſee Juſtice done upon the Murderers. *Cumanus*, it ſeems, had ſomewhat elſe to do, and ſo diſmiſs'd the Petitioners without Entring into the Cauſe. The Story of this Outrage coming ſoon after to *Jeruſalem*, put the whole Multitude into ſuch a Flame, that they left the Buſineſs of the Day; and in a Confuſion, without either Officer or Order, reſolv'd to fall upon *Samaria*, in Spite of all their Officers could to do to reſtrain them. The Heads, both of the Robbery and the Tumults, were *Eleazar* the Son of *Dinæus*, and *Alexander*; who breaking into the Borders of *Acrabatena*, burn'd all before them, and put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword.

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[a] Βαιθωρὼ *Joſ.*

[b] *Perhaps* Genaïm.

Jeruſalem *all in a Flame about it.*

The Ringleaders of theſe Outrages, and their merciless Cruelties.

Cumanus, upon the News of this Ravage, came with a *Sebaſtene* Party of Horſe to the Relief of the Country; took a great many of *Eleazar*'s Followers, and cut off many more. As to the Remainder of this Rabble that made ſuch Havock in *Samaria*, the great Officers, and the leading Men of *Jeruſalem*, went out in Sackcloth and Aſhes after them; begging of them, and uſing all Arts and Arguments to make them quit their Deſign. *Do not deſtroy* Jeruſalem, they cry'd, *to be reveng'd of* Samaria. *Have pity upon your Country, your Temple, your City, your Wives; which are in Truth all at Stake: And do not ſacrifice all that is dear to you in this World, to be reveng'd of one poor* Galilean. The *Jews* came at laſt to themſelves again, and the Fit went of.

Cumanus *marches to their Relief, and puts* Eleazar *to the Rout.*

The Rabble are at laſt reaſon'd into their Wits again.

There was about that Time notable Robbing and Stealing: (as Peace breeds Villany.) The Countries were all over-run with Men of Prey: And upon the whole Matter, it was but the greater Thieves robbing the leſs. *Numidius Quadratus* being then Governour of *Syria*, ſeveral of the Heads of the *Samaritans* addreſs'd to him at *Tyre*, with a heavy Complaint againſt the Robbers that infeſted their Country. There were divers of the *Jewiſh* Nobility then preſent, and there was *Jonathan* alſo, the Son of *Ananus* the High-Prieſt. Now this *Jonathan* baffled all Objections with turning the Blame upon the *Samaritans*, as the firſt Authors of the Tumult, in the Death of the *Galilean*. He charg'd the Conſequences alſo upon *Cumanus*, for Want of doing Juſtice in Time upon the Offender.

The Countries are over infeſted with Robbers.

The Samaritans *complain of them to* Quadratus *the Governour of* Syria.

Jonathan *charges the Riſe of the Tumult upon the Death of the* Galilean, *and the Conſequences upon* Cumanus, *for not doing Juſtice upon the Murderer.*

Quadratus, when he had heard the Cauſe, put off the further Conſideration of it till he came into *Judæa:* Where he might have a more particular Information. He went after that to *Cæſarea*, and there cauſed all thoſe that *Cumanus* had taken alive, to be put to Death. Thence to *Lydda*, where he heard the *Samaritans* Cauſe once over again, and cut off the Heads of eighteen principal Men of the *Jews*, that he certainly knew were dipp'd in the Tumults. As to the two High-Prieſts, *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, with *Ananus* the Son of *Ananias*, and ſome other *Jews* of the firſt Quality, he ſent them all to *Cæſar*; beſide ſome noble *Samaritans* alſo. He order'd *Cumanus* and *Celer* the Tribune away to *Rome* to anſwer for themſelves to *Claudius*. Things being thus ſettled, he went forward from *Lydda* to *Jeruſalem*; where finding the People in the Middle of their Feſtival of unleavened Bread, all in Peace, he went back for *Antioch*.

Quadratus *goes his Way to* Cæſarea; *thence to* Lydda, *and ſo to* Jeruſalem *to be further inform'd.*

When *Cæſar* had heard at *Rome* what *Cumanus* and the *Samaritans* had to ſay for themſelves; (*Agrippa* being there too, a zealous Advocate for the *Jews:* And *Cumanus* had great Friends there alſo upon his own Account) he gave Sentence againſt the *Samaritans*; condemning three of the beſt of them to be beheaded; *Cumanus* to be baniſh'd; *Celer* the Tribune to be ſent bound to *Jeruſalem*, and deliver'd to the *Jews* to ſee the Sentence executed: His Body to be drawn through the City, and his Head to be ſtruck off. He made *Felix*, the Brother of *Pallas*, Governour of *Judæa*, *Samaria*, *Galilee* and *Peræa*. He prefer'd *Agrippa* from the Kingdom of *Chalcis* to a greater Command. He gave him alſo the Province that had been [a] *Philip*'s; which was *Trachonitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Gaulanitis:* Superadding to all theſe, the Kingdom of *Lyſanias*, and the *Tetrarchy* that had been *Varus*'s.

Cæſar *gives* Cumanus *and the* Samaritans *a Hearing at* Rome.

He paſſes Judgment againſt them, and orders the Execution of the Sentence.

When *Claudius* had reign'd thirteen Years, eight Months, and [b] twenty Days, he departed this Life, and left the Succeſſion to *Nero*; whom his Wife *Agrippina* had artificially introduc'd into the Government: Notwithſtanding that he had at that Time a legitimate Son, *Britannicus*, by his firſt Wife *Meſſalina*; and a Daughter, *Octavia*, whom he marry'd to *Nero*. He had alſo by [c] *Æl. Petina* another Daughter, called *Antonia*.

Claudius *dies, and* Nero *ſucceeds him.*

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[a] *Felix*'s Ruf.

[b] *Thirty* Ruf.

[c] *Agrippina* Ruf.

Nero *the worſt, and the weakeſt of Princes.*

No Man ever made a worſe Uſe perhaps of the Advantages of a great Power and Fortune, than *Nero* did; Witneſs the waſhing of his Hands in the Blood of his Brother, his Wife and his Mother; and then the Proſecution of that inhumane Cruelty toward his neareſt Relations; the Folly and Madneſs of turning a Prince into a Player, and ſubjecting the imperial Dignity to the Buffooneries of the Stage. But theſe Stories are ſo generally know already, and ſo little to my Purpoſe, that I ſhall rather paſs them over in Silence, and ſo return to my Buſineſs.

CHAP. XII.

Nero's *Grants and Commiſſions.* Felix *defeats the Robbers, and takes their Captain Priſoner. A new ſort of* cut Throats, *call'd* Sicarii. Jonathan *the High-Prieſt, the firſt that fell by their Hands. The City in a Confuſion at it. The Danger of Enthuſiaſts. A* Magician *ſets up for a* Prophet, *and marches at the Head of* 30000 *Men toward* Jeruſalem. Felix *meets him, and gives him a total Overthrow. The Robbers ſet up for abſolute Liberty. A Tumult betwixt the* Jews *and the* Syrians, *about the City of* Cæſarea. *The Elders do all they can to pacify them. The Cauſe at laſt comes to be heard before* Cæſar. Feſtus *ſucceeds* Felix.

Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 11, 12, 13.
Nero's *Commiſſions and Bounties.*

Felix *makes War upon the Robbers, defeats them, and takes their Captain Priſoner.*

TO come now to that Part of *Nero*'s Hiſtory that concerns the *Jews*. He gave *Ariſtobulus* the Son of *Herod* the Government of the *leſs Armenia*, and annexed four Cities more to the Territory of *Agrippa*: That is to ſay, *Abila*, and *Julias* in *Peræa*; and in *Galilee*, *Tarichee* and *Tiberias*, with their Dependencies. The Remainder of *Judæa* he gave to *Felix*; who no ſooner had his Commiſſion, but he made War upon the Robbers; took *Eleazar* their Captain, with ſeveral others, and ſent them all bound to *Rome*; after they had haraſs'd the Country at Pleaſure for twenty Years together. In Fine, what with the Thieves that were kept Priſoners, or put to Death, and the Country People that joyn'd with them, the Number of the kill'd and taken was almoſt incredible.

A new Sort of cut Throats call'd Sicarii.
Their Way of Conduct and Execution.

Jonathan *the High-Prieſt was the firſt that fell by theſe Ruffians.*
The City in a diſmal Fright and Confuſion at it.

So ſoon as the Land was well clear'd of theſe Ruffians, up ſtarted another Sort of cut Throats, under the Name of *Sicarii*; from *Sica*, the Weapon they us'd. Now theſe People made no Difficulty of doing their Work even at Noon-Day, in the very Streets of *Jeruſalem*, and in the Face of the Sun: Eſpecially upon great Days, when the Town was crouded with People. Their Way was to carry ſhort Daggers under their Coats; and mixing with the Multitude, privily to ſtab their Enemies: And then as any Man fell, who ſo forward as they themſelves to wonder at the Villany. This Practice went on a good while, not only without Diſcovery, but the Actors of it not ſo much as ſuſpected. The firſt Man that fell by theſe Aſſaſſines was *Jonathan* the High-Prieſt: After which, not a Day paſs'd for a good while, without ſeveral Executions of the ſame Kind. This ſo ſtartled the City, that the very Fear was in ſome Reſpect worſe than the Miſchief; for it was as dangerous to walk the Streets, as to be in a Battle. They ſuſpected every Man for an Enemy at a Diſtance; and durſt not truſt their Friends when they came near them. And after all, this Watchfulneſs and Guard was not enough to ſecure them: So bold and dextrous were theſe *Bravo*'s in the Exerciſe of their Profeſſion.

The Danger of Enthuſiaſts *and* Impoſtors, *under Colour of pretended Revelations.*

Felix *defeats a Body of the Seducers.*

There was another ſort of Miſcreants now that did yet more Miſchief with their Tongues than the other did with their Weapons. 'Tis true, they ſpilt no Blood, but they deſtroy'd more with their Doctrines, than the other did with their Daggers; and utterly corrupted the happy and the orderly State of the City. Theſe were *Impoſtors* and *Seducers*, that under the Colour of Religion, ſet Men a madding after ſtrange Opinions and Innovations. They withdrew the People into Woods and Solitudes, upon Pretence that God had a Work in Hand to ſet them at perfect Liberty; and that he would reveal himſelf further to them by Tokens from Heaven that would give them an infallible Aſſurance of it. *Felix* ſaw manifeſtly what they were a doing, and found it neceſſary to nip the Deſign of a Rebellion in the Budd: So that he ſent out a Body of Horſe and Foot after theſe *Enthuſiaſts*, and deſtroy'd a great Number of their Diſciples.

A Magician ſets up for a Prophet, And marches in the Head of thirty thouſand Men toward Jeruſalem.

This Plague was follow'd with that of an *Ægyptian* Pretender, that fell heavier upon the *Jews* than the other. This *Ægyptian* was a *Magician*, but paſs'd for a *Prophet*, with about thirty thouſand Men at his Heels, that he had inveigled into his Congregation. He led them about by the Way of the Wilderneſs, and ſo to Mount *Olivet*; propoſing to march thence to *Jeruſalem*; beat out the *Roman* Garriſon, and make himſelf Maſter of the Place and Country: With his Friends and Guards

Felix *encounters him upon the Way, and gives him a total Rout.*

Guards about him all this while to aſſiſt in the Enterprize. *Felix*, finding it to be a growing Evil, advanced up to the *Ægyptian* with his *Roman* Legions, and a conſiderable Body of the *Jews* to join him. *Felix* gave him Battle, and totally defeated him; the *Ægyptian* himſelf, with ſome few of his Followers, ſaving themſelves by Flight. There were great Numbers of his People kill'd; others taken and put in Chains; and the reſt diſpers'd to their own Homes.

The Magicians *and the* Robbers *ſet up for abſolute Liberty.*

It is with a diſtemper'd Nation as in the Caſe of an ill Habit of Body, one Trouble is no ſooner remov'd but another comes on. For the *Magicians* and the *Robbers* were now laying their Heads together, how they might ſet up for abſolute Liberty, and engage the Multitude in a Reſolution to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. This they attempted, both by Argument and Menace; threatening Death without mercy for any Man to own that Juriſdiction: Propoſing to reduce thoſe by Terror, that would otherwiſe ſubject themſelves to a voluntary Slavery. This Party diſpers'd it ſelf all over the Country; plundering great Men's Houſes; cutting of Throats, and burning wherever they came: So that *Judæa* was brought to the laſt Extremity of Deſperation with Dread and Trouble; the War growing every Day more cruel than other.

An outragious Tumult betwixt the Jews *and the* Syrians, *about the City of* Cæſarea.

There was at this Time another Tumult alſo that brake out about *Cæſarea*, upon a Commotion that was ſtarted there betwixt the *Jews* and the *Syrians* living promiſcuouſly together. The *Jews* would have it to be their City; arguing that a *Jew* was the Founder of it, meaning King *Herod*. Their Competitors could not deny a *Jew* to have been the Builder of it; but inſiſted upon it on the other Hand, that it belong'd to the *Gentiles*: For if it were the *Jews* City, they would never ſuffer Temples and Statues to be erected in it. They fell into ſuch Heats upon this Diſpute, that they betook themſelves to their Arms; and not a Day paſs'd but there was Miſchief done, more or leſs, betwixt the forward Men of the two Parties. The Elders did all that was poſſible to be done by Authority and Advice, to quiet the *Jews* on the one Hand, but they were wholly ungovernable; and the *Greeks*, on the other Hand, thought themſelves too good to truckle to the *Jews*. They were look'd upon, 'tis true, to have more Wealth and Courage; but the *Greeks* had a much greater Intereſt in the Soldiery: For a great Part of the *Roman* Army being drawn out of *Syria*, they were the readier to aſſiſt them, both as their Countrymen and Kindred. The Magiſtrates and Officers did all that was to be done too, by the uttermoſt Severity of Diſcipline to quaſh the Tumult; as taking the incorrigible and obſtinate into Cuſtody; whipping and chaining them up, and the like. But the exemplary Sufferings of ſome wrought nothing upon the Spirits of others that were more harden'd; nay, on the contrary, that which they thought would have diſcourag'd or over-aw'd them, made them ſtill worſe and worſe.

The Elders do all they can by fair Means and foul, to quiet it.

Felix, at laſt, when he ſaw nothing would bring them to Reaſon, commanded the Faction away out of the City by Proclamation, upon their uttermoſt Peril. But divers ſtaying behind in Contempt of Authority, the Governour ſent a Party of Soldiers in among them that kill'd ſeveral of them and ſeiz'd their Goods. But the Sedition going on ſtill, the Governour diſpatch'd away Commiſſioners to *Nero*; (ſome of the principal Men of both Parties) to plead their Cauſe before *Cæſar*. *Feſtus* ſucceeded *Felix*, and fell very hard upon the Highway-Men that were moſt troubleſome to the Province; taking and killing a great many of the Thieves.

The Cauſe comes at laſt to be heard before Cæſar. Feſtus *ſucceeds* Felix.

CHAP. XIII.

Albinus *ſucceeds* Feſtus. *A corrupt and a tyrannical Governour.* Albinus *a lewd Man, but nothing to* Geſſius Florus *that came after him,* Albinus *and* Florus *compar'd.* Ceſtius Gallus *Governour of* Syria. *A heavy Complaint to* Gallus *againſt* Florus. Florus *does what he can to make the* Jews *rebel.* Cæſar's *Decree in Favour of the* Cæſarean Greeks. *The Riſe of the* Jewiſh *War.*

Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 15, 16.
Albinus *ſucceeds* Feſtus.
A corrupt and a tyrannical Governour.

ALBINUS ſucceeded *Feſtus*; but he did not govern like his Predeceſſor. He was a Man ſo univerſally wicked, that there was no ill he ſtood out at: As Corruption, Avarice, Extortion, Oppreſſion; and this in all Caſes too, as well private as publick: Bribery in civil Cauſes; Bribery again in perſonal; and the Nation ſqueez'd to Death under the Burden of arbitrary Tributes. Was any Man in the Hand of the Law for Rapine and Violence, either upon Conviction before the preſent Magiſtrate, or upon the Sentence of former Judges? There needed but a Friend and a Piece of Money to ſet him at Liberty: And no Man was ever found guilty by this Governour, that had but Money to make him innocent and purchaſe his Freedom.

There was at this Time a Faction at *Jeruſalem*, that had ſet their Hearts upon a Change of Government; and thoſe of the Party that had wherewithal, compounded with *Albinus* before-hand to be eaſy to them in Caſe of a Broil. But there was a popular Mixture of Men alſo, that could not be quiet themſelves, ſo long as the State was at Peace: And theſe People were taken into the Intereſt of *Albinus*. The Heads of this mutinous Medley had every one of them a Troop of good Fellows at his Heels, of his own Complexion, while the Governour himſelf was only the moſt illuſtrious Thief of the Band; with his Guards about him to do Execution at Pleaſure upon thoſe that were not in a Condition either for Reſiſtance or Defence. It came to this upon the Main, that the Loſers durſt not open their Mouths to complain; and thoſe that 'ſcap'd, were glad to give Part of what they had for the ſaving of the reſt; and the Receivers themſelves worſe at laſt than the Thieves. In fine, *There was no Faith left upon the Earth*; and the Multiplicity of Tyrants was evidently the Foundation of a Slavery to come.

Albinus *a lewd Man, but nothing to* Geſſius Florus *that came after him.*
Albinus *and* Florus *compar'd,*

Theſe were the Manners, and this the Character of *Albinus*: But *Geſſius Florus* that came after him, was ſuch a Foyl to him, that the former look'd like an Angel upon the Compariſon. *Albinus* indeed was falſe, but yet cloſe and ſecret in his Iniquities; which had ſomething like Modeſty in it: But *Geſſius* made an open Profeſſion of his Lewdneſs; inſomuch that he valu'd himſelf upon the Merit of his Crime, and made it his Glory to declare himſelf a profeſs'd Enemy to the whole Nation. He behaved himſelf in the Province, liker an Executioner, than a Governour; for he treated the whole Body of the People like common Criminals, without ſetting any Bounds, either to his Rapine or to his Tyranny. He had neither Pity in him, nor Senſe of Honour; but mercileſs to the miſerable, and utterly void of Shame in Caſes ſo foul, that Impudence it ſelf would have bluſh'd at. No Man ever put Truth out of Countenance with Paradox and Impoſture as this Man did: Neither did ever any Man find out ſuch artificial Ways of Addreſs for the doing of Miſchief. The deſtroying of a whole Nation, Man by Man, would not ſerve his Turn neither, without ſweeping away whole Cities entire, and cutting off the Neck of the common Body of the People at a Blow. He gave ſuch Liberty and Encouragement to Spoil and Pillage, that it fell little ſhort of a Proclamation of Allowance to all People to take what they could get; provided he might but go a Share in the Booty. And then for his Avarice, he drain'd the Province into ſo ſtarving a Degree of Poverty, that the Inhabiaants left it, in Effect, a Deſart, for Want of Bread to put in their Mouths.

Ceſtius Gallus *Governour of* Syria.
A heavy Complaint to Gallus *againſt* Florus.

Ceſtius Gallus was at that Time Governour of *Syria*; and in his Days there was not a *Jew* that durſt ſo much as open his Mouth to him in a Complaint againſt *Florus*. But however upon his coming up to *Jeruſalem*, upon *the Feaſt of unleavened Bread*, the Multitude, to the Number of three hundred thouſand, made their Application to *Gallus* to take Pity of a miſerable People, and deliver the Province out of the Hands of *Florus*; that Peſt of a Governour. *Florus* was within hearing of this Outrage; but ſo far from being mov'd, or out of Countenance at it, that he turn'd it all to *Ridicule*. *Ceſtius*, in the mean Time, did what he could to pacify the People, by telling them that *Florus* ſhould deal better with them for the future; and ſo he went back again to *Antioch*. *Florus* brought *Gallus* on-ward of his Way as far as *Cæſarea*; telling him a thouſand Flams and falſe Stories, as they

paſs'd:

Florus *does what he can to make the* Jews *rebel.*

paſs'd: But, at the ſame Time, caſting within himſelf the Neceſſity of a War with the *Jews*, as the only Way to lie undiſcover'd and bring himſelf off. In the Caſe of a Peace, the *Jews*, he thought, would lay hold of ſuch an Opportunity to bring the Cauſe before *Cæſar*; which would be dangerous: Whereas if he could but once work them to a Revolt; the greater Miſchief would take off the Envy of the leſs: And therefore he had no Way, he ſaw, but to force them by Degrees into a Rebellion in his own Defence.

Cæſar's *Decree in Favour of the* Cæſarean Greeks. *The Riſe of the* Jewiſh War.

The *Cæſarean Greeks* had at this Time carry'd their Cauſe againſt the *Jews* before *Cæſar*, and obtained a Decree in their Favour: Which Sentence gave a Riſe to the *Jewiſh* War. It bare Date the twelfth Year of *Nero*, and the ſeventeenth of *Agrippa*, in the Month *Artemiſius*.

CHAP. XIV.

Cæſarea *was the Occaſion of the* Jewiſh War. *The* Jews *affronted in their* Synagogue. *The Bribery and Perfidy of* Florus. *A* mock Sacrifice. *A violent Commotion.* Jucundus *endeavours to compoſe it, but in vain. The* Jews *remove the Books of their Law. They petition for Relief, and are puniſh'd for it.* Florus *makes Matters worſe and worſe. The* Jews *fall heavily upon him for ſo doing: But with the Face however of a ſeeming Reſpect.* Florus *turns them off with Scorn. The barbarous Proceedings of* Florus. *The Sobriety and Moderation of the* Jews. Florus *the worſe for good Advice. His bloody Orders and Executions. Several of the Nobility whipt and crucify'd. Six hundred and thirty* Jews *murder'd by* Florus's *Men in one Day.*

Ant. *l.* 20. *c.* 15. *The Buſineſs of* Cæſarea *was the Occaſion of the* Jewiſh War.

THE Tyranny of *Florus* was indeed a dangerous Temptation to a Rebellion: But the *Jews* ſtood firm againſt that Provocation, and afterward it was the Buſineſs of *Cæſarea* that did the Work.

The Jews *affronted in their Synagogue.*

The Bribery and Perfidy of Florus.

There was a certain *Greek* had a Houſe in *Cæſarea*, cloſe upon the Place where the *Jews* had their Synagogue. They would fain have made a Purchaſe of this Houſe, and treated with the Maſter ſeveral Times about it, offering him much more for it than it was worth: But ſo far was he from complying with the Propoſal, that out of pure Croſsneſs, inſtead of giving them more Eaſe, he fell to blocking of the Way in a Manner quite up, by crowding ſo many little Shops into the Paſſage, that there was hardly Room left for one ſingle Body to get into the *Synagogue.* Upon this, ſome of the hot young Men of the *Jews* went out preſently to the Workmen, and caution'd them not to go on, at their Peril. *Florus* countermanded that Prohibition: So that the *Jews* had nothing more to do but to try the Governour with a Sum of Money. Several of their principal Men met about it, and among the reſt, one *John*, a Farmer of the King's Cuſtoms; who contracted with *Florus* for eight Talents to forbid the Building. They deliver'd him the Money, and he promis'd all Things ſhould be done accordingly; but immediately upon the Receipt of it, away goes he from *Cæſarea* to *Sebaſte*, as if it had been on Purpoſe to leave them at Liberty for an Uproar: As who ſhould ſay, eight Talents is the Price of an Opportunity for you to cut one another's Throats.

A mock Sacrifice.

A violent Commotion.

The next Day, being the *Jews Sabbath*, when the People were all together in the *Synagogue*, a ſpiteful *Cæſarean* ſet an earthen Veſſel juſt before the Door with a Sacrifice of Birds upon it. This contemptuous Mockery put the *Jews* out of all Government and Patience, they ſaid, to ſee their Laws had in Deriſion, and the Place prophan'd. The more moderate and ſubſtantial Men of the Party, were for appealing to the Men of the Government for Juſtice and Redreſs: But for the ſeditious hot-brain'd young Fellows of the Faction, nothing would ſatisfy them but Ribaldry and Blows; and the *Cæſareans*, on the other Hand, were as ready for the Encounter: The Story I told you of the Sacrifice, being purpoſely deſign'd to draw on a Quarrel. And here began the Action.

Jucundus, *a Horſe Officer, endeavours to compoſe it, but in vain. In this Difficulty the* Jews *remove the Books of their Law.* *They petition for Relief, and are puniſh'd for ſo doing.*

Jucundus, a Captain of Horſe, and one that was left to keep the Peace, coming in juſt upon this Nick of Time; order'd the earthen Veſſel (above-mentioned) to be taken away: And then apply'd himſelf toward the allaying of the Tumult. But the *Jews* finding *Jucundus* over-born by the *Cæſareans*, preſently took up the Books of their Laws; and carry'd them off to [a] *Narbata*, a Province of that Name, ſome *ſixty Furlongs* from *Cæſarea*. Twelve of their chief Men, with *John* the *Publican*, went to *Florus* at *Sebaſte*; with a Complaint for what had paſs'd, and a Petition for Redreſs; not forgetting to let fall a Word by the By, (though very tenderly) of the eight Talents. *Florus* caus'd them immediately to be taken up and bound, for preſuming to remove their Laws from *Cæſarea*. (That was the Pretence.)

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[a] *Nabata*, Ruf.

This Action of *Florus*'s ſtruck the *Jews* of *Jeruſalem* with a Horror and Deteſtation, to the laſt Degree: But they found it convenient for the Preſent to keep it to themſelves. *Florus* went on all this while blowing the Coals: And for a further inflaming of the Quarrel, he ſent in *Cæſar*'s Name for ſeventeen Talents out of the Treaſury, and for the Emperor's Service. This put the *Jews* in ſuch a Confuſion, that they run up and down to the Temple and about like mad-Men; crying out all the Way upon *Cæſar*, *Cæſar*, as loud as they could roar, to be delivered from the inhumane Barbarities of *Florus*: Purſuing him with Clamours, Mockeries, and Maledictions of all Sorts. As there was one of the Mutineers had gotten an Alms-Basket at his Back, and went about the Streets begging of Broken-Meat for the poor miſerable *Florus* in Deriſion of him. But all theſe Taunts and Abuſes had no other Effect upon him, than that they made his Avarice ſtill more ſpiteful, as well as more inſatiable. And then inſtead of putting a Check to the firſt Heat of the Sedition at *Cæſarea*, and removing the Cauſes of the Tumult as he ought to have done, both by Duty and Contract; he takes his March with an Army of Horſe and Foot to *Jeruſalem*, and makes the Power of *Rome* only ſubſervient to his private Paſſions and Luſts; either of Pride, Profit, or Revenge; filling the Hearts of the People wherever he came, with Confuſion and Terror.

Florus *makes Matters worſe and worſe.*

The Jews *outragiouſly fall upon* Florus.

The Multitude however, after all Manner of Indignities caſt upon them, put on the Countenance ſtill of an officious Reſpect in going out to receive him upon the Way, and preparing to entertain him with all Semblances of Honour and Eſteem, uſual in ſuch Caſes. While they were in this Diſpoſition, to give him a ſeeming Welcome into the City, *Florus* quite ſpoil'd the Complement by ſending *Capito* a Centurion to them with fifty Horſe to put a Stop to their Journy; who deliver'd his Meſſage to them in theſe Terms. *I am to command you*, ſays he, *in the Name of* Florus, *to go your Ways Home again: And to let you underſtand that the Man you have made ſo bold with, both in Earneſt and in Jeſt, is not to be cajoled into a better Opinion of you by a Parcel of fair and falſe Words. If you are in Truth, as you would be thought to be, Men of Reſolution and Courage; call that Man all thoſe ſcandalous and reproachful Names to his Face, that you did behind his Back: And aſſert that Liberty by your Arms, that you have made ſuch a Noiſe with in your Clamours.* What with this Rebuke, and the Soldiers breaking in upon the Multitude, the People ran ſeveral Ways in a Fright, without Waiting for the Ceremony of Saluting *Florus*, or of paying thoſe Offices to the Soldiers that are cuſtomary in ſuch Encounters. They went, in fine, every Man to his own Home; and betwixt Care and Fear, took not much Reſt that Night.

They offer him however the Complement of a ſeeming Reſpect.

Florus *turns them off with Scorn.*

Florus lodg'd at this Time in the Palace, and the next Day he mounted the Tribunal; the High-Prieſt and the prime Men of the City being there Preſent. He paſs'd bitter Reflections upon ſome lewd and reviling Speeches that had been thrown out againſt him; demanding poſitively that the Authors of them ſhould be found out and produc'd: Threatening withal, that he would take his Revenge upon thoſe that were there upon the Place, if they did not bring him the guilty. The *Jews* made Anſwer, *that for the Body of the People, they were for Peace and Quiet: And for thoſe that laſh'd out with their Tongues, they implor'd a Pardon for them. For it could not be imagined*, they ſaid, *in ſo vaſt a Multitude of People; but there muſt needs be ſome raſh and unexperienc'd Men in the Mixture. Neither was it poſſible to diſtinguiſh who were guilty, and who not: For even thoſe that repented of what they had done, would not yet own the Doing of it. And therefore they only offered it to* Florur's *Conſideration, whether any Thing could be more for the Service of the* Roman *Empire, than to conſult the Safety of the People and City, by preſerving them firm in their Allegiance to* Cæſar: *And whether it might not be more adviſable (in Caſe of the Worſt) to ſpare ſome few Criminals, for the Sake of a great many Innocents, than to deſtroy ſo great a Number of innocent Men for the Sake of here and there one that was guilty.* This Way of Reaſoning blew up *Florus* into ſuch a Rage, that he preſently order'd away the Soldiers to the great Market in the Upper Town, to rifle the Place; and kill all they met. When the Soldiers found themſelves ſupported in their Claim to the Pillage by the concurring Authority of their Commander; they did not only execute their Order upon the Places and People they were ſent to: But all Houſes were alike to them, and all the Inhabitants put to Death without Diſtinction: As well thoſe they took upon their Flight, in By-Ways, and ſecret Paſſages; as thoſe they found in their Houſes. No Booty, in ſhort, came amiſs to them. Several of the Nobility, that they ſeiz'd and brought to *Florus*, were by his Order whipt and crucify'd. The whole Number of the ſlain upon that Day, reckoning Women and Children into the

The barbarous proceedings of Florus.

The Sobriety and Moderation of the Jews.

Florus *the worſe for good Councel. His bloody Orders and Executions.*

Several of the Nobility whipt and crucify'd.

Six hundred and thirty Jews *murder'd by* Florus's *Men in one Day.*

Account (as the very Infants at the Breaſts of their Mothers did not ſcape them) was ſix hundred and thirty. The Calamity was grievous in it ſelf, and yet worſe for the very Novelty of it: For it was never heard of before *Florus*'s Time, that ever any of the *Equeſtrian Order* were *whipt* like Slaves and *gibbetted*: For though the Perſons were by Extraction *Jews*, the Dignity was yet *Roman*.

CHAP. XV.

Berenice *goes to* Jeruſalem *to pay a Vow. The Manner of Performing that Duty. She moves* Florus *in Favour of the* Jews. *The People in a Rage againſt him. They come to themſelves again; and* Florus *is troubled at it. He projects a new Broil. Arguments for a Compliance.* Florus's *Project ſucceeds, in a terrible Deſtruction. He attempts the Caſtle, and is beaten off. He retires to the Palace. The Communication cut off betwixt* Fort-Antonia *and the* Temple. Florus *gives over his Deſiga, and returns to* Cæſarea.

Berenice *goes to* Jeruſalem *to pay a Vow.*
The Manner of performing that Duty.

She mediates to Florus *in Favour of the* Jews.

AGrippa was at this Time gone to *Alexandria* upon a Viſit to *Alexander*; whom *Nero* had made Governour of *Ægypt*. His Siſter *Berenice* was then at *Jeruſalem*, and in extreme Affliction for the barbarous Outrages that were practis'd there: inſomuch that ſhe ſent ſeveral Meſſages to *Florus* by ſome of her Horſe-Officers and Guards; beſeeching him earneſtly to hold his Hand, and ſpill no more Blood. But *Florus* had no Senſe at all, either of the Heinouſneſs of the Sin, or of the Honour of the *Mediatreſs*: His Heart was ſet upon Lucre and Pillage, and he look'd upon all other Things (*Berenice* her ſelf not excepted) with Contempt and Neglect. So that the Soldiers did not only go on, Maſſacring and Cutting of Throats, before *Berenice*'s Face; but had moſt certainly kill'd the Queen her ſelf, if ſhe had not made her Eſcape into the Palace: Where ſhe lay Waking all that Night, with a Guard to look to her, for Fear of a Surprize. The Occaſion of her coming to *Jeruſalem*, was the Paying of a Vow to Almighty God; as is uſual in Caſes of providential Deliverances from Sickneſſes and other great Dangers. It is cuſtomary for People under thoſe Circumſtances to continue in Prayer for thirty Days before they ſacrifice; abſtaining from Wine and ſhaving the Hair. *Berenice* was now in her diurnal Courſe of Devotion; and ſtanding Bare-Foot before the Tribunal, there was ſhe interceding to *Florus* for the People, but without any Succeſs or Reſpect: Beſide that ſhe ran the Risk of her Life for the Piety of the Office. This was the ſixteenth of the Month *Artemiſius*.

The People in an Uproar raging againſt Florus.

They are reaſon'd into a better Temper.

On the next Day, the People gather'd together in the Market-Place (in the Upper Town) outrageouſly exclaiming againſt the Murderers of their Friends that were kill'd there the Day before. But the main Streſs of their Rage and Ribaldry fell upon *Florus*. The great Men and the High-Prieſts were ſo ſenſible of the Danger of Provoking him the ſame Way over again, that they tore their Garments, and went about begging from Man to Man, not to talk at that Rate; for the Exaſperating of *Florus* was the Way to ruine them all. Upon this Application, the Multitude was a little more compos'd: Partly out of Reſpect to the Interceſſors, and partly in Hope that the Governour's Spite was over.

Florus *troubled at it.*
His Project for the Raiſing of a new Broil.

Florus was not at all pleas'd to ſee Things ſo quiet again; and therefore he bethought himſelf of a Contrivance how to create a new Broil. He ſent for the High-Prieſts and ſome of the chief Men of the *Jews* to come to him, and then told them that there were *two Companies* coming from *Cæſarea*; and it would be a convincing Evidence of the People's good Affection to the Government, if they would but go out, and meet them upon the Way. The Thing being promis'd and agreed upon, *Florus* gave it in Charge to the *Centurions*, that in Caſe the *Jews* greeted them with any Shew of Complement or Reſpect upon their Meeting, they ſhould not pay them any Manner of Civility in Return: And if but one croſs Word or Look ſhould follow upon it, they ſhould betake themſelves to their Arms. The High-Prieſts got the People together into the Temple, and there adjur'd them by all Means to go out and complement the *Romans* upon the Way; and to be ſure to give them a friendly Salute, for Fear any Thing ſhould be ill taken. There were ſeveral raſh Heads in the Croud againſt it; and the reſt of the Multitude, while the Slaughter of their Friends was yet freſh in their Memory, were forward enough to joyn in Opinion with the Incendiaries. While this was in Agitation, in came all the Prieſts and *Levites*, expoſing the holy Veſſels and other precious Ornaments of the Temple: The ſinging Men and Organiſts with their muſical Inſtruments; addreſſing themſelves to the People with earneſt Entreaties to preſerve the Honour of the Temple ſacred, without provoking the *Romans* by contumelious Affronts to the rifling of it. There were alſo divers of the High-Prieſts with Aſhes upon their Heads; their Breaſts naked, and their Garments torn; applying themſelves to all the Men of Dignity, one by one in particular, and to all together in general, with repeated Importunities not to betray their Country for ſo ſmall a Matter, to thoſe very People that gap'd after the Ruine of it. *For what,* ſaid they, *will the* Romans *be the better for't, if you ſhew them the ſame Reſpect now that you have done formerly? And what will the* Jews *now be the better either for the Refuſal of it? Nay, on the contrary, if you treat them with Honour, and according to the Forms of good Manners, you will leave* Florus *no Pretence to trouble you; and it will effectually amount to a Redeeming of your Country from the Calamities that you have otherwiſe to fear. You are alſo to conſider the Diſproportion betwixt the peaceable Majority of the Multitude, and a few ſcatter'd Mutineers; and that it is all the Reaſon in the World, that the greater Part ſhould over-rule the leſs.* This Way of Diſcourſe had ſuch an Effect upon the People, that betwixt Authority, Argument, and Menace, the fierceſt Men of the Faction were brought over to hear and to do Reaſon. So ſoon as Things were brought to this Diſpoſition, the Prieſts and Princes of the People marched out to meet the Soldiers; and the Multitude in very good Order follow'd them. When the *Jews* were advanced within Diſtance of exchanging a Ceremony, the *Jews* ſaluted them with great Humanity: But receiving no Return, the angry Part of them fell immediately to reviling *Florus*, as the Author and Contriver of all their Miſeries. The Soldiers took the Hint, and in the ſame Inſtant fell upon the *Jews* with Clubs and Cudgels; put them into a Confuſion, and upon the Purſuit trampled great Numbers of them under their Horſes Feet; ſo that upon the whole, betwixt thoſe that dy'd ~~of~~ Blows and Wounds; thoſe that were cruſh'd to Death in the Croud, or ſmother'd in the Gate by preſſing who ſhould get out firſt, and ſo hindring one another, it was upon the main a miſerable Deſtruction, and as frightful a Spectacle, for what with Bruiſes, Maims, and Suffocations, the Bodies were ſo disfigur'd, that one Friend did not know the Face of another, to give him decent Burial. In Fine, the Enemy kill'd all they could come at: And the Thing they principally labour'd was to get betwixt the *Jews* and the Gate of [a] *Bezeth*, being a Paſs that led to the Caſtle *Antonia* and the Temple. *Florus*, at the ſame Time, made a Sally out of the Palace with what Troops he had, upon the Back of the *Jews*, in a Proſpect of forcing the Caſtle: But upon the People's rallying and making Head againſt him, his Deſign fail'd him. For having now got Poſſeſſion of the Houſes, they annoy'd the *Romans* to ſuch a Degree with Stones and Darts, from the Roofs, that the Enemy finding no Fence againſt that Way of Attack, nor any Poſſibility of breaking through the Multitudes of People that throng'd up thoſe narrow Streets, *Florus* was fain to retire with the Remainder of his Army to the Palace. The *Jews* being now in ſome Apprehenſion of *Florus*'s returning to the Aſſault, and of his making an Attempt upon the Temple by the Way of the Fort *Antonia*, they went and cut down a certain Gallery of Communication betwixt the Fort and the Temple: Which was ſuch a Mortification to *Florus*, that finding his Project hopeleſs, and his Avarice diſappointed, (for the holy Treaſure was all he aim'd at) he gave over the Enterprize. Upon this, he conferr'd with the *High-Prieſt* and the *Senate*; telling them that he was now leaving the City, and ready to aſſign them what Garriſon they ſhould think fit. Their Anſwer was, in Regard that there were to be no Innovations, *one Company* would be ſufficient; provided it might not be that which the People had had a Quarrel with already: for they were great Sufferers by them, and lay under a Prejudice. *Florus* chang'd the *Company*, as they deſir'd, and went back with the reſt of his Army to *Cæſarea*.

Arguments for a Compliance.

The People brought to their Senſes again.

Florus's *Project ſucceeds.*

A terrible Deſtruction.

And a dreadful Spectacle.

Florus *attempts the* Caſtle, *and is beaten off.*

He retires to the Palace.

The Communication cut off betwixt Fort Antonia *and the* Temple.

Florus *gives over his Deſign, and returns to* Cæſarea.

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[a] Βεζεθὰ, Joſ.

CHAP. XVI.

Florus *complains of the* Jews *to* Ceſtius, *as* Cæſar's *Enemies.* Cæſar *is better inform'd, and adviſes upon it.* Politianus *pitch'd upon to manage the Enquiry. He conſults* Agrippa; *and they are both receiv'd with great Reſpect. They ſhew* Politianus *what Havock* Florus *had made; and the Loyalty of the* Jews *to other Governours.* Politianus *goes back to* Ceſtius. *The People preſs for a Complaint to* Nero *againſt* Florus. *A healing Speech of* Agrippa's *to the* Jews. *A Diſſuaſive from Sedition. The* Romans *are Lords of the Univerſe: As the* Athenians, *the* Lacedæmonians, *the* Macedonians, *&c.* Agrippa *touches upon the Conſcience and Religion of the War. The whole Body of the* Jews *is involv'd in one common Cauſe.* Agrippa *brings the People to ſome Degree of Moderation.*

Florus *charges the* Jews *to* Ceſtius, *as Enemies to* Cæſar. Berenice *and ſome great Men give* Ceſtius *the Truth of the Story.* Ceſtius *adviſes upon it.*

And pitches upon Politianus *for the Menage of the Enquiry. He meets* Agrippa, *and tells him his Buſineſs.*

FLorus was no ſooner come to *Cæſarea*, but he found out new Matter for the inflaming of a War, and ſent it in a Letter to *Ceſtius* [the Governour of *Syria:*] wherein he charg'd the *Jews* with a Revolt, which was ſo impudent a Falſity, that the very Crimes he imputed to the *Jews*, he was expreſly guilty of himſelf. Now the Queen *Berenice*, and the Principals of *Jeruſalem*, were ſo juſt and candid in this Matter, as to give *Ceſtius* the Particulars of the whole Truth, and a punctual Account of *Florus*'s Way of Adminiſtration. Upon the Receit of this Intimation, *Ceſtius* preſently conferr'd with the great Men about him, what he were beſt to do. Some were for his marching with an Army out of Hand into *Judæa*, and to bring the Offenders to Juſtice, if the Report ſhould be found to be true; or otherwiſe, to encourage them in their Loyalty, if they ſhould appear to be falſly accus'd. Now *Ceſtius* himſelf was rather of Opinion for employing ſome Perſon of Honour and Addreſs before Hand, to learn out the Truth of Things, and then for giving him a faithful Information upon the whole Affair. The Man he pitch'd upon was [a] *Politianus*, a Tribune; who, meeting King *Agrippa* near *Jamnia*, in his Return from *Alexandria*, told him whence he came, who ſent him; and what was his Buſineſs. There were at that Time there, ſeveral High-Prieſts of the *Jews*, Senators, and others of the firſt Quality, to pay their Duty to the King: They had no ſooner paſs'd the firſt Complement of Reſpect in Courſe, but they launch'd out into a lamentable Remonſtrance of the miſerable State they were reduc'd to by the Inhumanities of *Florus*. *Agrippa* thought as they did; but it would not have ſtood with his Dignity to blow the Coal: So that he rather turn'd the Invective artificially againſt the *Jews*, whom yet he pity'd in his Heart; out of a Deſire rather to reſtrain and ſweeten, than to exaſperate their Paſſions: For the leſs they might ſeem to ſuffer, the leſs Provocation could they pretend to a Revenge. They that had moſt to loſe, and certainly moſt Reaſon to deſire a Peace, could not but take that gentle Reproach for a ſignal Inſtance of the King's Goodneſs.

The People of Jeruſalem *receive* Politianus *and* Agrippa, *at ſixty Stadia from the Town.*

They ſhew Politianus *what Havock* Florus *has made up and down the City.*

And the Loyalty of the Jews *to all other* Roman *Governours.*

Politianus *goes back to* Ceſtius.

The People of *Jeruſalem* receiv'd *Agrippa* and [b] *Politianus*, upon the Way, *ſixty Furlongs* from the City, out of Reſpect, to attend them up to the Town; the Women all the while bitterly bewailing the Loſs of their murder'd Husbands; and the whole Multitude, after their Example, burſting out into Tears and Lamentations as by Conſent: Some of them imploring *Agrippa* in Generoſity to take Pity of the Nation; and others begging of [c] *Politianus* but to go into the City, and ſee what Havock *Florus* had made there. Upon this they took him into the Market-Place, and ſhew'd him how every Thing was abandon'd there and forlorn, and the Houſes all in Rubbiſh. They prevail'd with [d] *Politianus* after this, by the Means of *Agrippa*, to take the Tour of the City as far as the Pool of *Siloah*, and only one Servant along with him; where he ſhould ſee with his own Eyes how obedient the *Jews* were to all other *Romans* in Authority: But for the horrid Cruelties of *Florus*, they were utterly intolerable. When he had taken a View of the City, and inform'd himſelf ſufficiently in the loyal Diſpoſitions of the *Jews*, he call'd the People together, and went up to the Temple: Where he enter'd into a declamatory Commendation of their approved Fidelity to the *Romans*; and then, after enlarging himſelf in Exhortations and good Counſels, upon the Subject of the common Peace, he gave God Praiſes and Thanksgivings, with all Veneration for his holy Religion, in Place and Manner according to the Law; and ſo went back to *Ceſtius*.

[a] *So in* Rufinus. *In the* Greek Νεαπολιτανόν τινα πέμπει.

[b] Gr. Τον Νεαπολιτανόν.

[c] Gr. Νεαπολιτανός.

[d] Al. Νεαπολιτανός.

Politianus had no ſooner turn'd his Back, but the Multitude immediately addreſs'd themſelves to the King and the High-Prieſts, preſſing for Leave to ſend Embaſſadors to *Nero* with a Complaint againſt *Florus*: *For if we* (ſaid they) *ſhould ſit ſtill, without bringing ſo bloody an Outrage to an Examination, and putting the Authors of it to the Teſt, it would look as if we our ſelves were the Criminals, and durſt not abide the Tryal.* It was clear on the one Hand, that it would be dangerous for *Agrippa* to refuſe them this Liberty; and it had, at the ſame Time, the Face of an invidious Proſecution on the other, to turn looſe the Multitude againſt their Governour by ſuch an Invective, under the Name of an Embaſſy. So that *Agrippa*, finding himſelf divided betwixt the bold and martial Humour of the *Romans*, and the Hazard of tranſporting the *Jews* into a Tumult, call'd an Aſſembly to meet in a great Gallery; and after the placing of his Siſter *Berenice* upon a Chair of State, in the *Aſmonæan Palace*, which overlooks that Gallery from the upper Part of the Town (the Temple and the Gallery being join'd by a Bridge) he ſpake to the People after this Manner.

The People preſs for a Complaint to Nero *againſt* Florus.

The Danger of ſuch a Proceeding.

Agrippa *calls an Aſſembly.*

A healing Speech of Agrippa *to the* Jews.

If I found you now under any ſort of Diſpoſition to make War upon the Romans, *as I am at this Time clearly convinc'd of the contrary, and that the greater Part of your Profeſſion are Men of Peace and Order, I ſhould have ſav'd both you and my ſelf this Trouble. For what would any Application or Advice of mine ſignify to a Body of Men that labour under an incurable Prejudice? But in Regard that ſome People are purely unquiet for want of an experimental Knowledge of the Miſeries of War: Some out of a vain and inconſiderate Hope of Liberty; others out of Avarice, for the Advantage of the Booty, and making Profit to themſelves out of a general Confuſion: In regard, I ſay, of theſe Corruptions and Miſtakes, I have now thought fit to call you together; and to tell you what I think convenient to be done under your Circumſtances, in order to the rectifying of your Errours, and to prevent the Ruines of a dutiful Majority by the intemperate Heats of a few deſperate Libertines. All I deſire is only your Patience and Silence, and to be heard without Murmuring and Noiſe, whether you like what I ſay or not. As for thoſe that are abandon'd to the Spirit of Diſorder and Confuſion, and irrecoverably loſt; they are ſtill at Liberty to go their own Way, let my Opinion be what it will. But it is to no Purpoſe for me to ſpeak at all, unleſs I may be heard by thoſe that deſire to hear me.*

I know very well that the Faults of Governours and the Bleſſings of Liberty, are two common Topicks for Men of Art and Paſſion to work upon. Now before I enter upon the Diſquiſition of what you your ſelves are, and the Force you are pretending to Encounter, I muſt, in the firſt Place, divide two Points that you confound, by taking them into one. If Revenge upon your Oppreſſors, (or let it be Juſtice, *if you pleaſe) be the Thing that you contend for, what's the meaning of your crying up Liberty at ſuch an extravagant Rate? Or, if Subjection be in it ſelf ſo intolerable, what's the Quarrel to your Governours? For let them be the beſt natur'd People under the Cope of Heaven, Subjection is but Subjection ſtill, and ſo ſtill as ſcandalous as it was before.*

The Faults of Government and the Bleſſings of Liberty are the common Subjects for Art and Paſſion to work upon.

Whether Rulers be good or bad, Subjection is Subjection ſtill.

Take Things to Pieces now, and conſider a little, upon what Ground it is that you pretend to calumniate and cavil, and in what Manner you are to behave your ſelves, even if your Governours ſhould be to blame. It is your Intereſt, as well as your Duty, to ſweeten Things with Offices of Tenderneſs and Reſpect, and not to treat your Superiors with Brawls and coarſe Language. When you make Things greater than they are, you provoke thoſe that are over you to make Things worſe than they would otherwiſe be: And to turn that male-Adminiſtration that they were half aſham'd of before, into a bare-fac'd raging Tyranny. There's nothing takes off the Edge of Oppreſſion, like Patience: Reſignation is enough to put Perſecution out of Countenance, even let it be never ſo violent and unjuſt.

We owe a Duty and Reſpect even to the worſt of Governours.

Make it the Caſe now, that you are in Truth extremely abus'd by the Roman *Government, will you have this to be the Act preſently of all the* Romans; *nay, and of* Cæſar *himſelf too? And there's your Quarrel. You cannot imagine that thoſe Governours have it in their Commiſſion to oppreſs you; or that* Cæſar *himſelf can look* Eaſt *and* Weſt, *and ſo thorough the four Quarters of the World all at a Time; when 'tis no eaſy Matter for him to get a faithful Account at* Rome, *even of what is done here. How great a Madneſs is it then, to run the Riſque of ſo dangerous a War for Trifles; and in very Deed, for we know not what! Beſide that Matters may mend in Time; for Governours are neither immortal nor perpetual; but they take their Turns: And it is reaſonable enough to hope, and to promiſe our ſelves, that the next Comer will be better. Now when a War is once commenc'd, 'tis neither to be let fall, nor to be continu'd without miſerable Inconveniences. As for thoſe that ſet up for Liberty, let them have a Care, in the firſt Place, not to run themſelves out of it; for the laſt Slavery is always the uneaſieſt, and to avoid that Yoke muſt be acknowledged a juſt Cauſe of War: For he that is once a Subject, and then falls off, is rather a ſtubborn Slave, than a generous Advocate of Freedom.*

A Diſſuaſive from Sedition.

If any Thing could have been done againſt the Might of the Romans, *why was it not done when* Pompey *brake in upon us? But if your Fore-fathers and the Princes of thoſe Times, (though much your Superiors, in Men, Money and Conduct) were not able to ſtand before ſo inconſiderable a Detachment of their Power; with what Face or Senſe can you pretend now at this Time of the Day, to bid Defiance to the whole Body of the Empire? To ſay nothing of the Obligation of an hereditary Allegiance of ſo long a Continuance, that hath deſcended from your Predeceſſors to their Poſterity.*

The Bravery of the Athenians *was not able to ſupport them againſt the* Romans.

What do you think of thoſe brave and generous Athenians, *that conteſted for the Liberty of* Greece, *to the very Extremity of laying their Country in Aſhes? Thoſe People that brought down the proud Heart of the vain and inſolent* Xerxes: *Put him to Flight at* [a] Salamis; *and having broken the whole Power of* Aſia, *forced him to ſhift for himſelf in a Cock-boat: That haughty Prince that turn'd the Sea into Land, and the Land into Sea, to make Room for his Fleets and Armies; that look'd as if they would have ſwallow'd* Europe: *And yet the Nation that did all this are now Subjects to the* Romans; *and* Greece *receives Laws from* Italy.

The Lacedæmonians.

The Caſe is the ſame with the Lacedæmonians *too; after all their famous Exploits at* Thermopylæ *and* Platea; *and* Ageſilaus's *carrying their victorious Arms into the Heart of* Aſia. *And yet at preſent theſe* Heroes *own the ſame Maſters ſtill?*

The Macedonians, &c. *had all the ſame Maſters.*

To come now to the Macedonians, *with their* Philips *and their* Alexanders, *ſtill running in their Heads: A People that to this very Day propoſe little leſs to themſelves than the Empire of the Univerſe: Has not Fortune reduc'd theſe People alſo to the ſame Fate, and of* Conquerours *made them* Subjects? *And* Subjects *alſo to the ſame* Governours. *I might reckon up a great many other Nations now, much more conſiderable than your ſelves, that in the Vanity of an ambitious Contention for Liberty, have been forced to ſubmit and to obey: And are you the only Men in the World do you think, that are too good to ſerve the ſovereign Lords of all other People? Where's your* Militia, *or the Arms that you depend upon? Your Fleets to ſcoure the* Roman *Seas? And where's your Treaſure to anſwer the Expence of this Undertaking? You fanſy an* Ægyptian *or an* Arabian *War perhaps: But you proceed altogether upon falſe Meaſures, without comparing the Diſproportion betwixt your Ability and your Undertaking, and the Inequality betwixt a weak and a diſorderly People, and the Stability of a formidable Empire. 'Tis a common Thing for you to be over-run and ſurpriz'd by your next Neighbours; when at the ſame Time the* Romans *carry'd the whole World before them.*

The Power and Majeſty of Rome.

The Romans *Lords of the Univerſe.*

Nay, and the known World would not content them neither; for though they were poſſeſs'd of the Courſe of the Euphrates *to the* Eaſt; *the* Danube *to the* North; *the* Libyan Deſart *to the* South, *and as far as* Cadiz *to the* Weſt: *Nothing would ſerve them but another World beyond the Ocean, and the carrying of their Arms into* Britanny; *which at that Time was look'd upon as inacceſſible. But what is it now that you pretend to all this while? Would you be thought richer than the* Gaules; *hardier than the* Germans, *or wiſer than the* Greeks; *or do you take your ſelves to be hard enough for all Mankind beſide? Upon what Ground is it that you are thus bold and confident againſt the* Romans? *It will be ſaid perhaps that it is an uneaſy and an irkſome Thing to ſerve: But if it be ſo to you, what muſt it be to the* Greeks? *Who, over and above a large Extent of Territory, are look'd upon as Men of the nobleſt Extraction of any People under the Sun: And yet theſe Men, great and noble as they are, live in Obedience to the* Romans. *And ſo do the* Macedonians *alſo; who have undoubtedly more Right to a Claim of Liberty than you can pretend to. Or what do ye ſay to the five hundred Cities of* Aſia *that peaceably ſubmit themſelves to a* Conſul, *without any Guard or Garriſon to overawe them. To ſay nothing of the* Heniochians; *the* Colchians; *the Nations about the* Boſphorus, *and the Inhabitants of the Coaſts of* Pontus, *and the Lake of* Mæotis: *People ſo free in former Times, that they never had ſo much as a Maſter among themſelves; and yet three thouſand* Romans *were enough to keep them all in Subjection: And forty Galleys ſufficient to preſerve all thoſe Seas in Peace and Obedience, which no Creature durſt venture upon before.*

Had the Bithynians, Cappadocians, Pamphylians, Lydians *and* Cicilians, *nothing to ſay for themſelves upon the Point of Liberty? For they are at preſent all* Tributaries, *and pay their Duties, without Soldiers to compel them. And how is it with the* Thracians *now in a large Country of ſeven Days Journey in Length, and five over; and much more rude, and more defenſible than yours: Being almoſt impaſſable for the bitter Froſts and deep Snows there; and yet a Guard of only two thouſand* Romans *keeps them all in Order. And then for the* Illyrians *from beyond the* Danube *as far as* Dalmatia, *and ſo likewiſe the* Dacians: *They are all under the Guard only of two Legions. Nay, the* Dalmatians *themſelves, after ſo many Conteſts for Liberty; ſo many Baffles in the At-*

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[a] Gr. Περὶ τῇ σμικρᾷ Σαλαμῖνι.

tempts,

tempt, and ſo many Rallies and Reinforcements afterwards, in Proſecution of the ſame Deſign; how quiet and eaſy are they under the Command of one ſingle Legion!

But after all this; if any Pretence whatſoever might juſtify a Revolt, the Gauls of all Men living have the greateſt Encouragement and Temptation to do it, in the very Situation of their Country. For they are naturally fortify'd; on the Eaſt, with the Alps; the Rhine, on the North; the Pyrenæan Mountains, on the South; and on the Weſt, with the Ocean. But all theſe Advantages notwithſtanding; three hundred and fifteen Nations in the ſame Intereſt; an inexhauſtible Source of all good Things within themſelves both for Uſe and Commerce, not only for their own, but likewiſe for the common Benefit of Mankind; and yet we find theſe People under the Roman Allegiance; and propounding no other Happineſs to themſelves than in that of their Maſters. And this Reſignation does not ariſe from the Want of Courage, either natural or acquir'd; or from the Want of brave Examples in their Anceſtors; who had ſtood a Diſpute of eighty Years for the Maintenance of their Liberty; but finding ſo admirable a Concurrence of Fortune and Virtue in the Actions of the Romans, the Gauls were ſo ſurpriz'd betwixt the Veneration they had for the one, and their Dread of the other, that the Romans gain'd as much upon them by their Goodneſs as by their Arms; inſomuch that at this Day, with only twelve hundred Men, they ſecure almoſt as many Cities in their Allegiance.

What was Spain the better now for their golden Mines, when they came to contend with the Romans for their Freedom? Or I might inſtance in Nations more remote from Rome, both by Sea and Land; as the Luſitanians and Cantabrians; where neither Valour, Diſtance, nor Poſition, could warrant them againſt the Power of Rome; though bordering upon a Sea ſo impetuous, that it is not to be ſo much as nam'd, or thought of, without Dread and Horror. And what ſignify'd Hercules's Pillars, or the Pyrenæan Mountains; ſo many warlike Nations in the Way, Diſtance, or any other Difficulty, to the obſtructing of the Progreſs of their victorious Arms? But they were reduced as well as the reſt, and one ſingle Legion ſerv'd for a Guard upon them all.

I need not tell you that the Germans are a populous Nation, and that their Country is of a vaſt Extent; the People ſtrong, and big-limb'd, their Courage anſwerable to their Size and Stature, and firm to the very Contempt of Death it ſelf. But Part of this, you are Eye-witneſſes of; for the Romans have Slaves of that Nation all over the Earth. In their Anger they are more outragious than Brutes; and the Rhine is at this Day their Frontier. They have a Guard of Eight Roman Legions upon them, that make Slaves of as many of them as they take, and the reſt ſave themſelves by Flight.

As for thoſe that place ſo much Confidence in the Walls of Jeruſalem, they ſhould do well to conſider the Walls of Britain, where the Inhabitants are ſurrounded by the Sea, in a Kind of a new World, not much inferior to the other. They have made themſelves Maſters of this vaſt Iſland too, and aſſigned only four Legions for a Guard upon it. And what ſhall we ſay of the Parthians now? A powerful and a warlike People, that have heretofore given Laws to ſo many great Nations themſelves. What's the Meaning of ſending the Flower of their Nobility for Hoſtages to Rome, but a tacit Acknowledgment of Subjection under the Colour of Peace? Are we the only Men in the World to make War upon the Empire, when all other Nations tremble under the Apprehenſion of their Arms?

Pray call to mind the Fate of Carthage, a People that valu'd themſelves as Branches of the noble Race of the Phœnicians, that had the Honour of the famous Hannibal for their Commander. What was the End of that brave People, but to fall under the conquering Arms of Scipio?

But neither the Cyrenæans, of the Lacedæmonian Race; nor the Marmaridans that ſtretched their Dominion as far as the parch'd Deſarts; nor the Syrtes, ſo frightful to our Apprehenſions; nor the Naſamonians; nor the Moors; nor the numberleſs Multitude of the Numidians, were able to put any Check to the Roman Courage. They had reduced in Fine the third Part of the World to their Subjection, ſo large that the very Nations are hardly to be number'd, beginning from the Atlantick-Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, to the Red-Sea, and comprizing all the Æthiopia's. All this they took by Arms, reſerving over and above to themſelves, a yearly Tribute of Corn, ſufficient to maintain the People of Rome for eight Months; beſide other Duties that they pay chearfully and readily, though there be but one Legion in Garriſon to raiſe the Contribution.

But here's no Need of Recourſe to remote Examples for Proof of the uncontroulable Power of Rome, when we may have Inſtances ſo much nearer Hand. As for the Purpoſe, in Ægypt: A Kingdom that ſtretches out as far as Æthiopia and Arabia-Felix; contiguous to the Indies; and an infinite Multitude of People in it, beſide thoſe of Alexandria: And yet this mighty populous Kingdom does not think much to be rated by the Poll toward the Service of the State, and as a Tributary to the Romans; but frankly anſwers the Impoſition, though not without ſome Ground plauſible enough to grumble at it.

How comes it now that Alexandria *does not revolt too? A ſtrong, a large, and an opulent* City; thirty Furlongs *in* Length, *and* ten in Breadth: *Prodigiouſly peopled and fortify'd round about it, either with deſolated Deſarts; Seas without Ports; deep Rivers, or boggy Quagmires. But the Fortune of* Rome *ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties: For two Legions in the City were enough to ſecure the* [a] *Peace of* Ægypt, *and to bridle the* Macedonian *Nobility. Now this City paid more Tribute in a Month than you do in a Year; and four Months-Proviſion in Corn for the People of* Rome, *beſide Money.*

If this be the Caſe, what Deſarts do you propound to repair to for Companions in your Undertaking? For all the habitable Part of the World is clearly againſt you; and in Effect, Romans; *unleſs you flatter your ſelves with Hopes of Aſſiſtance from your Country-Men the* Adiabenians *on the other Side of the* Euphrates. *But ſuppoſing now that they could be guilty of ſo groſs an Overſight as to engage in a War ſo deſperate, upon ſo unreaſonable a Ground; the* Parthians *themſelves would never endure ſuch a Diſreſpect toward the* Romans *as muſt inevitably end in a Rupture, by countenancing a War againſt them. So that you have no Retreat left but a Recourſe to God's Power (in Truth) againſt his Providence; which is moſt evidently ſeen in the Advance, Eſtabliſhment, and Protection of the* Roman *Empire.*

Agrippa reflects upon the Conſcience and Religion of the War.

Conſider again the Conſcience and Religion of the War, even if you your ſelves were the ſtronger of the two. How can you pretend to diſpenſe with the Violation both of God's and of your own Laws; or to expect a Bleſſing from Heaven in the very Act of your Diſobedience? If you [b] *keep the* Sabbath-Day *as ſtrictly and religiouſly as you profeſs, and as your Laws bind you to do; you will moſt certainly be caught in the ſame Snare over again that your Predeceſſors were hamper'd in by* Pompey *heretofore: That is to ſay, by taking Advantage of your Scruples, and falling upon you on thoſe Days when you dare not ſo much as move a Hand to defend your ſelves. Now if you make no Conſcience of breaking the Laws, in fighting one Day as well as another, how do you fight for the maintaining of them, and how can you look for any Favour from God in the deliberate Breach of his own Commandments! Who ever made War but in Hope of Aſſiſtance either from God or Man? And when both fail, what can be the Conſequence but a voluntary wilful Slavery? If this be your Reſolution, what have you more to do but to lay violent Hands upon your Wives and Children, and to lay your glorious Country in Aſhes! The extravagant Madneſs of the Action will be ſome Sort of Excuſe for it: Beſide that it will ſave you the Diſhonour of falling by the Hand of an Enemy.*

'Tis a high Point of Wiſdom, my good Friends, and, upon my Word, a very neceſſary Point, to foreſee and to provide for a Storm while the Ship is yet in the Harbour; and it is as dangerous on the other Hand, to put off the Conſideration of it till the Tempeſt is upon you, and then to ſtand trembling, and at your Wits End, which Way to turn your ſelves. As for thoſe Calamities that threaten us at Unawares, and by Surprize; People that fall into them are to be pity'd; for there's no preventing of Evils not to be foreſeen: But for Men that run head-long into viſible Hazards, they fall not only unlamented, but with Infamy alſo and Scandal.

Your Way of Proceeding in this Affair would almoſt perſuade a Body that you are already agreed upon Terms with the Romans, *how they are to behave themſelves in Caſe of gaining their Point. That is to ſay, with Tenderneſs and Moderation, and not according to the Practice of other Nations, with Fire and Sword; burning your ſacred Cities; extirpating your whole Race, and deſtroying every Man of you, upon the Purſuit, that outlives the Dint of the Battle; for which Way can you fly, but into the very Mouths of your Enemies; who are either the Subjects of* Rome *already, or ſuch as live in Fear of being quickly made ſo.*

The Cauſe of the *Jews* is one common Cauſe.

And you are not to flatter your ſelves that this Calamity will ſtop here neither; but all the Jews *upon the Face of the Earth are to expect your Fate; and the whole Univerſe will join as one Man, to the puniſhing of this Rebellion. You will remember what I tell you now, when you ſhall ſee the Streets run Blood, to gratify the impetuous Violences of a few turbulent and hot-headed Councels. And the* Romans *are not to be blam'd at laſt, for doing only that which you your ſelves have forc'd them to; and you are then to conſider, on the other Side, in Caſe they ſhould ſpare you, what an Impiety you have to anſwer for, in the Abuſe of ſo much Humanity and Good Nature.*

Or if you have no longer any Senſe now of natural Tenderneſs for your Wives and Children, have at leaſt ſome Compaſſion for your capital City, and the ſacred Walls of it; have Mercy even upon the Temple; your Law, and the holy Sanctuary; which you your ſelves are now about to deſtroy with your own Hands; for you are never to hope for Mercy again from the Romans, *after ſo ungreateful an Abuſe of the Indulgences you have formerly received from them.*

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[a] *See* Caſaubon's *Notes upon* Fl. Vopiſcus, *p.* 250.

[b] *See* Selden *de* Jure Nat. & Gent. *l.* 3. *c.* 18, 19.

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But to conclude, I do here call God and his Holy Angels, and our whole Country, and all that is ſacred, to Witneſs: That for my own Part, I have done whatever in me lay toward your Preſervation. If you will do as you ought to do, and follow my Councel, you may yet live in Peace: But if you go on in this deſperate Way of Tumult and Outrage, I will have no more to do with you.

This Diſcourſe of *Agrippa* was ſeconded ſo effectually with the Tears of his Siſter *Berenice*, who was there Preſent, that they both wept, and the People abated ſomewhat of their Violence, and fell to Muttering one with another, that their Quarrel was not to the *Romans*; but to *Florus*, for the Indignities he had put upon them. *And yet* ſays Agrippa, *you do the very ſame Things that the profeſs'd Enemies of* Rome *would do. Have you not broken down the* Antonian *Galleries: And do you not refuſe* Cæſar *his Tribute? Now if you would remove all Pretence of Jealouſy, you have no more to do then, without any farther Delay, but to pay the one, and to rebuild the other: For this is none, either of* Florus's *Fort or Tribute.*

The People were now coming to themſelves again, and very orderly waited upon the King and *Berenice* up to the Temple; where they apply'd themſelves immediately to the re-edifying of the Galleries, and at the ſame Time ſent their Agents and Officers up and down the Province to gather up the Duty that was behind: Which was forthwith collected and pay'd in; being the juſt Sum of forty Talents, which was the whole Arrear.

The violent Rage of the Tumult being ſomewhat abated, *Agrippa* adviſed the Multitude to ſubmit to *Florus* for the Preſent, till *Cæſar* ſhould ſend them another Governour. This put the People in ſuch a Flame, that they did not only give him inſolent reviling Language; but pelted him with Stones, and drove him out of the City. The King was ſenſible of the Contempt, to the higheſt Degree, and finding the Rabble ſo inſufferably bold and ungovernable, he ſent ſeveral Men of Quality to *Florus* at *Cæſarea* to make ſuch Choice out of them as he thought fit, to ſerve as Collectors for the whole Province; and ſo *Agrippa* departed.

Agrippa *brings the People in ſome Meaſure to their Wits again.*

CHAP. XVII.

Maſſada *ſurpriz'd, and the Garriſon put to the Sword. The* Jews *reject the* Romans *cuſtomary Sacrifices.* Eleazar *the Head of the Faction: And this Refuſal the Ground of the War. Men of the beſt Quality are for moderate Councels. The Impiety of the Prohibition. An Affront to* Cæſar *himſelf. Preſidents and Reports in Favour of the Practices. They apply themſelves to* Florus *and* Agrippa *for Relief.* Agrippa *ſends Troops to* Jeruſalem. *A War begun in the City. A very great Slaughter. The Feſtival* Xylophoria. *The King's Troops worſted. The Faction quits the Upper Town, and lays all in Aſhes. Men of the beſt Quality creep into Sinks and Vaults.* Antonia *taken by Aſſault.* Manahem *heads the* Jeruſalem Rebels. *A notable Stratagem defeated. The King's People get Leave to depart.*

SOON after this, there was a ſtrong Party of the Faction gotten by Stealth into *Maſſada*, a *Roman* Garriſon: Where they ſurpriz'd the Soldiers; put all the *Romans* to the Sword, and a Guard of their own People into their Places.

Maſſada *ſurpriz'd, and the Garriſon put to the Sword.*

There happen'd at the ſame Time, another Diſorder alſo, in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. One *Eleazar*, the Son of *Ananias* the High-Prieſt; a deſperate daring young Man, and a military Officer then in Command, preſs'd ſome of his Friends among the Prieſts, not to receive any Offering or Sacrifice but from the Nation of the *Jews*. Now this was the very Ground and Foundation of a War with the *Romans*: For upon this Inſtance of *Eleazar's*, *Cæſar's* Sacrifices came to be rejected that were offered up in Courſe for the Welfare of the People of *Rome*. The High-Prieſts, and the Men of the beſt Quality declared themſelves extremely unſatisfy'd with the Novelty of that Prohibition; and with great Importunities deſir'd the Continuance of ſo pious a Cuſtom as the Offering up of Prayers for Princes and Governours: But the Mutineers were ſtiff and inexorable; Depending upon the Strength of their Numbers; for all that were for *Innovations* were on their Side; *Eleazar* being look'd upon more particularly as the Head of the Sedition; a Perſon (as I ſaid before) of Courage, and in Command. This Occaſion brought together the Princes, the High-Prieſts, and the *Phariſees* of the firſt Quality, to adviſe what was beſt to be done upon the preſent Juncture: For they ſaw manifeſtly the mortal Conſequences that threaten'd the City by this Tumult. They debated the Point, and came to this Reſolution; to try what they were able to do toward Pacifying the Minds of the People. In Order to this Experiment; they call'd the

The Jews *reject the* Romans *cuſtomary Sacrifices.* Eleazar *the Head of the Faction; and this Refuſal the Ground of the War.*

Men of the beſt Quality are for moderate Councels, *The Impiety and Injuſtice of the Prohibition.*

People together in a Body before the brazen Gate, (as they call'd it) on the Inſide of the Temple to the Eaſtward: And there they began their Diſcourſe with Reflections upon the Raſhneſs of the Enterprize, and of involving their Country in ſo deſtructive a War. From thence they proceeded to the unreaſonable Ground of the Diſpute, and the Injuſtice of the Cauſe: For ſo far were their Predeceſſors, they ſaid from prohibiting or refuſing Oblations from Strangers, (which would have been a wicked Thing) that they were, in ſome Sort, a Part of their Worſhip: Their Preſents, as appears to this very Day, being preſerved in the Temple as Ornaments, and in Honour to the Memory of the Preſenters.

An Affront to Cæſar *himſelf.*

But to be now provoking the *Romans* to a dangerous War, and to the Scandal, if not the Ruine of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf; by ſetting up *New Methods* of *Religion* (for this impious Interdiction, to the Excluding of all Sorts of People but *Jews*, from offering up Prayers and Oblations to God in his Holy Temple, imports no leſs:) This has the Face I ſay of ſo extravagant an Impoſition, that the very Inhumanity of it were not to be excus'd, even in the Caſe of any *private* Perſon: But to make it general, and carry it to the whole People of *Rome*; and effectually, to the Excommunicating of *Cæſar* himſelf, the Affront muſt needs be unpardonable. But what if this Contempt ſhould be turn'd upon us now, and we that refuſe to offer up Prayers and Oblations for other People, ſhould not be allowed the Liberty hereafter of Worſhipping for our ſelves? When the City ſhall be left without all Manner of Diſcipline; all this we are to expect unleſs we repent, and make Satisfaction before *Cæſar* comes to the Knowledge of the uncharitable and fooliſh Things we have done already.

Preſidents and Reports in Favour of the Practice.

With theſe Words ſeveral of the beſt read Men they had in the *Jewiſh* Rites and Laws, ſtood forth with Preſidents and Reports of the Practices of former Times, upon the Point in Queſtion; who did all agree and declare, that their Anceſtors never refuſed the Receiving of Oblations from Strangers. But the *Innovators*, whoſe Buſineſs was War not Peace, gave no Heed to what they ſaid: Neither did the *Levites* ſo much as ſhew themſelves at the Altar; being wholly intent upon the War.

They apply themſelves to Florus *and* Agrippa *for Succour.*

When the Men of Quality found the Multitude too ſtrong for the Government, and themſelves the likelieſt Men to fall firſt under the Laſh of the *Romans*, they laid their Heads together, and agreed upon ſending Deputies with Inſtructions to make Things eaſier to them: Some to *Florus*; and *Simon*, the Son of *Ananias*, the Chief of them: Others to *Agrippa*; the Principals being *Saul*, *Antipas* and *Coſtobarus:* Which laſt was a Kinſman of *Agrippa*'s. Their Buſineſs was to ſollicit them both, to come with ſome Troops to *Jeruſalem* to cruſh the Rebellion in Time.

Agrippa *ſends Troops to* Jeruſalem.

This was the beſt News in the World to *Florus*, that had a Mind to inflame the War, how calamitous ſoever in it ſelf: As appear'd by the Delay of his Anſwer to the Deputies, on Purpoſe to give the Rebels Opportunity to gather to a Head. But *Agrippa*, that was for the common Good, had a Mind to ſave both Parties the beſt he could; the Guilty as well as the Innocent; and by that Means to ſecure the *Jews* to the *Romans*, and *Jeruſalem* to the *Jews*. But yet however finding his own Intereſt at Stake too, he ſent two thouſand auxiliary Horſe: That is to ſay from *Auranitis*, *Batanæa* and *Trachonitis*; with *Darius* in the Head of them, and *Philip* the Son of *Joachim* their General.

A War begun in the City.

The Princes of the People, with the High-Prieſts, and all that were for Peace, received theſe Deputies into the Upper Town; the lower Part and the Temple, being already in the Hands of the Faction. They began a Skirmiſh with Darts and Stones, and ſo to Bows and Arrows on both Sides, without Intermiſſion: And now and then upon Sallies and Excurſions, they fought alſo Hand to Hand. The Rebels ſeem'd to be the more daring; but the King's Men underſtood the Art of War the better of the two. The Thing they principally preſs'd, was the Forcing of the ſacrilegious Faction out of the Temple: While *Eleazar* and his Complices labour'd as hard on the other Side to make themſelves Maſters of the Upper Town. The Diſpute laſted ſeven Days, without any Manner of Advance on either Hand, but with great Slaughter on both Sides.

A very great Slaughter.
The Feſtival of Xylophoria.

The King's Troops worſted.
The Faction quits the Upper Town, and lays all in Aſhes.

The Feſtival of [a] *Xylophoria* (as they call it) now drawing on, which had the Name from the Cuſtom of carrying Wood to the Temple, to keep Fire all the Year long, they excluded the Rebels from their Worſhip. But while a Party of the *Jews* were abroad upon this Office, a Band of cut-Throats (known by the Name of *Sicarii*, from the privy Daggers they wore) fell in among theſe People; and ſo improv'd the Advantage, that the King's Troops being overborn, both with Hardineſs and Number, quitted the Upper Town; and the Faction immediately took

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[a] *See* Cunæus *de* Rep. Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 13. *&* Doughtey's Analecta Sacra, *p.* 129.

Poſſeſſion of it. They brake, after this, into the Houſe of *Ananias* the High-Prieſt, and burnt the Palace of *Agrippa* and *Berenice* to Aſhes: Propoſing in the next Place, to ſet Fire to the Offices of Record; and to deſtroy both together, that Creditors might have nothing to ſhew for their Money: Not doubting by this Contrivance to draw over all the Beggars and Debtors into their Intereſt; and ſo to turn the Squabble into a direct War of the Poor againſt the Rich, under the Colour of aſſerting their Liberties. The Keepers, in fine, that had theſe Papers and Securities in Charge, abandon'd their Truſt, and ſhifted away for themſelves: And both Records and Offices were all burnt. After this Maim to the Strength and Credit of the City, they apply'd themſelves more particularly to the Proſecution of the War.

In this deplorable Confuſion, ſeveral of the Nobility and High-Prieſts were forced to fly for their Safety into Sinks and Vaults; others got into the upper Palace among the King's Troops, bolting the Door after them, and making good the Paſſage: *Ananias* the High-Prieſt, *Hezekias* his Brother, and *Agrippa*'s Deputies being of the Number.

Men of the beſt Quality creep into Sinks and Vaults.

The Faction contented themſelves for the preſent with the Victory they had gotten, and the Miſchief they had done: And ſo lay ſtill a while and paus'd upon it. But the Day following being the *fifteenth* of the Month *Loüs*, they attack'd the Caſtle of *Antonia:* And after two Days they carry'd it by Aſſault; cut the whole Garriſon to Pieces, and burnt the Place: Paſſing from thence to the Palace, where *Agrippa*'s Troops had taken Sanctuary. They divided themſelves into four Bodies, and attempted the Undermining of the Walls; but the Defendents were fain to keep cloſe, as not being ſtrong enough to venture a Sally. The Aggreſſors all this while ply'd their Works, and ſeveral of the Faction, as well as the *Sicarii*, periſh'd under the Walls. In ſhort, they fought Day and Night without Reſpite: The Faction, in Hope of making the Defendents deſperate by ſtarving them; and the Defendents propounding to tire out the Faction with the Fatigue of a continual Duty.

Antonia *taken by Aſſault.*

There was among theſe People, one [a] *Manahem*, the Son of *Judas* of *Galilee*; a crafty Man, and an artificial Orator: This was he that formerly upbraided the *Jews* under *Cyrenius*, for profeſſing to worſhip one God, and yet at the ſame Time owning the *Romans* for their Maſters. This *Manahem* had a Deſign upon *Herod*'s Arſenal at *Maſſada*; ſo he inveigled ſeveral Men of Quality into his Party; took them along with him, and forc'd the Place; arm'd a Company of Vagabonds and beggarly Fellows out of it; and with them for his Guard, away he marched like a little King to *Jeruſalem*; ſets up for the Head of the Mutineers, and accordingly gives his Orders in Form for the carrying on the Siege of the Palace.

Manahem *heads the* Jeruſalem *Rebels.*

The Thing they moſt wanted was *Machines*; for there was no Working at the Foot of the Wall within View of an Enemy over their Heads to gall them from above: So that they began to break Ground at a Diſtance, and carryd on a cover'd Way to the Foot of one of the Towers; which they undermin'd at the Foundation, and then propt it up with Timbers to ſupport the Weight. When they had finiſh'd the Work, they ſet Fire to thoſe Timbers, and ſo withdrew: And thoſe Pillars being conſum'd, the Turret fell to the Ground. But the King's Troops were aware it ſeems of this Stratagem, and ran up another Wall immediately behind the Turret to make the Place good. This Diſcovery, upon the Fall of one of the Towers, and when they reckon'd their Work as good as done too, put the Beſiegers into the greateſt Aſtoniſhment and Confuſion imaginable. But yet for all this, the King's People in the Palace ſent to *Manahem*, and the other Leaders of the Miſ-rule that were with him, for Leave to depart: Which was preſently granted; but only to the King's People, and others of his Religion, who forthwith went their Way.

A notable Stratagem defeated.

The King's People get Leave to depart.

This put the *Romans* quite out of Heart that ſtay'd behind; for they were neither able to deal with ſo vaſt a Number, neither could they in Honour deſcend to treat with Rebels: Beſide the Hazard of lying at the Mercy of Men that had neither Honour nor Faith. In this Extremity they quitted the Camp as not defenſible, and betook themſelves to the King's Forts; as *Hippon*, *Phaſael*, and *Mariamne*. *Manahem*'s People immediately breaking in as faſt as the Soldiers quitted; killing all they could lay their Hands on, ſtripping the Places of all the Furniture, and in the Concluſion burning the Camp. This Action bare Date the *ſixth* of the Month *Gorpiæus*.

[a] Gr. Μανάημος.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Death of Ananias *and* Hezekiah. Manahem, *a mean ſcandalous Wretch, ſets up for a Prince. He is aſſaulted in the Temple. The Seizure and Death of* Manahem. *The two Parties but two Factions one againſt the other.* Metilius *a* Roman *General treats upon Terms with* Eleazar. *The Agreement ratify'd upon Oath and Articles. The barbarous Perfidy of* Eleazar. *The Prologue to the Ruine of the* Jews. *A* Sabbath-*Days Execution.*

The Death of Ananias *and* Hezekiah.

Manahem, a mean ſcandalous Wretch, ſets up for a Prince. He is aſſaulted in the Temple.

The Seizure and Death of Manahem.

ON the Day following, *Ananias* the High-Prieſt was taken up out of one of the Sinks about the Court, where he had hid himſelf, and his Brother *Hezekiah* with him; and both put to Death by ſome of the *Sicarii*. The Faction ſet ſtrict Guards alſo about the Forts; inſomuch that none of the Soldiers could make their Eſcapes. Now what with the ravaging of ſo many fortify'd Places, and the Death of *Ananias* the High-Prieſt; *Manahem* was puff'd up into ſo vain and over-weaning a Conceit of himſelf, that he became the moſt inhumane and inſupportable Tyrant upon the Face of the Earth; as if no Man living had the Spirit of Government but himſelf. Theſe ſavage Inſolencies gave Occaſion to *Eleazar*, and ſome few of his Confidents, to enter into a Diſcouſe one with another upon this Subject. *It cannot be for Shame*, ſays one of them, *that any Man that has lifted up his Hand againſt the* Romans *in Vindication of his Liberty, ſhould betray that Liberty again to a private Man; and truckle to ſuch a Maſter too; as even if he were not unqualify'd for Government by his Cruelty, he were yet a Scandal to the Function by the very Meanneſs of his Extraction. If there be an abſolute Neceſſity of ſetting up one Man above all the reſt*, Manahem *certainly of all Mortals is not to be that Man.* When they had talk'd themſelves into a Reſolution, they went together in that Heat up to the Temple: And there was *Manahem* attending his Devotions, in the Pomp of a Prince, both for his Dreſs and Train, in his royal Robes, and with his armed Guards about him. While he was priding himſelf there in the Huff of his Glory, ſome of *Eleazar*'s People made a violent Aſſault upon his Perſon; which ſet the People preſently a ſtoning [a] him, upon a Fancy that all would be well again if he were but gone. His Guards made a Shew of ſome ſlight Reſiſtance, till they ſaw that the whole Multitude were againſt him: And then every Man ſhifted away the beſt he could. They kill'd as many as they could take, and hunted out the reſt as far as was poſſible. Some few got privately into *Maſſada*; as *Eleazar* for one, the Son of *Jairus*, and *Manahem*'s near Kinſman: Who afterwards exerciſed a tyrannical Government in that Place. As for *Manahem* himſelf, he was taken pitifully ſculking in a Place call'd *Ophlas*; dragg'd out of his hiding-Hole, and expos'd; miſerably tortur'd, and then put to Death. His Deputies and Aſſiſtants were ſerv'd likewiſe after the ſame Manner, and [b] *Abſalom* for one, who was the chief Promoter of the Tyranny.

The two Parties but two Factions one againſt the other.

Metilius a Roman General, treats upon Terms with Eleazar.

The Treaty ratify'd upon Oath and Articles.

The barbarous Perfidy of Eleazar.

The People ſtruck in all this while with the Oppoſers of *Manahem*; fanſying to themſelves (as I have ſaid already) that this would be a ready Way to the working of an Accommodation: Whereas that Party, in Truth, was only an Anti-Faction to *Manahem*, that were ſetting up for themſelves; not ſo much deſigning to ſuppreſs one Tyranny, as to erect another. The Multitude were at this Time very earneſt with the commanding Men of the Faction not to bear ſo hard upon the *Romans*; but rather to raiſe the Siege and let them go: But the more they preſs'd it on the one Side, the more were they againſt it on the other. When *Metilius* the *Roman* General, and the People about him, had done all that was to be done for the Defence of the Place, and were now brought to the laſt Extremity, they offer'd to capitulate with *Eleazar*, and to deliver it up with all that was in it, upon Condition only of Quarter for their Lives. The Terms were readily accepted, and *Gorion* the Son of *Nicodemus*; *Ananias* the Son of [c] *Saddaca*, and *Judas* the Son of *Jonathas*, were all three employ'd to ratify the Treaty upon Oath, and ſo to ſign and ſeal the Articles. So ſoon as the Agreement was confirm'd, and the Formalities over, *Metilius* drew off his Soldiers without any Manner of Trouble or Interruption, or the leaſt Suſpicion of any; ſo long as the *Romans* were under their Arms. But when, according to Oath and Compact, they came to deliver up their Swords and Shields, *Eleazar*'s Guards broke in upon them; ſeiz'd them, and barbarouſly aſſaſſinated them, without either Reſiſtance or Supplication on the *Romans*

[a] Τὸν σοφιστὴν, Joſ.
[b] Ἀψάλωμος, Joſ.
[c] Σαδδουκὶ, Joſ.

Part; or ſo much as any other Reproach in their Mouths than the bare Syllables of OATHS and ARTICLES. *Metilius* at laſt was the only Man that 'ſcap'd with his Life, and the only Man that begg'd it too; which was however granted him upon a Promiſe of *Judaizing*, and ſubmitting to be circumciſed.

The Prologue to the Ruine of the Jews.

This Outrage was no mortal Blow yet to the *Romans*; for what ſignify'd the Loſs of ſo many Troops out of the vaſt Armies they were Maſters of? But it was evidently a Prologue to the Deſtruction of the *Jews*. For here was in Sight a War inevitable; on a juſt Ground too; and a City (the principal in the Quarrel) ſo polluted with Perfidy and Rebellion, that even if it ſhould 'ſcape the Vengeance of *Romans*, divine Juſtice would moſt certainly find it out. Never ſo mournful, ſo univerſally ſad, and ſo deſpairing a Face of Things; and the innocent ſo involv'd in the Dread of the common Fate, as if they themſelves were to be anſwerable for the guilty: And the Butchery was ſo much the more afflicting and grievous, for being a *Sabbath-Days-Execution*: Upon which Day, we are not allow'd to do any Work whatſoever, let it be never ſo holy.

A Sabbath-Days Execution.

CHAP. XIX.

Twenty thouſand Jews *maſſacred at* Cæſarea, *in one Day.* Florus *ſends others in Chains to the Galleys. A miſerable Ravage made in* Syria *and thereabouts. The deplorable State of* Syria. Jews *againſt* Jews. Thirteen thouſand Jews *put to Death at* Scythopolis. Simon'*s Exploits: a Man of Force and Courage.* Simon'*s Confeſſion and Recantation. He puts his Father, Mother, Wife, and Children to Death with his own Hand, and finally himſelf, rather than ſubmit to the Enemy.*

Twenty thouſand Jews *maſſacred at* Cæſarea, *on the very Day and Hour above.* Florus *ſends others in Chains to the Galleys. Miſerable Ravage made in* Syria *and thereabouts.*

UPon the very ſame Day and Hour, as divine Providence would have it, there was a Maſſacre of the *Jews* at *Cæſarea*, to the Number of above twenty thouſand in one Day; and not a *Jew* left in the Town: For *Florus* pick'd up thoſe few that fled, and ſent them in Chains to the Galleys. This Butchery made the whole Nation Stark-Mad: So the *Jews* divided into ſeveral Bodies, and diſpers'd themſelves. They began with ſome Villages of *Syria*, and then laid Waſt ſeveral of the bordering Cities: As *Philadelphia*, *Gebonitis*, *Geraſſa*, *Pella*, and *Scythopolis*. After this, they brake in upon *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Gaulonitis*; laying ſome Places in Rubbiſh, and burning others: And ſo they advanced to the *Tyrian Cedaſa*, *Ptolemais*, *Gaba*, and *Cæſarea*. They over-ran *Sebaſte* alſo and *Askalon*, without any Oppoſition: And when they had reduced theſe Places to Aſhes, they deſtroy'd *Anthedon*, and *Gaza*; they rifled alſo, and laid waſte ſeveral Villages upon the Frontiers, and put to Death as many of the Men as they could catch. The *Syrians*, on the other Hand, made their Repriſals upon the *Jews*, not only in the vaſt Numbers of them that were put to the Sword; but the Perſecution extended to the very Inhabitants of their Cities. And they did this partly out of an old Grudge they bare them, and in Part by Way of Prevention, in the weakening of an Enemy. The State of *Syria*, was at this Time moſt deplorable; for every City had effectually two Armies in it, and no Way to preſerve either of them, but by deſtroying the other. The Days were ſpent actually in Blood-ſhed, and the viſionary Fears of Worſe, made the Nights yet more uneaſy. The *Syrians* Pretence was only to remove the *Jews*: But then they were ſo divided about others, whom they only ſuſpected to be *Jewiſh*, that as they thought it hard to put them to Death only upon a Jealouſy; ſo they were afraid to let them alone on the other Hand, for Fear they ſhould be *Jews*.

The deplorable State of Syria.

There were ſome again, that, of moderate and good-natur'd Men before, were now become hard and cruel, out of mere Avarice, and the Hope of Lucre: For they rifled all they kill'd, and had the Booty for their Pains, as the Reward for their Virtue; reputing him the braveſt Man that got moſt by his Trade: For Robbery was call'd Victory. It was a horrid Spectacle to ſee the Streets peſter'd with the dead Bodies of Men, Women, and Children, that lay there, not only unbury'd, but uncover'd; and not ſo much as a Rag over their Nakedneſs. It was the ſame Caſe with the reſt of the Provinces too: Beſide the dreadful Proſpect of Worſe yet to come.

Mere Avarice makes People hard and cruel.

The *Jews* had hitherto made War only upon Strangers; but drawing toward the Borders of *Scythopolis*, they found the very *Jews* of that Quarter their Enemies: So much did they prefer their Intereſt and Convenience, before either King or Country. For the *Scythopolitan Jews* joined with the Inhabitants of *Scythopolis* againſt the other *Jews*. But this Agreement was manag'd with ſo much Heat, that the very

Jews *againſt* Jews.

very Eagerneſs created a Jealouſie of their good Faith. For what, ſaid they, if theſe People ſhould join againſt them with the other *Jews*; ſurprize the Town in the Night, and then throw all at laſt either upon a Revenge for their Sufferings, or the Neceſſity of their Condition? The Citizens, upon this Occaſion, told the confederate *Jews*; that if they would prove themſelves to be Men of Integrity and Juſtice towards Strangers, they ſhould withdraw for the Preſent with their Families into a certain Grove there at Hand. This they did accordingly, and for the two next Days all was quiet at *Scythopolis:* But upon the third Night, their Scouts bringing them Intelligence how looſe they lay; ſome faſt aſleep; others careleſs, and all off their Guard, the Men of *Scythopolis* fell upon them in this Poſture; cut them all off to the Number of thirteen thouſand; ſeiz'd the Pillage of their Camp, and ſo went their Way.

Thirteen thouſand Jews *put to Death, at* Scythopolis.

After this general Account, I muſt not paſs over the Death of one *Simon* that periſh'd in this barbarous Action. He was the Son of one *Saul*; a Perſon of Condition, and a Man famous in his Time, as well for the Strength of his Body, as for the Greatneſs of his Mind: Both which Faculties he had employ'd in the Favour of the *Scythopolitans*, and to the wronging of his own Country. He did daily Executions upon ſeveral of the *Jews* living near that Place; and would frequently put whole Troops to the Rout: Inſomuch that his ſingle Perſon was almoſt equivalent to an Army. But, in the End, a Vengeance overtook him anſwerable to his Crime. For when he ſaw how the *Jews* were ſurrounded with the *Scythopolitans*, and ſtuck with Arrows and Darts all over the Grove, *Simon* drew his Sword, and without ſtriking a Blow (for it would have been to no Purpoſe againſt ſuch a Multitude) he addreſs'd himſelf with Outcries and Exclamations to the Men of *Scythopolis. How juſtly am I puniſh'd here*, ſays he, *for the Ills I have done, and for purchaſing your Truſt and good Will with the Lives of ſo many of my Fellow-Citizens! Why ſhould Strangers be truer to me than I have been to my Friends and Country?* But *I am now to dye, and it will not become a Man of Honour to fall by the Hand of an Enemy; but rather to do Juſtice upon my ſelf: Which will be an End and a Puniſhment worthy of me, and agreeable to the Reputation of a* Hero: That is to ſay, *I will not put it into the Power of an Enemy to glory in my Ruine, and to triumph over me in my Calamity.* Upon the ſpeaking of theſe Words, he took a View of his Wife, his Children, his ancient Parents, and his whole Family that were then about him, with both Tenderneſs and Rage in his Eyes. While he was thus gazing as in Suſpence, he took his Father by the Hair; ſet Foot upon him, and ſo ran him through. His Mother's Turn was next, and he kill'd her too; who ſeem'd willing enough to receive the Stroke. After the Father and the Mother, he did Execution likewiſe upon his Wife, and his Sons; who appear'd rather to meet the Weapon than to avoid it; and by that Means they prevented the Enemy. But when he had put all his Kindred to Death, he pil'd them up; and then advancing himſelf upon their Bodies, he ſtretched out his right Hand for all People to take Notice of it, and ſo plunged the Sword into his own Bowels. This young Man, for the Force of his Body and the Firmneſs of his Mind, deſerves to be remember'd with Compaſſion: But whoever conſiders his Fidelity to Strangers, and his unnatural Inhumanity to his own Brethren, cannot but confeſs that in the End he was rewarded according to his Works.

Simon's *Exploits. A Man of Force and Courage.*

Simon's *Confeſſion and Recantation.*

He puts his Father, Mother, Wife, and Children to Death with his own Hand.

And finally himſelf to prevent the Stroke of the Enemy.

CHAP. XX.

Several other Maſſacres of the Jews. Agrippa *takes a Journey to* Antioch, *and leaves* Varus *his Deputy.* Batanæa *ſends ſeventy Deputies to ſolicit for a Garriſon.* Varus *cuts them all off upon the Way.* Agrippa *removes him from his Government. The Rebels make themſelves Maſters of* Cypros. *The* Romans *deliver up* Machærus *to the* Jews.

THis Maſſacre at *Scythopolis* was follow'd with ſeveral in other Places after that Example: 2500 in *Askalon*; 2000 in *Ptolemais*; a great Number of the *Jews* put to Death at *Tyre*, and more ty'd in Chains: In *Hippon* and *Gadara*, they cut off all that were ſtirring and active, impriſoning the reſt: And at this Rate they were dealt with elſewhere, in Proportion as they were hated or fear'd. But in *Antioch*, *Sidon*, and *Apamia*, they were ſafe and quiet in the Enjoyment of their Lives and Liberties: Whether it was that they were not ſtrong enough to be dangerous, or out of Compaſſion to a People that did not ſeem to have any Deſign upon the State, which ſeems to have been the more probable Opinion of the two.

Several other Maſſacres of the Jews.

And ſo for the *Geraſenes*, the *Jews* that had a Mind to ſtay with them, might: And then for the reſt, they gave them a ſafe Conduct to the Borders.

There fell out at the ſame Time a very unhappy Buſineſs for the *Jews* in the Kingdom of *Agrippa*. This Prince having Occaſion to give *Ceſtius Gallus* a Viſit at *Antioch*, left one *Varus*, a Friend of his and a Kinſman of King *Sohemus*'s, to adminiſter in his Abſence. At that Time, the Province of *Batanæa* ſent ſeventy of the beſt Men they had, for Wiſdom and Quality, to deſire the Favour of a Garriſon; to the End that, in Caſe of any Commotion or Tumult, they might be in Condition to ſuppreſs it. *Varus* preſently ſends out a Party of the King's Troops to cut them all off upon the Way. This he had the Confidence to do, not only without the Privity of King *Agrippa*, but much againſt his Liking. It was his extreme Avarice, that tranſported him to this impious Outrage upon his Countrymen: And after ſo flagitious a Beginning, he ſtopp'd at no Manner of Tyranny or Iniquity, but went on debauching the whole Kingdom. When *Agrippa* came to underſtand, and to conſider the Havock *Varus* had made, he was loth, for *Sohemus*'s Sake, to put him to Death; but remov'd him immediately however from his Government.

Agrippa *takes a Journey, and leaves* Varus *his Deputy.*

Batanæa *ſends ſeventy Deputies to ſollicit for a Garriſon.*

Varus *cuts them all off upon the Way.*

Agrippa *removes him from his Government.*

The Rebels, in the mean while, got Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Cypros*, upon the Frontier of *Jericho*; put the Garriſon to the Sword and demoliſh'd the Place. At the ſame Time another great Body of *Jews*, treated with the *Romans* in *Machærus* to deliver up the Garriſon: Who chuſing rather to part with it by Agreement, than ſtay to be beaten out of it, render'd upon Compoſition.

The Rebels make themſelves Maſters of Cypros.

The Romans *deliver up* Machærus *to the* Jews.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews *much in Favour formerly with* Alexander the Great; *and no leſs afterwards with the* Cæſars. *A deſperate Tumult in* Alexandria *betwixt the* Jews *and the* Greeks; *and they had laid all in Aſhes, if* Tiberius *had not compoſed it.* Tiberius *turns his Army looſe upon them, with a Commiſſion to kill, burn, and pillage at Pleaſure.* Fifty thouſand Jews *kill'd upon the Place, and the reſt beg their Lives. The implacable Rage of the* Alexandrians.

THE Natives of *Alexandria* could never endure the *Jews* there, from the Days of *Alexander* the Great: Who in Acknowledgment of the Services they had done him againſt the *Ægyptians*, made them free of the City; granting them all Manner of Privileges in common with the *Greeks* themſelves: And thoſe Privileges were continu'd to them by *Alexander*'s Succeſſors; a peculiar Quarter aſſign'd them apart to themſelves; where they liv'd in a Manner ſequeſter'd from the Converſation of other People: Being likewiſe entitled to the Honour of calling themſelves *Macedonians*. When *Ægypt* came afterward to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, the *Jews* had their old Privileges ſtill continu'd by *Cæſar* and his Succeſſors; but the *Jews* and the *Greeks* were perpetually Claſhing: And though they ſuffer'd Juſtice on both Sides for their Miſdemeanours: All this had no other Effect yet than to inflame the Sedition.

The Jews *much in Favour formerly with* Alexander *the* Great.

And no leſs afterward with the Cæſars, *when* Ægypt *fell into the Hands of the* Romans.

Things were now at this Time extremely out of Order every where; but nothing yet to what they were at *Alexandria*. The *Greeks* being met in an Aſſembly, about an Embaſſy to *Nero*, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion, there came ruſhing into the *Amphitheatre* a mixed Croud of *Jews* and *Greeks*. The *Greeks* ſet up an Outcry that the *Jews* were Enemies and Spies; and in the ſame Inſtant leapt at them in a Rage, and fell upon them. They took three of the Company, and the reſt got away: But thoſe three they dragg'd along, with a Deſign to burn them alive. This Commotion brought in the whole Body of the *Jews* to their Reſcue: Who began with caſting Stones at them at firſt; and after that, they ran with *Flambeaux* in their Hands up to the *Amphitheatre*; threatening the whole Multitude to burn them all to Aſhes. This they had certainly done, if *Tiberius Alexander*, the Governour of the City, had not a little pacify'd the Fury. And he did not go a violent Way to Work neither; but employ'd ſome of the moſt popular Men among themſelves, to try if they could bring them to Reaſon by gentle Means and Perſuaſion: Adviſing them to Moderation, and to have a Care how they provok'd the *Roman* Soldiers: The *Jews* all the while turning this formal Gravity into Ridicule, and venting their Conceits and Reproaches upon *Tiberius* himſelf.

A deſperate Tumult in Alexandria *betwixt the* Jews *and the* Greeks.

They had laid all in Aſhes, if Tiberius *had not brought them to ſome Degree of Reaſon.*

When *Tiberius* found that this Uproar was not to be laid without Miſchief, he preſently let looſe upon them *two Roman Legions* that were then in the City, and *five thouſand Libyan Soldiers*, that came by Providence in that Nick of Time to plague

Tiberius *turns his Army looſe upon him.*

With a Commiſſion, to kill, burn and pillage at Pleaſure.

The Jews *ſcatter'd.*

Fifty thouſand dead upon the Place; and the reſt beg their Lives.

The implacable Rage of the Alexandrians.

plague the Mutineers. Their Orders were, not only to kill all Oppoſers; but to ſeize their Goods alſo; pillage their Houſes, and then ſet Fire to them. The Word was no ſooner given, but they march'd away to a Quarter of the Town that is called *Delta*: (where the *Jews* were then gotten together in a Body) and there put their Orders in Execution to the uttermoſt Extremity. The *Jews* plac'd their beſt arm'd Men in the Front; who for a while made a ſtout Reſiſtance: But upon the firſt Diſorder, they were ſcatter'd and cut to Pieces; though in the mean Time it prov'd a bloody Victory. Death and Deſtruction, in Fine, never appear'd in ſo many ſeveral Shapes: Fire, Sword, Pillage, without either Tenderneſs for Infants, or Reverence for gray Hairs, or any Diſtinction of Age or Sex: And the whole Place flowing with Gore. There were fifty thouſand dead Bodies pil'd up in a Heap; and the reſt had gone the ſame Way too, if their Stomachs had not been brought down to beg their Lives. Hereupon, *Alexander*, in Pity bad the Soldiers hold their Hands: Which they did at firſt Word, out of the Deference they paid to Order and Diſcipline. But the Hatred of the *Alexandrians* was ſo implacable, that they had much ado to take them off, even from inſulting upon the very Carcaſes. This happen'd at *Alexandria*.

CHAP. XXII.

The vaſt Power of the Romans. *The Country comes in to* Ceſtius, *upon his March to* Ptolemais: Agrippa *joins him.* Zabulon *deſerted, plunder'd and burnt.* Ceſtius *returns to* Ptolemais. *Two thouſand Stragglers of the* Syrians *cut off by the* Jews. Ceſtius *removes to* Cæſarea. Joppa *deſtroy'd; Man, Woman and Child.*

The vaſt Power of the Romans.

The Country comes in to Ceſtius *upon his March to* Ptolemais.

CEſtius finding the *Jews* every where ſo hateful, made his Advantage of it in a vigorous Proſecution of the War. He drew out his Troops, and marched for *Ptolemais*. He took along with him the *twelfth Legion* entire, which he had at *Antioch*; two thouſand choſen Men out of the other *Legions*, four Wings of Horſe; beſide the King's Auxiliaries: That is to ſay, two thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot of *Antiochus's*, arm'd all with Bows and Arrows; a thouſand Horſe, and three thouſand Foot of King *Agrippa*'s; a Body of four thouſand Men of King *Sohemus*'s: A third part Horſe, and the Remainder of them Foot, moſt of them Archers. The People came trooping in to *Ceſtius*, out of the Cities all the Way as he paſs'd to *Ptolemais*: Not ſo good Soldiers as his own, perhaps; but what they wanted in Conduct and Experience, was ſupply'd with Zeal to the Cauſe, and Spite to the *Jews*.

Agrippa *joyns him with his Troops and Perſon.*

Zabulon *deſerted, pillag'd and burnt.*

Ceſtius *returns to* Ptolemais.

Two thouſand Stragglers of the Syrians *cut off by the* Jews.

Agrippa aſſiſted *Ceſtius* both with his Troops and Counccl, and ſo the General march'd away with Part of his Army to *Zabulon*, the ſtrongeſt City of *Galilee*, (otherwiſe called [a] *Andron*) which divides *Judæa* from *Ptolemais*. When he came up to the Place, he found all Sorts of Proviſions there in Abundance, but not one Man to be ſeen in the Town; for the People were all fled up to the Mountains: Whereupon *Ceſtius* gave his Soldiers the Pillage of the City. The General ſtood in Admiration at the Beauty and Curioſity of the Buildings; which were much after the Manner of *Tyre*, *Sidon* and *Berytus*: But this notwithſtanding, he burnt, and raz'd them to the Ground. From thence he over-ran the whole Country, deſtroying whatever fell in his Way. When he had laid waſte the Territory, and ſet all the neighbouring Villages in a Flame, he left them in Aſhes, and ſo back again to *Ptolemais*. The *Syrians* Hearts were ſo ſet upon the Booty, eſpecially thoſe of *Berytus*, that there was no getting them away; but a great many of their Stragglers ſtay'd behind. The *Jews* took Courage upon the Retreat of *Ceſtius*; and falling upon the Plunderers by Surprize, cut them off to the Number of near two thouſand.

Ceſtius *removes to* Cæſarea.

Joppa *deſtroy'd; Man, Woman and Child, without Diſtinction.*

From *Ptolemais*, *Ceſtius* remov'd to *Cæſarea*, and from thence ſent a Detachment out of his Army to *Joppa*, with Orders to preſerve the Place, if they could quietly get Poſſeſſion of it; but in Caſe the Inhabitants ſhould put themſelves in Poſture to defend it, they ſhould then wait for the bringing up the reſt of the Army. The *Romans*, in Fine, aſſaulted the Place both by Sea and Land, and maſter'd it without much Difficulty. For the People were ſo far from attempting to diſpute it by Force, that they had not Room left ſo much as for an Eſcape: But they were all put to the Sword, Men, Women and Children; Maſters and Servants, without Diſtinction: The City plunder'd and burnt, and the Number of the Slain computed to be ſome eight thouſand four hundred Perſons. They made the like Havock with a Body of Horſe in the neighbouring *Toparchy* of [a] *Narbatane*, near [b] *Cæſarea:* where they laid the Country waſte, put great Numbers of the Inhabitants to the Sword, ſeized their Goods and Eſtates, and bury'd their Cities in Aſhes.

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[a] *Or the* City of Men.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſennius Gallus *commands in* Galilee *under* Ceſtius. Sepphoris *and that Neighbourhood ſide with the* Romans. *The* Romans *too hard for the* Free-Booters *upon even Terms.* Gallus *moves from* Galilee *to* Cæſarea; *and* Ceſtius *with the Army to* Antipatris. Lydda *burnt and deſtroy'd.* Ceſtius *incamps within fifty Furlongs of* Jeruſalem. *The* Jew *makes a furious Sally upon the* Sabbath Day. Ceſtius *and his whole Army in Danger. The* Jews *put to a Retreat. The* Romans *draw-off, and the* Jews *fall upon their Rear.*

CEſtius ſent the twelfth Legion alſo into *Galilee* under the Command of *Cæſennius Gallus*, with a Conjunction of as many other Troops as he judg'd ſufficient for the ſubduing of that Province. *Sepphoris*, which is the ſtrongeſt City they had, open'd their Gates to him, and the reſt of the Towns had the Wit to follow their Example: But for the Mutineers and Free-booters, they withdrew themſelves to the Mountain of *Aſamon* that croſſes *Galilee*, and lies juſt oppoſite to *Sepphoris*. *Gallus* advanc'd upon them in their own Poſt; but ſo long as the vagabond Party kept the upper Ground, they were too hard for the *Romans*, and kill'd a Matter of two hundred of them upon the Encounter. But when the *Romans* came to take Compaſs, and by little and little to gain the Top of the Mountain, and to deal with them upon even Terms; the Fugitives were preſently routed: For neither were their ill arm'd Men able to ſtand the Shock; nor they that fled, to ſcape the Purſuit of the Horſe. Some few there was that ſav'd themſelves by creeping into Faſtneſſes and Crags; but there were upward of two thouſand of them cut to Pieces.

Cæſennius Gallus *commands in* Galilee, *under* Ceſtius.
Sepphoris *and the Neighbourhood ſide with the* Romans.

The Romans *too hard for the* Free-booters, *upon even Terms.*

Gallus, finding by this Time that there was no more Occaſion for him in *Galilee*, drew-off his Troops to *Cæſarea*; and *Ceſtius* with the whole Army went to *Antipatris*. He was there given to underſtand, that a groſs Body of the *Jews* was gotten into the Tower of [c] *Aphec*, and ſent a Party thither to diſlodge them. But the *Jews* not being in Condition to ſtand the Attack, left it to the *Romans*, who rifled it; and then putting Fire to all the adjoining Villages, brake up and went their Way.

Gallus *moves from* Galilee *to* Cæſarea; *and* Ceſtius *with the Army to* Antipatris.

Ceſtius remov'd from *Antipatris* to *Lydda*; where he found only fifty Men in the City: The reſt were gone up to *Jeruſalem* to the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*. He put that fifty to the Sword; burnt the Town; and ſo advanced by the Way of *Bethoron* to a certain Place called *Gabaoh*, ſome *fifty Furlongs* from *Jeruſalem*; and there he pitch'd his Camp.

Lydda *burnt and deſtroy'd.*
Ceſtius *encamps within fifty Furlongs of* Jeruſalem.

The *Jews* finding now that the War was brought Home to their own Door, laid aſide the Strictneſs of a Feſtival, and ſtood to their Arms. They reckon'd upon it that they had Men enow; and in that Confidence they ſally'd out upon the *Romans*, with hideous Clamours, and in a furious Confuſion, without any Regard to *Seventh-Days-Scruples*; (for it was now their *Sabbath*, which among them is moſt religiouſly obſerv'd.) But the ſame Rage that made them forget the Conſcience of the Action, prov'd an Advantage to them upon the Execution of their Extravagancies: For they ſtagger'd the *Romans* upon the firſt Charge; diſorder'd their Front; and made ſo furious an Impreſſion into their main Body, that if they had not been ſupported by a Stand of Foot that was yet entire, and a Party of Horſe that came in to their Succour in the very critical Minute, *Ceſtius* and his whole Army had been in Danger to be loſt. There fell five hundred and fifteen of the *Roman* Soldiers in this Skirmiſh: Four hundred of them Horſe, the reſt Foot. There were kill'd upon the Place two and twenty of the *Jews*. The two Cavaliers that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Action to the higheſt Degree, were *Monobaſus* and *Cenedæus*, two Kinſmen of *Monobazus* the King of the *Adiabenians*. The next in Reputation to theſe two Worthies were *Niger* of *Peræa*; and *Silas* the *Babylonian*, who went over from King *Agrippa*, whom he had formerly ſerv'd, into the Intereſt of the *Jews*.

The Jews *make a furious Sally upon the* Sabbath-Day.
The Seventh-Days-Scruple *laid aſide.*

Ceſtius *and his whole Army in* Danger.

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[a] *Nabartane* Ruf.

[b] *Samaria*, Ruf.

[c] 'Εις πύργον Αφαικȣ̃, Joſ.

The Jews *put to a Retreat.*
The Romans *draw off, and the* Jews *fall upon their Rear.*

The *Jews* being now forced to a Retreat, made their Way back again into the City; while the *Romans*, drawing off alſo to *Bethoron*, were preſs'd upon the Rear by *Gioras*, the Son of *Simon*; who cut-off ſeveral of them; ſeiz'd their Carriages and Baggage that they found upon the Way; and ſo went off with it to *Jeruſalem*. *Ceſtius* continu'd three Days after this in the Field; for the *Jews* lay watching for his Remove, upon the Hills that overlook'd him: And if the *Romans* had but ſtir'd, the Enemy, in all Probability, would have ſall'n upon them.

CHAP. XXIV.

Agrippa *propounds an Alliance with the* Romans, *and ſends* Borcæus *and* Phœbus *to manage the Treaty. The People riſe upon it; kill* Phœbus, *dud* Borcæus *gets-off wounded.* Ceſtius *falls upon them, and purſues them to the Walls of* Jeruſalem, *bringing the whole Army up to the City. He incamps near the Palace, and the Gates are offer'd him; but he ſlips his Opportunity. The* Jews *repair to the Defence of the Walls. The* Romans *repuls'd upon ſeveral Aſſaults. An Invention to ſecure the Pioneers. A ſecond groſs Overſight.* Ceſtius *quits the Siege, and the Rebels fall upon his Rear. A dreadful Blow to the* Romans, *who are not in Condition either to fight or to fly.* Ceſtius *had been loſt, but that the* Jews *wanted Day-light. The* Romans *ſteal away to* Bethoron *and are beſet by the* Jews. Ceſtius *ſaves himſelf by a Stratagem. The* Jews *purſue them to* Antipatris, *and ſo give over the Chace.*

WHEN *Agrippa* ſaw how the *Jews* ſwarm'd every where about, upon the Hills and eminent Places, in ſuch prodigious Numbers; he could not think the very *Romans* themſelves altogether ſafe within Reach of ſo formidable an Enemy. So that he reſolved to try, if there were any Good to be done upon them by fair Words; flattering himſelf that they might be reaſon'd perhaps into a better Underſtanding one of another: Or however, if he could not perfectly reconcile them, he might poſſibly be able to divide them, and abate ſomething of the Rancour of the Quarrel. *Agrippa*, in Purſuance of this Reſolution, ſent two of his Friends and Officers, *Borcæus*, and *Phœbus*; who were Men of a known Fame and Integrity, to offer them a League of Alliance with the People of *Rome*, with an Aſſurance of Pardon and Indemnity for all that was paſt; upon Condition only of taking up other Thoughts, and laying down Arms. The Faction, upon the hearing of this Propoſal, were ſo deſperately afraid of the People's going over to *Agrippa*, in Hope of this *Amneſty*, that they reſolv'd to take off the Heads of the Embaſſadors. They kill'd *Phœbus* before he could ſo much as open his Mouth. *Borcæus* was wounded and got off: But the Multitude were ſo enrag'd at the Baſeneſs of ſo wicked an Action, that they forc'd the Mutineers with Stones and Cudgels into the Town.

Agrippa *propoſes an Alliance with the* Romans.
He ſends Borcæus *and* Phœbus *to manage the Treaty.*
This makes the People jealous.
They kill Phœbus, *and the other gets off wounded.*
Ceſtius *charges, routs, and purſues them to the Walls of* Jeruſalem.

This inteſtine Diviſion gave *Agrippa*, the faireſt Opportunity in the World to break in upon the Faction: So that he advanced up to them with his whole Army; charg'd and routed them; following the Purſuit up to the very Walls of *Jeruſalem*: And then march'd off again to a Place call'd *Scopus*, ſome ſeven Furlongs from the City; and there he pitch'd his Camp: Where he lay three whole Days ſtill and quiet, without ſo much as attempting any Thing upon the Place; hoping perchance, that, upon ſecond Thoughts, the People within might come to themſelves again. He ſent into the Neighbourhood indeed for Corn and Neceſſaries, and that was all he did.

Ceſtius *advances with his whole Army up to the City:*

On the fourth Day, being the thirtieth of the Month *Hyperberetæus*, he advanced with his whole Army in very good Order up to the City: Where the Multitude durſt not ſo much as wag for Fear of the Faction: Nay, and the very Heads of the Sedition were ſo ſtartled at the *Roman* Conduct and Diſcipline in their March, that they themſelves quitted the Skirts and Out-Works of the City, and withdrew into the Temple. *Ceſtius* took his Way by *Bezetha*: And in his Paſſage forward burnt *Cænopolis*, and a Place called the *Wood-market*: Whence, advancing to the upper Town, he pitch'd his Camp near the Palace. Now if he had but puſh'd it to an Aſſault upon that Nick of Time, how eaſily might he have carry'd the Place, and put an End to the War! But *Tyrannus* and *Priſcus* two of their Generals, and ſeveral other great Officers, with the Help of *Florus*'s Money, diverted him from his Purpoſe: And this falſe Step prov'd the abſolute Ruine of the *Jews*, and the Source of all the Calamities that afterward befel them.

And pitches his Camp near the Palace.
A mortal Overſight occaſion'd by Bribery.
The Gates offer'd to Ceſtius, *who ſlips his Opportunity.*

Under theſe Circumſtances, *Ananus* the Son of *Jonathas*, and divers of the Principal *Jews*, call'd out to *Ceſtius*, and offer'd to open him the Gates; but he delay'd his Reſolution ſo long, whether out of Indignation, or of Diffidence, that the Plot was diſcover'd, and *Ananus* with his Companions forced by Stones from the Walls, to fly for Sanctuary to their own Houſes.

The Jews *repair upon this to the Defence of the Walls.*

The Romans *beaten off upon ſeveral Aſſaults.*

The Romans *Invention to cover their Pioneers.*

Another groſs Miſtake.

Ceſtius *quits the Stage.*

The Rebels take Heart upon it, and fall upon his Rear.

A dreadful Blow to the Romans.

The *Jews* diſpers'd themſelves, upon this, into the Turrets to the Defence of the Walls, which for five Days they made good againſt the utmoſt Efforts of the *Romans*, though preſs'd with a moſt impetuous Violence. On the ſixth Day, *Ceſtius* with the choiceſt of his Troops and Bowmen, gave an Aſſault to the North-ſide of the Temple; but was ſo bloodily gall'd with Shot and Stones from the Porch and Galleries, that the *Romans* were ſeveral Times forc'd, not only to ſhrink and give Way, but in the End directly beaten off. After theſe Repulſes, the *Romans* at laſt bethought themſelves of this Invention. The Front clap'd their Bucklers cloſe to the Wall; and ſo covering their Heads and Shoulders with them, one after another, they join'd them in Order, Buckler to Buckler, till altogether they made up a Cover like the Figure of a Tortoiſe; which being Proof againſt all the Enemy's Darts and Arrows, the *Romans* were now at Liberty to ſap, and work upon the Walls without any further Danger: And the next Thing they did was to attempt the firing of the Temple-Gates. This put the Faction into ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, that they gave all for loſt; and a great many of them quitted the Town upon it. The honeſt Party were as much elevated on the one Hand, as the Rebels were caſt down on the other; inſomuch that they called out to open the Gates to *Ceſtius*; whom they look'd upon as their Friend and Preſerver. Thus far it went; and if the General had but kept up the Siege never ſo little longer, the Town had certainly been their own; but God in his juſt Diſpleaſure would not ſuffer this wicked and dreadful War to go off ſo. For *Ceſtius*, without ever heeding, either the good Diſpoſition of the People in general, or the Deſperation of the Rebels in the Town, by a Kind of judicial Infatuation, drew off his Men all on a ſudden, even when their Hopes were at the faireſt; and ſo, againſt all Juſtice and Reaſon, quitted the Siege. This unexpected Departure of *Ceſtius* put the Revolters in ſuch Heart again, that they fell upon his Rear, and cut off ſeveral of his People both Horſe and Foot. He lodg'd that Night in a Camp that he had fortify'd at a Place call'd *Scopus*. The next Day he continued his March with the Enemy ſtill at the Back of him, as upon a Purſuit, and killing him a great many Men. The *Romans* had thrown up a Trench with *Paliſadoes* on both Sides of the Way; where the *Jews* with their Darts and Arrows annoy'd the *Romans* extremely in their March acroſs the Paſſage, without any Revenge, or ſo much as turning their Heads to look the Enemy in the Face. This they did, as not being in Condition to ſecure their Flanks, partly out of an Apprehenſion of their mighty Numbers, and partly for Fear of breaking the Order of their March, being heavy-arm'd themſelves, and the *Jews* on the other Hand light, and at Liberty for Excurſions and Surprizes, upon any Occaſion. Upon the whole Matter it was a terrible Blow to the *Romans*, and coſt the *Jews* nothing. The Ways, in fine, were cover'd with dead and wounded Bodies, upon this Retreat. Among the Slain was *Priſcus* that commanded the ſixth Legion; *Longinus* the Tribune, and *Æmilius Jucundus* a great Horſe-Officer; beſide common Soldiers in Abundance; but they got at laſt with the Loſs of their Baggage to *Gabaoh*; where they had encamped before.

Ceſtius *in a miſerable Diſtreſs.*

Ceſtius was now at his Wits End, and took two Days Time to conſider what to do next. Upon the third Day, he found the *Jews* to be mightily encreas'd, and the whole Country up and down ſwarming with them. He was ſenſible by this Time that his Delay had not only hinder'd but endanger'd him; and that the longer he ſtay'd, the worſe; for his Enemies grew upon him.

The General, upon this, order'd the Army to be forthwith diſcharg'd of all Encumbrances, for the Eaſe and Expedition of the March. The Mules, Aſſes, and other Beaſts of Burden he cauſ'd to be all kill'd, ſaving only enough to carry Weapons and Machines; which he thought he might have further Occaſion for; beſide the Miſchief of their being employ'd againſt him, if they ſhould fall into the Hands of the Enemy. This was the State and Poſture of the Army in their Advance[a] to *Bethoron*, and himſelf in the Head of them. The *Jews* gave them no Manner of Interruption, ſo long as they continued in an open Country; but when they came into hollow Ways and *Defilees*, they charg'd them Front and Rear to divide them from the Army, and to force them further into the Valley. The *Jews*, in the mean Time, from the Rocks and the Craggs, pouring down their Shot upon the Heads of the *Romans*. While the Foot was in this miſerable Diſtreſs; and conſidering which Way to turn themſelves, the Condition of the Horſe was much more deſperate; for they could neither advance up to the *Jews*

[a] Ἐπὶ Βαιθώρας.

The Romans *not in Condition either to fight or fly.*
Ceſtius *had been utterly loſt if the* Jews *had but had Day-light.*
The Romans *ſteal away to* Bethoron.
They are beſet by the Jews.
Ceſtius *makes his Eſcape by a Stratagem.*

to attack them upon the Mountains, nor ſecure themſelves againſt them in the Vallies; neither could they keep their Troops in Order againſt that Shower of Arrows that was poured down among them. To ſay nothing of thoſe that periſh'd by Precipices and other Miſadventures. They were in ſuch a Streight, in ſhort, that they could neither fight not fly; and in this deſponding Extremity, the *Romans* had Recourſe to all the paſſionate Extravagances of Tears, Groans, and Outcries, that are uſual in ſuch Caſes; while the Rocks and the Vallies rung on the other Side with Tranſports of Encouragement, Joy, Inſolence, and Triumph. So it was, in fine, that if the *Jews* had had Day-light, the whole Army of *Ceſtius* had been totally deſtroy'd; but Night coming on, the *Romans* made a Shift to ſteal away to *Bethoron*; where the *Jews* immediately ſecur'd all Paſſes thereabouts, to cut off *Ceſtius's* Retreat.

The Jews *purſue them to* Antipatris, *and ſo give over the Chace.*

When *Ceſtius* found how he was beſet, and the Impoſſibility of his getting off in the Face of the Enemy, he bethought himſelf of a Stratagem to aſſiſt him in his Eſcape. That is to ſay, he poſted betwixt three and four hundred of his braveſt Men upon the Tops of the Houſes, with Orders to call out as loud as they could bawl, to the Watches and the Guards, like ſo many Centinels, as if the Army were not as yet decamped. While this was a doing, *Ceſtius* ſhrunk away ſilently with the reſt of his People, and marched a Matter of thirty Furlongs that Night. But when the *Jews* came the next Morning to find the Place quitted, and the Groſs of the Army withdrawn, they fell immediately upon the four hundred *Romans* that had betray'd them into that Miſtake, kill'd every Man of them, and then put themſelves upon the Purſuit of *Ceſtius*: But *Ceſtius* having gotten a long Night's March before them; and loſing no Time the next Day neither, to get off, there was no overtaking them. The Soldiers however fled in ſuch Haſte and Confuſion, that they dropt all their Machines, their Slings, and other Inſtruments for Battery and Attack, by the Way; which the *Jews* took up and made Uſe of afterwards againſt the *Romans*. They follow'd the Chaſe as far as *Antipatris*: But finding that they were got out of their Reach, they took Care of their Engines, ſtripp'd the Dead, gather'd their Booty together, and ſo return'd to *Jeruſalem* with Songs of Triumph in their Mouths for ſo great a Victory, with ſo very little Loſs. There were kill'd of the *Romans*, betwixt their own Troops and their Auxiliaries, [a] four thouſand Foot and three hundred eighty Horſe. This happen'd on the *eight* Day of the Month *Dius*, and in the *twelfth* Year of *Nero*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Jews *quit* Jeruſalem. Ceſtius *ſends* Nero *Word of the Miſcarriage, and lays the Blame upon* Florus. *A Conſpiracy at* Damaſcus *againſt the* Jews. *Ten thouſand of their Throats cut in one Hour. The* Jews *ſettle their Officers civil and military.* Eleazar *ingratiates himſelf with the People.* Joſeph *the* Hiſtorian *Governour of both* Galilees. *His Principles and Inclinations. His Method and Form of Government. A Council of Seventy. The defenſible Cities to be wall'd in. The* Roman *Order and Diſciple to be eſtabliſh'd.* Joſeph *Maſter of an Army to his own Wiſh.*

The Jews *quit* Jeruſalem *like a ſinking Veſſel in a Storm.*
Ceſtius *ſends* Nero *Word of the Miſcarriage, and lays the Fault upon* Florus.

UPon this Diſaſter of *Ceſtius's*, the moſt conſiderable of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem* quitted the City as a ſinking Ship in a Storm. *Coſtobarus* and *Saul*, (two Brothers) and *Philip* the Son of *Jacimus*, formerly *Agrippa's* General, ſlipp'd away and withdrew to *Ceſtius*; but *Antipas* their Fellow-Priſoner in the Palace, ſcorning to ſave himſelf by Flight, was put to Death by the Faction. The Manner of it we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Now *Ceſtius* ſent *Saul* and his Companions to *Nero* in *Achaia*, with an Account of his Misfortunes; but caſting the Blame of the whole Miſcarriage upon *Florus*. *Ceſtius* went this Way to Work, in Hope of bringing himſelf off, and diverting the Storm upon the other.

A Conſpiracy at Damaſcus *againſt the* Jews.
Ten thouſand of their Throats cut in one Hour.

So ſoon as the News of this Defeat came to *Damaſcus*, the Inhabitants enter'd into a Confederacy to deſtroy all the *Jews* of that Place, computing with themſelves, that if they could but take them together in the Baths, or ſome other publick Place, the Deſign might be eaſily put in Execution. All their Fear was, leſt their Wives, who were moſt of them *Jewiſh*, ſhould come to get Notice of it. The People, in fine, took their Opportunity, when the *Jews* were at ſuch a Meeting; the Place narrow, and themſelves without Arms; and falling upon them, cut the Throats of ten thouſand of them in one Hour, without any Difficulty.

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[a] *In* Ruf. 5300 *Foot*, 980 *Horſe*.

The *Jews* that gave *Ceſtius* that terrible Overthrow, being by this Time come back to *Jeruſalem*, made it their Buſineſs, both by fair Means and Foul, to draw over as many of the *Romans* as they could engage into their Party. Upon this, they had a Meeting in the Temple about the Election of Officers for the Government of the War. So they declar'd *Joſeph* the Son of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Prieſt, their Governours in civil Matters and the Affairs of the City; recommending to their Care, in a more eſpecial Manner, the rebuilding of their Walls. As for *Eleazar* the Son of *Simon*, though he had in his Poſſeſſion a mighty Booty that was taken from the *Romans*; a conſiderable Sum of Money from *Ceſtius*, and a Maſs of publick Treaſure to a great Value over and above; they did not think fit yet to confer upon him any Commiſſion at all: Looking upon him as a Man of an imperious and tyrannical Humour, and upon his Friends and Confidents alſo, rather as Guards than Companions. But this did not hinder *Eleazar* however from ſcrewing himſelf by little and little, into the Affections and Eſteem of the People: And he ſo far wrought upon them by popular Arts, Money and Addreſs, that they thought no Man ſo well qualify'd for a Governour as himſelf.

The Jews *ſettle their Officers civil and military.*

Eleazar *makes himſelf popular.*

The Commanders that they ſent into *Idumæa*, were *Jeſus* the Son of *Sapphas*, one of the High-Prieſts, and *Eleazar* the Son of the new High-Prieſt: Therewithal commanding *Niger*, the preſent Governour of that Province to obey their Orders. This *Niger* came from beyond *Jordan*, from whence he was call'd *Peraïtes*.

They took the ſame Care likewiſe elſewhere. As they ſent *Joſeph* the Son of *Simon* to *Jericho*; *Manaſſes* beyond the River, and *John* the *Eſſene* to *Thamna*. And to theſe were added *Lydda*, *Joppa*, and [a] *Emmaus* to be adminiſter'd in the Form of *Toparchies*. *John* the Son of *Ananias* was made Governour of *Gophnitis* and *Acrabatene*; and *Joſeph* the Son of *Matthias*, Governour of both the *Galilees*: Caſting *Gamala* alſo into his Command; the ſtrongeſt Place in the whole Country.

Joſeph *the Author of this Hiſtory.*

Theſe Governours diſcharg'd their Parts with Chearfulneſs and Prudence, every Man according to his Commiſſion. As for *Joſeph*, upon his coming into *Galilee*, the firſt Thing that he propoſed to himſelf was to make ſure of the Hearts of the People: An Intereſt, which he knew, even in Caſe of the worſt, would attone for ſmall Miſtakes. He conſider'd farther, that the certain Way to make great Men his Friends, was to admit great Men into a Share of the Government; and that the Way then to oblige the whole Multitude, would be to employ Natives and popular Inſtruments in popular Caſes. Now *Joſeph*'s Method was this: He choſe a Council of *ſeventy*, out of the Elders, and the ableſt Men of the Nation. To this Council of *ſeventy*, he committed the whole Government of *Galilee*, under ſome few Reſtrictions. He diſpos'd of theſe *ſeventy Judges*, ſeven into every City, with a Commiſſion to hear and determine all common Cauſes, in ſuch Manner and Form as he had preſcrib'd; reſerving to himſelf the Judgment of capital Cauſes and Matters of greater Importance.

His Principles and Inclinations.

His Method and Form of Government.

A Council of ſeventy.

The *ſeventy* being thus diſtributed, and Affairs regulated at Home; *Joſeph* took alſo into Conſideration what was to be done to ſecure them from Abroad. He gave for granted that the *Romans* would certainly break into *Galilee*; and therefore took Care in the firſt Place, to wall in all the defenſible Cities; as *Jotapata*, *Berſabee*, *Selamis*, *Pereccho*, *Japha* and *Sigoh*; *Tarichee* and *Tiberias*, with the Mountain *Itabyr*. He fortify'd alſo the Caves about the Lake of [b] *Genezareth*, in the *lower Galilee*. And in the *upper Galilee*, *Petra*, of the *Achabarians*; *Seph*, *Jamnith* and *Mero*: *Seleucia*, *Soganes* and *Gamala*, in *Gaulanitis*. Only the *Sepphorites*, being a wealthy and naturally a martial People, had Liberty to build their own Walls. *John* the Son of [c] *Levi*, by *Joſeph*'s Order, wall'd in *Giſchala* too. As to the reſt of the Caſtles, they were fortify'd by the Direction and Aſſiſtance of *Joſeph* himſelf.

The defenſible Cities to be wall'd in.

He got upward of a hundred thouſand Men out of *Galilee*, and furniſh'd them all with old Arms that he had pick'd up here and there. He fell to bethink himſelf in the next Place of the mighty Power of *Rome*, and what it might be that made the *Romans* ſo invincible: Aſcribing it in the Concluſion to their Obedience and Diſcipline. But Precept muſt give Way to Neceſſity, and in Regard that he had no Time at preſent to train his People up to the latter, he would at leaſt endeavour to inure them to the other. And no better Method could he think of, than the *Roman* Way of multiplying Officers: Dividing and ſubdividing Offices of Com-

The Roman *Order and Diſcipline to be eſtabliſh'd.*

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[a] Gr. Ἀμμαοὺς.

[b] Γεννησὰρ,

[c] Λευίου ὑὸς, Joſ.

Joſeph's *Army*.

mand into ſeveral Subordinations, one under another; and that was the Courſe he took. He had his Officers over tens, hundreds, thouſands: And all theſe ſubjected ſtill to other Superiors. He taught them the Myſtery and Diſcipline of all Signals; the Points of War in the Voice of the Trumpet; to diſtinguiſh an *Allarum*, a *Charge*, a *Retreat*, and one Sounding from another; the Manner of Fighting, and the Forms of Battles; the Order of bringing off or on; or ſeconding the weak, or relieving the weary'd. He read Lectures to them upon the Virtues of *Fortitude*, both of Body and Mind: Arming and fortifying them at the ſame Time, againſt both Dangers and Fatigue. In all his Leſſons of War, he ſtill made Uſe of the *Roman Diſcipline*, as an Inſtance of Authority and Example. He told his Soldiers farther, that if they would have him hope well of them upon the Point of Obedience in the Time of War, they ſhould renounce to all Manner of unlawful Violences; to Robberies, Fraud, Pilferings and the like beforehand: They ſhould do Juſtice to all People without Exception; and not reckon any Thing as a Gain to themſelves, that accrues from the Damage of a Neighbour. How is it poſſible, ſays he, for any War againſt Conſcience to proſper; when it is ſure to have both God and Man for declared Enemies! *Joſeph* went on with his Admonitions after this Manner: Having gotten by this Time the Complement of an Army to his own Wiſh. He had ſixty thouſand Foot; two hundred and fifty Horſe; and beſide theſe, four thouſand five hundred Mercenaries, which he much depended upon, and ſix hundred ſelect Men likewiſe for the Guard of his Perſon. Theſe Men were no great Charge to the Country; for all but the Mercenaries were maintain'd by the Cities: Who ſtill as they ſent out one Half of them into the War, employ'd the other Half to provide Neceſſaries for their Fellows; ſo that one Part of them wrought for the other: And thoſe that were in Arms, ſerv'd for a Protection to their Purveyors.

CHAP. XXVI.

John *of* Giſchala, *an extravagant Impoſtor. His Character. He makes* Joſeph *his Friend; and then abuſes his Kindneſs. He tampers the Rabble againſt* Joſeph. *The Honour and Juſtice of* Joſeph. *A ſcandalous Uproar rais'd againſt him.* Joſeph *ſtands all Tryals with a wonderful Preſence of Mind. An artificial Inſinuation of his to the* Tarichæans. Joſeph *gains upon the Multitude. He is hard put to't; but brings himſelf off by a Wile. The People come about; and this Diſappointment puts* John *upon other treacherous Practices.* Silas *gives* Joſeph *Notice of this.* Joſeph *poſts away to* Tiberias. John *counterfeits Sickneſs.* Joſeph *ſet upon, and 'ſcapes narrowly. His Moderation. This Treaſon ſets all People againſt* John; *and brings* Galilee *wholly over to* Joſeph. Joſeph *propoſes Terms of Accommodation. The Conditions accepted and executed. Secret Plots aud Practices carried on againſt* Joſeph. Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala *and* Tiberias *go over to the Enemy.*

John *of* Giſchala *an extravagant Impoſtor. His Character.*

WHile *Joſeph* was in the Courſe of his Adminiſtration in *Galilee*, (as you have heard) there ſtarted up an extravagant Kind of *Impoſtor*. He came out of *Giſchala*; the Son of one [a] *Levi*, and his Name *John*: A Fellow falſe and crafty to the higheſt Degree, and ſo poor formerly, that he had not wherewithal to be ſo wicked as he had a Mind to be: Never without a Lie in his Mouth; and he was as good at believing falſe Stories as at ſpreading of them. Fraud paſs'd for a Virtue with him; and he would couzen his beſt Friends to chuſe. He was a great Pretender to good Nature, and moſt unmercifully bloody, where there was any Thing to be gotten by it. His Ambition had no Bounds; and the Foundation of his Hopes was laid in his Crimes. He was ſo naturally addicted to Thievery, that he taught himſelf the Trade: For he began ſingle; and ſo went on, gathering Companions by Degrees one after another; till he came at laſt to a Train of four hundred Men: In which Number there was neither a Coward, nor a Man that did not underſtand the Uſe of his Arms; ſo ſcrupulouſly careful he was of his Choice, both for Body and Mind. The greateſt Part of his Troop was drawn out of the Borders and Villages of the *Tyrians*. With this Body of Men he laid *Galilee* waſte, and put a great many of thoſe to the Sword that had withdrawn upon the Apprehenſion of a War. He had far greater Things yet in his Thought, and nothing hinder'd him but Want of Money, from putting himſelf in the Head of a form'd Army.

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[a] Gr. Λευίου υἱὸς.

When he found that *Joſeph* had a good Opinion of him for a Man of Induſtry and Buſineſs, he employ'd his Credit with him, in getting him to commit the Rebuilding of the Walls of *Giſchala* to his Care: Upon which Account he drew large Sums of Money in Contributions, from Men of Subſtance and Eſtate. And then he had another Invention; which was in Truth his Maſter-Piece. He got an Order from *Joſeph* to all the *Jews* in *Syria*; forbidding them expreſſly to ſend any Oyl out into the bordering Neighbourhood, but of the Compoſition of their own Nation. Upon this Prohibition, *John* engroſs'd the Oyl, and ſold it again at eight Times the Value it coſt him. Now this being a plentiful Year, and *Galilee* a great Oyl Country, the Monopoly of getting it all to himſelf, and ſending ſo much of it abroad, where there was great Scarcity of it; brought an incredible Sum of Money into his Coffers: Which Treaſure he converted afterwards to the Miſchief of his Benefactor. And then computing within himſelf how fair he ſtood for next Governour in Caſe *Joſeph* ſhould come to be remov'd, he gave it in Charge to the *Ruffians* under his Command, to harraſs and teize the Inhabitants ſtill more and more; which would either exaſperate the People into Practices upon his Perſon, if he offer'd to controul them; or elſe expoſe him to Accuſations and Complaints, if he let them alone. For an Introduction to his Deſign he had already put it about, that *Joſeph* was in a Plot to betray the Province to the *Romans*: And a great Deal of that Stuff more, that they had muſtered up, toward the inflaming of the Rabble againſt *Joſeph*.

He makes Joſeph *his Friend; and abuſes his Favour.*

A Monopoly upon Oyl.

He tampers the Rabble againſt Joſeph.

There was at that Time a Parcel of young Men of *Dabarith*, that kept Guard in the great Plain: And as *Ptolemy* (King *Agrippa*'s, and Queen *Berenice*'s Steward) was travelling that Way, theſe Sparks ſet upon him; took away all his Boxes and Baggage, to a great Value, in rich Robes and ſilver Plate, and ſix hundred Pieces of Gold. This was a Prize not to be conceal'd, ſo that they carry'd the Purchaſe, whole as it was, to *Joſeph* at *Tarichee*; who check'd them for the Violence they had offer'd to the King's People, and order'd the Booty to be depoſited in the Charge of one *Æneas*, an eminent Man in the City, and to be forthcoming upon Demand. This Punctillio of Honour and Juſtice had like to have coſt *Joſeph* his Life: For when the Pillagers came to underſtand that they were like to have no Share in the Prey themſelves; and giving for granted withal, that *Joſeph* reſerv'd it entire for the King's Uſe, (as in Truth he did) they ran raging up and down through all the Neighbouring Cities and Villages, from Place to Place, with Clamours and Exclamations, that *Joſeph* had betray'd them. This Outcry raiſed ſuch an Uproar, that by Day-Light next Morning, there was a Multitude of a hundred thouſand People gotten together, and ſo to the *Circus* at *Tarichee*, roaring againſt *Joſeph*; ſome to have him depos'd or ſton'd; others were for Burning him as a Traytor: *John*, and *Jeſus* the Son of *Sapphas*; who were at that Time Magiſtrates of *Tiberias*, all this while encouraging the Tumult. *Joſeph*'s Friends and Guards were in ſuch a Fright, upon this monſtrous Rage and Concourſe of People, that thery all abandon'd him but four Perſons. He was at that Time faſt aſleep; and as they were juſt a ſetting Fire to the Houſe, his four Friends wak'd him. *Joſeph* was ſtill preſent to himſelf through all this Hurry; and not one Jot ſurpriz'd, either at the Number of his Enemies, or at the Deſertion of his Friends: But frankly preſented himſelf to the View of the People, in Rags and Aſhes; his Hands behind him, and his Sword about his Neck. This generous Conſtancy moved his Friends, and eſpecially thoſe of *Tarichee*, to the higheſt Degree of Tenderneſs and Compaſſion: But the brutiſh Multitude and the Borderers, that thought themſelves over-taxed, ply'd him with Curſes and Reproaches for his Treachery, and Oppreſſion: And calling upon him over and over to reſtore the Money, and confeſs the Fact. They gathered, in Fine, from his Behaviour, that he was now in a Diſpoſition to tell the Truth; and by ſo doing, in a fair Way to acquire both Pardon and Pity. Under theſe Circumſtances, he could not do better, he thought, than to divide his Enemies, and ſet them at Varience one with another. With this Deſign in his Head, he promis'd them a frank Confeſſion of the whole Matter: So they gave him the Hearing; and what he ſaid was to this Effect. *It never could enter into my Thought* (ſays he) *either to deliver up this Treaſure to* Agrippa, *or to make any Benefit of it to my ſelf. No, no, good People; far be it from me to Court the Friendſhip of any Prince that is your Enemy: Or to propound the Reaping of any Advantage to your Prejudice. But* (ſays he to the Tarichæans) *conſidering how naked your City looks without Walls, and how little able you your ſelves are to rebuild them: And then Conſidering again, how the People of* Tiberias *and ſeveral other Cities have ſet their Hearts upon this Prize, I thought I could not do better than to reſerve it for the Raiſing of your Walls. If you are of the ſame Mind, you are bound in Honour to juſtifie me in what I have*

The Honour and Juſtice of Joſeph.

A ſcandalous Uproar rais'd againſt him.

Joſeph *abandon'd, and but four Perſons to ſtick to him.*

Joſeph *ſtands all Tryals with a wonderful Preſence of Mind.*

An artificial Inſinuation to the Tarichæans.

I have done: But if others, I am ready to lay all that I have taken at your Feet, and to be diſpos'd of at your Pleaſure.

The *Tarichæans* were highly pleas'd with what he ſaid: The *Tiberians* as much the contrary; as appear'd by their Calumnies, Menaces, and Reproaches: Inſomuch that their Rage and Animoſity was now fiercer than ever. For in the Heat of this Diviſion, the People let fall their Joynt-Quarrel to *Joſeph*; while the two Parties enter'd into as hot a Conteſt the one with the other.

Joſeph *gains upon the Multitude.*

When *Joſeph* found that he had got the Multitude on his Side (as there were near forty thouſand *Tarichæans)* he took the Liberty to tell them plainly how much they were to blame; and that for his Part, he was abſolutely for employing the ready Money they had, toward the Fortifying of the Town. *Leave it to me*, ſays he, *to take Care of the other Cities too, and to ſee that you want nothing toward the Charge of the Work: If you will but follow my Direction; and take it where it is to be had, without falling foul upon him that provides it for you.* This look'd ſo fair, that Part of the Mutineers, thought uneaſy enough, withdrew upon it: But at the ſame Time, another Party of two thouſand armed Men advanced furiouſly toward *Joſeph*; who preſently ſlipt into the Houſe, and made good the Paſſage; while the Rioters ſtood preſſing and menacing on the wrong Side of the Door. *Joſeph* was now put to his Wits once again for another Invention, and ſo he went up Stairs to the Top, of the Houſe; and thence made a Sign to the People below for Silence: And when the Uproar was a little laid he ſpake ſomewhat to them to this Purpoſe. *Good People*, ſays he, *what you would have me do I know not, neither is it poſſible for us to underſtand one another in this Confuſion of Noiſes. But this I am ſure of, that I am here ready to do whatever you ſhall command me; if you will but ſend any Body to me, that we may diſcourſe the Buſineſs temperately together.* Upon this Propoſal, ſome of the chief Magiſtrates repair'd to *Joſeph*; where they were preſently taken into the Houſe; the Doors ſhut after them, and ſo carry'd into a remote Quarter: Where they were torn with Rods, till their very Ribs and Guts were ſeen. The Rabble thought the Time long enough to wait all this while at the Door for the Iſſue of the Debate; imputing the Delay to ſome Difficulties in the Caſe: When all on a ſudden, the Doors were thrown open, and the Commiſſioners diſmiſs'd all bloody as they were; which ſtruck the People with ſuch a Terror, that thoſe that were higheſt in their Menaces before, were the firſt now to caſt down their Arms and ſhift for themſelves.

Joſeph *hard put to it.*

And brings himſelf off by a Wile.

This Diſappointment puts John *upon other treacherous Practices.*

This Diſappointment went ſo to the Heart of *John*, that it exaſperated his Envy againſt *Joſeph* ſtill more and more, and put him upon other Practices. He counterfeited himſelf ſick, and deſired *Joſeph*'s Leave to make Uſe of the hot Waters at *Tiberias* for his Health. *Joſeph*, upon this, gave him recommendatory Letters to the Governours of the City, that they would be aſſiſtant to him in what he wanted: Without the leaſt Suſpicion of any Treachery that Way. He was no ſooner poſſeſs'd of the Advantages he deſir'd, but within two Days he was tampering with ſome, and corrupting others with Money and fair Words, to abandon *Joſeph*. This Practice coming to *Silas*'s Ear; who had at that Time the Charge of the City, he ſent Advice of it immediately to *Joſeph*: Who, upon the very Inſtant of Receiving the Letter (though late in the Night) haſten'd away for *Tiberias*, and got thither early the next Morning: All the People receiving him with great Deference and Reſpect; ſave only *John*, who ſuſpected the Matter, and the Faction which he had debauch'd. But *John* however ſent him a complemental Excuſe by a Friend, for not doing himſelf the Honour to wait upon him: Being at that Time ſick in Bed, and in no Condition to attend him. The People of *Tiberias* were now drawn together in the great Place by *Joſeph*'s Order, with an Intent to acquaint them with the Advice he had receiv'd. *John* got Notice of it, and ſent a Band of his Bravo's to deſtroy him; but in the Inſtant of their Drawing their Swords (being planted ready for the Execution) the People gave a Shriek: And *Joſeph* taking the Alarum when the Weapons were juſt at his Throat, leapt down from a Standing of ſix Cubits high that he had mounted for his Harangue, and ſo made his Eſcape to a little Boat upon the Lake, and only two of his Guards along with him.

Silas *gives* Joſeph *Notice of this.*

Joſeph *poſts away to* Tiberias.

John *counterfeits himſelf ſick.*

Joſeph *ſet upon, and ſcapes narrowly.*

Joſeph'*s Moderation.*

The Soldiers preſently betook themſelves to their Arms, to avenge their General upon theſe Traytors. But *Joſeph* was ſo afraid of a Civil War and the Conſequences of it, in the Expoſure of the City upon a private Quarrel, that he ſent a Meſſenger to his People with a poſitive Command not to do any Manner of Miſchief to the Traytors but what was of abſolute Neceſſity to their own Preſervation: Wherein they follow'd their Orders to a Tittle.

So ſoon as the Rumour of this Treaſon came to be nois'd in the Country, with the Contrivance it ſelf and the Author of it, the Neighbourhood gather'd together, and put themſelves upon the March to find out *John*; but he was got into *Giſchala*, his own Country, before they could come up to him. There was hardly ever a City in *Galilee* that did not go over to *Joſeph* upon this Occaſion, and many thouſands of armed Men along with them, who did all offer their Services againſt *John*, that Traytor as they call'd him, and the common Enemy of Mankind: And towards the delivering of that treacherous Wretch up to the Flames, with the City that protected him. *Joſeph's Anſwer was, That he was highly ſenſible of their Kindneſs and Good-will; but was however for moderate Councils, where the Caſe would bear it; and that he had rather ſave an Enemy by Temperance, and Prudence, than deſtroy him by Force. But,* ſays Joſeph, *I ſhould be well enough Content to ſee every Man by Name out of the ſeveral Cities, excepted from Pardon, that ever joyn'd with* John *in the Rebellion; his Goods to be confiſcated; his Houſe burnt, and his Family deſtroy'd: unleſs he ſhould in five Days after the Publication of ſuch a Decree, quit the Party and Intereſt of* John, *and return to his Allegiance.* The Heads of the ſeveral Cities were unanimouſly forward in the Promoting of theſe Conditions; a Proclamation formally publiſh'd, and all Things in Purſuance of it duly executed. This Declaration brought over three thouſand of the Rebels from *John*; who caſt themſelves and their Arms at the Feet of *Joſeph*. But *John*, with the Remainder, which were a Matter of a thouſand *Syrian* Fugitives, betook himſelf to ſecret Plots and Practices, when he found he could carry his Point no further above Board. He had his Informers privately at Work up and down in *Jeruſalem* to calumniate *Joſeph* for extravagant Levies, upon a Deſign to make himſelf Maſter of the Place, if he were not kept in Order by a ſtronger Power. They that knew any Thing of the Matter gave no Heed at all to the Story: But there was yet a ſpiteful Party, even of the Magiſtrates themſelves, and other principal Members of the Town, that ſupply'd *John* with Money towards the maintaining of a War with *Joſeph*: Nay, they went ſo far as to draw up an Act in Readineſs for the Removal of him from his Command. And they did not think that enough neither, but ſent a Detachment of five and twenty hundred Men of War, and four other Perſons famous both for Law and Eloquence: Whoſe Buſineſs was to try if they could ſupplant *Joſeph* in the Credit he had with the People; and with Order if they could get him to come away by fair Means, to offer him no Violence; but in Caſe of his Refuſal, to treat him as an Enemy. Theſe Commiſſioners were [a] *Joazar*, a Lawyer's Son, *Ananias* the Son of [b] *Saddouc*; *Simon*, and *Judas*, the Sons of *Jonathas*.

This Treaſon turns all People's Hearts againſt John.

And brings Galilee *wholly over to* Joſeph.

Joſeph *propoſes Terms of Accommodation.*

The Conditions accepted and executed.

Secret Plots and Practices carry'd on againſt Joſeph.

Joſeph's Friends gave him a general Intelligence of a Party of Soldiers ſent toward him: But the Enemy's Councels were kept ſo cloſe that they could not learn the Meaning of it. So that there was no Place for a particular Precaution; and four Cities went immediately over to the Enemy: That is to ſay, *Sepphoris*, *Gamala*, *Giſchala*, and *Tiberias*: But he was quickly Maſter of them again without Blood. Four of the chief Men that he had taken, both for Arms and Council, he ſent back to *Jeruſalem*; which tranſported the People to ſo violent a Rage againſt them, that if they had not made their Eſcapes in Time, they would have been all certainly cut to Pieces, as well they themſelves that were ſent, as thoſe that ſent them.

Sepphoris, Gamala, Giſchala, *and* Tiberias, *go over to the Enemy.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Tiberias *revolts: And is recover'd by a notable* Stratagem: Joſeph, *with only ſeven unarm'd Men does the Work. The* Tiberians *render themſelves and ſubmit.* Tiberias *ſends Hoſtages for the Performance of Articles. The Blame of all is laid upon* Clitus, *and they call for Juſtice upon him.* Clitus *is ſentenc'd to do Juſtice upon himſelf, and to cut off one Hand with the other.*

JOhn was all this While in ſuch a Dread of *Joſeph*, that he durſt not ſo much as ſhew his Head out of the Walls of *Giſchala*. Some few Days after this, *Tiberias* revolted; and inviting *Agrippa* to take Poſſeſſion of the Town, acknowledg'd him for their King. The Day being appointed, *Agrippa* fail'd of his Time; and only ſome *Roman* Cavaliers appearing, they fell off from *Joſeph*. When the News of this Deſertion came to *Tarichee*; *Joſeph*, that had ſent his Troops out a Forraging, was at a Stand what to do. For he durſt not venture himſelf alone among the

Tiberias *revolts.*

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[a] *Al.* Joſander. *In the Greek Text,* Τὸν τȣ̃ νομικȣ̃ Ἰώεσδρον.
[b] Gr. Σαδδȣκί.

whole Body of the Deſerters, and he durſt not ſtay in the Town neither, for Fear of being ſurpriz'd by the King's Soldiers; beſides that the next Day being their *Sabbath*, there was nothing more to be done.

Tiberias *Recover'd by a notable Stratagem.*

Joſeph had no Way now to ſave himſelf but by putting a Trick upon the Deſerters; and he happen'd upon an Invention that ſucceeded to his Wiſh. He cauſed the Gates of *Tarichee* to be all ſhut and guarded, to prevent giving any Intelligence to *Tiberias* of what he was a doing. Upon this, he order'd all the Boats in the Lake to be gotten together, to the Number of two hundred and thirty in the whole, and four Men to every Boat. With theſe Veſſels he ſet ſail early in the Morning for *Tiberias*: And when he was advanc'd within ſuch a Diſtance of the Town, that they might eaſily diſcern the Groſs of the Fleet without diſtinguiſhing what Men they had a-board, he order'd all his empty Veſſels to come to an Anchor and ſtay behind; while he himſelf with only ſeven of his Guards, and thoſe unarm'd too, row'd up towards the Town within Ken of the Place. People were at this Inſtant raging and ſwaggering againſt him from the Walls, after their uſual Manner; but upon Sight of him under thoſe Circumſtances; and taking for granted, that all the Ships they ſaw were full of Soldiers, they preſently caſt down their Arms in a Fright; and with all the Actions and Expreſſions of Submiſſion imaginable, begg'd of him only to be merciful to a miſerable City and People. *Joſeph* gave them all the Hearing; but with many a bitter Menace and Reproach at the End of it. *What!* ſays he, *are you engag'd in a War againſt the* Romans, *and at the ſame Inſtant lye waſting your ſelves in a Civil War, one upon another? The very Wiſh of your Enemies is fall'n upon ye; and nothing will ſerve ye neither, but the deſtroying of your Preſerver. Are ye not aſham'd to employ your Walls to the Ruin of him that erected them for your Security and Defence? But this ſhall not hinder me yet from paſſing over, and forgiving all you have done amiſs, and ſtill intertaining a firm and ſacred Friendſhip with you; if you ſhall only think fit to ſend ſuch Commiſſioners as I like, to deſire it of me.*

Joſeph, *with only ſeven unarmed Men does the Work.*

The Tiberians *render themſelves, and ſubmit.*

Tiberias *ſends Hoſtages for the Performance of Articles.*

They diſpatch'd away to him immediately ten Head Men of the Town, as their Deputies, upon this Errand; which *Joſeph* preſently order'd to be put a-board a Fiſhing Veſſel there at hand, and carry'd a little out of the Way. He ſent afterward for fifty of the principal Senators, as a further Security, for Performance of Conditions, and ſo went on with one Pretence upon the Neck of another; demanding ſtill more and more, till he had the whole Senate in his Hands, to the number of ſix hundred Perſons, beſides two thouſand of the Inhabitants; which, as faſt as the Boats fill'd, were all convey'd to *Tarichee*, and there kept in Cuſtody.

The People lay all the Blame upon Clitus, *and preſs for Juſtice upon him.*

Upon this, the Multitude ſet up an Out-cry againſt *Clitus*; and that it was his Doing, and he alone the Author and Ring-leader of this Tumult: Deſiring *Joſeph*, in fine, to make him exemplary, and to accept of his Puniſhment for Satisfaction. *Joſeph* was not for putting any Man to Death; but however upon the People's Supplication, he order'd [a] *Levi*, one of the Guards, to go and cut off both *Clitus's* Hands. The Soldier durſt not venture upon the Execution, in ſuch a Croud of his Enemies: Which *Joſeph* took ſuch Offence at, that he was juſt about to go a-ſhore, and do it himſelf. *Clitus* perceiving this, made his Suit to *Joſeph* to content himſelf with one of his Hands. *Joſeph* granted the Requeſt, upon Condition, that he himſelf ſhould cut it off: Whereupon, *Clitus* drew out his Sword with his right Hand, and cut off his left: Such was the Awe *Joſeph* had over them. This was all done, and *Tiberias* recover'd, with only *Joſeph* himſelf, and ſeven Soldiers, and a Parcel of empty Boats.

Clitus *does Juſtice upon himſelf; and cuts off the one Hand with the other, according to the Sentence.*

Not many Days after this, upon the Revolt of *Sepphoris*, and ſome other Cities, *Joſeph* gave his Soldiers the Pillage of *Giſchala* and *Sepphoris*: But upon the Application of the Inhabitants, he cauſed Reſtitution to be made of all they could diſcover, and the like at *Tiberias*: *Joſeph* propoſing at the ſame Time, both to chaſtiſe, and to oblige them.

[a] Gr. Λευίας

CHAP

CHAP. XXVIII.

Galilee *at* Peace, *and* Jeruſalem *preparing for a* War. *The horrible Ravages and Cruelties of* Simon the Son of Gioras.

Galilee *at Peace and* Jeruſalem *preparing for a War.*

GAlilee was now quiet; and the *Jews* no ſooner at Peace one with another, but providing to embroil themſelves in a War with the *Romans*. *Ananus* the High-Prieſt, and the great Men in *Jeruſalem* that ſtood in Oppoſition to the *Romans*, haſten'd all that was poſſible the rebuilding of their Walls; the procuring of military Inſtruments and Machines; Weapons of all Sorts, as Darts, Arrows, and the like: And all Hands at Work upon warlike Preparations; training up the Youth alſo to the Exerciſe of their Arms. All Things were in Confuſion at that Time; Men of Sobriety and Foreſight ſad at Heart, and could not forbear weeping at the Proſpect of Calamities to come. The Countenance of Things was afflicting to any Man that wiſh'd for Peace: And for publick Incendiaries; the worſe the better. The City, in ſhort, had Death in the very Face of it before ever the *Romans* came thither. *Ananus* was altogether againſt the Formality of theſe Preparatories for a War, in Hope to reclaim the Madneſs of the Mutineers (the *Zelots* of thoſe Days) and to bring them to Reaſon: But he miſcarry'd in the Attempt, as will be ſeen hereafter. *Simon* the Son of *Gioras* was at this Time in the Head of a Band of *Free-booters*, that liv'd upon the Spoil in the *Toparchy* of *Acrabatena*: Where they not only plunder'd and pillag'd great Men's Houſes; but fell foul upon their Bodies too, and treated the Maſters themſelves with Blows and Cudgels worſe than Staves: At this Rate publickly exerciſing a bare-fac'd Tyranny. He went on making this Havock, till he was forced by the Troops of *Ananus* and the Magiſtrates, to ſhift for himſelf with the ſmall Party he had among the Thieves of *Maſſada*: And there he continu'd till *Ananus* and ſome other of his Enemies were cut off. He made ſuch Ravage at *Idumæa* and thereabouts, with his daily Outrages of Blood and Pillage, that for the Security of the Country, the Government was fain to garriſon the very Villages. This was the State of Affairs in *Judæa* upon that Juncture.

The horrible Ravages and Cruelties of Simon *the Son of* Gioras.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS OF THE WARS of the *JEWS.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Nero's *Vanity and Oſtentation. The diſtracted State of the* Roman *Affairs.* Nero *gives* Veſpaſian *the Government of* Syria. Veſpaſian's *Fitneſs for ſuch a Truſt.* Veſpaſian *and* Titus *advance a mighty Army. The Defeat of* Ceſtius *makes the* Jews *raſh and bold. They advance towards* Aſcalon. *The Bodies engage, and the* Jews *totally routed.* Ten thouſand *kill'd upon the Place. The* Jews *not a Match for the* Romans. Eight thouſand Jews *more ſlain upon a ſecond Overthrow.* Niger *the General preſerv'd by a wonderful Providence.* Veſpaſian *haſtens away to* Ptolemais: *And the* Sephorites *are very friendly to the* Romans.

Nero, *with a faint Heart, ſets up for a Man of Courage. His Vanity and Oſtentation.*

The diſtracted State of the Roman *Affairs.*

Nero *gives* Veſpaſian *the Government of* Syria. Veſpaſian's *Fitneſs for ſuch a Truſt.*

Veſpaſian *and* Titus *draw together a mighty Army.*

THE News of *Ceſtius*'s Diſaſter in *Judæa* ſtruck *Nero* into a quaking Fit of Fear and Confuſion: But he look'd big upon it however, and cover'd the Faintneſs of his Heart with an Affectation of Dignity and Stomach. *This,* ſays he, *was the Fault of my own Officer, not the Bravery of the Enemy:* And ſo carry'd it on at ſuch a huffing Rate, as if it were not for the Honour of the Empire, or of his ſovereign Station above all other Princes, to be ſo much as toucht with the common Accidents of humane Life, or the Iniquities of Fortune. But after all this Oſtentation of an invincible Courage, the Cares he had in his Head betray'd the Weakneſs of his Mind, by the Uneaſineſs he was in for Want of a General equal to the mighty Neceſſities of the Empire. For the *Eaſt* was at this Time wavering and falling off; the *Jews* deep in a Rebellion already; other Nations ſtaggering, and the Empire all over ſick of the ſame Diſeaſe. Now how to keep the one quiet; reduce the other, and to prevent the ill Humour in the third, from tainting the whole Body: This was the Queſtion; and the great Work that was now neceſſary to be attended. *Veſpaſian*, in Fine, was the Inſtrument pitch'd upon, as the only Perſon that *Nero* could think competent for the Diſcharge of ſuch a Truſt. He was now in Years, and had ſpent the whole Courſe of his Life in Arms, from firſt to laſt. This was the Man that ſettled the Peace of the Empire in the *Weſt*, upon the Revolt of the *Germans*. This was he that finiſh'd the Conqueſt of *Brittany*: Which before that, was neither perfectly ſubdu'd, nor known: And he preſented his Father *Claudius* alſo with the Honour of a Triumph for it, without either Sweat or Blood. Now conſidering *Veſpaſian* under all theſe Circumſtances; his Years, Reſolution, Faith and Conduct: So many Children as he had, ſo many Hoſtages for his Fidelity; and in a Vigour of Youth to execute their Father's Orders: Beſide the Concurrence of God's ſecret Providence, with other Incidents for the good of the Empire. All this together mov'd *Nero* to make *Veſpaſian* General of his Forces in *Syria*: And for his further Encouragement, his Commiſſion was accompany'd with a great many fair Words, after the Practice of the World, when they have Need of a Man. *Veſpaſian* had no ſooner receiv'd his Commiſſion from *Nero*, in *Achaia*, but he preſently diſpatch'd away his Son *Titus* for *Alexandria*, to draw off the fifth and the tenth Legions there; while he himſelf croſs'd the *Helleſpont*, and ſo took his Way by Land into *Syria*: Where he came to a *Rendezvous* with all the *Roman* Troops, and the Auxiliaries that were ſent in by the Princes bordering upon that Province.

The Defeat of Ceſtius *makes the* Jews *raſh and inſolent.*

The *Jews*, in the mean Time, were ſo tranſported with the unexpected Advantage they had got over the *Romans* under *Ceſtius*, that they behav'd themſelves like ſo many Madmen; puſhing on the War beyond all Bounds of Moderation and Prudence. They drew up what Strength they were able to make out of the beſt

Troops they had, and with that Body marched towards *Aſcalon*; an ancient City, ſome five hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*. The *Jews* had ever an Averſion to theſe People; and for that Reaſon, they made Choice of that Place for their firſt Attack. They had for their Leaders three famous Captains: *Niger*, of *Peræa*; *Silas*, a *Babylonian*; and *John*, an *Eſſene*; Men eminent for Strength of Body, Reſolution, and good Government.

They advance towards Aſcalon.

Aſcalon had a Wall of a prodigious Strength, if there had but been Men to defend it: The whole Garriſon conſiſting only of one Company of Foot and a Troop of Horſe, under the Command of *Anthony*. The *Jews* thought it long till they could come to Blows with the *Romans*; and ſo made a running March of it to fall upon them by Surprize: But *Anthony* getting an Inkling of it, had drawn his Horſe out of the Town beforehand to be in Readineſs for the Encounter, without much heeding, either their Numbers, or their Courage. Upon their Advance, he received their Charge with great Bravery; and ſo put a Stop to their Progreſs toward the Walls of the Town. Now the *Romans* by the Advantage of *Veterans* againſt *raw Soldiers*; Horſe to Foot, Order to Confuſion; Troops well appointed, to People without Arms; Counſel and Conduct, againſt Rage and Paſſion; and Men, in fine, of Obedience and Reſignation, againſt a looſe head-ſtrong Multitude: The *Romans*, I ſay, by theſe Advantages, made no Difficulty of putting the *Jews* to the Rout; for their firſt Ranks were no ſooner broken by the *Roman* Horſe, but they fled ſeveral Ways; ſome toward the Town, where they were cruſh'd to Death by Crouds of their own People; and needed no worſe Enemy; others ſcatter'd all over the Plain, with the *Roman* Cavalry at their Back, and Field-room enough for the Horſe to play in. Upon this Confuſion they were all at Mercy; ſome one Way, ſome another; for which Way ſoever they fled, the *Romans* were upon them; overtaking ſome, croſſing upon others: And ſome again they ſurrounded, and diſpatch'd with their Darts. In this calamitous State of Deſperation, their vaſt Multitudes were no more than ſo many ſingle Men; and the *Romans*, at the ſame Time, fluſh'd with Victory, out of their ſmall Number, had enow and to ſpare. The *Jews*, on the other Hand, as they were aſhamed of having turn'd their Backs, ſo they did all that was poſſible toward the Recovery of their Honour; but the *Romans*, in the Courſe of their Succeſs, without either Wearineſs or Intermiſſion, purſu'd their Victory the greateſt Part of the Day, kill'd ten thouſand *Jews* upon the Spot; two of their Generals, *John* and *Silas*, being of the Number; the reſt were moſt of them hurt, and made their Eſcape with *Niger* (the only Survivor of the three Generals) to [a] *Salis*, a Town in *Idumæa*: And all this while there were only ſome few wounded on the *Roman* Side.

The Bodies engage, and the Jews *totally routed.*

The Jews *not a Match for the* Romans.

Ten thouſand Jews *kill'd upon the Place.*

This was a terrible Loſs; but ſo far were the *Jews* yet from ſinking under the Burden, that on the contrary, betwixt a deſponding Sorrow, and the Thirſt of Revenge, their Spirits were rais'd upon it; inſomuch, that inſtead of a Diſcouragement drawn from the laſt Defeat, they gather'd Matter of Hope and Comfort from the Remembrance of former Succeſſes. This Confidence drew after it a ſecond Overthrow. When they had paus'd a little, and ſcarce long enough to dreſs their Wounds, the *Jews* in a moſt outragious Indignation, got together all the Power they were able to make, and in a much greater Body attempted *Aſcalon* once again, under the ſame Diſadvantages of Want of Skill and Diſcipline, and with the ſame Fortune as before; for they fell at unawares into an Ambuſh of *Anthony*'s, by the Way they were to paſs; where they were beſet, charg'd, and routed by *Anthony*'s Troops before they could put themſelves in Order of Battle, and eight thouſand ſlain upon the Place; the reſt got all off with their General *Niger*, who acquitted himſelf ſeveral Times upon that Occaſion like a great Captain, and a Man of Honour. But the Enemy following them cloſe at the Heel, they were driven for Sanctuary into a ſtrong Caſtle belonging to a Village call'd *Bezedel*. This Caſtle was look'd upon to be impregnable; ſo that *Anthony*, to make ſhort Work of it, ſet Fire to the Fort, as the only Way to deſtroy the Caſtle and the General both at once. Upon this Exploit, the *Romans* went their Way triumphing and rejoicing, making no Doubt but *Niger* was deſtroy'd in the Flames. But he, it ſeems, to avoid the Fire, leap'd down from the Top of the Caſtle into a deep Vault; and as ſome of his Friends were ſearching for his Body three Days after, to give it Funeral Rites, he preſented himſelf before them yet living; which tranſported the *Jews*, out of an Affliction almoſt inconſolable, into the moſt ſurprizing Exceſs of Joy that can be imagined, to find ſo neceſſary an Inſtrument of their well-being deliver'd by ſo ſignal a Providence.

Eight thouſand Jews *more ſlain upon a ſecond Overthrow.*

Niger *preſerv'd by a wonderful Providence.*

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[a] *Σάλλις Gr.*

Veſpaſian being now come with his Army to *Antioch* (the Capital of *Syria*) and without all Diſpute, for Beauty and Situation, the third City in the *Roman Empire*; he found in this City King *Agrippa*, with all his own Troops, expecting him. He paſs'd from thence to *Ptolemais*, and there were the Inhabitants of *Sepphoris*, a Town of *Galilee*, waiting to receive him. Theſe were a well-meaning People, but ſo well underſtanding their own Intereſt too, and the formidable Power of *Rome*, that, without ſtaying for the coming of *Veſpaſian*, to ſhew their good Affections to the Government, they had by Anticipation promis'd and proteſted as much to *Ceſtius Gallus*; receiving a Garriſon from him, and acknowledging him for their Governour, and binding themſelves to ſerve him chearfully, even againſt their own Country-men. *Veſpaſian* did likewiſe grant them, at their Requeſt, ſuch a Body of Horſe and Foot for a Garriſon as might be a ſufficient Security againſt Incurſions, if the *Jews* ſhould make any ſuch Attempt. Now *Sepphoris* being both the largeſt and the ſtrongeſt City of all *Galilee*, *Veſpaſian* judg'd it a Matter of high Importance to have it in good Hands.

CHAP. II.

The two Galilees, *with a Deſcription of them. A Deſcription of* Samaria. Jeruſalem *ſtands in the Middle of* Judæa. *A Diviſion or Diſtribution of* Judæa.

The two Galilees, with the Situation and Deſcription of them.

THere are *two Galilees*, known by the Names of the *Upper* and the *Lower-Galilee*, which are encompaſs'd by *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. They are bounded on the *Weſt* by the City and Territory of *Ptolemais*, and by *Mount Carmel*; formerly belonging to the *Galileans*, at preſent to the *Tyrians*: And next adjoining to [a] *Gaba*, or the City of the *Horſemen*, ſo call'd, from the Plantation of *Herod*'s Horſemen that were there ſettled, upon their Diſmiſſion. On the *South*, with *Samaria*, and *Scythopolis*, as far as the River *Jordan*. On the *Eaſt*, with *Hippene*, *Gadaris*, and *Gaulanitis*, together with the Borders of the Kingdom of *Agrippa*; and on the *North*, with *Tyre*, and the Frontiers of the *Tyrians*.

The Lower-Galilee.

The *Lower-Galilee* ſtretcheth Length-ways from *Tiberias* to [b] *Zabulon*, near *Ptolemais* on the Sea-Coaſt. It reaches in Breadth from *Xaloth* on the great Plain as far as *Berſabe*; and there begins the Breadth of the *Upper-Galilee*, and ſo goes up to the Village of *Baca*, which divides it from the Territory of the *Syrians*. And as to the Length of it, they reckon it from *Thella*, a Village near *Jordan*, to *Meroth*.

Theſe two Provinces are of a large Extent, and ſurrounded with neighbouring Princes of ſeveral diſtinct Nations; and yet upon all Occaſions of Controverſy, they have ſtill made Head againſt them: For, over and above that they are mightily peopled, their Inhabitants bold and warlike, and train'd up from Children to Exerciſes of Arms; the Men neither wanted Courage, nor the Country Proviſions. Their Lands are fruitful to Admiration, and ſuch Nurſeries of all Manner of Plants, that it would make any Man in Love with Husbandry. The Grounds are all over inhabited and dreſs'd, and not one Foot that lies idle. There are Cities and Villages in Abundance; which muſt needs be populous in ſo plentiful a Country; for they account upon fifteen thouſand Inhabitants, and more, in the leaſt of them. So that though *Galilee* falls ſhort of the Country beyond *Jordan*, in the Compaſs of Ground, it is yet much ſuperior to it in Strength and Value: For over and above the Fertility of the Soil, every Spot of it is ſo improv'd, that there's no Ground loſt: Whereas in that vaſt Tract of Land beyond *Jordan*, the greater Part of it is dry and barren, and not ſo proper for Corn, and ſeveral other Neceſſaries for the Life and Service of Man. Not but that in ſome particular Places, as *Peræa* for one, the Soil is better conditioned, and as well ſtored with excellent Fruits as any other Place; witneſs the Vines, Olive-Trees, Palm-Trees, and other Plants that we find up and down in the Fields, in great Abundance and Perfection; and they are all water'd and refreſh'd with Torrents from the Mountains, and with quick Springs in the exceſſive Heats. The Length of this Country lies from *Machærus* to *Pella*; the Breadth from *Philadelphia* to *Jordan*; with *Pella* on the *North*, the River *Jordan* on the *Weſt*; the Land of the *Moabites* on the *South*; and *Arabia* [c] *Silbonitis*, *Philadelphene*, and [d] *Geraſa* on the *Eaſt*.

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[a] *Gr.* Γάμαλα.

[b] *Gr.* Χαβυλώνη. *See* Bochart's *Geogr. Sacr. l.* 2. *c.* 4. *Part* II.

[c] *Gr.* Σιμωνῖτις. *But ſhould be* Semechonitis. *See his* Hieroz. *part* I. *l.* 1. *c.* 6.

[d] *Gr.* Gerara.

Samaria is ſituate betwixt *Judæa* and *Galilee*; Beginning at a Village call'd *Ginæa*, upon the Plain, and extending to the Toparchy of *Acrabatane*. The Countrey is much of the Nature with that of *Judæa*; mountainous and rich; excellent Land, and eaſily till'd or manag'd; great Plenty of Fruits, both wild and meliorated or domeſtick; it is naturally dry, but abundantly ſupply'd with Showers: Beſide the beſt Water in the World; incomparable Paſtures, and Milk no where ſo plentiful. But the ſuperlative Excellency and Advantage of theſe two Provinces is yet behind: That is to ſay, the incredible Number of Inhabitants. And to conclude, the Boundary to them both is *Annath*, otherwiſe call'd the Village of *Borcæus*.

A Deſcription of Samaria.

The ſame Village bounds *Judæa* likewiſe on the *North*: And the Length of it runs from the *South-Side* to a Village upon the Borders of *Arabia*, call'd *Jardan*: The Breadth from the River *Jordan* to *Joppa*. In the Middle of it ſtands *Jeruſalem*; which has been call'd, aptly enough by ſome, the Navel, or the Centre of the Province. *Judæa*, in Fine, wants nothing to make it as delicious as it is fruitful: And that by Sea too, (all the Way to *Ptolemais)* as well at Land. It is divided into eleven Parts; *Jeruſalem* the firſt, as the ſovereign Head of all the reſt: The other ten are diſtributed into as many *Toparchies*; *Gophna*, the ſecond, and ſo *Acrabatane*, *Tamna*, *Lydda*, *Ammaus*, *Pella*, *Idumæa*, *Engadi*, *Herodion*, and *Jericho*. The neighbouring Countries are under the Juriſdiction of *Jamnia* and *Joppe*; as *Gamalitis*, *Gaulanitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Trachonitis*, are comprized in the Kingdom of *Agrippa*, but excepted out of the Parts firſt before ſpoken of. This Country that is inhabited by the *Syrians* and the *Jews* promiſcuouſly, extends it ſelf in Breadth from Mount *Libanus* and the Sources of *Jordan*, to the Lake of *Tiberias*: And in Length, from the Village of *Arphas* to *Julias*.

Jeruſalem *ſtands in the Middle of* Judæa.

A Diviſion or Diſtribution of Judæa.

CHAP. III.

Veſpaſian *ſends* Placidus *with Relief to the* Sepphorites. Galilee *at the Mercy of Fire and Sword.* Titus *comes up to* Veſpaſian *at* Ptolemais *with a vaſt Army. The Order and Policy of the* Roman *Diſcipline. The* Roman *Way of* incamping. *The Trumpet gives every Man his Orders. The* Roman *Way of* decamping. *The Manner of giving the Word for a* Battle. *The* Roman *Way of Marching. The Extent of the* Roman Empire.

WE have been as brief upon *Judæa*, with the Boundaries and Confines of it, as the Matter would bear.

The Supplies that *Veſpaſian* ſent to the *Sepphorites*, being a thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Placidus* the Tribune, were diſtributed after the drawing of them up in the great Plain, into two Diviſions. The Horſe continu'd in the Camp, and the Foot were quarter'd within the Walls, for the Security of the City; but not without daily Excurſions up and down into the Neighbourhood: Which made *Joſeph* and his Companions uneaſy enough, though without any Act of Hoſtility, either by Aſſault or Surprize: Beſide that they pillag'd both City and Country of whatever they could come at; and fell ſo ſeverely upon the Inhabitants at every Sally they made, that they durſt not ſo much as ſhew their Heads any more out of their Gates.

Veſpaſian *ſends Relief to the* Sepphorites, *under the Command of* Placidus.

Joſeph, for all this, put it to the Puſh in a bold Attempt upon the City; but finding to his Coſt that he himſelf, before his going off from the *Galileans*, had made the Place as good as impregnable againſt himſelf, and that it was not to be gain'd from the *Sepphorites* either by fair Means or by foul, he lets fall his Enterprize. This Practice however (out of a natural Averſion the *Romans* have to Treachery) made the War ten Times fiercer, and the Enemy much more outragious than before: Depopulating the Country Night and Day with Fire and Sword; pillaging whatever they could lay their Hands on; putting all to Death without Mercy, where they found Reſiſtance; and making Slaves of the reſt. *Galilee*, in Fine, was all cover'd with Fire and Blood; and not a Creature but had their Part in this Calamity, and nothing left them to truſt to, but the Towns that *Joſeph* himſelf had fortify'd.

Galilee *at the Mercy of Fire and Sword.*

Titus was by this Time come up to *Veſpaſian* at *Ptolemais* with the Troops he brought from *Alexandria*: And his Arrival was much ſooner than upon a Winter's March could have been expected. And there he join'd the fifteenth, the fifth, and the tenth Legions; which were reputed the braveſt Troops of the Empire. They were follow'd alſo with eighteen Companies, and five more to them out of

Titus *comes up to* Veſpaſian *at* Ptolemais *with a vaſt Army.*

Cæſarea, with one Troop of Horſe; and five Troops of *Syrian* Horſe. Ten of theſe Cohorts had a thouſand Men each, and the reſt ſix hundred and thirteen Foot, and ſixſcore Horſe; beſide a very conſiderable Enforcement of Auxiliaries from the Neighbour Princes, as *Antiochus*, *Agrippa*, and *Sohemus*, who ſent their two thouſand Foot a-piece, and a thouſand Horſe: *Malichus*, the King of *Arabia*, five thouſand Foot, moſt of them arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and a thouſand Horſe. Theſe Troops all together made up a Body of ſixty thouſand Horſe and Foot: Beſide the Train of Baggage, and Servants that followed the Camp; who, for Experience, Courage, military Skill and Application, (for the moſt Part) fell not much ſhort of their Maſters themſelves.

The Order and Policy of the Roman *Diſcipline.*

The Roman *Way of incamping.*

The Trumpet gives every Man his Orders.

The Roman *Way of decamping.*

The Policy and Wiſdom of the *Romans* in this Way of ordering their Servants, can never be ſufficiently admir'd: For it makes them at the ſame Time not only ſerviceable to private Families, but to the Common-wealth alſo in Offices of War and Government. And then whoever conſiders the Excellency of the *Roman* Diſcipline and Conduct in the Matter of military Order and Execution, will find that Fortune had the leaſt Share in the Succeſs of their Arms; and that they advanced themſelves to the Command of the World upon the Foundations of their own Honour and Virtue. They were not then to learn the Art of War, when they came to fall under the Neceſſity of uſing it: But they made it their Exerciſe and Practice in Times of Peace, and handled their Arms as naturally as if they had been born with them: So that Peace or War was, in that Reſpect, all a Caſe to them; and they were ever in Readineſs without troubling their Heads about Times or Seaſons. Their very Tryals of Skill look'd like real Combats; and not a Day paſs'd, but every Man went through all his Exerciſes; which kept them both in Diſpoſition and in Breath. By this Means they were always in Order, without feeling the Inconveniencies either of Fear or Fatigue. Now for Men that keep themſelves upon the Guard of this Habit and Diſcipline, a looſe Enemy is not able to deal with them. But, as I was a ſaying, their Exerciſes are effectually but Combats, without drawing Blood; as their fierceſt Encounters are but bloody Exerciſes. To ſecure themſelves from Surprize, upon entring into an Enemy's Country, the firſt Thing they do is to pitch and fortify their Camp, not ſlightly or diſorderly, but with a Regard to the Condition of the Place: Levelling the Ground where it was uneven, and for the Figure of it, in the Form of a Quadrangle. In Order to the Diſpatch and the Execution of all this, they have their Smiths, Carpenters, Pioneers, and other Workmen for Fortifications, to attend the Army. The inner Part of the Camp is diſtributed into Quarters or Lodgments for the Officers and Soldiers: And the Outſide carries the Reſemblance of a Wall; where they raiſe Turrets at an equal Diſtance one from another: And in the Intervals, they have all Sorts of Weapons to be us'd at a Diſtance, as Darts, Arrows, Stones, *&c.* and Inſtruments or Machines alſo for the caſting of them. This Camp hath four large Gates for Horſe and Man to paſs and repaſs at Pleaſure, as there ſhall be Occaſion. On the Inſide of it there are ſeveral Streets orderly diſpos'd, with Lodgments in the Middle, for the Head-Officers: And within them again, a Tent erected for the General, after the Form of a little Temple; a Market-Place, with Shops and Standings for Artificers and Tradeſmen; Courts of Juſtice and Tribunals, for the Hearing of Cauſes as well military as civil: And taking it all together, it looks like a City of a Matter of one Night's Growth; ſo wonderful is the Diſpatch, where there are great Maſters to direct and many Hands to execute. And if this, in Fine, be not enough for the ſecuring of the Quarter, 'tis but running a Line of Circumvallation about it at laſt, with a Trench of ſome four Cubits deep, and as many over to finiſh the Work. The Soldiers have their Arms ſtill about them, and live in a military Kind of Brotherhood, orderly and peaceably one with another. Upon any Occaſion of fetching Wood, Water, Forage, *&c.* they go out in Parties: And ſo for their Times of Repaſt, they do not eat now and then by Snaps as every Man pleaſes, but all together; and the Trumpet directs them when to ſleep, when to riſe, when to ſet the Watch, *&c.* So it is, in Fine, that they do nothing but by Rule and Command. In the Morning the Soldiers wait upon their Captains; the Captains upon the Tribunes: And then both Captains and Tribunes upon the General: From whom they receive the Word or Signal; and ſuch other Orders to be communicated to their Subordinates, as the Occaſion requires: To the End that every Man may be inſtructed in his Duty, and how to behave himſelf upon Action; how and when to ſally out, or to retreat, and to do all Things in Order whatever they do. The Trumpet tells them when they are to decamp; and then they take up their Tents, pack up their Baggage, and prepare to be gone. Upon the ſecond ſounding, they load their Carriages and their Sumpters, and ſtand ready to move: Watching for the Word of Command, as People do for the Sign at a Horſe-

Race when to ſtart; and at the ſame Time ſetting Fire to the Camp; which may be eaſily repair'd by throwing up another; beſide that the Enemy ſhall make no Benefit of it. Upon the third Sounding, the Army marches, and all poſſible Care is taken to prevent Stragglers, and to move every Man in his Rank.

The Word given for a Battle.

On the Right-hand of the General ſtands the Herald, who with a loud Voice puts this Queſtion thrice over to the Army; *Are you ready for a Battle?* The Soldiers in a martial Tone and Action return him this Anſwer as often over; *We are ready for a Battle.* Nay, many Times they prevent the very Demand, by ſtretching forth their Right-Hands, and other Signs of Joy and Satisfaction, in Hope of coming to that Iſſue. After this, the Army advances with as much manly Gravity and Compoſure as if it were in the Face of an Enemy.

The Roman *Way of marching.*

The Foot-Arms are Pot and Breſt; two Swords, one on each Side, and the Left much longer than the other; which is about the Size of a Dagger. The General's Guards carry Javelins and Targets; and all the reſt Pikes and long Bucklers; a Saw, a Basket, a Pick-Ax, a Hatchet, a Rein, a Scythe, a Chain, and Bread for three Days: So that the Men carry'd little leſs Burden than the Beaſts. The Horſe-Men wear long Swords girt to their Right-Sides. They carry a Launce in their Hand, a Buckler in a Scarf hanging a-croſs the Horſe-ſide, a Quiver with three Darts or more in it, broid-pointed, and about the Length of a ſhort Javelin; their Helmets and Corplets like thoſe of the Foot. And for the Cavaliers that attend the Perſon of the General, their Arms are the very ſame with the reſt, only being choſen by Lot, the Troop that has the Luck to be ſo pitch'd upon has a Right of Precedence.

This is the *Roman* Way of marching and encamping, with the various Manner of their Arming. They do nothing in their military Enterprizes and Combats that is raſh and inconſiderate; but their Actions are the Reſult of deliberate Counſels: By which Means, either their Failings will be fewer, or thoſe that happen will be more eaſily redreſs'd; for, provided that Matters be well-weigh'd and digeſted, they had rather ſuffer a Diſappointment by the ill Succeſs of a well grounded Enterprize, than become indebted to Fortune for an Advantage contrary to Reaſon. For theſe blind Events give People an ill Habit of abandoning all to Chance without any Precaution or Foreſight; whereas Men are the wiſer and the better for inſtructive Examples, though in Caſes of Miſcarriage; beſide the Comfort of falling with Honour and a good Conſcience, by a Calamity which humane Prudence could not prevent.

This continual Uſe and Exerciſe of Arms does not only harden and ſtrengthen the Bodies of Men, but elevates their very Minds alſo into Reſolutions more couragious and firm: Beſide that People are kept in Awe under the Apprehenſion of Penalties and Rigour. It is Death by the martial Law, for a Soldier not only to deſert his Station or betray his Truſt, but for the very leaſt Neglect of his Duty. Now this is a terrible Rigour, and yet the Officers are ſtill more inexorable than the Laws themſelves; for they make amends, they think, in the Honours and Rewards that they confer upon Men of Merit for the Cruelty of puniſhing Criminals. And ſuch is the Reverence they have for the Authority of military Order and Diſcipline, that a *Roman* Army is certainly the moſt glorious Spectacle under the Sun, in a Time of Peace; and in a State of War, the moſt dreadful; for every Individual of the whole Army moves but as a Member of the ſame Body, and at the ſame Time in ſuch a Harmony of Motion, as if they were all govern'd by the ſame Mind. Their Ears are always open to attend the Word of Command, their Eyes watching to receive the Signal, and their Hands ever in Readineſs to execute the Orders of their Superiors, in Contempt of all Difficulties and Dangers. When they come to the Encounter, and that the Battle is once reſolved upon, they never trouble their Heads with the Enemies Numbers, or Conduct; the Difficulties or Dangers of Paſſes; nay, nor with the Malice of Fortune it ſelf; but break through all Obſtacles, and make themſelves as good as ſure of the Victory before they ſtrike a Stroke. Now if their Counſels and Deliberations be govern'd altogether by political Prudence, and ſound Advice, and follow'd with an anſwerable Vigour of Execution; what Wonder is it to ſee the *Roman* Empire Miſtreſs of the Univerſe, and ſtretching it ſelf as far as the *Euphrates*, on the *Eaſt*; the *Ocean* on the *Weſt*; and the fruitful Country of *Africa*, on the *South*; and the *Rhine* and *Danube*, on the *North*! And yet, when all is ſaid, the Dominion ſeems ſtill too narrow for the great Souls of the Poſſeſſors of it.

The Extent of the Roman Empire.

It is not my Purpoſe in what I have here deliver'd, to write a Penegyrick to the Honour of the *Romans*; but rather for the Comfort of thoſe that are overcome, to ſhew they have no Reaſon to be aſhamed of their Maſters, and to divert raſh

Innovators and Malecontents from attempting Impoſſibilities. Beſide that this Diſcourſe may perhaps be of ſome Service to the Curious in the Light it will give them toward a better Underſtanding of the *Roman* Methods of Government and Diſcipline.

CHAP. IV.

Placidus *breaks into* Galilee. *He aſſaults* Jotapata, *and is beaten off.*

Placidus *breaks into* Galilee.

He aſſaults Jotapata.

Placidus *is beaten off.*

WHile *Veſpaſian* was with his Son *Titus* at *Ptolemais*, he gave all neceſſary Orders for the Supply and Government of the Army; and in this Interim, *Placidus* made an Inroad into *Galilee*, over-ran the whole Country, took a World of Priſoners, and put the greater Part of them to the Sword. Now theſe were only a timorous faint-hearted Sort of People; but the more daring Part of the *Galileans* were obſerv'd to take Sanctuary ſtill in Cities and other ſtrong Holds that *Joſeph* had fortify'd; which when *Placidus* took Notice of, he reſolv'd to ſet upon them by Aſſault, and to begin with *Jotapata*; which was the moſt defenſible Place they had, making no Doubt at all of carrying it upon the firſt Attack by Surprize, beſide the Reputation it would give him among the reſt of the Generals, and open a Way to the taking of other Places: For the very Example of *Jotapata*, being the tougheſt Piece in all *Galilee*, would probably draw the Remainder after it. But *Placidus* was much miſtaken in his Conjecture, for the Inhabitants being precaution'd of his Deſign; and that he was already upon his March, went out of the City to encounter him; and falling upon the *Romans* at unawares, with a conſiderable Body, and in good Heart, (their Country, Wives, and Children, being all at Stake) they put them to the Rout, but kill'd only ſeven of them, being well-arm'd, and making an orderly Retreat. Of the *Jews* there were only three ſlain, and ſome few wounded; for being ill-arm'd, they were fain to content themſelves with Darts and Lances at a Diſtance, without venturing a Diſpute Hand to Hand. Upon this Repulſe, *Placidus* left the Place.

CHAP. V.

Veſpaſian *marches from* Ptolemais *into* Galilee. *The Order of his March. Upon* Veſpaſian's *Advance,* Joſeph's *People deſert.* Joſeph *gives over the War, and withdraws to* Tiberias.

Veſpaſian *marches from* Ptolemais *into* Galilee.

The Order of his March.

VEſpaſian, being now reſolv'd upon an Incurſion into *Galilee*, leaves *Ptolemais*, and gives the Army their marching Orders, according to the Inſtitution of the *Roman* Diſcipline; the Auxiliaries being light-arm'd, and the Bowmen advanceing before the reſt to keep the Enemy at a Diſtance; and, by ſcouting out into the Woods, and other ſuſpected Paſſages, for Diſcovery of their Ambuſhes, to prevent Surprizes. Theſe were follow'd with a Party of *Roman* Horſe and Foot; and after them, a Detachment of ten Men out of every Company, with their Arms and neceſſary Proviſions for the forming of a Camp. The next in Courſe were the Pioneers, to level and mend the Ways, and cut down the Trees and Buſhes that incommoded them in their March. After theſe, came the General's Baggage, with that of his great Officers, and a ſtrong Party of Horſe for their Convoy. *Veſpaſian* himſelf marching next, with a ſelect Body of Horſe and Foot, ſome Troops of Lances, and ſixſcore of his own Men drawn out of ſo many groſs Squadrons. The Engineers with their Machines and Inſtruments for Battery and Aſſault took their Place next, and then follow'd the Tribunes and other Officers with a choice Body of Troops about them. Next came the *Imperial Eagle*, in the Head of all the reſt of the *Roman* Enſigns, as the Prince of the Birds for Authority and Power; an Emblem of Government, and a good Omen of Succeſs in Arms. After the ſacred Enſigns, follow'd the Trumpets; and after the Trumpets, the Body of the Army, ſix in Front, with the proper Officers to keep them in Rank and File, according to Order and good Diſcipline. The Servants of every Legion march'd along with the Infantry, and took Care of the Carriages and Baggage. In the laſt Place were the Purveyors, and other Mercenaries, for the Service of the Army, under a Convoy of Horſe and Foot.

In this Order *Veſpaſian* advanc'd to the Frontiers of *Galilee*, and there encamp'd with his Soldiers about him, earneſtly preſſing for Action; but partly in Confidence

dence that the Enemy's Hearts would fail them upon the very Approach of the Army; or otherwiſe, that they might Change their Minds yet before it came to a Battle, he gave them Time to bethink themſelves; and in the Interim, went in Hand with his Preparations for a Siege.

This great General was ſo far in the right, that the *Jews* fell into ſuch a Conſternation with Dread and Terrour upon the very Report of his coming, that *Joſeph*'s People, who were then encamped near *Sepphoris*, abandon'd their Captain, not only without a blow ſtriking, but without ſo much as a Sight of the Enemy. *Joſeph* finding himſelf thus deſerted, and out of Condition to encounter the *Romans*; the Hearts of the *Jews* quite ſunk; the greater Part of them gone over to the Enemy, and the Remainder in all Appearance ready to follow; he quite gave over any farther thought of the War; and ſo, conſulting his own Security, with ſome few that ſtood by him, he withdrew to *Tiberias*.

Upon Veſpaſian*'s Advance,* Joſeph*'s People deſert.*

Joſeph *gives over the War, and withdraws to* Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian *takes* Gadara *by Aſſault. The* Romans *put all to the Sword.* Joſeph *puts it to the Council of* Jeruſalem, *whether to fight, or treat.*

THE Firſt Place that *Veſpaſian* attack'd, was *Gadara:* And he carry'd it, without any Difficulty, for want of Men in it to make a conſiderable Defence. The *Romans*, upon forcing the Town, put all to Death without Diſtinction, betwixt Hatred to the *Jews*, and Revenge for the Overthrow of *Ceſtius*. They ſet Fire, not only to the City itſelf, but to the little Towns and Villages about it: Laying them utterly waſte, and making the Inhabitants Slaves.

Veſpaſian *takes* Gadara *by Aſſault. The* Romans *put all to the Sword.*

Joſeph's retiring for Sanctuary put the *Tiberians* all to their Wit's End, to conſider, that if the Caſe had not been deſperate, he would never have fled for it. And they were not miſtaken neither in their Opinion; for *Joſeph* was by this Time ſenſible of the hopeleſs State of the War; and that the *Jews* had no Way in the World to come off but by Submiſſion and Repentance. As for his own Part, he made no doubt of obtaining fair Quarter from the *Romans* if he ſhould deſire it: But rather than betray his Country and his Truſt, he would ſuffer a thouſand Deaths; without endeavouring to make a particular Friend of a publick Enemy. He wrote, upon this, to the principal and leading Men of *Jeruſalem*, a naked State of the Caſe; without making the *Romans* either greater or leſs than in Truth they were, for fear of puffing them up into Inſolence upon the *Jews* for Cowardice, one Way; or provoking the *Jews* to be raſh and inconſiderate in the Oſtentation of their Power, another. *Joſeph*, in Fine, remitted the Matter to the Council to conſider of; deſiring them either to ſend him Word immediately if they had a Mind to treat: Or, if they were reſolv'd to proſecute the War, they had no more to do, than to ſend him an Army without Delay to give Battle to the *Romans*. This was *Joſeph*'s Letter; which he ſent forthwith by an Expreſs to *Jeruſalem*.

Joſeph *puts it to the Council of* Jeruſalem, *whether to fight, or treat.*

CHAP. VII.

Joſeph *ſlips away out of* Tiberias *into* Jotapata. *A Deſerter gives* Veſpaſian *Notice of it, and that* Joſeph *was in a Trap. The Siege of* Jotapata. *A deſperate Fight all Day till Night parts them. A Combate of five Days ſucceſſively. The Situation of* Jotapata. Veſpaſian *plyes the Siege with all poſſible Vigour. The Manner of the Attack and Defence.* Joſeph'*s Invention to keep-off Stones and Fire. The* Romans *under a great Diſappointment.*

JOtapata was generally look'd upon as the ſtrongeſt Place in all *Galilee*; and *Veſpaſian* taking Notice of it, and finding how the *Jews* in all their Difficulties fled thither for Sanctuary, he reſolved the next Thing he did to attempt the Place; and ſo ſent Horſe, Foot, and Pioneers acroſs the Mountains to clear the Ways; which were at that Time craggy, and extream difficult even for Foot; but for Horſe utterly impaſſable. Theſe Pioneers, in four Days, cut out a Paſſage for the whole Army to march without any Trouble.

On the fifth Day, being the 21ſt of the Month *Artemiſius*, *Joſeph* ſlipt out of *Tiberias*, and convey'd himſelf into *Jotapata:* Which, in ſome Meaſure, reviv'd the Spirits of the *Jews*. A certain Deſerter preſently carry'd away the News to *Veſpaſian* of *Joſeph*'s being come into the Town: Adviſing him by all means to make

Joſeph *ſlips away out of* Tiberias *into* Jotapata.

A Deſerter gives Veſpaſian *Notice of it, and that* Joſeph *was in a Trap.*

Haſte and fall on; for *Joſeph* was now in a Trap, and if he were but ſure once, the War with the *Jews* would quickly be at an End. *Veſpaſian* was ſo tranſported at the Tidings, that he look'd upon it as an immediate Providence from Heaven; ſo far to blind and infatuate the moſt conſiderable Enemy they had, as to inveigle him into the Nooſe of a voluntary Bondage. *Veſpaſian*, upon this, commanded *Placidus* away with a thouſand Horſe; and *Æbutius* along with him, (one of the greateſt Captains for Counſel and Execution in the whole Army:) Giving them Orders, without Delay, to inveſt the City, and to look to *Joſeph* that he ſhould not make his Eſcape.

The Siege of Jotapata.

Veſpaſian follow'd the next Morning with the whole Army, and got up to *Jotapata*, in the Afternoon: Where he drew up his Army on the North-ſide of the City ſome ſeven Furlongs from the Town; encamping upon a Hill within View of the Enemy, on Purpoſe to ſtartle them with ſo dreadful a Sight. This was done accordingly; and the People all ſeized with ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, that not one Creature durſt ſo much as look out of the Walls. The *Romans* had had ſo hard a March that Day, that they attempted nothing farther at preſent. But *Veſpaſian* however order'd the begirting of the Town with two great Bodies, and a third Troop of Horſe to be poſted at a Diſtance to cut off all Communication with the Place. When the *Jews* ſaw how they were ſtreighten'd and coop'd up, their very Deſpairs enflam'd their Courage: As there's no Daring like that which ariſes from Neceſſity.

A deſperate Fight all Day, till Night parts them.

The next Morning the *Romans* began to batter the Walls; and the *Jews* at firſt made a generous Reſiſtance: But when *Veſpaſian* let looſe his Bowmen and Slingers upon them, with all other Weapons of the ſame kind, to force them from the Walls; and when he himſelf at the ſame Time with a Body of Foot aſſaulted the Wall upon a Hill over againſt the other, which lay more expoſed to the Danger of a Battery; this put *Joſeph* into ſuch a Fright for Fear of the Town, that he himſelf, in the Head of the whole Body of the *Jews*, fell outragiouſly upon the *Romans*; beat them from the Walls, and follow'd the Advantage with a deſperate Reſolution. And yet the Miſchief they ſuffer'd was not inferiour to what they did; being both Sides equally provok'd and enflam'd: The *Jews*, by Deſperation; and the *Romans*, by Indignation and Shame, to find the others ſo near their Match. There was Skill and Valour on the one Side, againſt a brutal Rage on the other. The Fight was maintain'd all the Day till Night parted them. Of the *Romans* there were ſeveral wounded and thirteen ſlain: And a matter of ſix hundred of the *Jews* wounded, and ſeventeen kill'd upon the Place.

A Combate of five Days ſucceſſively.

The Beſiegers fell on next Day again; and in this Encounter, they did both ſides outdo themſelves: The *Jews* took Courage from the Repulſe they had given the Enemy already beyond all Expectation, and the *Romans* from the Shame of being held ſo long in Play: For the very Delay of a Victory was little leſs to them than an Overthrow. They fought it out five Days at this Rate; the Beſiegers preſſing ſtill harder and harder upon them: And the *Jews* on the other Hand, not only ſupporting the Defence, but at the ſame Time making Sallies over and above; without ſo much as minding the prodigious Numbers they were to encounter. Neither did the *Romans* abate any Thing of the Vigour of their Attacks, for the Difficulty and Hazzard of the Enterprize.

The Situation of Jotapata.

As to the Situation of *Jotapata*, it ſtands upon a Rock utterly inacceſſible; ſaving only upon one Quarter: And it is encompaſs'd on three Sides of it with ſuch Precipices of ſteep and profound Valleys, that it is enough to turn a Man's Brain and dazzle him, but to look down from Top to Bottom. There is no coming at it but upon the *North*; where Part of the City is built upon the Brow of the Mountain: And that Way it might be approach'd. But then *Joſeph* had cauſed this Place to be fortify'd and taken into the Town, to ſecure a Mountain that overlooks and commands it: Which, with other Mountains thereabout, kept the Place ſo cloſe that there was no ſeeing of it till a Body was juſt upon it. This was the Situation and Strength of *Jotapata*.

Veſpaſian *plies the Siege with all poſſible Vigour. The Manner of the Attack and the Defence.*

Veſpaſian finding that he had the natural Difficulties of the Place, and the rugged Surlyneſs of the People to contend withall, he took up a Reſolution of puſhing the Siege forward with more Vigour, and call'd a Council of his Officers together to adviſe in what manner to carry on his Attack. The Debate came to this Iſſue, that there ſhould be erected a huge Terraſs on the weakeſt Part of the Town. The Reſolve being taken, *Veſpaſian* preſently ſet his whole Army at Work to provide Neceſſaries and Materials for the raiſing of ſuch a Mount: As vaſt Quantities of Stone and Timber from the neighbouring Mountains, with Proviſions for Hurdles to ſhelter the Beſiegers againſt Darts and Shot from the Town. Under the

Cover of thoſe Defences, they advanced their Deſign, though the Weapons from above fell down as thick as Hail upon them. As for the *Earth* they made Uſe of, they had it out of the Neighbourhood; and ſo handed it from one to another: Inſomuch that what with the vaſt Number of Hands to aſſiſt them, (for the whole Army was engag'd) and the Attempt going on ſtill without Intermiſſion, the Work could not but advance exceedingly. The *Jews* in the mean while did all that was poſſible by Darts and Arrows from the Walls, and by heavy Stones upon their Wattles, to divert them from their Buſineſs: But all they were able to do, was only to make a Noiſe and interrupt the Proceeding, but no Way to defeat or diſappoint it.

Veſpatian had by this Time ſixty Engines at Work, caſting Lances at the Defendents, beſide larger Machines to throw Stones and Javelins, artificial Fires, Arrows, *&c.* which were all manag'd by *Arabians*, and other Maſters of that lanching Faculty; and made not only the Wall it ſelf, but the whole Space alſo betwixt that and the Terraſs, too hot for the Defendents. This did not hinder the *Jews* yet from ſallying out upon the *Romans*, in Troops, like Thieves; ſtripping them of all their Defences, and then ſallying upon them as ſo many naked Men, and ſetting Fire to every Thing about them that was combuſtible, and by this Means undoing all they had done. *Veſpaſian* finding the Miſchief of the *Jews* breaking in upon them; and that there was no Way to prevent it, but by making their Work all of a Piece, and filling up the Intervals, that there might be no Room for them to paſs, he went that Way to work; and joyning his Troops in a cloſe Body, put a final End to their Excurſions.

The Mount being now brought up almoſt to the Height of the Town-Wall, *Joſeph* did not think it honourable, to have more done, on the one Side, to deſtroy the Town, than on the other, to defend it. So that he call'd the Work-Men together, and gave Order for the Raiſing of the Wall, and keeping it up ſtill above the Height of the Terraſs. But they excuſing themſelves upon the Impoſſibility of advancing any Work under all that Shot; *Joſeph* bethought himſelf of a Contrivance to fence both againſt Stones and Fire: Which was by driving ſeveral great Stakes faſt into the Ground; and ſtretching up ſo many raw Hides againſt them: And theſe to be interpoſed betwixt the Enemy and the Bodies of the beſieged; the Moiſture of the Skins would reſiſt and damp the Flame, and the yielding Diſpoſition of them would ſhoot off the Stones or Lances with little or no Impreſſion. Under the Protection of this Cover, the Work-Men follow'd it ſo hard Day and Night, without either Fear or Danger, that in a ſhort Time they rais'd a Wall of twenty Cubits, and fortify'd it with Turrets and ſtrong Embattlements. The *Romans* look'd upon themſelves by this Time to be as good as Maſters of the Town; and it was therefore the greater Surprize to meet with ſo confounding a Policy, and ſo invincible an Obſtinacy at the ſame Time.

Joſeph's *Invention to keep off Stones and Fire.*

The Romans *under a great Diſappointment.*

CHAP. VIII.

Joſeph *attempts, by Starving, what he could not get by Force. No Proviſions wanting in* Jotapata *but* Water. *The Garriſon ſtinted. the Pit-Water near ſpent. An Invention to conceal their Want of it.* Veſpaſian *betakes himſelf to his Arms again.* Joſeph *finds out a Way for a Supply. He propounds an Eſcape: The* Jews *beg of him to ſtand by them.* Joſeph *reaſons the Matter with them. The* Jews *continue their Importunities.* Joſeph *deliberates, and enters into Action.* Veſpaſian *bids his Men give over the Aſſault. The invincible Courage and Reſolution of the* Jews.

THE *Jews* took ſuch Heart upon this Stratagem and the Succeſs of it, that they paſs'd not a Day without Incurſions, Skirmiſhes, and all Sorts of Violences, by Fire, Sword and Pillage. *Veſpaſian* was equally troubled at the Diſgrace, and at the Diſappointment: And therefore, upon ſecond Thoughts, gave over the Aſſault, and contented himſelf to endeavour the Starving of the Place inſtead of Storming it; reaſoning the Matter with himſelf, either that Want would bring them to their Knees, or if they ſtood it out, that Famine in the mean Time would do the Buſineſs of the Sword; either by weakening or by waſting them, and putting them out of Condition of Defence. *Veſpaſian*, upon this, blockt them up ſo cloſe, that there was no paſſing in or out.

Veſpaſian *attempts by Starving, what he could not compaſs by Force.*

No Proviſion wanting in Jotapata *but Water.*

The Garriſon ſtinted.

The Pit-Water near ſpent.

An Invention to conceal the Want of Water.

Veſpaſian *returns to his Arms again.*

Joſeph *finds out a Way for Relief.*

They had in this Town, Corn, and all Manner of Neceſſaries in Abundance ſave only Salt. As for Water, 'tis true, they had not ſo much as one Fountain about the City, and only Rain Water for their common Uſe: Which, in that hot and dry Country, was very ſcarce; eſpecially in Summer; and this was their preſent Caſe. It was a great Affliction to them, the very Thought of a Drought; and the Diſtreſs they were already fallen into for Want of Water. The Place being plentifully ſtor'd with all other Proviſions, and the Men in good Heart, *Joſeph* put the Garriſon to their Allowance, to husband the little Water they had, and make the Stock hold out ſo much the longer. This Order for the Stinting of their Drink, put the People out of all Patience; for it looked as if they were almoſt drawn dry: And they began to be froward upon it, and would work no longer. This peeviſh Humour of the *Jews* could not be well kept from the Knowledge of the *Romans*; who were within Diſtance of obſerving from another Hill near hand there, whatever paſs'd among the *Jews:* As the tumultuary Thronging together; the Meaſuring of their Portions, and their Uneaſineſs about it: Several of the *Jews* being cut off too, upon the Place, at that very Inſtant, by the *Roman* Shot. The Pit-Water being by this Time well nigh ſpent, and *Veſpaſian* in an hourly Expectancy of the Town falling into his Hand; *Joſeph* put this Amuſement upon him. He caus'd a great many Parcels of Cloaths to be hung up *dropping-wet*, upon the Battlements of the Walls within View of the *Romans*; wherein he gain'd his End of inducing them to believe that there could not be ſuch a Scarcity of Water in a Place where they were ſo laviſh of it: And upon that Preſumption, they fell into a direct Deſpondency of ever taking the Place for want of Water. Nay, *Veſpaſian* himſelf gave over all Hope of carrying it by a Siege; and ſo had Recourſe once again to Arms. The *Jews*, on the other Side, were heartily glad of it; for they themſelves, and their City, were both brought to the laſt Extremity: And deſir'd nothing more than to exchange a ſtarving Calamity, for want of Bread and Water, for an honourable Death in the Field. While *Joſeph* was beating his Brains about ſome Expedient, it came into his Head, that, on the Weſt Side of the Town, there was a forlorn hollow Gutter that lay quite out of the Way, ſo as no Body heeded it. *Joſeph* propounded by the Convenience of this Paſſage to get Relief into the Town, as Water, and whatever elſe they wanted: And to that End he wrote to ſome of the out-lying *Jews* that liv'd toward that Quarter, to ſend him from Time to Time what Supplies he had Occaſion for; together with expreſs Inſtructions to cover the Meſſengers with Hair-Skins, and then to have them creep upon all four: So that if the Watch ſhould get any Glimpſe of them, they might paſs for Dogs, or ſome other four-footed Animals. This Way of Intelligence went on till the Correſpondence was diſcover'd and the Communication cut off.

Joſeph *propounds an Eſcape.*

The Jews *beg of him to ſtand by them.*

Joſeph ſaw by this Time that it was a Thing utterly impoſſible to defend the City; and that it would be certain Death to him if he ſtay'd: So that he himſelf and ſeveral other great Men, met preſently in Council upon it, and laid their Heads together how to make an Eſcape. The People had already a Jealouſy of what they were about; and ſo came trooping to *Joſeph* in Throngs, and begging him above all Things in this World to take care of them: For they had no other Friend to truſt to but himſelf. They could never be loſt, they ſaid, ſo long as he was ſafe; nor their Lives better ſpent than at his Feet: Or, if they ſhould be all ſeiz'd upon, it would be recorded to his eternal Honour, that he was too brave either to fly from his Enemies, or to abandon his Friends: Which would be much the Caſe they ſaid, as if a Man, ſhould leap out of a Ship in a Storm, which he had taken Charge of in a Calm: Telling him that this Caſe of a Veſſel was the very ſame with that of their City; for, ſaid they, who ſhall ſtand up to defend us and our Country, when we have loſt the ſingle Man, whom we look upon as the only Means and Hope of our Safety?

Joſeph *reaſons the Matter with them in a plauſible Diſcourſe.*

Joſeph was not willing to have it thought that he conſulted altogether his particular Security: And ſo gave them to underſtand in a plauſible Diſcourſe, that it was more for their Sakes than his own, that he had any Thought of withdrawing; for either you will be made Priſoners, ſays he, or you will not: And now take it which Way you will. If the latter, what will you be the better for my ſtaying with you? If the other, what will you be they better for my dying with you? Whereas, if I were then at Liberty and abroad, I might bring an Army into the Field out of *Galilee* Time enough to raiſe the Siege: Now ſo long as I lye coop'd up here in the Town, I ſhall certainly do you a great Deal of Miſchief without any Sort of Good; for it will make the *Romans* ſharper upon the Siege, ſo long as they are ſure of *Joſeph* for a Prize; but if I were out of the Way once, they would look no farther after you perhaps.

The Jews *continue their Importunities.*

The People were ſo far from coming over to him upon this Diſcourſe, that they came ſtill preſſing upon him with more and more Importunity: Men, Women and Children; Mothers with their Infants at their Breaſts all in Tears, embracing his Knees, and caſting themſelves at his Feet; begging of him with Outcries and Supplications, not to forſake them in their Diſtreſs. And this they did not, I preſume, out of Envy to his being at Eaſe; but upon ſome ſecret Impulſe, as if the very Preſence of *Joſeph* would be a Kind of Protection to his Friends.

Joſeph's Heart was ſo far ſoften'd toward theſe People, betwixt Gratitude and Compaſſion, that he put it to a Queſtion within himſelf, whether to ſtay or go. *If I appear to ſtay willingly*, ſays he, *it will be taken as the Power of the aſcendant they have over me. But what if I ſhould refuſe, and then be forc'd to do it at laſt by being made a Priſoner?* Upon this Deliberation, *Joſeph* reſolv'd to ſtand it out with them, and bear his Part in the common Deſperation of the City. *This, my good Friends and Countrymen*, (ſays he) *is the true Time to ſhew themſelves brave in, when there's no Hope of Safety but in their Arms: When they are ſure to receive Honour in Exchange for their Lives; and for acting like good Patriots, have their Memories celebrated to Poſterity for their Countrey's Devotees.*

Joſeph *deliberates and enters into Action.*

From theſe Words *Joſeph* advanc'd to Action, and putting himſelf in the Head of the braveſt Men he had, charg'd the Enemy's Guards, beat them from their Trenches, and puſh'd them up to the very Camp: One while tearing their Skins to Pieces that cover'd them in their Works; another while ſetting Fire to the Works themſelves: And this they did Time after Time, for three or four Days and Nights together, with an inſuperable Boldneſs, and an indefatigable Labour.

Veſpaſian *bids his Men give over the Aſſault.*

When *Veſpaſian* ſaw how hard it went with the *Romans* upon theſe Encounters; for when they were worſted, they were aſham'd to turn their Backs; and when they got the better of it at any Time, they were too heavy arm'd to purſue the Advantage: So that the *Jews* never ſally'd but they did ſome Miſchief or other before they went back again: When *Veſpaſian*, I ſay, found upon what Terms they were, he commanded his Troops to give over the Attack, and not caſt away their Lives againſt Men that did but deſire to dye, under the Provocation of an incurable Deſpair. Their Rage, he ſaid, was but like a Blaze that would go out of it ſelf, if it wanted but Matter to entertain it: Beſide, that the Caſe of the *Romans* was quite a different Thing from that of the *Jews*; the former fought only for Dominion; the other, for Life and Liberty; and the one had a great Deal more Need of Victory than the other. But in the the mean Time the *Arabian* and the *Syrian* Slingers, Archers, Engineers, *&c.* were all at Work with their Stones, Arrows and Lances: (And nothing, in fine, of that Kind was idle, as the *Jews* found to their Coſt.) But all this was ſo far from ſtaggering the *Jews*, that on the clear contrary, they preſs'd through all Difficulties to ſingle out the *Romans*, Body to Body; and there fought it out, without Quarter on either Hand; and the Living on both Sides, ſtepping up to ſupply the Place of the Dead.

The invincible Courage and Reſolution of the Jews.

CHAP. IX.

A Deſcription of the battering Engine the Ram. *The Manner of ordering it. A Contrivance to defeat the Force of it. The* Jews *have Recourſe to Fire. A brave Action of one* Samæas. *Two glorious Heroes.* Veſpaſian *receives a ſlight Wound on the Ancle. The ſtrange Force of Battery. A bloody Night, for the Loſs of brave Men. The* Jews *ſtand firm to the laſt.*

BEtwixt the Length of the Siege, and the perpetual Excurſions of the beſieged, *Veſpaſian* was as good as beſieg'd himſelf: But having now carry'd up his Works near the Height of the Walls, he reſolved to bring it then to an Iſſue by the Dint of Battery, and order'd a *Ram* to be brought up to the Place of Action. This *Ram* is a *Machine* of a prodigious Bulk and Size, like the Maſt of a Ship, fortify'd with a ſtrong Piece of Iron at the Top of it, like the Head of a Ram: From whence, and from the Manner of puſhing in the Uſe of it, like the butting of that Creature, it took the Name. This Engine is hung up by the Middle, with great Cables or Ropes, faſten'd to croſs Timbers, well cramp'd together and ſtrongly ſupported. There it lies upon a Poiſe, like the Beam of a Pair of Scales: And as it hangs balancing thus in the Air, it is mov'd back and forward by the Force of many Hands, and falls with ſuch a Violence upon the Place, where it is to batter, that no Wall is able to ſtand the continu'd Repetitions of that Attack.

A Deſcription of the Ram.

Delay

The Manner of ordering the Ram.

Delay was now Death to *Veſpaſian*, and the Siege a Kind of Idleneſs to the *Romans:* Whereas the *Jews* at the ſame Time were ſtill doing of Miſchief; ſo that the General's Heart was now ſet altogether upon Diſpatch. The firſt Thing he did in Order to it, was to bring his Slingers, Archers and ordinary Machines cloſer up to the Town, to beat the Defendents from the Walls, and to make Way for the *Ram*; which was then immediately brought on: That is to ſay; ſo ſoon as the Bow-men, and their Companions had made the Wall too hot for the *Jews* to ſhew their Heads upon. It was cover'd with Hurdles and wrapt up in Hair Skins, for the Security both of the Managers and of the Machine. The very firſt Stroke of it put the People into an Uproar, as if the Town had been taken; and *Joſeph* finding that their Battering ſtill in the ſame Place, would bring down the Wall over their Heads in a very ſhort Time, he order'd ſeveral Sacks of Chaff to be provided, and let down by Ropes from the Battlement againſt the Place where the Engine play'd: And ſtill as the *Romans* chang'd their Battery, the *Jews* encounter'd them with their Sacks; by which Means they did generally either miſs their Mark, or fail of the Effect.

A Contrivance to defeat the Force of the Ram.

This Invention was a mighty Hindrance to the *Romans*; for which Way ſoever they pointed the Engine, the *Jews* would be ſure to meet them with their Chaff-Bags, and the Wall never the worſe for the Blow; till the *Romans* found out another Way to defeat the Contrivance. That is to ſay, they got a Proviſion of long Poles, with ſharp Iron Hooks faſten'd to the Ends of them, like paring Knives; and with theſe they immediately cut the Strings of the Bags; and upon this Diſappointment, the Machine did its Office again; and the Wall being but newly repair'd and not yet ſettled, could not poſſibly hold out any longer. *Joſeph* and his Companions had now nothing left them to truſt too but Fire; ſo that getting together all the combuſtible Matter they could lay Hand on, beſide Pitch, Sulphur, and the like; they divided it ſeverally into three Parcels, and ſet Fire to the *Roman* Machines, Huts, and all Materials that would take it, in three ſeveral Places at the ſame Time. The Rage of the Flames and of the *Jews* was ſo terrible, that there was no Place for Relief, and the Danger equal of periſhing both Ways. The Conflagration, in Fine, was ſo dreadful, that it deſtroy'd all in a Moment that the *Romans* had been ſo long a doing, and with ſo much Labour and Hazzard.

The Jews *have Recourſe to Fire.*

The Bravery of one Samæas.

There was one *Samæas* of *Paab* in *Galilee*, and the Son of *Eleazar*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf upon this Occaſion by an Action never to be forgotten, and hath conſequently a Right to a Part in this Hiſtory. He took up a mighty Stone and caſt it down from the Wall upon the Machine, with ſo prodigious a Force, that he brake off the Iron Head of it: And then leaping down into the Middle of his Enemies, carry'd it off without any Apprehenſion of Danger, to the Foot of the Wall; where he ſtood a while, unarmed as he was, a common Mark for the Enemy, till he had five Arrows ſtuck in his Body. In this Condition, he remounted the Wall; where he ſtood for a ſhort Time a glorious Spectacle without any Change either of Countenance or Behaviour, till at laſt he dropp'd down dead with the Anguiſh of his Wounds; and the Head of the Machine in his Arms, which he would never quit to the laſt.

Two glorious Heroes.

There were alſo two Brothers of *Ruma* in *Galilee*, [a] *Netiras* and *Philip*, that were as brave as it was poſſible for Men to be. They fell once upon the Soldiers of the tenth Legion, with ſuch an impetuous Fury, that they brake into the *Roman* Army, and drove all before them that made Head againſt them: While *Joſeph* in the Head of a Troop of Men, with Firebrands, burnt the Machines, Huts, and Works of the fifth and likewiſe of the tenth Legion; and thoſe that follow'd, made the ſame Havock with what was left.

Veſpaſian receives a ſlight Wound on the Ankle.

By the Evening of the ſame Day, the *Romans* were at Work with the ſame Engine again, upon that Part of the Wall that had been ſhatter'd and broken before: *Veſpaſian* at the ſame Time receiving a Shot upon the [b] Ankle by an Arrow out of the Town; but it prov'd a ſlight Wound however, for the Arrow was ſpent. They that were within Diſtance of ſeeing their General's Blood, put the whole Army into ſuch a Fright with the Alarum, that the very Commanders themſelves quitted their Poſts, and came thronging to the head Quarter to learn the Truth of the Matter; *Titus* himſelf, in the firſt Place, out of an impatient Tenderneſs for his Father: But this generous Zeal caſt the Multitude into a Conſternation. *Veſpaſian* however put them all quickly out of their Pain, both *Titus* and the Army, by ſhewing himſelf frankly, and upon the main making little or nothing of the Diſaſter. So that the Anxiety and Sorrow they labour'd under before, for Fear of a mortal Calamity, was now turn'd only into the Tranſport of an honourable Revenge: *Veſpaſian* encouraging the Soldiers, and they one another, to fall on and renew the Aſſault, in Defiance of all Oppoſition. The Enemies Stones and Arrows deſtroy'd great Numbers of the *Jews*; but *Joſeph* and his People made good the Wall ſtill; and with Fire, Sword and other Inſtruments of Miſchief, lay galling the People that had the Government of the battering Engine. The *Jews* now, with all their Bravery, advanc'd little yet; in Regard that they were forced to fight in Sight of the Enemy; and the Fire they made Uſe of againſt the *Romans*, gave the Enemy Light againſt themſelves: So that they ſtood ſo fair a Mark, that there was no miſſing it on the one Side, and no avoiding it on the other; for they could not ſo much as ſee the very Machines from whence the Weapons came. By the Force of Stones from thoſe Engines, the very Battlements and the Corners of the Towers were broken down; and where they fell into a Body, they carry'd away whole Files before them. But whoever would be inform'd of the wonderful Effect of theſe Machines, needs never look farther than into the Hiſtory of that Night.

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[a] Or *Neritas*.

[b] Gr. Ταρσὸς.

The ſtrange Force of theſe battering Engines.

There was a Friend of *Joſeph*'s that, as he was upon the Walls of *Jotapata* with him, had his Head ſtruck off with a Stone from one of theſe Engines; which was carry'd three Furlongs from the Place, as if it had been thrown out of a Sling. And another, coming croſs a big-belly'd Woman, carry'd the Child within her half a Furlong from the Body. Now taking all this together; the prodigious Violence and the terrible Clattering of theſe Machines, and of the Weapons they caſt; the frequent Noiſes of the Dead and Wounded falling from the Walls; the Shrieks and Groans of Women within the Town, anſwer'd by other miſerable Creatures from without; the Town-Ditch flowing with Blood and fill'd with Piles of Carcaſſes, ſufficient to mount an Enemy to the Aſſault; and the Echo's from the Mountains, after all this, doubling the miſerable Story: There was nothing wanting that ſorrowful Night, in Fine, that might ſtrike the Eye or the Ear with an unexpreſſible Horrour. There was a huge Slaughter of brave Men in that Night's Action, in a moſt heroical Defence of the Liberty of their Country; which they maintain'd all Night againſt the uttermoſt Efforts of the Enemy's Machines, till Break of Day; and then the Wall fell to Pieces. But the *Jews* even in this diſmal Extremity made the Breach good yet, with their Bodies and their Arms, before the *Romans* could paſs their Men over the Ditch to the Attack.

A bloody Night of brave Men.

The Jews *ſtand firm to the laſt.*

CHAP. X.

Veſpaſian *makes ready to renew the Aſſault.* Joſeph *prepares for the Encounter, and gives his People their Leſſon. A horrid Confuſion of Outcries upon the Approach of the Army.* Joſeph's *Men keep to their Orders. A bloody Conflict. The* Romans *advance up to the Wall under Cover of their Bucklers. The* Jews *pour ſcalding Oyl among them. The ſtrange Courage and Conſtancy of the* Romans. Veſpaſian *orders the Raiſing of his Platforms. The* Jews *are forced to quit the Breach.*

WHEN the *Roman* Army had a little refreſh'd themſelves next Morning after the Fatigue of ſo ſevere a Night, *Veſpaſian* put every Thing in a Readineſs for an Aſſault; taking Care in the firſt Place to keep the *Jews* from daring to ſhew themſelves in the Breach. To this End, he diſmounted a Party of the beſt Horſe he had; armed them at all Points, and ſo ranged them in three Diviſions, with Pikes in their Hands, to make good the Breach: And they themſelves, upon the Advance of the Bridges, to be the firſt to enter the Town. Theſe Horſe were to be ſeconded by a Body of choice Foot; and the Remainder of the Horſe to be diſtributed quite round the mountainous Parts of the City, to make ſure that, upon the taking of it, no Creature ſhould eſcape. The next in Order, were the Archers, with their Bows and Arrows, fix'd and at Hand; and ſo for the Slingers and Engineers. Others were employ'd with Ladders to attempt the Scaling of ſome Parts of the Wall that were entire; which was intended only for an Amuſement, and to draw off Aſſiſtance from other Places that more needed it, and to force them by this Diverſion to abandon the Attack.

Veſpaſian *makes ready to renew the Aſſault.*

Joſeph was ſo well informed of the *Roman*'s Purpoſes and Deſigns, that he employ'd only Men that were either over-wrought or ſuperannuated for the Guard of thoſe Parts of the Wall that were ſound; as, who ſhould ſay, *there's no Danger*

Joſeph *prepares for the Encounter.*

And gives his People their Leſſon.

upon this Quarter. But wherever there was the leaſt Crack or Flaw, not a Man was made Uſe of for that Duty but of a try'd Integrity and Courage: And he himſelf, with five more, in the Head of them to receive the firſt Shock of the Enemy; giving them in Charge not ſo much as to mind the Outcries of inſulting Clamours, but rather to ſhut their Ears againſt them: For they were all but Noiſe. As for their Archers, the Shields over their Heads were the beſt Defence againſt their Arrows: Or they might withdraw a little till they had empty'd their Quivers. But ſays *Joſeph*, if they come once to lay over their Bridges, there's nothing then to be thought of but Fighting: And not as People in Defence of a Country that is to be preſerved, but for the Honour and Vindication of a Country that is already loſt: And to make the Authors of your Ruine pay dear for their Purchace. For what can you expect, upon the Subduing of your City, but that your Adverſaries will gratify their Cruelty with the Blood of your Fathers, your Wives and your Children? After this Manner *Joſeph* divided himſelf.

A horrid Confuſion of Outcries on the Approach of the Army.

When the common People, the Women and the Children ſaw the Town ſurrounded by three Armies, (and no Force ſent out to incounter them) the Enemy marching up with their drawn Swords towards the weak Side of the Wall; the Mountains round about glittering with Arms, and the *Arabians* ready with their Arrows: They ſet up ſuch a Howl, as if the City were not only in Danger of Ruine, but already taken. Theſe Clamours were ſo moving, that *Joſeph* preſently order'd the Women to their Houſes, and to Silence at their Peril, for Fear of diſheartening the Soldiers; while he himſelf went away to that Part of the Town that fell to his Lot; paſſing by the ſcaling Ladders without ſo much as minding them: His Thoughts being altogether taken up with the Enemy's Way of Attack by their Darts and their Arrows.

Joſeph's Men keep to their Orders. A bloody Conflict betwixt the Jews *and the* Romans.

The Romans *advance up to the Wall, under Cover of their Bucklers.*

Upon the Sounding of their Trumpets; the giving of the Signal, and the military Shout of the Army; the very Sky was darken'd with a Cloud of Arrows. *Joſeph's* Companions did not forget their Leſſon, but ſtopt their Ears againſt the Clamours, and covered themſelves with their Shields againſt their Shot. But upon the leaſt Advance of the Bridges, they flew upon the *Romans* like Lightening, to put a Stop to the Deſign, either by keeping them off, or by beating them off, and diſputing every Inch of the Poſſeſſion. For as faſt as the *Romans* endeavour'd to mount the Bridge, the *Jews* violently puſh'd them down again, with ſignal Inſtances both of their Skill and Courage, in the Conduct and Execution, ſhewing themſelves as bold and fearleſs in the Extremity of Danger, as the *Romans* were where there was none at all; nay, the greater the Hazzard, the firmer was their Reſolution: And when they were once engag'd, there was no parting them without the Death of the one or the other. But the *Jews* being kept upon perpetual Duty, and no Enforcements to relieve them; whereas the *Romans* had their Men freſh and freſh ſtill; and as one Party was weary'd, or worſted, another at Hand to ſupply the Place: Numbers muſt of Neceſſity carry it at the long Run. The *Romans* were ſenſible of the Advantage they had; and ſo preſſing as cloſe together as one could ſtand to another, they threw their long Bucklers over their Backs; and making an impenetrable Figure, they drove the *Jews* before them; as if the Strength of the whole Army had been united into one entire Body: And ſo advanced up to the very Wall.

The Jews *pour down ſcalding Oyl among them.*

In this Diſtreſs, *Joſeph*, upon Advice with his Neceſſities and Deſpairs, reſolved upon a Trial of this Experiment. The *Jews* having a great Deal of Oyl by them, *Joſeph* ordered the boiling a conſiderable Quantity of it; and ſo to caſt it down ſcalding hot upon the Soldiers under the Wall, together with the very Pots and Veſſels it was boil'd in. This was done accordingly, and paſſing between the Bucklers, and over the Bodies of the *Romans*, it utterly broke their Order, and deſtroy'd the Men; by forcing them down from the Wall in their extreme Miſery. For the Oyl, flowing under their Arms from Head to Foot, and ſo all over the Body, conſum'd the Fleſh like Fire it ſelf; being naturally apt to take Heat, and long a cooling. And then their Armour being brac'd and buckl'd to their Bodies, there was no getting clear of the Torment: Some of them leaping and ſpringing in their Pains; others drawn double, and all falling from the Bridge down to the Ground. And for thoſe that attempted to get off to their own People, they were eaſily maſter'd by the *Jews* at their Backs.

The Strange Courage and Conſtancy of the Romans.

In the whole Courſe of theſe calamitous Circumſtances, there was no Failing either of Courage in the *Romans*, or of Prudence in the *Jews*. For the *Romans*, notwithſtanding the Miſery they endur'd by the ſcalding Oyl, had the Heart yet to preſs upon thoſe that pour'd it among them, and not without a Competition who ſhould be foremoſt. The *Jews* after this, put another Check to the Progreſs of the *Romans*, by caſting boil'd *Fenugreek* upon the Boards of the Bridge; which made them ſo ſlippery that the *Romans* could not keep their Feet upon them: So that they could neither fight nor fly. Some fell at their Length upon the Planches, where they were trampled upon by their own People: Others fell lower, where they lay at the Mercy of the *Jews* Shot. *Veſpaſian* found his People ſo haraſs'd out by this Way of Fighting, that toward Evening he call'd them off; having loſt ſeveral Men, and more wounded. Of *Jotapata* there were only ſix Men ſlain, and upwards of three hundred hurt. This Action paſſed the twentieth of the Month *Deſius*.

Veſpaſian was ſo ſenſible of the Miſcarriage of this Aſſault, that he treated the Army with an excuſatory Complement upon that Occaſion: But finding the Soldiery ſo far from being dejected, that they were rather inflam'd, and that they had more Mind to be Doing than Talking, he order'd the Raiſing of his Platforms and the Erecting of three wooden Towers upon them, of fifty Foot a Piece; cover'd all over with Iron to keep them ſteady with the Weight, and make them Proof againſt Fire. In theſe Turrets were the choiceſt of his Markſmen and Engineers, with their Machines, Inſtruments and Arms. The People in them had this Advantage of the beſieged, that they were out of Sight and Reach of the others: Whereas thoſe upon the Wall were eaſily ſeen and wounded from the Turrets. So that the *Jews* being neither able to avoid the Arrows from above, nor ſo much as to ſee who hurt them, quitted the Breach; but ſtill upon all Attacks made a vigorous and a brave Reſiſtance. At this Rate did *Jotapata* defend it ſelf, tho' with daily Loſs of Men, and with much more Hazzard and Miſchief to themſelves than to the Enemy.

Veſpaſian *orders the Raiſing of his Platforms.*

The Jews *are forc'd to quit the Breach.*

CHAP. XI.

Trajan *ſent to reduce* Japha. *The People meet him on the Way to give him Battle. The* Jews *put to Flight, and driven into the* firſt Encloſure. *The Miſery of thoſe that were coopt up there. A prodigious Slaughter.* Trajan *deſires* Veſpaſian *to ſend* Titus *to the Finiſhing of the Work.* Titus *brings his Troops to* Japha. *The* Romans *mount the Walls, and enter the Town. A bloody* Street-Fight *of ſix Hours. Not a Creature ſpar'd but Women and Children.*

VEſpaſian being given to underſtand, that *Japha*, a neighbouring City to *Jotapata*, after the Example of the other, was grumbling toward a Revolt; eſpecially encourag'd by the famous Defence of that Place, that held out beyond all Expectation: He ſent *Trajan* the Commander of the tenth Legion, with two thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe to reduce them. But finding the Town impregnably fortify'd, (for beſide the natural Strength of the Situation, it was incompaſs'd with a double Wall) he was encounter'd upon the Way, by the Inhabitants of the Place, in a Poſture to give him Battle. The Bodies join'd; and after a ſlight Reſiſtance, *Trajan* put them to Flight, and purſu'd them ſo cloſe upon the Heel to the out-Wall (which was the Place they made to) that they fell with them *pell-mell* into the firſt Encloſure; but upon preſſing up to the ſecond Wall, the Townſmen ſhut the Gates upon them, for Fear of taking in both Friend and Foe, one with another. This extraordinary Way of delivering up the *Galileans* into the Hands of the *Romans*, was a moſt judicial Providence of Heaven, for theſe Men to be ſhut out of their own Gates by their own People, and given up for a Sacrifice to an Enemy that thirſted for their Blood. They crouded in Throngs up to the Gates; call'd to the Officers by their Names, and begg'd Admittance; having their Throats cut at the ſame Time, with their very Prayers betwixt their Lips. The *Romans* kept one Gate, and the Citizens the other; and of thoſe that were coopt up in this Encloſure, ſome laid violent Hands upon themſelves; others fell by the Swords of their Companions; and thoſe not to be number'd, that fell by the Hands of the *Romans*: And not one Creature of all theſe at laſt that had the Heart to lift up a Hand, or ſo much as offer at a Revenge: For over and above the Dread of an Enemy, their Spirits were taken down with a Senſe of Treachery among themſelves. They dy'd, in fine, to the Number of twelve thouſand Perſons; and all Curſing the *Jews*, not the *Romans*.

Trajan *ſent to reduce* Japha.

The People meet him on the Way to give him Battle. The Jews *put to Flight, and driven pell-mell into the firſt Encloſure.*

The Miſery of thoſe that were coopt up.

A prodigious Slaughter.

Trajan gave it now for granted, that their martial Men were in a Manner all cut off; and for thoſe that were left, they would take Warning by their Companions: So that he ſent away preſently to deſire *Veſpaſian* that his Son *Titus* might have the Honour of Finiſhing the Work. *Veſpaſian* underſtood it of ſomewhat conſiderable that

Trajan *deſires* Veſpaſian *to ſend* Titus *to the Finiſhing of the Work.*

Titus brings his Troops to Japha.

The Romans *mount the Walls, and enter the Town.*

that was yet to be done; and ſo *Titus* was diſpatch'd away accordingly, with an Enforcement of five hundred Horſe and a thouſand Foot; which he divided immediately, upon his Arrival, into two Attacks: That on the Left-hand he gave to *Trajan*, and the Right-hand Diviſion he commanded himſelf. The firſt Thing that the *Romans* did, after this, was to plant Scaling-Ladders, and then to mount the Wall upon all Quarters at the ſame Time. The *Galileans* made ſome faint Reſiſtance for a while; but ſoon quitting the Wall, *Titus* with his Party preſently leap'd down after them and enter'd the Town. It came now to a deſperate Street-Fight; which, betwixt Ambuſhes, and Sallies from Nooks and narrow Paſſes, where a great Number of ſturdy Fellows were got together, and Annoyances of all Sorts that they receiv'd from the very Women upon the Tops of the Houſes, laſted a Matter of ſix Hours. But the daring Men being by this Time cut off, the Remainder of the Multitude, whether at Home or in the Field, young Men and old, were all deſtroy'd indifferently, and not a Male left alive but Infants, who were carry'd away Captives with the Women. The Number of the Slain in the City and in the firſt Encounter, was fifteen thouſand, and two thouſand one hundred and thirty Priſoners. This Judgment befel the *Galileans* on the twentieth of the Month *Deſius*.

A bloody Street-Fight of ſix Hours.

Not a Creature ſpar'd but Women and Children.

CHAP. XII.

The Samaritans *upon Mount* Garizim *meditating a Rebellion.* Veſpaſian *ſends* Cerealis *to take Care of it. The* Samaritans *in a formidable Body. A mortal Drought for Want of Water. An Indemnity offer'd by* Cerealis, *and rejected. The People put to Death every Man of them.*

The Samaritans *upon Mount* Garizim *meditating a Rebellion.*

THE *Samaritans* had their Part alſo in the Publick Calamity. They had their Meeting upon Mount *Garizim*; the holy Mountain, as they counted it; and their they waited in their Places for the Event of Things: But in the mean Time the very Air of the Aſſembly, and the Manner of their Behaviour was menacing and unquiet, and gave to underſtand what they would be at. For they were never the wiſer for Example and Experience: But without conſidering either their own Weakneſs, or the mighty and proſperous Power of the *Romans*, they were at that Time running head-long into a Rebellion; but *Veſpaſian* took an early Care to prevent the Miſchief. For though the whole Province of *Samaria* was in a Manner beſet with Garriſons, he was not yet without ſome Apprehenſion of what ſuch a Multitude of People, and ſuch a Conſpiracy of ill Affections might produce; ſo that for Fear of the worſt, he ſent away [a] *Cerealis*, a Tribune of the fifth Legion, with ſix hundred Horſe and three three thouſand Foot, to take Care of the Publick.

Veſpaſian *ſends* Cerealis *to take Care of it.*

The Samaritans *in a formidable Body.*

When *Cerealis* came up with his Troops to this Mountain, he found the *Samaritans* gather'd together there in ſo vaſt a Body, that he did not think fit to attack them upon that Poſt; but rather intrench'd himſelf round about them at the Foot of the Mountain; where for that Day they were as good as beſieg'd. It ſo fell out that being now in the Height of Summer, and a very hot Seaſon, the *Samaritans* were in great Want of Water (the Country having made no Proviſion to ſupply it;) inſomuch that there dy'd ſome or other of them daily of a parching Drought; others went over to the *Romans*, chuſing rather to ſuffer the Slavery, than ſo miſerable a Death. *Cerealis* being informed by Deſerters, that theythat ſtay'd behind were as much broken and out of Heart as their Fellows, he advanced up the Mountain, and drawing out his Army round the Enemy, did not only offer them Life and Liberty, upon Condition of laying down their Arms, but beſought them with all the Courteſy imaginable, to accept of the Indemnity that was offer'd, upon an Aſſurance that it ſhould be made good. But they were not to be prevail'd upon; and ſo they were all put to the Sword, to the Number of eleven thouſand ſix Hundred Perſons. There 'ſcap'd not ſo much as one Man of them: And this happen'd the 27th of the Month *Deſius*.

A mortal Drought for Want of Water.

An Indemnity offer'd and rejected.
The People put to Death every Man of them.

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[a] Gr. Κερεάλιος.

CHAP. XIII.

The Romans *Works are now finiſh'd. A Deſerter gives* Veſpaſian *Intelligence of the State of the Town: With Advice to fall on about Break of Day.* Veſpaſian *conſiders of it, takes his Time, and carries it. The Particulars of the Action. An inhumane Cruelty. A baſe and a treacherous Murder.* Forty thouſand *Men kill'd in the Siege; the City raſ'd, and the Caſtles burnt.*

The Romans *Works being now finiſh'd, a Deſerter gives* Veſpaſian *Notice of the State of the Town, and adviſes him to fall on about Break of Day.*

THE People of *Jotapata* held out a long Time, and ſtood firm againſt all Extremities; with a Conſtancy to Admiration. But upon the forty ſeventh Day, when the *Romans* had carry'd up their Works to over-top the Walls, *Veſpaſian* had an Account brought him by a Deſerter, of the State of the Town: Which was, that what with the Loſs of Men, Watching, and hard Duty, the Garriſon was ſo weaken'd, that with one ſharp Aſſault more, the *Romans* might certainly carry the Place; or, which would be the eaſier Way, it was but taking the right Opportunity to ſurprize them. So the Deſerter adviſ'd *Veſpaſian* to take his Time about Break of Day; when he might be ſure to find them ſupine and careleſs; and the Guard ſo drowſy and tir'd, that he could hardly fail of carrying his Point.

Veſpaſian *conſiders of it, takes his Time, and carries his Point.*

Veſpaſian was ſo well acquainted with the obſtinate Fidelity of the *Jews* one to another, and with the Greatneſs of their Stomachs in Caſe of Force or Torments; that he gave little or no Credit to this Fugitive; for the Sake of an Inſtance he had ſeen of a wonderful Conſtancy of Mind in one of that City already. He was a Priſoner of *Jotapata*; and being put to the Queſtion about the Condition of the Town, he ſtood all Manner of Tortures, even to Fire and the Croſs it ſelf, to the Contempt of Death in all Forms, rather than make the leaſt Diſcovery. But the Thing not being very unlikely, *Veſpaſian* thought with himſelf that it might yet poſſibly be true: Or, at the worſt, that he ſhould run no Riſque at all in ſeeming to believe it. Upon this Conſideration, he order'd the Informer to be taken into Cuſtody, and every Thing to be made ready for the Aſſault.

The Particulars of the Action.

At the Hour aſſign'd, the Army made a ſilent March up to the Walls: *Titus* in the Head of it, with *Domitius Sabinas*, and ſome pickt Men out of the fifteenth Legion. They kill'd the Centinels; cut the Throats of the Guards; enter'd the City; and after them follow'd *Sextus Cerealis* the *Tribune*, and *Placidus*, with the Troops under their Command. The *Romans* were now in Poſſeſſion of the Fort; Maſters of the Town; broad Day-light; and yet the Garriſon ſo ſpent and mop'd with Labour and Overwatching, that to this Inſtant they did not ſo much as know the Town was taken. Nay, thoſe that were awake, were almoſt as much to ſeek too as the reſt: For there fell ſuch a Miſt in that very Inſtant, that either they ſaw nothing at all, or they did not know what they ſaw. This Fogg continu'd till the whole Army were enter'd the Place: The People never waking till they felt the Danger, and till they were convinc'd by dying that they were undone. The *Romans* had ſuffer'd too much in the Siege, to have any Senſe of Mercy or Tenderneſs upon the Storm. Some were thrown Headlong down, in the Scuffle, from the Top of the Fort to the Bottom; others, that wanted neither Good-Will nor Reſolution, to revenge themſelves, were either preſs'd to Death in Crowds, or forced down Precipices, or daſh'd to Pieces with Ruines from over their Heads. This was the Caſe of ſeveral of *Joſeph*'s ſelect Friends; who choſe rather to die by their own Hands, than by the Hand of an Enemy; and to kill themſelves in private, when they could not have the Satisfaction of taking a *Roman* along with them. This was it that mov'd divers of them to withdraw together into a remote Part of the City, and there to do the laſt Office one for another.

A mercileſs Cruelty without ſparing ſo much as one Man.

A baſe and a treacherous Murder.

Thoſe of the Guard that took the firſt Notice of the Town's being loſt, got into a certain Turret toward the *North*; where they were aſſaulted, and for a while made it good: But being overborn with Numbers, they offer'd to treat; and finding no Terms would be allow'd them, they were cut to Pieces upon the Place, and fell like Men of Bravery and Honour. This Action clos'd the Siege; and the Day had paſs'd without one Drop of *Roman* Blood, if it had not been for the Death of *Anthony* a *Centurion*; who was baſely and treacherouſly kill'd. There were ſeveral of the *Jews* that fled into Caves; and one of them call'd out to *Anthony* for Quarter, and his Right-Hand upon it, as an Obligation of Honour for the Performance of the Condition. *Anthony* unwarily ſtretching forth his Right-Hand for the *Jews* Satisfaction, the other ſtabb'd him into the Groin with a Dagger, and ſo deſtroy'd him.

The *Romans* kill'd all they met that Day, without ſparing ſo much as one Man: And for ſome Days following, they ſearch'd all the Hiding-Places, Vaults, and Cellars they could hear of, for Fugitives; putting all to Death they could lay Hands on, ſaving only Women and Children. There were twelve hundred Priſoners, and forty thouſand Men ſlain, from one End of the Siege to the other. *Veſpaſian* order'd the City to be ras'd, and the Caſtles to be all burnt. *Jotapata*, in Fine, was taken the firſt of the Month *Panemus*, in the *thirteenth Year* of *Nero*: And this was the Manner of taking it.

Forty thouſand Men kill'd in the Siege; the City ras'd, and the Caſtles burnt.

CHAP. XIV.

A ſtrict Search for Joſeph, *dead or alive. He and forty more found conceal'd in a Vault.* Joſeph *betray'd by a Woman. The* general *offers him Quarter. He pauſes upon it.* Nicanor *prevails with him to comply. The Soldiers inrag'd at his Refuſal.* Joſeph *calls to Mind Dreams and Revelations, long ſince paſs'd.* Joſeph *delivers himſelf up to the* Romans. *A generous Exclamation againſt* Joſeph. *The deſperate Reſolution of the* Jews. Joſeph *deliberates with his Companions. The horrid Impiety of Self-Murder. The* Jews *not to be reclaim'd. They draw Lots for their Lives.* Joſeph, *and one* Jew *more ſubmit to live.* Joſeph *conducted by* Nicanor *to* Veſpaſian: *Who orders him to be kept cloſe.* Veſpaſian *ſpeaks to* Joſeph *in private.* Joſeph *highly in Favour with* Titus. Joſeph *foretels the Succeſſion of* Veſpaſian *and* Titus *to the Empire.* Veſpaſian *ſeems not to heed it at firſt, till the Truth of the Prediction comes afterward to be confirm'd.* Veſpaſian *returns to* Ptolemais, *and ſo to* Cæſarea.

THE *Romans* were every where hunting up and down for *Joſeph*, partly out of a perſonal Animoſity to him, and in Part out of an officious Forwardneſs to pick a Thank with *Veſpaſian*; who look'd upon him as the main Support of the War. They ſearch'd for him among the Dead and among the Living, and in all Places where the Body of a Man might be conceal'd. But it was his good Hap, upon the taking of the Town, to make his Eſcape through the very Middle of his Enemies, and to get at laſt into an old deep Pit with a Paſſage that led out of it into a large Cavern; which was not to be diſcern'd from above. In this Cave, *Joſeph* found forty eminent Perſons under his own Circumſtances, with Proviſions about them for ſeveral Days. Now the Enemy being Maſter of the whole Country thereabouts, *Joſeph* was fain to keep cloſe in the Day-Time; but went abroad ſtill in the Night, to obſerve the Enemies Guards, and ſee what Poſſibility of making an Eſcape. The Watches, it ſeems, were ſo ſtrict and vigilant, that there was no getting away; and that it was for his Sake too that they made this Scrutiny. Upon this, he went back again to his Retreat, and there lay ſtill a while. On the third Day after this, he was betray'd by a Woman that was taken up; and *Veſpaſian* immediately, upon this Diſcovery, ſent two Tribunes to him, *Paulinus* and *Gallicanus*, to invite him out of his Hole; with an Aſſurance, upon the General's Word and Honour, that he ſhould be fairly treated. *Joſeph* durſt not truſt ſo far to the *Roman* Generoſity as to venture himſelf upon the General's Parole; but being conſcious to himſelf of the Miſchief he had done them, he had more Reaſon he thought to expect a Revenge than a Favour; and ſo excus'd himſelf from complying with the Propoſal. *Veſpaſian*, after this, ſent him a third Tribune, one *Nicanor*, *Joſeph*'s old Friend and Acquaintance. This *Nicanor* treated *Joſeph* at large upon the generous Humanity of the victorious *Romans* towards thoſe they have ſubdu'd: Aſſuring him moreover that they were ſo far from bearing him any Ill-will for the Hurt he had done them, by the Bravery and Conduct of a gallant Man; that, on the contrary, they had a high Eſteem of him for his Virtues. And beſides, ſays *Nicanor*, what ſhould *Veſpaſian* need to ſtand expoſtulating with *Joſeph* upon Conditions, when he has it abſolutely in his Power to do whatever he will with him already? *Veſpaſian* loves a worthy Man, and he has a Mind to oblige *Joſeph*, as a Perſon of that Character. Or can you imagine now, that if the General had any mean falſe Thing to do, he would ever have employ'd a Friend in the Office of a Raſcal; or have wrapt up ſo black a Villany under ſo illuſtrious a Cover? Or do you think again, that even I my ſelf, if I had been put upon it, would ever have ſubmitted to be an Inſtrument in ſo foul a Treachery? The Caſe was ſo clear, and *Joſeph* made ſuch Difficulties of coming over to the Reaſon of it, that the *Roman* Soldiers had certainly ſet Fire to the Cave, if *Veſpaſian* had not taken them off by a Suggeſtion that he was reſolved to get *Joſeph* alive into his Hands. *Nicanor* all this while lay preſſing *Joſeph* to a Compliance, with In-

A ſtrict Search for Joſeph, *dead or alive.*

Joſeph *and forty more conceal'd in a Vault.*

Joſeph *betray'd by a Woman.*
The General invites him out of his Hole, upon Terms of fair Quarter.
Joſeph *pauſes upon it.*

Nicanor, Joſeph's *old Friend, reaſons him into a Compliance.*

The Soldiers inrag'd at Joſeph's *Refuſal.*

ſtances more and more: The Rage and Menaces of the Soldiers ſtill encreaſing with the Number. This brought to *Joſeph*'s Mind certain Dreams he had; wherein God had revealed to him the miſerable Calamities that were to betide the *Jews*, and the Proſperity and Greatneſs of the *Romans*. For *Joſeph* had an extraordinary Gift of expounding Dreams, and the Faculty of unriddling many of thoſe Secrets that God had been pleaſed to couch under Veil and Myſtery. As he was a Prieſt himſelf and of the ſacerdotal Race, he was a Perſon perfectly well skill'd in the Writings of the holy Prophets: And in this very Inſtant, as if the Spirit of God had taken Poſſeſſion of him, the whole Courſe and Order of his Viſions came into his Head; and particularly thoſe horrid Images that he had lately ſeen, as well as the reſt. And in this Rapture, he addreſs'd himſelf in a Prayer to Almighty God to this Effect. *Great God!* ſays he, *ſince it is thy bleſſed Will to depreſs the* Jews, *and to exalt the* Romans; *and to make me the Inſtrument to foretel thy Purpoſe: I ſubmit my ſelf to thy Providence, and to the Acceptance of my Life upon Condition of rendring my ſelf to the* Romans: *But in the Preſence of thy ſacred Majeſty, I do likewiſe declare, that I do it as the Miniſter of thy good Pleaſure, and not as a Betrayer of my Country.*

Joſeph *calls to Mind Dreams and Revelations of Times paſt.*

Joſeph *delivers himſelf up to the* Romans.

Joſeph had no ſooner given himſelf up to *Nicanor*, but all his Companions in the Cave came ruſhing up to him with clamorous Invectives and Exclamations. *What is become of the Laws of our Country,* they cry'd, *or of the Honour of our Profeſſion? The Spirit of our Anceſtors, and that primitive Vigour of the* Jews, *that with the firſt Breath of Life drew in a Contempt of Death? And can* Joſeph *be ſo fond of that Life too, as ever to think of looking the Sun in the Face, and ſee himſelf a Slave? Why does he not act according to his Doctrine, and Practiſe as he teaches? He preaches and recommends Liberty to others, and renounces it himſelf. You were certainly very much miſtaken,* they cry'd, *in the Meaſures you took of true Wiſdom and Courage; either if you could hope for Quarter where you have ſo little deſerv'd it, or if you can ſink ſo low as to accept of Life upon diſhonourable Terms. But however the Fortune of* Rome *may fright you into a Forgetfulneſs of your ſelf, it ſhall never make us depart from the Duty we owe to the good of our Nation: And we have yet Hearts and Swords ready to ſtand by you in that Quarrel. Or if you are otherwiſe reſolv'd, you have it now at your Choice; whether you will die a General of the* Jews, *or the Death of a Coward and a Traytor. Fall upon your own Sword, and you do the former; or leave it to us, and it will be the latter: For the Work is to be done however.*

A generous Invective agaiſt Joſeph.

The Word was no ſooner out, but they all drew upon him, and threaten'd to kill him that Inſtant, if he ſubmitted to the *Romans*. *Joſeph* had ſo ſcrupulous a Fear upon him, leſt he ſhould be taken off before he could acquit himſelf of what he had in Charge from Almighty God to communicate to the Nation of the *Jews*, that he enter'd into a Reaſoning of the Caſe in Words to this Effect.

The deſperate Reſolution of the Jews.

What can be the Meaning, my good Friends and Companions of this deſperate Fancy you have taken up of laying violent Hands upon your ſelves, and in ſetting the two deareſt Friends in Nature at Variance, the Soul and the Body? But am I chang'd, do you ſay? Ask the Romans. *Is it a glorious Fate to dye in War? It is ſo undoubtedly, if it be in a War that is manag'd according to the Law of Arms: That is to ſay, where a Man falls by the Hand of the Conquerour. Neither ſhould I make any more Conſcience of killing my ſelf than of deſiring a* Roman *to do it; but yet if the* Romans *have a Mind to ſpare an Enemy, ſhall that Enemy on the other Hand be ſo* cruel *as not to ſpare himſelf? Or ſo* fooliſh, *as to be more rigorous in his own Caſe, than he would have an Enemy to be. No Man dyes ſo great, 'tis true, as he that ſacrifices his Life to his Liberty: But then it muſt be in Arms, and in the Act of contending for it; and that Life taken away, in the Conteſt by the Competitor that would take away that Liberty. But we have to do with an Enemy at preſent that neither kills us, nor fights with us, for the Quarrel is over. Now he is as faint-hearted a Wretch that preſſes to dye when he ſhould not, as he that is afraid to dye, when his Honour calls him to it. And pray'e what is it at laſt but the Fear of Death that keeps us from going up to the* Romans? *And ſhall we caſt our ſelves into a certain Death one Way, for Fear of an uncertain Death another? But it is, you'll ſay perhaps, to avoid Slavery: And do you reckon your ſelves now to be at Liberty? But it is look'd upon as the Part of a brave Man to take away his own Life with his own Hand. And what would you think of the Maſter of a Veſſel now, that for Fear of a Storm a coming, ſhould ſink the Boat before it comes? Would you account that Man a brave Captain? To ſay nothing of the Affront that is offer'd to the common Inſtinct of Providence in the Nature of Things; for the Deſire of ſelf-Preſervation is a Principle implanted in all living Creatures; and for any Thing to deſtroy it ſelf, it is contrary to Nature, and conſequently a ſacrilegious Wickedneſs againſt God himſelf. There is no Creature that ſeeks or covets its own*

Joſeph *expoſtulates the Matter with his Companions.*

Againſt ſelf Murder.

Death, in Oppoſition to the univerſal Impulſe of a Deſire to live: And therefore we pronounce thoſe People our Enemies that would take away our Lives, and puniſh thoſe that lie in wait to deſtroy us. It is from God that we have receiv'd Life, and it is to him again in his good Time, that we are to render it: And what can be more provoking and ungrateful now, than the Deſpiſing of his Gifts? Our Bodies are all mortal, and ſo are the Materials of which they are compounded: But the Soul is a divine Particle, infuſed into the Fleſh by God himſelf, and it can never dye. If any Man ſhall imbezzle or abuſe a Depoſitum *betwixt Man and Man, we can ſay nothing bad enough of him: Now the Soul is effectually but God's* Depoſitum; *and ſhall we preſume to rob the divine Majeſty, and think to come off at laſt without either Diſcovery or Puniſhment? We find it reaſonable enough to puniſh runaway Servants, though it be from the worſt of Maſters: And ſhall we at the ſame Time, that forſake a gracious and a righteous God, pretend to juſtifie our ſelves? As for thoſe that govern themſelves according to the Inſtinct of Nature, and pay the Debt of Life back again to him that gave it, whenever he commands it: Do not you know that everlaſting Honours attend the Memory of thoſe bleſſed Souls from Generation to Generation; which after a certain Number of Ages in the heavenly Manſions provided for them, ſhall return and animate Bodies, pure like themſelves? Whereas the deepeſt Pit of Hell is reſerv'd for ſelf-Murderers; and God will revenge the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children in after Ages. They are hateful to God, and the Wiſdom of our great Law-giver hath been ſo ſevere upon them, that he that kills himſelf is not allow'd Burial till after Sun-ſet; though a Privilege never deny'd to an Enemy. In other Places the right Hand is cut off from the Body of the dead, as arm'd againſt himſelf: For it was reaſonable that the Hand that parted the Soul and the Body, ſhould be divided from the Body it ſelf. It is a great Bleſſing, my good Friends, to make a right Judgment of Things, and not to render our Condition worſe than it is, by blaſpheming and incenſing our Maker. If we have a Mind to live, what hinders us; for Life can be no Diſhonour to us, where we have given ſo many ſignal Proofs of our Virtue. But if nothing will ſerve us but dying, let us fall by the Hands of thoſe that have maſter'd us. I am not for going over to the Enemy in ſuch a Manner, as to fool my ſelf out of my Life, by doing the ſame Thing to my Deſtruction, that a Deſerter does to ſave himſelf. If the* Romans *ſhould be treacherous and break Faith with us, it would be no more in ſome Reſpects, than what a Body might honeſtly wiſh for; as it yields Matter for a ſteady and a generous Mind to work upon; not only in the Sufferance, but in the Contempt of Death: For the very Baſeneſs of the Perfidy will be ſome ſort of Comfort to us, when we conſider, that the Authors of our Ruine have made themſelves infamous and odious to Eternity.*

The Jews *not to be reclaim'd.*

Joſeph was in Hope by this, and a great Deal more to this Purpoſe, to have diverted his Companions from the impious Reſolution of deſtroying themſelves: But he found them deaf to all ſober Counſels, as Men abſolutely devoted to Deſtruction; and in ſuch a Tranſport of Rage, that they preſs'd upon him with their Swords drawn one after another, and with menacing Words and Actions, accompany'd with the vileſt Reproaches in Nature. In this Extremity, *Joſeph* manag'd with all the Skill and Addreſs imaginable, treating them one while in the Style and Character of his Commiſſion; (as Authority carries a kind of Reverence along with it:) Diſcourſing one Man by his Name, taking another by the Hand, ſoliciting a third, reaſoning with another: So that in the Concluſion, by this prudent Application to the diſtracted Variety of Humours, he diverted the Blow. It was much with him, in Fine, as it is with a wild Beaſt in the Middle of a Troop of Huntſmen, that turns his Head ſtill to him that is next. This did not hinder yet but that, when it came to the Point of Execution, ſeveral of the Mutineers Hearts fail'd them: And the Veneration they had for their General made them drop their Swords, even in the Depth of his Diſtreſs.

They draw Lots for their Lives.

But *Joſeph* acted all this while, like a wiſe, as well as a good Man; and caſting himſelf upon the Providence of the Almighty, he determin'd at laſt to put his Life to the Hazard. *Well!* ſays he, *ſince Death is the Thing you are reſolv'd upon, what have we more to do now, than to caſt Lots one after another for our Lives; and he ſtill upon whom the Lot falls, to be kill'd by the next Man; and ſo every Man to take his Fortune round after this Method. This will prevent the ſelf-Murder; for it would be unreaſonable, when part of us are dead, that any of the reſt ſhould repent and 'ſcape.* They were all pleas'd with the Equity of the Expedient: And ſo according to the Propoſal they caſt Lots; and the Perſons upon whom they fell, were ſucceſſively put to Death by the next Men: Not doubting but it would come to the General's Turn at laſt, and pleaſing themſelves with the Hope of dying in his Company; which they valued more than Life it ſelf.

It came to this at laſt (whether by Fortune or by Providence) that there was only *Joſeph*, and one more remaining, of the whole Number. Hereupon *Joſeph* enter'd into this Deliberation. *If we caſt Lots once again*, ſays he, *either my Friend muſt kill me, or I muſt kill him, and dip my Hand in the Blood of my Countryman.* So that *Joſeph*, in this Difficulty, prevail'd with his Companion to ſubmit to live, upon his Engagement for his Security.

Joſeph *and one more ſubmit to live.*

When *Joſeph* was now deliver'd out of all his Troubles, as well from the *Romans* as from his own People, he gave himſelf up to *Nicanor*; who conducted him to *Veſpaſian*. There was a prodigious Preſs of People gotten together to ſee him; and a ſtrange Confuſion of Humours. Some were overjoy'd that he was taken; others threatening him: Some crowding to get nearer him; and others, at a Diſtance, crying out for Juſtice upon him as a publick Enemy. They that were gotten near enough to obſerve the Perſon of the Man; and at the ſame Time reflecting upon the wonderful Things he had done, and the State of his preſent Condition, were in Amazement at the Change. But, after all this, there was not any one of the Generals, how much ſoever prepoſſeſs'd againſt him before; but, upon the very Sight of him, relented: *Titus*, eſpecially; who was a Perſon, above all the reſt, that had the greateſt Eſteem for *Joſeph's* Character and Perſon, and the inſuperable Dignity of his Mind in the worſt of Accidents; comparing alſo what he remember'd of him in the War, with what he ſaw of him now in the Hands of his Enemies, he could not but make his Obſervation upon the Power of Fortune, the variable Chance of War, and the Uncertainty of humane Affairs. Theſe were *Titus's* Thoughts of *Joſeph*: And he brought over all that heard him to be of the ſame Opinion; not excepting his own Father: With whom he was very inſtrumental toward *Joſeph's* Preſervation.

Joſeph *ſet at Liberty, and conducted by* Nicanor *to* Veſpaſian.

All the Diſcourſe is of Joſeph.

Titus *hath a high Eſteem for* Joſeph.

Veſpaſian order'd *Joſeph* to be kept in cloſe Cuſtody; as if he intended to ſend him to *Nero*, who thereupon deſired a Word in private with him. *Veſpaſian*, upon this Intimation clear'd the Room of all but himſelf, *Titus*, and two Friends; and then gave him his Audience; *Joſeph* delivering himſelf in Terms to this Effect. *Sir*, ſays he, *you have now in your Hand*, Joſeph, *a Priſoner; and your preſent Thought perhaps looks no farther: But I am here a Meſſenger ſent by God himſelf, about a Matter that much more concerns you. And if it had not been for this Commiſſion, I could not have been here at preſent, contrary to the Duty of a* Jewiſh *General, alive, in the Hand of an Enemy. But what am I to be ſent to* Nero *for, when* Veſpaſian *himſelf is ſo near the Empire that I can hardly diſtinguiſh betwixt* Veſpaſian *and the* Emperour, *or* Cæſar? *Beſide that his Son* Titus *is to come after him. Keep me as cloſe as you pleaſe, provided I may be* Veſpaſian's *Priſoner; who is not only my Maſter, but in Effect the Lord of the Univerſe. This is the Truth of what I have in Charge to deliver: And whenever I ſhall be found ſo ſacrilegious an Impoſtor as to make Uſe of God's Name to a Cheat, make an Example of me.*

Joſeph *kept a cloſe Priſoner.*

Veſpaſian *ſpeaks with* Joſeph *in private.*

Joſeph *foretels the Succeſſion of* Veſpaſian *and* Titus *to the Empire.*

This Diſcourſe of *Joſeph's* look'd ſo like an Invention to ſave himſelf, that *Veſpaſian* did not ſeem to give much Heed to it at firſt; till upon laying together certain Impulſes that he had himſelf, with other Tokens and Predictions looking the ſame Way: And then comparing this Story with *Joſeph's* Exactneſs in other Caſes, he came by Degrees to give entire Credit to the Preſage. A Friend and Confident of *Veſpaſian's* (one of the two above-mention'd) was expoſtulating with *Joſeph* about the Credibility of what he had declar'd. *If you are ſo good at divining*, ſays he, *how came you to know nothing of the Deſtruction of* Jotapata, *and of your own Impriſonment; which would have ſav'd you a great Deal of Trouble? Well!* ſays *Joſeph*, *I foretold the Inhabitants very particularly what was to befal the Town and my ſelf; that the former was to be deſtroy'd upon the forty ſeventh Day, and that I my ſelf was to be taken Priſoner by the* Romans. *Veſpaſian* cauſed a ſtrict Enquiry to be made, in private, of the Truth of this Relation; which he found verify'd by the Priſoners: And ſo came to have a better Opinion of the reſt. But *Joſeph* was not at all eas'd yet in the Strictneſs of his Reſtraint; but, to all other Purpoſes of Accommodation and Convenience, treated with great Courteſy and Reſpect, by *Titus* in a more peculiar Manner.

Veſpaſian *gives little Heed to it.*

The Truth of Joſeph's *Predictions confirmed.*

On the fourth of the Month *Panemus*, *Veſpaſian* return'd to *Ptolemais*, and thence went to *Cæſarea* on the Sea-Coaſt; which is the faireſt City of *Judæa*. The greater Part of the Inhabitants were *Greeks*: So that *Veſpaſian* and his Army were welcome upon a double Account; partly out of the Love they had for the *Romans*, and partly out of the Averſion they had for the *Jews*. The latter was ſo violent, that they preſs'd *Veſpaſian* with clamorous Importunities to put *Joſeph* to Death. The General conſider'd this tumultuary Way of Proceeding, only as the Act of a raſh Multitude; and ſo diſmiſs'd the Petitioners without an Anſwer. He look'd upon it

Veſpaſian *returns to* Ptolemais, *and ſo to* Cæſarea.

as a commodious Winter-Quarter, and ſo lodg'd two Legions in it; ſending the tenth and the fifth Legions to *Scythopolis*, out of a Tenderneſs not to overcharge *Cæſarea*. This Town is ſituate upon a Plain near the Sea, extremely hot in the Summer, and temperate in the Winter.

CHAP. XV.

Joppe *a Den of Thieves and Mutineers.* Veſpaſian *takes the Town by Surprize. The Inhabitants put themſelves aboard their Shipping. The Deſcription of* Joppe. *A furious Storm.* Joppe *taken the ſecond Time by the* Romans. *The Caſtle fortify'd and garriſon'd. Not a Man left alive upon the Place.* Joſeph *ſaid to be ſlain, and univerſally lamented: But when they found him living, and in Credit with the* Romans, *he was as much envy'd and deteſted, as he was before eſteem'd.*

Joppe *a Neſt of Rovers and Mutineers.*

THERE was now a huge Multitude of People got together, partly Revolters from the *Romans*, and partly Fugitives out of ſome conquer'd Cities of the *Jews*. This Rabble was at Work upon the Rebuilding of *Joppe*, which *Ceſtius* had demoliſh'd; and for Want of Subſiſtence in the Country, which he had laid waſte, they reſolv'd to try their Fortunes at Sea: And put out with a Fleet of Privateers; ſcowring *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and the Coaſts of *Ægypt*; pillaging all Traders in thoſe Seas, and wholly obſtructing the Commerce. *Veſpaſian*, being well inform'd what they were a doing, ſent a Body of Horſe and Foot to *Joppe*; which being looſely guarded, they enter'd the Town in the Night with much Eaſe. The Inhabitants were ſo diſorder'd upon this Surprize, that, without daring to attempt any Thing upon the *Romans*, they went all a-board in a Hurry, and lay that Night off at Sea, ſomewhat more than a Flight-ſhot from the Town.

Veſpaſian *takes the Town by Surprize.*
The Inhabitants put themſelves aboard their Shipping.
The Deſcription of Joppe.

As to the Deſcription of the Place, it is a *Sea-Town* without any Manner of *Port*; the Shoar ſteep and craggy; with two pointed Rocks, one on each Side, ſtretching out a good Way into the Sea, and a little bending, in the Form of a Half-Moon; which makes a very tempeſtuous Sea there in foul Weather. Here are the Marks ſtill to be ſeen of *Andromeda*'s Chains, for the Credit of the old Fable. A croſs Wind upon that Quarter daſhes the Waves and the Rocks together in ſo dreadful a Manner, that nothing can be more hideous or dangerous.

A furious Storm.

While the Men of *Joppe* were riding in this Station, there aroſe a furious Storm by Break of Day; which is known to the People of the Place by the Name of the *Black-North*. This Wind batter'd their Veſſels to Pieces: Some againſt one another; others againſt the Rocks: And then there were great Numbers of them, that labouring againſt the Tide to put out to Sea, were overturn'd and ſwallow'd up. So that their Choice was certain Death, either to fly or ſtay: The one, for the Rocks; the other, for the Enemy. This was their Condition, betwixt the *Winds* at *Sea*, and the *Romans*, *a-ſhoar*. It was a diſmal Hearing, the Shrieks and Outcries of the People, and the clattering of the Veſſels: But upon the Whole, ſome were drown'd; others dy'd a-board the Wrecks: Some fell upon their Swords, as if it had been to prevent the Sea; ſeveral were waſh'd away by the Billows, and beaten to Pieces againſt the Rocks; till the Water was diſcolour'd with the Blood, and the whole Coaſt cover'd with dead Bodies: The Soldiers waiting all this while upon the Land to diſpatch thoſe that were driven a-ſhoar. They reckon'd, in Fine, upon four thouſand two hundred Bodies caſt up with the Tide.

Joppe *taken the ſecond Time by the* Romans.
The Caſtle fortify'd and garriſon'd.

The *Romans* being now Maſters of *Joppe* without a Stroke, ras'd it to the Ground: And this was the ſecond taking of it by them, in a very ſhort Time. But *Veſpaſian*, for Fear it might come to be a Neſt of Pirates yet once again, fortify'd the Caſtle, and put into it a Foot-Garriſon ſufficient to maintain it; leaving there alſo a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to ſcowre, burn, and lay waſte all the Towns, Villages, and Country thereabouts; which Orders Day after Day were executed accordingly.

The Action of Jotapata *not believ'd at* Jeruſalem *at firſt.*
Not a Man left alive to carry the News.
Joſeph *ſaid to be ſlain and univerſally lamented.*

When the News of *Jotapata*'s being taken came to *Jeruſalem*, the Story was ſo extraordinary, and the Fact ſo ill atteſted, that little or no Heed was given to it. Now there was not, in Truth, ſo much as one Man of the Place left alive to carry the Tidings: But the Fame of it brake looſe among the Neighbourhood, as ill News commonly ſpreads apace. But how doubtful ſoever it might ſeem at firſt, it came by little and little to paſs for Current; and to ſuch a Degree of Credit, that People believ'd more than all, and ſwallow'd the whole Truth with Additions. For it was confidently given out, that upon the taking of the City, *Joſeph* was ſlain, to the infinite Affliction of *Jeruſalem*, and of all that was conſiderable in that City.

Some were lamented by particular Families; others, by Friends, Relations, or their own People: But the General, being a publick Loſs, was the Subject alſo of an univerſal Mourning: Inſomuch that for thirty Days there was no Intermiſſion of the Solemnity, and no Coſt ſpar'd for the Celebration of the Funeral Ceremony and Pomp. But when Time brought Truth to Light, and gave the World the Hiſtory of *Jotapata* juſt as it was in Fact: That is to ſay; when it came to be known that *Joſeph* was not dead as reported, but yet living, and in ſo great Credit with the *Romans*, that their Generals inſtead of treating him as a Slave, crown'd him with all the Honours they could confer upon him: The Veneration they had for him, while they look'd upon him to be dead, was now turn'd into the moſt venemous Envy and Hatred. How many Cowards and Traytors did they call him for abandoning the Cauſe! And how did the whole City join with his Detractors in the Calumny and Reproach! It is the Part and Practice of wiſe Men to make Uſe of one Miſfortune for a Precaution againſt another, and to keep themſelves upon their Guard: But theſe People, on the contrary, when they are once out of their Way, purſue their Error, and make the End of one Miſchief the Beginning of another. At this Rate the *Jews* were now tranſported into a greater Rage againſt the *Romans* than ever; as if the wreaking of the Malice upon them, were their neareſt Way to Revenge upon *Joſeph*. Theſe were the Troubles of *Jeruſalem* at this Time.

Joſeph *as much hated, when they found him living, and in Credit with the* Romans.

CHAP. XVI.

Agrippa *treats* Veſpaſian *and his Army twenty Days at* Cæſarea Philippi. *News of* Tiberias *and* Tarichee, *that the one is wavering, and the other revolted.* Veſpaſian *orders ſome Troops to* Scythopolis, *and encamps at* Euabris, *within Sight of the Rebels. The General gives* Valerian *his Inſtructions, to ſpeak them fair. The Faction falls upon* Valerian *by Surprize.* Veſpaſian, *at the Inſtance of* Agrippa, *pardons the Affront.* Trajan *takes Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle.* Veſpaſian *marches up to the City, and is receiv'd with Acclamations.*

KING *Agrippa* having invited *Veſpaſian* to paſs away a little Time with him in his Country, and to bring his Army along with him, partly out of Generoſity and Kindneſs, and partly in Hope by his Means to bring ſome mutinous Malecontents into better Order, the General embraced the Motion with great Reſpect, and marched from *Cæſarea* upon the Sea-Coaſt to *Cæſarea Philippi*; where he ſtaid twenty Days refreſhing himſelf and his Troops, and giving God Thanks with feaſting and rejoycing for the Bleſſings of his Succeſſes. *Veſpaſian* was there given to underſtand that *Tiberias* was at that Time wavering, and *Tarichee* already revolted, (both Places being Dependencies upon the Kingdom of *Agrippa*) he thought he could not have a fairer Opportunity of acknowledging his Obligations to *Agrippa*, than by reducing thoſe People to their Allegiance; eſpecially being reſolved within himſelf to preſs hard upon the *Jews*. So he ſent away his Son *Titus* for the Troops that were quarter'd at *Cæſarea* to bring them to *Scythopolis*: A Place not far from *Tiberias*, and much the largeſt Town in the Canton of *Decapolis*. *Veſpaſian* got thither firſt, and there ſtaid for his Son: Advancing afterwards with three Legions within thirty Furlongs of *Tiberias*, and there encamped at a Place call'd [a] *Ennabris*, within Sight of the Rebels. From thence he order'd out *Valerian*, a Captain with fifty Horſe, to try what might be done with fair Words toward the bringing of them to their Duty. His Inſtructions were to tell them, that the General took the People to be peaceably enough inclin'd, if it were not for ſome ſeditious, pragmatical Sticklers in the Head of them. When *Valerian* was come up almoſt to the Town, he alighted from his Horſe, and commanded his Companions to do the like, that there might be no Colour of any Jealouſy of an ill Intention. The Faction, under the Command of *Jeſus* the Son of *Tobias*, a Captain of a Band of Rovers, fell furiouſly upon *Valerian* and his People, without giving them Time for ſo much as one Word. *Valerian* was not a little ſtartled at the Affront; but durſt not ſtrike a Stroke however, contrary to his General's Order; even if he had been ſure to have got the better of him: Beſide, that there was no venturing an Encounter upon that Odds. *Valerian*, in Fine, and five of his Men, made their Eſcapes a-foot, being forced to leave their Horſes behind them; which *Jeſus* and his Crew carry'd off in Triumph into the Town, as the Trophies of a Victory rather than a ſcandalous Booty.

Agrippa *treats* Veſpaſian *and his Army twenty Days at* Cæſarea Philippi.

News of Tiberias *and* Tarichee, *that the one is wavering, and the other revolted.*

Veſpaſian *orders ſome Troops to* Scythopolis.

And encamps at Ennabris, *within Sight of the Rebels.*

The General gives Valerian *his Inſtructions to ſpeak them fair.*

The Faction falls upon Valerian *by Surprize.*

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[a] Gr. Σένναβρις.

The mean and unmanly Coarſeneſs of this Action put the ſenſible and the ſober Men of the Town into ſuch an Apprehenſion for Fear of a Revenge, that they went preſently out to the *Roman* Camp, under the Countenance and Conduct of King *Agrippa*, and caſt themſelves at *Veſpaſian*'s Feet for Mercy and Pardon; begging of him not to impute the Crimes of particular Perſons to the whole Body of a People that never wanted Veneration for the *Romans*; and likewiſe to ſpare the innocent, and puniſh the Authors and Promoters of the Defection. *Veſpaſian* could hardly forgive the Town the Seizure of the Horſes; but however, for *Agrippa*'s Sake, and upon his Mediation, he granted their Requeſt. So ſoon as this Act of Grace was paſt, *Jeſus* and that Faction found that *Tiberias* would be quickly too hot for them; and ſo they ſlipt away to *Tarichee*.

Veſpaſian, *at the Inſtance of* Agrippa *pardons the Affront.*

Trajan *takes Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle.*

Veſpaſian *marches up to the City, and is receiv'd with Acclamations.*

Veſpaſian ſent *Trajan* the Day following with a Party of Horſe to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and to ſound the common People if they were of the ſame peaceable Diſpoſition with their Deputies. Upon finding that they were well diſpos'd, *Veſpaſian* march'd up to the City with his whole Army; the Citizens opening their Gates to bid him welcome, and receiving him upon the Way with Gratulations and Acknowledgments as their Benefactor and Protector. But the Gates being too narrow for the Troops to march at Liberty, *Veſpaſian* cauſed a Part of the South-Wall to be beaten down to widen the Paſſage; but with a Command, upon the uttermoſt Penalty, not to offer any Sort of Violence to the People whatſoever. This was for *Agrippa*'s Sake, he ſaid; and ſo it was alſo, that he ſpar'd the Remainder of the Wall, upon the King's Undertaking for the People's good Behaviour for the Time to come. This was the End, for the preſent, of the Troubles of *Tiberias*.

CHAP. XVII.

Veſpaſian *encamps betwixt* Tiberias *and* Tarichee. Tarichee *a Nurſery of ſeditious People. The Strength aud Situation of the Place, The Faction breaks in upon the* Roman *Pioneers. The* Romans *purſue the* Jews *up to their Shipping. A vaſt Number of* Jews *in a Body; and* Titus *ſent out for Diſcovery.* Titus's *Speech to his Soldiers. The utter Deſtruction of the* Jews. *A violent Faction in the City:* Titus, *within Hearing of it, makes Advantage of the Occaſion.* Titus *enters the Town by the Lake, and carries all before him.* Titus *ſends his Father an Account of the Action; and orders the Building of Ships to look after the Fugitives.*

Veſpaſian *encamps betwixt* Tiberias *and* Tarichee.

Tarichee *a Nurſery of ſeditious People.*

The Strength and Situation of the Place.

V*Eſpaſian* was now gone from *Tiberias*, and encamped betwixt that and *Tarichee*; where he fortify'd his Camp with a Wall, upon an Opinion that the taking of that Place would be a Work of Time. For it was wonderfully ſtrong both by Art and Nature; and beſide that it was fortify'd by the Lake of *Genezareth*, it was look'd upon as the Receptacle of all the deſperate turbulent People of the Faction. It ſtands like *Tiberias*, upon a Mountain; and *Joſeph* had run up a ſtrong Wall round about it, ſave only on the Lake Side: But ſomewhat leſs than that of *Tiberias*. At the beginning of the Revolt, there wanted neither Men, Monies, nor Proviſions for the making of it impregnable: And there was over and above to ſpare alſo, for *Tarichee*. The Beſiegers had likewiſe a Fleet of armed Boats in Readineſs upon the Lake, for a Retreat, in Caſe of a Blow at Land; or to ſerve for a naval Flight, if there ſhould be Occaſion.

The Faction breaks in upon the Roman *Pioneers.*

While the *Romans* were fortifying and intrenching, *Jeſus* and his Fellows made a furious Attack upon them; ſcatter'd the Pioneers, and overthrew a good Part of their Works; without any Dread either of the *Roman* Diſcipline, or of their Numbers. But upon their advancing toward them in a groſs Body, they got off ſafe to their Party without any Damage: The *Romans* purſuing them to the Lake, where they caſt themſelves a-board their Veſſels; and when they were gotten out of the Reach of the *Roman* Darts and Arrows, they came to an Anchor: And there they lay ranged in as good Order of Battle againſt their Enemies a-ſhore, as if they had been drawn up in Form for a Combat.

The Romans *purſue the* Jews *up to their Shipping.*

A vaſt Number of Jews *in a Body, and* Titus *ſent out for Diſcovery.*

While this was a doing, *Veſpaſian* had an Account brought him of a great Body of *Jews* gather'd together on the next Plain: And thereupon ſent out his Son with a Detachment of ſix hundred choice Horſe for Diſcovery. *Titus* march'd; and finding himſelf ſo mightily over-number'd, he gave his Father Notice of it. This vaſt Multitude ſtagger'd ſeveral of the Party; but *Titus* finding the greater Part of his People chearful and hearty, in Deſpite of all Inequality and Diſproportion, he took up a Standing where he might beſt be heard, and ſpake to his Soldiers after this Manner.

ROMANS,

Titus to his Soldiers.

ROMANS, ſays he, *for I cannot begin my Diſcourſe more auſpiciouſly than by putting you in Mind of your Race; and by telling you whence and what you are, and whom you have to do withall. As to the* Romans, *the whole World allows them to be invincible upon undeniable Proof and Experience: And I have this to ſay for the* Jews *too; that though they have been often conquer'd, they would never own themſelves to be overcome: So that we have no more to do, than to ſtand as firm at leaſt in our Proſperity as they do in their Adverſity. I read Chearfulneſs and Courage in the very Faces of you, and it joys me to ſee it: But yet I am uneaſy ſometimes for Fear the vaſt Numbers of your Enemies ſhould ſtrike a ſecret Damp into that Reſolution. Wherefore let every Man duly conſider his own Force, and that of his Adverſary. The* Jews, *'tis true, are generally bold, and fearleſs of Death; but utterly to ſeek in military Conduct and Diſcipline; and may be more properly call'd a* Croud *of People than an* Army: *Whereas nothing can be more regular, or inſtructive than our Order and Experience. What are we the better for the Practice of Arms in Time of Peace, if it does not help us to ſupply the Want of Numbers, by Skill and Addreſs? Or, what's the Benefit of a perpetual Exerciſe of War, if it gives us no Advantage over Men that are raw and unexperienc'd? Do but conſider what it is to encounter naked Bodies with Men in Arms; foot with Horſe; Men that underſtand nothing of Government, with eminent Commanders; and that we are as good as double the Number we appear to be, at that rate of Advantage, and the Enemy not half ſo ſtrong as we take him for. It is not Number alone that does the Buſineſs in War, let the Combatants be never ſo ſtout; but true Courage, as we ſee every Day, does Wonders with a few; for moderate Numbers are managable to the beſt Advantage of the Party: But great Bodies are liable to Diſorder and Confuſion, and more miſchievous to themſelves many Times than an Enemy. The daring, deſperate, and brutal Fierceneſs of the* Jews *does a great deal, I muſt confeſs, in a proſperous Courſe of Fortune; but, upon the leaſt Check of a Diſaſter or Diſappointment, that impetuous Ardour abates and comes to nothing: Whereas Virtue, Reſignation, Obedience, and true Valour, will ſupport us in all our Fortunes good or bad, without ever puffing us up, or deceiving us. Beſide that we have a greater Intereſt at ſtake than the* Jews; *for their's is only a popular Quarrel, for Liberty, and their Country: But we contend for Glory, and for the Fame of an immortal Memory: And not without ſome Indignation neither, after the Conqueſt of the whole World beſide, to find our ſelves hamper'd in a Competition with the* Jews. *You may obſerve again, even in Caſe of the worſt, that we ſhall run no great Riſque neither in the Conteſt; being ſure to be well ſeconded with ſo many of our Allies, ſo ſtrong, and ſo near us. But what have we more to do now than to anticipate the Victory, and ingroſs the Honour of it to our ſelves, without waiting for the Enforcement we expect from my Father? The Glory will be the greater when it comes Home to us entire, without ſharing. The Point at preſent in Queſtion is no leſs than the Character of my Father, my ſelf, and my Fellow-Soldiers: That is to ſay; whether or no my Father deſerves the Honour the World has done him. And am not I his Son then, and are not you my Soldiers? My Father hath been ſo wonted to Victory, that I ſhould never dare to look him in the Face again after one Baffle: And would not you be as much aſham'd of a Foil on the other Hand, where the* General *leads the Way? The firſt Poſt of Danger ſhall be mine; do but you ſtand by me, and commit the reſt to God's Providence: Only remember what I tell you, that a cloſe Fight will be the beſt of our Play.*

The utter Deſtruction of the Jews.

The Soldiers were ſo elevated, and ſo *heroically* diſpos'd upon this Diſcourſe, that it look'd as if they had been inſpir'd with quite another Soul. Only *Trajan's* coming up with four hundred Horſe before the Battle, put them a little out of Humour to think of having Partners in the Glory of the Day. *Veſpaſian* at the ſame Time ſent *Antonius Silo*, with two thouſand Archers to take Poſſeſſion of a Mountain over againſt the Town, and to beat the Defendants from the Wall; which was perform'd accordingly. *Titus* that had a Mind to be thought ſtronger than he was, drew up his Army in a Line to anſwer the Front of the Enemy; and was the firſt Man himſelf that charg'd in upon their Body; his Men following him with Exultations and Outcries. The *Jews* were not a little ſurpriz'd at the Boldneſs and Manner of this Attack; but yet at firſt, made ſome faint Reſiſtance, till they were beaten down, and trampled upon by the Horſe; and ſo diſpers'd; ſhifting away into the City the beſt they could; and a great many kill'd upon the Place. *Titus* all this while preſſing upon the Backs of ſome of them; croſſing upon others, and cutting them over the Faces; overtaking ſome, and forcing others back again that made for the Walls, and tumbling them one over another: Inſomuch that few or none 'ſcap'd, but thoſe that got into the Town.

A violent Faction in the City.

There happen'd at this Time a terrible Faction in the City, betwixt the Natives and the Strangers: The former were troubled both for their own Sakes and for the City's. They were ever againſt the War, they ſaid; but yet their greateſt Quarrel was to the Succeſs. But the Strangers that were very violent and numerous, brake

Titus *within hearing of it; and improves the Occaſion.*

out into Clamours and Outrages, as if they were already at Daggers-drawing. They were ſo loud in the City, and *Titus* ſo near the Wall, that he was within hearing of them; and upon that Occaſion, call'd out to his People. *The Time is now come, my fellow Soldiers,* ſays he, *if we have but the Hearts to make Uſe of it; for God hath deliver'd up the* Jews *into our Hands, and we may have a Victory for the taking of it up. Do you not hear the Brawls and Squabbles of the very Men that have 'ſcap'd our Hands, and are at this Time ready to cut one another's Throats? The City is our own, if we do not ſlip the Opportunity. But this is a Buſineſs that requires Reſolution as well as Diſpatch: And great Things are not to be done without Hazzard. Why do we not take the Advantage of this mortal Animoſity, and fall upon them before their Neceſſities force them to unite? And why do we not fall upon them too, before our Auxiliaries come up, to rob us, not only of the Credit, but of the Profit alſo of the Action? For beſide the Reputation of ſo gallant an Exploit with ſuch a Handful of Men, we ſhall have both the Credit and the Spoil to our ſelves.*

Titus *enters the Town by the Lake, and carries all before him.*

With theſe Words he mounted his Horſe, and gallop'd away to the Lake; where he was the firſt Man that enter'd the Town, and his Troops follow'd him. The Defendents were ſtruck with ſuch an Aſtoniſhment at the Hardineſs of this Enterprize, that not a Man had the Heart either to oppoſe his Perſon, or to obſtruct his Paſſage. *Jeſus* and his Companions made away into the Fields: Some fled toward the Lake, and fell into the very Mouths of the *Romans*, others endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by their Boats, but were cut off by the Way: Others again, by Swimming; but ſunk in the Attempt: And the Slaughter yet more terrible in the Town. The Strangers that could not get off with *Jeſus*, made ſome Reſiſtance; but the Natives, none at all: In Hope that the *Romans* would conſider them as only paſſive in the Caſe, and forc'd into the War contrary to their Judgment and Inclination.

Titus *ſends his Father Notice of the Exploit.*

And orders Veſſels to be built to look after the Fugitives.

So ſoon as *Titus* had maſter'd and deſtroy'd the Faction, he gave Quarter to the Natives. The Town being now taken, thoſe upon the Lake withdrew as far from the Enemy as they could; and *Titus* immediately ſent a Party of Horſe expreſs to his Father, with the welcome Tidings of this glorious Exploit: For the main Difficulty of the War was look'd upon to be now over in the reducing of this City. The next Thing *Titus* did, was the clapping of a ſtrict Guard round about the City, and ſetting a Watch upon all the *Avenues* to prevent Eſcapes. The Day following he went to the Lake, and order'd Veſſels to be built, and ſent out in Purſuit of thoſe who had got off that Way. Theſe Boats were quickly put together; for they had Workmen and Materials in Abundance at Hand.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Quality and Deſcription of the Lake of Genezareth. *The River* Jordan; *with the Head and Courſe of it.* Genezareth *famous for Fruits and Plants. The Fountain of* Capernaum.

The Quality and Deſcription of the Lake of Genezareth.

The River Jordan, *with the Head and Courſe of it.*

THE Lake of *Genezareth*, is ſo called, from the Country about it. The *Breadth* of it is *forty Furlongs*; a *hundred* in *Length*; and the Water ſweet and potable, without any Thing of Mooriſhneſs, either in the Taſte or Colour. It lies upon a Gravel, and ſo more conveniently to be drawn, and gentler than either a River or a Fountain-Water. And with all this, it is ſo cold that the People of the Place cannot warm it by ſetting it in the Sun in the hotteſt Seaſon of the Year. It hath in it great Variety of Fiſh; which, for Taſte and Shape, are not to be found any where elſe; and the River *Jordan* runs thorough the Middle of it. The [a] Head of this River has been thought to be *Panion*; but, in Truth, it paſſes hither under Ground; and the Source of it is *Phiala*, a hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Cæſarea*, a little on the right Hand, and not much out of the Way to *Trachonis*. It is called *Phiala*, from the round Figure of it; and the Water in it ſtands always at a Stay; the Baſin brim-full, without either ſhrinking or overflowing. The firſt Diſcovery of this Secret was from *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Trachonis*, by caſting Straws in *Phiala*, that came out again at *Panion*; which till that Time was taken for the Head of the *Jordan*. This *Panion* is naturaly lovely by Situation; but moſt magnificently beautify'd and enrich'd by the royal Bounty of *Agripa*. This River, in Fine, that ſeems to take its Original from this Receſs, croſſes the Bogs and Fens of the lake *Semechonitis:* And after a Courſe of a hundred and twenty Furlongs further, paſſes under the City of *Julias*, and ſo over the Lake of *Genezareth* a great Way into the Deſert, till it empties it ſelf into the Lake of *Aſphaltitis*.

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[a] *Others make this River to have two Heads, the one call'd* Jor, *and the other* Dan. *See* Berkelius's *Notes upon* Steph. Byz. v. *Πανία*.

Genazereth *famous for Fruits and Plants.*

This Lake takes the Name of *Genezareth* from the Country that ſurrounds it; which is fruitful and agreeable to Admiration. As to the Fertility of the Soil, no Plant comes amiſs to it; beſide that it is improv'd by the Skill and Induſtry of the Inhabitants to the higheſt Degree, and by a ſtrange Felicity of the Climate, every Thing proſpers there; as Nuts, Palms, Figs and Olive-Trees, that flouriſh here in Perfection, though they require a quite different Temperature of Air in the Nature of them; which looks as if Providence took Delight in this Place to reconcile Contradictions; and as if the very Seaſons themſelves were in a Competition which ſhould be moſt obliging. And the Production of ſtrange Varieties of excellent Fruit is not all neither, but the conſerving of them ſo long quick and ſound is another Curioſity. Figs and Grapes hold in Seaſon there ten Months in the Year, and other Fruits the whole Year about. And the Place is not more famous for a delicious Air, than it is for a cryſtalline flowing Fountain, called by the Natives *Capernaum*. Some take it for a little Gut of the *Nile*, becauſe of a certain [a] Fiſh in it, that is no where elſe to be found but in *Alexandria*. The Length of the Country along the Lake is thirty *Stadia*, and the Breadth, twenty. Let this ſuffice for a Deſcription of the Place.

The Fountain of Capernaum.

CHAP. XIX.

Veſpaſian *encounters the Enemy upon the Lake. The miſerable State of the* Jews. Veſpaſian *calls a great Council, where Sentence is paſs'd upon the Priſoners.*

Veſpaſian *encounters the Enemy upon the Lake.*

The miſerable State of the Jews.

WHEN *Veſpaſian*'s Boats were all ready, he went aboard himſelf, and took as many Men along with him as he thought ſufficient to deal with the Fugitives that had ſhifted away to the Lake: So that there was now no Poſſibility of their coming off; for the whole Country a-ſhoar was their Enemy: And they were in no Condition upon the Water for a Sea-Fight: Their Boats being rather for Piracy than Combat, and neither of a Size nor of a Strength to come to a Shock with the *Romans*: Beſide that they were better mann'd and in better Order. All they could do was by Inſults off and on; one while pelting them with Stones; another while provoking them to handy Strokes: While they themſelves were the greateſt Sufferers both Ways ſtill; for the *Romans* being well-arm'd, the Stones made only a Noiſe and a Clatter where they fell, without any Effect; while the other lay open and expos'd to the *Roman* Arrows. Or, if they attempted any Thing nearer Hand, they were cut of before they could execute it; their Boats over-turn'd, and their Men drown'd. The Enemy diſpatch'd ſome of them at a Diſtance with their Darts; others they boarded, and deſtroy'd them with their Swords: Some again were hemm'd in, and taken, Veſſels and all, as they were lock'd up betwixt the two Fleets. As for thoſe that were tumbled over-board, and dabbling for Life, they could no ſooner ſhew their Heads above Water, but they were immediately taken off by a Lance, or over-run by the Enemies Boats and ſunk: Or if any of them in the Rage of their Deſpairs did but make toward their Adverſaries, they were ſure to have their Hands or their Heads chopp'd off. There was nothing, in Fine, to be ſeen, but Death and Deſtruction in all the Varieties of Horrour; till they were totally broken and routed, preſſing through the Middle of their Enemies to get a-ſhoar. In this Confuſion, there were Abundance of them kill'd upon the Water; a World more at Land; and nothing to be ſeen upon the Lake, or the Borders of it, but Blood and Carcaſſes: For not a Man 'ſcap'd. Theſe putrid Bodies in a few Days tainted the Air, to ſuch a Degree of Malignancy, that the Caſe was not only dreadful to the Sufferers of the Calamity; but the very Actors themſelves had an Abhorrence for the Barbarity of it. This was the Iſſue of the naval Battle: And the whole Number of the ſlain in both Actions was ſix thouſand five hundred Perſons.

Veſpaſian *calls a great Council.*

When the Fight was over, *Veſpaſian* took his Place upon the Tribunal; and ſeparating the Strangers that were the Cauſe of the War from the Natives, who were only paſſive in it, he call'd a great Council of his Officers about him to conſider what was to be done with theſe People; and whether or no they were to be treated all alike. The Council was againſt the ſaving of the Strangers; for they would never be quiet, they ſaid; they had no Home to truſt to, and would be

dangerous

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[a] *See the* Greek Κορακῖνος ἰχθύς.

Sentence paſs'd upon the Priſoners.

dangerous and and troubleſome to what Prince ſoever ſhould receive them. *Veſpaſian* was throughly ſatisfy'd that they deſerv'd to die, and that they would rebel againſt their Preſervers; but the Difficulty was, in what Manner to get rid of them; for the Inhabitants would lay it to Heart to ſee ſo many People put to Death after a Promiſe of Quarter upon their Mediation: Beſide *Veſpaſian*'s Scruple upon a Point of Honour and Juſtice of breaking Faith with his Priſoners. But his Council inſiſted upon it, that he was not ty'd up to thoſe Punctillio's with the *Jews*; and that where ſtrict Honeſty and Policy are inconſiſtent, the common Good ought to have the Preference. *Veſpaſian* was over-rul'd by his Friends, and gave the Strangers Leave to depart, upon Condition they kept the Way that led to *Tiberias*. People are apt to believe what they wiſh; and in this Confidence, they march'd for *Tiberias*, without the leaſt Apprehenſion of any Violence in their Paſſage, either upon their Perſons or Goods. Now the *Romans* had ſo beſet the Way that it was impoſſible for any Creature to 'ſcape. When they had them in the Town, they made them all Priſoners; *Veſpaſian* cauſing them afterward to be ſhut up in the *Amphitheatre*; where he order'd both old and young, to the Number of twelve hundred, that were not able to bear Arms to be put to Death; 6000 of the ſtrongeſt body'd Men among them to be ſent away to the *Iſthmus* to *Nero*. 30400 were ſold for Slaves, beſide what *Veſpaſian* gave to *Agrippa*, whom he left at Liberty to do what he would with his own Subjects; but the King ſold them too. The reſt were *Trachonites*, *Gaulanites*, *Hippenians*, and a great many *Gadarites*; moſt of them *Incendiaries* and *Fugitives*, and Promoters of War, becauſe they could not live in Peace. They were taken upon the 8th of the Month *Gorpiæus*.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Siege of Gamala, *and the Manner of it; with the Situation and Strength of the City.* Veſpaſian *advances up to the Place. The* Romans *take* Gamala *by Aſſault and are beaten out of it again with a prodigious Loſs. The Generoſity of* Veſpaſian, *and his Preſence of Mind. A notable Action of* Gallus *a Centurion. A glorious Speech of* Veſpaſian *to his Soldiers. A ſecond Attempt upon* Gamala.

THE Towns and Places in *Galilee* that went off from the *Romans* upon the taking of *Jotapata*, came back again to their Duty, upon the Loſs of *Tarichee*: So that the *Romans* were now Maſters of all the Cities and ſtrong Holds, but *Giſchala*, and the Mountain of [a] *Itabyr*. And there joined in the Rebellion with theſe alſo, the City of *Gamala*; which ſtands upon the Lake over againſt *Tarichee*, and belongs to the Government of *Agrippa*. *Sogane* revolted likewiſe, and ſo did *Seleucia*, after their Example: Which were both of the Province of *Gaulanitis*: *Sogane*, in the upper Part of it, which is called *Gaulana*; and *Gamala*, in the lower. *Seleucia* ſtands upon the Lake *Semechonitis*; which is ſixty Furlongs in Length; and thirty, over: And the *mooriſh* Borders of it reach as far as *Daphne*. This is a delicious Country in many Reſpects; but more eſpecially for the curious Springs in it, that feed the *leſſer Jordan*, as they call it; and then take their Courſe to the great *Jordan*, at the Foot of *Jupiter*'s *Golden Temple*. King *Agrippa*, at the Beginning of this Defection, enter'd into an Alliance with the People of *Sogane*, and *Seleucia*; but *Gamala*, depending upon its own Strength, as being much a tougher Piece than *Jotapata*, refuſed to be of the Party. This *Gamala* is erected upon the Cliff of a Rock that riſes out of the Middle of a high Mountain; and in that Poſture of Elevation, with Crags before and behind it, has ſome Reſemblance of the Figure of a Camel; from whence originally it took its Name: But Time and Cuſtom have corrupted the Way of writing it. Upon the Front, and the two Sides, are deep inacceſſible Vallies. The Part that joins the Mountain is not of it ſelf ſo hard of Acceſs; but as the Inhabitants have fortify'd it with Trenches and Defences, it is next to impregnable. The Houſes ſtand ſo thick, and tickle, upon the Steep of the Hill to the Southward, as if they were ready to drop into the Precipice. And there is alſo a Hill of ſo prodigious a Height, that it may ſerve for a Cittadel to the Valley in the Bottom. And there was alſo a Fountain within the Circuit of this City; and there the Town ended.

The Romans *victorious.*

The Lake Semechonitis.

The Head of the River Jordan.

The Situation of Gamala, *and the impregnable Strength of the City.*

But ſtill, after all that Nature had done toward the making of this Place invincible, *Joſeph* was not yet ſatisfy'd without running a Wall about it, and caſting up artificial Works, Trenches and Fortifications, for a farther Security. The Inhabitants were much more confident in the defenſible Condition of the Place, than the Men of *Jotapata*; though neither ſo many, nor ſo martial: But the Difficulties of the Attack made Amends for the Want of Numbers. Not but that the City was well mann'd; for it was made the Sanctuary of all the *Refugee*'s: Inſomuch that King *Agrippa* ſpent ſeven Months before it without any Manner of Advantage.

Veſpaſian at this Time decamped from [b] *Ammaus* near *Tiberias*; ſo called from a hot Fountain there, of a ſovereign Virtue againſt ſeveral Diſeaſes: And ſo came to *Gamala*; where he found it impoſſible to draw a regular Line of Circumvallation about

Veſpaſian *advances up to the Place.*

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[a] Or *Tabor*.

[b] *See* Bochart's Chanaan, *l.* 2. *c.* 16. *and his* Hierozoicon, *l.* 2. *c.* 21. *Part.* 1

it: But he ſet Guards however upon all the Paſſes he could come at, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Mountain above. The *Romans*, according to their Cuſtom fortify'd their Camp; carry'd up a Wall about it, and ſo intrench'd. The fifteenth Legion was poſted againſt a Tower, *Eaſtward*, upon the higheſt Part of the Town; the fifth, toward the Middle of the Town, and the tenth was appointed to level the Ditches and other hollow Places.

King Agrippa hurt with a Stone from a Sling.

While Things were in this Poſture, King *Agrippa* drew cloſe up to the Wall, to try if he could bring the People to render the Place, and reaſon them into a Senſe of their Duty. But in this Inſtant he receiv'd a terrible Blow with a Stone from a Sling, upon his right Elbow: His Friends thronging immediately about him to bring him off; and the *Romans* in a direct Rage to conſider how barbarouſly theſe People would treat Strangers and Enemies, that could be thus inhumane to their own Prince, their Country-Man, and a Friend that adviſ'd them for their Good. In this Heat they preſs'd the Siege with all poſſible Vigour.

The Romans take Gamala by Aſſault.

And are forced out of it again with a terrible Loſs.

Betwixt many Hands, and diligent Applications, the Works were not long in raiſing: And the next Thing to be done, was the mounting of their Machines. *Chares* and *Joſeph* (two of the moſt conſiderable Men in the Town) had the ordering of the Defence; and ſo led up the Soldiers to the Wall, with Exhortations and Encouragements to behave themſelves like Men of Honour. But wanting Water and other Neceſſaries, they had no great Stomach to the Action; for they found they could not hold it out long. Upon the Advance of the *Roman* Machines, they made ſome Sort of Reſiſtance at firſt; but ſo ſoon as ever they came to throw their Stones and their Arrows among them, they ran away preſently into the Town. They batter'd the Wall with their Rams upon three Attacks; and upon diſputing a Breach, what with the Outcries without and within the Town, the Clang of the Trumpets, and the Clattering of Arms, nothing could be more hideous. The Defendants ſtood the firſt Shock with great Bravery, and put the *Romans* to a Stand; but being overborn in the End by the Force of Numbers, they all fled and betook themſelves to the higheſt Parts of the City; with the *Romans* all this while at their Backs. But the *Jews* finding themſelves preſs'd, turn'd ſhort upon their Purſuers; drove them down Precipices before them, and through difficult Paſſages; where they did Execution upon them at Pleaſure. The *Romans* finding the Diſadvantage of contending with Enemies over their Heads; and that there was no avoiding them as they lay puſhing at them from an upper Ground: They caſt themſelves for Sanctuary into ſome of the Enemy's Houſes below: But they were ſo crouding full that they ſunk under the Weight; ſo that the Fall of one brought down another; and that, a Third. There were a great many *Romans* that periſh'd under the Ruins, and yet in this Extremity they choſe rather to commit themſelves to the Hazard of thoſe tottering Houſes, than to lie open and expos'd for a publick Mark. Some there were that were cruſh'd all to Pieces with the Timbers; others maim'd in attempting to eſcape; and ſome again that were choak'd with the Duſt. At this Rate there periſh'd a World of the *Romans*, ſome one Way; ſome another. But the People were ſo far from being troubled at the Loſs of their Habitations, that they reckon'd themſelves Gainers by the Fall of ſo many of their Enemies, in Exchange: And ſtill as one Houſe fail'd, they preſs'd the *Romans* into another to bring down that too. As any of them loſt their Foot-Hold, they were ſure to be taken off with Weapons from above; which the very Walls and dead Bodies furniſh'd them with in Abundance: The one, with Stones; and the other with Arrows: For the Swords of thoſe that were kill'd, were made Uſe of to diſpatch the Reſt: And every Thing contributed to the common Fate. Some caſt themſelves down headlong from the Tops of the Houſes to avoid being ſqueez'd to Death in the Fall of them. Others had a Mind to fly, if they had but known how or whither: But being Strangers to the Paſſages and Ways, and blinded with the Duſt in this Confuſion, they fell foul one upon another. Some there were however that had the good Fortune to ſcape and get out of the Town.

Veſpaſian's Bravery and Preſence of Mind.

It went to the Heart of *Veſpaſian* to ſee his Army thus broken by the Ruines of a City that they had taken; ſo that without any Regard to the Safety of his own Perſon (as it was his Practice to be foremoſt ſtill in all Hazards) he ſlipt himſelf privately into a Poſt on the upper Part of the Town; where he was left with ſome few reſolute Men about him, in the greateſt Diſtreſs imaginable: His Son *Titus* being abroad at this Time in *Syria*, upon a Commiſſion to *Mutianus*. His Condition was ſuch, that it was neither ſafe nor honourable for him to turn his Back. So that calling to Mind the glorious Hiſtory of his paſt Actions, and reſolving to make his Life all of a Piece, he had a Thought come into his Head for the obviating of the preſent Difficulty; which look'd liker a divine Inſpiration than a common Council of Fleſh and Blood. That is to ſay; he planted himſelf with the few People he had, as cloſe one to another as they could croud together; and covering themſelves with their Arms, ſtood firm againſt all Attempts of Violence from above. The *Jews* were ſo ſtartled at this prodigious Obſtinacy, that they look'd upon it as a providential Impulſe; and in Dread of oppoſing a divine Power, abated ſomewhat of the Vigour of the Action. *Veſpaſian* taking Notice that the Fury of the Enemy ſlacken'd, drew off by little and little, and never turn'd his Back till he was got out of the Walls. There fell a great many *Romans*, both Officers and common Soldiers in this Combat: And among others, *Æbutius* a *Decadarch*, who liv'd and dy'd great, and had given the *Jews* many ſenſible Proofs of his Courage.

A bloody Fight.

There was one *Gallus*, a *Centurion*, that with ten *Syrian* Soldiers lay cloſe together in a Houſe: As the People of the Family were talking together at Supper what Courſe they intended to take with the *Romans*, *Gallus* and his Company being all *Syrians*, overhearing and underſtanding them, fell upon them in the Night; kill'd every Man of them, and got off ſafe with his Company to the *Romans*.

A great Action of Gallus *a* Centurion, *and the Occaſion of it.*

This was the ſevereſt Blow that ever the *Romans* had as yet received: And *Veſpaſian* finding the Soldiers caſt down upon it; and their Confuſion was the greater too for leaving their General in the Lurch; he bethought himſelf how he might give them ſome Sort of Comfort, without either telling his own Story, or intermixing any Thing of Reproach. *Well!* (ſays *Veſpaſian*) *ſince Misfortunes cannot be avoided, let them be generouſly born: And it is not for any one Sort of Men to expect an Exemption from the common Lot of Mankind. Whoever conſiders the Nature of War, will find that Victory is not to be gain'd without Blood, and that Fortune is variable; and that this Loſs is but a Repriſal for the thouſands of* Jews *that we have ſlain before. But as it is Vanity and Weakneſs to grow inſolent upon Proſperity; ſo it is the Mark of as mean a Soul to be caſt down with Adverſity. Conſider again,* ſays he, *how inſenſibly the Change paſſes from one Extreme to the other, and that no Man is truly great but he that ſtands his Ground, and keeps up the ſame Dignity of Mind in all Conditions; correcting the Malignity of the one, by the Prudence of the other. We are not now to impute our preſent Miſcarriage either to the Want of Reſolution on our Parts, or to the Valour of the* Jews. *For, if they fought better than uſual, or we worſe, the true Reaſon was the Odds of the Ground we fought upon. But if you were to blame for any Thing in this Encounter, it was in Truth for your Raſhneſs in purſuing the Enemy, when they fled up the Town from you. You ſhould have held your Hands, and contented your ſelves with the Poſſeſſion of the lower Town; till Neceſſity ſhould have forced them down to engage you upon ſafer, ſurer, and more equal Terms. But you were ſo impatient to have the thing done, that you never minded the right Way of doing it. Now the* Romans *are a People of Order and Diſcipline, and not for this impetuous and inconſiderate Way of making War, like the* Jews *and* Barbarians. *Wherefore let us have Recourſe to our own Methods of Sobriety and Reſolution, and act like Men that are rather animated with an Indignation for what they have done amiſs, than ſinking under the Burden of it. Every Man hath this Satisfaction in his own Power, if he will but ſet his own Hand to the Work, and give himſelf the Comfort of revenging the Loſs of his Friends upon the Heads of thoſe that deſtroy'd them. In this Proſpect and Confidence you ſhall find me ſtill, as you have done already, the firſt and the laſt in all Dangers.* This Diſcourſe of *Veſpaſian*'s put a new Life into the Army.

A glorious Speech of Veſpaſian *to his Soldiers.*

The Men of *Gamala* could not but take Heart at firſt upon the Fluſh of ſo unexpected a Succeſs: But when they came afterward, upon Advice with ſecond Thoughts, to find that they were now paſt all Hopes of agreeing upon Terms, and no Poſſibility of eſcaping, for their Proviſions fail'd them; their Spirits ſunk again, and their Deſpairs put them to their Wit's End: But they went on nevertheleſs, doing all that was poſſible to be done for the Defence of the Place, by ſetting their beſt Men to look to the Breaches, and others in general to take Care of the reſt.

The *Romans* by this Time, having repair'd their Platforms, and made ready for another Attack; divers of the Citizens ſtole away by Paſſages ſo intricate and uncouth, that they thought it ſuperfluous to ſet any Guard upon them. Others convey'd themſelves into Sinks and Vaults, where they lay ſtarving for Fear of being taken; the Proviſions being wholly reſerv'd for thoſe that bore Arms. But theſe miſerable People ſtood firm yet in all their Diſtreſſes.

Another Attempt upon Gamala.

CHAP. II.

A Faction in a Body upon Mount Itabyr. Veſpaſian *ſends* Placidus *with a Party to reduce them, who deſtroys them all, by encountering one Wile with another.*

VEſpaſian had Work enough upon his Hands in this vexatious Siege: But he found Time yet in that very Hurry to ſend out *Placidus* with a Party of ſix hundred Horſe to Mount [a] *Tabor*, to diſperſe a Multitude of People that were gotten together there. This Mountain lies betwixt the great Plain and *Scythopolis*: The Aſcent of it is reckon'd to be ſome thirty Stadia; no coming at it on the *North-ſide*, and on the Top of it an open Plain of twenty Furlongs over; the whole encompaſs'd with a Wall, which, as large as it was, coſt *Joſeph* but forty Days the Building: He brought Water and other Neceſſaries up to it from below; for the People had none but Rain Water for their Uſe.

When *Placidus* was come to the Place according to his Order, and found that there was no getting up the Mountain to them; he held them in Hand with Hopes of Peace and Pardon, and brought ſeveral of them down to him; upon a Pretence that they were wrought upon by the Reaſon of his Addreſs: But in Truth they had a Deſign to draw him into a Snare and to ſurprize him: As *Placidus* had the ſame Plot upon them too, if he could but get them off into the plain Field and ſieze them at unawares. They made a Countenance of complying with the Fairneſs of what he ſaid: But *Placidus*, for all this, was too cunning for them in the Concluſion. The *Jews* began the Fray; and *Placidus* and his Men, as in a Fright, betook themſelves preſently to their Heels; and the *Jews* after them, continuing the Chace till the Purſuers were diſpers'd all over the Field. *Placidus* took his Time; and turning quick upon them, kill'd ſeveral, put the reſt to Flight: And not one Man of them could get back to the Mountain. Some of them quitted *Itabyr*, and fled to *Jeruſalem*; but the Natives render'd themſelves and the Place to *Placidus*, upon Security for their good Behaviour.

Placidus *deſtroys a Body of* Jews *at* Itabyr, *by a Wile.*

CHAP. III.

The Deſtruction of Gamala. *The Fall of a Tower puts the People into a panick Terrour.* Titus *enters the Town without any Oppoſition. A dreadful Execution.*

An obſtinate Defence.

THE boldeſt of the *Gamalites* were now glad to hide their Heads; the meddling Sort ready to ſtarve: But the Men of Action ſtill perſiſting in the Defence of the Place; till the two and twentieth of the Month *Hyperberetæus*; upon which Day three Soldiers of the fifteenth Legion ſecretly ſtole out before Break of Day to the Foot of the higheſt Tower that was upon their Quarter, and undermin'd it ſo privately, that the Guards (but it was dark Night) took no Notice of them either coming or going. They made no Noiſe; but only Tumbling down five mighty Stones that they had looſen'd in the Foundation, they leap'd away in that Inſtant and retir'd. The Turret immediately fell to the Ground with a moſt dreadful Clatter; daſhing the Guards and all that were in it under the Ruines. The Horrour of this Accident frighted all the other Guards from their Poſts that were within Hearing of it; ſome of them falling into the very Mouths of the *Romans*: In which Number, there was one *Joſeph* that was ſhot dead with a Dart from a broken Wall. But in the City the Terrour and the Hubbub was ſo amazing, that one would have thought the whole *Roman* Army had been enter'd the Town. *Chares* was at that Time very ſick, and took ſuch a Fancy upon this Blow, that it was believ'd it haſten'd his End.

The Fall of a Tower ſtrikes the People with a panick Terrour.

This was a tempting Occaſion to invite the *Romans* into the Town; but they pay'd ſo dear for their late Temerity, that they ſtood ſtill the three and twentieth of the ſame Month without any further Attempt upon the City. *Titus*, it ſeems, was now come up: Who found himſelf ſo gall'd at the Thought of the Diſaſter the *Romans* had receiv'd in his Abſence, that he drew out a Body of Foot, and two hundred choice Horſe, and in a grave ſober March enter'd the City without any Oppoſition. The Watch were the firſt that took and gave the *Alarum*; and the News was all over the Town in a Moment. No ſooner was it certainly known, but the Citizens, in a Confuſion, like ſo many Madmen fled yelling and exclaming up to the Caſtle; lugging their Wives and their Children

Titus *enters the Town.*

[a] Ιταβύριον ὄρος. Joſ. *See* Caſaubon'*s Exercit.* xv. *Ann.* xxxiii. *N.* xxix.

along with them. Some were cut off by *Titus*'s Soldiers; others that could not get into the Caſtle, and went they knew not whither, fell into the Hands of the *Roman* Guards. There was nothing, in Fine, but Death to be ſeen or heard of, in all Forms, Wounds and Groans; and the very Streets flowing with Blood.

The next Thing *Veſpaſian* had now to do was to attack the Caſtle: To which End he drew up his whole Army thither. It ſtood upon the Point of a Rock prodigiouſly high and ſteep; and well nigh inacceſſible, with a Multitude of Crags and Precipices round about it. Upon this Diſadvantage, it was impoſſible for the *Romans* either to avoid the Stones and Shot of the *Jews* that were caſt down upon them from above, or to reach the *Jews* from below. But by a wonderful Providence, in Favour of the *Romans*, and for the Deſtruction of the *Jews*, there blew a violent Guſt of Wind that drove the *Roman* Arrows directly in the Face of the Defendents, and kept off the other from the *Romans*; or skew'd them beſide the Mark. The Blaſt at the ſame Time was ſo ſtrong too; that the Beſieged could not ſtand ſteady where they were to make their Defence, nor ſo much as ſee the People they had to cope withal. So that the *Romans*, with the Help of theſe Advantages, made themſelves Maſters of the Mountain, which they ſurrounded immediately; and in a Rage of Revenge for their former Miſcarriage upon that Attack, they put all they met with to the Sword, indifferently, whether they reſiſted or not: Beſide that, in the Horrour of this Deſperation, there were that caſt themſelves with their Wives and Children down the Precipice from the Caſtle, to the Number of five thouſand Perſons; that of the ſlain being only four thouſand: So much more merciful were the *Romans* to the *Jews*, than the *Jews* were to themſelves. The *Romans*, in this Heat of Fury, threw the very Infants down the Rocks, without ſparing ſo much as one ſingle Creature; two Women only excepted, the Daughters of the *Siſter* of *Philip*, who was the Friend of one *Joakim*, a Man of eminent Quality, and formerly a General under *Agrippa*. Now theſe two Siſters were not ſo much beholden to the Clemency of the *Romans* for their Preſervation, as to the good Hap of lying undiſcover'd till the Rage of the hot Blood was over. The Rebellion of *Gamala* brake out the four and twentieth Day of the Month [a]*Gorpiæus*: And the Place was deſtroy'd the three and twentieth of the Month *Hyperberetæus*.

A cruel Execution.

CHAP. IV.

Giſchala *taken by* Titus. *The People well diſpos'd, but ſeduced.* Jeruſalem *a ſtrong and a populous City.* Veſpaſian *provides againſt all Hazards. The generous Tenderneſs of* Titus. Titus *offers a Peace and an Amneſty.* John *of* Giſchala *ſeemingly accepts of the Conditions.* John *makes his Eſcape.* Titus *receiv'd into* Giſchala*: Which puts an End to the Conqueſt of* Galilee.

THE Province of *Gamala* was now wholly reduc'd, ſave only *Giſchala*; where the People of themſelves, were, upon the Main, peaceably inclin'd: Being moſt of them Husband-Men, whoſe Hope and Intereſt lay in Plantations and Tillage. Not but that they were tainted alſo with a conſiderable and ſeditious Mixture of *Libertines* that liv'd upon Robbery; and there were ſome Citizens alſo of the firſt Quality that were corrupted with that Leaven. The chief Leader of this Faction, and the Perverter of the People, was one *John*; a wicked and deceitful Man, a rank Impoſtor; unſteady and ambitious; a great Maſter in the Art of bringing his Ends about; a Wretch of no Conſcience, and certainly known to be a Promoter of Broils for the Making of his own Fortune. He was, in Fine, the Son of one *Levi*, and the Head of the Rabble in *Giſchala*. If it had not been for him, the People would probably have ſent their Deputies to the *Romans*, with Propoſals of an Alliance; but upon his Inſtigation, they were prevail'd upon to put it off, till the War ſhould be brought on.

Giſchala *ſtands out.*

The People well diſpos'd, but ſeduced by a ſeditious Impoſtor.

Veſpaſian, upon this Juncture, ſent away *Titus* to *Giſchala* with a thouſand Horſe; and the tenth Legion to *Scythopolis*; returning himſelf with the other two Legions to *Cæſarea* for Refreſhment, by preparing both their Bodies and their Minds for Difficulties that were yet to come. For *Veſpaſian* foreſaw that *Jeruſalem* would find him work enough; not only as it was a powerful, populous, and the capital City; but as it was a Place of Refuge to all the Fugitives of the Faction from elſewhere: A Nurſery of

Jeruſalem *a ſtrong and populous City.*

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[a] *As to theſe Months, ſee Dr.* Beverige'*s Chronology.*

bold and daring Men; naturally ſtrong, and over and above well wall'd; though next to impregnable in the very Situation of it. *Veſpaſian* took all theſe Things into his Thought, and train'd up his Soldiers, like Champions, in the Practice and Exerciſe of their Arms, to keep them in Breath and Heart for the Prize.

Veſpaſian *provides againſt all Hazzards.*

The generous Tenderneſs of Titus.

Titus went up to *Giſchala* on Horſe-back; and finding upon the View that it was not a Place to ſtand an Aſſault, he reflected upon it at the ſame Time, that the Soldiers would undoubtedly treat *Giſchala* as they had done *Gamala*; confounding the Innocent with the Guilty, if ever they ſhould come to take the Town by Storm: So that out of a generous Compaſſion for the People, and the Horrour he had for thoſe inhumane Cruelties, he rather bethought himſelf how he might gain the Place by Treaty. The Walls being now cover'd with Soldiers, and the Majority within the Town being of the Faction, *Titus* call'd out; and raiſing his Voice, ſpake to them after this Manner. *It is a wonderful Thing to me,* ſays he, *that when all the reſt of your Towns are gone, and Places much better manned and fortify'd than yours is, and taken without any Difficulty too (many of them at the very firſt Attack;) you ſhould be now ſo inconſiderate as to think of ſtanding out: Eſpecially when you may yet be ſafe, eaſie, free and happy, upon a fair Return to your Duty. And this, I dare undertake, ſhall be made good to you; and all your Inſolencies pardon'd, and paſs'd over, and imputed only to an inordinate Deſire of Liberty. But if you do not know when you are well offer'd, and refuſe to caſt your ſelves upon the Faith and Honour of the* Romans*: If you ſhall reſolve at laſt,* I ſay, *to run head-long on to your certain Deſtruction, and to contend with Impoſſibilities, you muſt expect to feel the Weight of the* Roman *Power and Diſpleaſure; and you will find, before you are aware, that your Paper-Walls will fall like Dirt before their Engines: So that this is the Way to ſhew your ſelves to be the moſt arrogant Slaves of all the* Galilæans.

Titus *offers them a Peace and an Amneſty: And the Exerciſe of their Religion.*

John *of* Giſchala *ſeemingly accepted the Offer, upon one certain Condition.*

This paſs'd without one Word from the Town in Anſwer, or any one Creature of the Inhabitants ſuffer'd to come up to the Wall; for the Faction were Maſters; and had clapt Guards upon all the Gates, to ſee that none ſhould paſs in or out, to promote a Treaty. But *John* at laſt cry'd out to *Titus*, in the Name of the People, *that he accepted the Conditions; and that the Town ſhould agree to them likewiſe, or he would force them to it. Only he made him this Requeſt, in Regard of the inviolable Strictneſs of the* Jewiſh Law *for the Obſervance of their* Sabbath, *which would no more ſuffer them to treat of Peace, than to fight a Battle; that he would indulge them that Day: It being a Caſe wherein either the complying on the one Hand; or, as the* Romans *knew very well, the enforcing them on the other, would be equally unwarrantable: Beſide, that there could be no Danger in putting off the Treaty to another Time; for, if they imagin'd that any Man would attempt to make an Eſcape that Night, it would be an eaſie Matter, by clapping Guards upon all the* Avenues, *to prevent it: Over and above the Reputation he would get by ſhewing himſelf as tender of their Laws as they were of their own, and of their Conſciences as well as of their Perſons; which was a Favour beyond their Expectation.*

Now it was not ſo much a Scruple for the *Sabbath*, as an Apprehenſion for his particular Safety that put *John* upon this Menage with *Titus*; for he was in a Manner certain to be abandon'd and given up, if the Town ſhould be taken: And nothing left him to truſt to but the Night, and his Heels, for the Saving of his Life. But the Preſervation of *John* was manifeſtly an Act of divine Providence toward the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; as being the Occaſion, not only of the Truce, but likewiſe of *Titus*'s incamping farther off the City, at *Cydœſſa*, one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous Places in *Tyria*, and a mortal Enemy to the *Galilæans*.

John *makes his Eſcape in the Night.*

The People in a miſerable Diſtreſs and Confuſion.

The Night being now come, and the Town without any Guards upon it, *John* laid hold of the Opportunity, and made his Eſcape to *Jeruſalem*; taking not only his military People, but ſeveral ſubſtantial Men of the Town, together with their Families, along with him. The old Men, the Women and the Children, that were frighted into this Reſolution, made a Shift to keep up with their Leader for the *firſt twenty Furlongs*; but finding themſelves ſpent, and not able to continue the March, they had no more to do but to betake themſelves to Cries and Lamentations; panting and trembling after thoſe that had outſtript them and were gone before: And the farther their Friends were advanced from them, one Way; the nearer did they account themſelves to their Enemies, the other; and upon the very Point of being taken Priſoners. Nay, the very Noiſe of their own Feet, they fanſy'd to be the Tread of their Adverſaries; and ſtill looking behind them, they took their own People for their Purſuers. In this imaginary Fright they fell one over another, and the Way was cover'd with the Bodies of Women and Children, that were cruſh'd to Death in the Croud, preſſing who ſhould get foremoſt. There was little more to be heard than the Crys of miſerable Creatures to their Husbands and Friends to ſtay for them. But *John* call'd out to them on the other Hand, to think of no other Way of ſaving themſelves, but by taking Sanctuary in ſome Place, where they might be reveng'd of the *Romans*, in Caſe of any further Miſchief; and *John*'s Advice carry'd it. The Multitude, upon this, diſpers'd themſelves, and ſhifted away the beſt they could.

It was now Day-light, and *Titus* was by this Time come to the Walls of the Town, to execute the Treaty; where he found the Gates open, and the Inhabitants and their Wives ready with Acclamations to receive and acknowledge *Titus* for their Benefactor and Preſerver. They gave him alſo to underſtand that *John* was run away; begging his Pardon for the innocent, and imploring his Juſtice upon thoſe left in the Town that ſhould be found to have been the Authors of the Revolt. *Titus*, upon their Requeſt, ſent out a Party of Horſe after *John*; but he was already gotten into *Jeruſalem* before they could get up to him. They kill'd a Matter of two thouſand of his Party, and brought back again near three thouſand Women and Children that they found wandring up and down.

Titus *receiv'd into* Giſchala: *Which puts an End to the Conqueſt of* Galilee.

Titus was not a little troubled at the Scape of this *Impoſtor*; and that they had not made him ſuch an Example as he deſerv'd to be, when they had him in their Hands: But then ſetting the Advantages of the Priſoners; the ſlain, and the taking of the Town, againſt the Diſappointment of miſſing the ſingle Perſon of ſuch a Wretch, *Titus* balanc'd the one with the other, and enter'd the Place in a friendly Diſpoſition toward the People: Taking Poſſeſſion of it in Form by the Ceremony of his Soldiers breaking off a Piece of the Wall; and reducing the Authors of the Sedition rather by Menaces than by actual Puniſhments. For *Titus* was of Opinion, that in a Caſe where ſo many Family Feuds, perſonal Piques and Paſſions were concern'd, it might be a dangerous Thing to make Uſe of Puniſhment, as a common Rule of Diſtinction betwixt the good and the bad, for Fear of expoſing the peaceable to Calumnies, as well as the ſeditious to Juſtice. So that, upon this Deliberation, *Titus* thought it more honourable and humane, rather to let ſome Criminals live, than to run the Riſque of expoſing ſome Innocents: There being no Place left for Remedy and Attonement, in the latter; whereas, in the other Caſe, there may be Hope of Amendment: Whether out of a Fear of Puniſhment, a Senſe of Shame, or an Impulſe of Virtue.

Titus *reaſons the Caſe, and acts accordingly.*

But *Titus* however in the Concluſion put a Garriſon into the Town, partly to keep turbulent Spirits in Order, and partly to ſecure thoſe that had a Mind to be quiet. This Action finiſh'd the Conqueſt of *Galilee*, after the Expence of ſo much Labour and Blood.

Galilee *totally ſubdu'd.*

CHAP. V.

John *of* Giſchala *gets ſafe to* Ieruſalem, *with a falſe Story. The* Jews *divided; and a miſerable Nation.* John *the great Incendiary. The Riſe and Progreſs of the Quarrel. The Outrages of the Robbers and of others that are yet the worſe of the two. They create and depoſe High-Prieſts at Pleaſure; and* Ananus *moves the Rabble againſt them. The Factions draw into the Temple.* Gorion *and* Simeon *the Leaders of the Party.* Jeſus *and* Ananus *Men of Piety and Virtue. The* Zelotes, *(ſo call'd.)* Ananus *enters into the Reaſon of the Caſe. The* Romans *eaſier to the* Jews *than the* Zelotes. *An Encounter in the Temple. The Character and Hiſtory of* John *of* Giſchala.

UPON *John*'s coming up to *Jeruſalem* with a Train of the Faction at his Heels; the People in vaſt Throngs and Multitudes gather'd about them to know how Matters went abroad, and in a Word, to learn the very worſt of Things. Now *John* and his Company had run themſelves ſo out of Breath, betwixt Fear and Flight, that they were ſcarce able to ſpeak; and that Difficulty might have paſs'd for an Anſwer. But the Party kept up the Pride and Vanity of their Stomachs yet, with a Pretence that they were not *run away* from the *Romans*; but came of their own Accord; to find out ſome Place for the Encounter, where they might engage upon equal Terms: For none but Fools and Madmen would caſt themſelves away, they ſaid, for the Defence of *Giſchala*, and two or three more perpaps of thoſe pitiful miſerable Places, when the *Metropolis* it ſelf was at Stake; and every brave Man oblig'd, in Duty and in Honour, to do his beſt to defend it. *John* and his Crew colour'd the Diſgrace the beſt they could; but the People ſaw through the Diſguiſe, and that *John*'s *honourable Retreat* was no other than a *downright running away*. This Diſcovery, and the Story of the Priſoners the *Romans* had taken, put the People into ſuch a Terror as if the Ruine of *Giſchala* had but been the

John *impoſes upon the Multitude;*

And excuſes his running away upon a Point of Honour.

John *of* Giſchala *the great Incendiary of the War.*

the Prologue to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* it ſelf. But *John* all this while, without any Shame or Remorſe for the poor Creatures he had abandon'd upon the Way, went officiouſly and pragmatically from one to another; animating the Multitude to a Proſecution of the War: Derogating from the *Romans* on the one Hand; and arrogating to themſelves on the other; by which Arts of Quirks and Impoſture, they gained mightily upon the ſilly People. *Why, do you think,* ſays he, *after ſo many Baffles put upon the* Roman *Power and all their Engines, by two or three paultry Places in* Galilee: *And ſo much Difficulty in the maſtering of them at laſt: Do you think,* I ſay, *after all this; even if the* Romans *had Wings, that they could ever be able to take* Jeruſalem? Theſe Flouriſhes wrought upon a World of the hot-headed young Men; but at the ſame Time all People of Foreſight, Senſe and Experience, gave themſelves utterly for loſt.

Jeruſalem *in a Confuſion.*

This was the confuſed Face and State of Things in *Jeruſalem* at that Time; but the Country led the Way to the Sedition that follow'd afterward in the City. For *Titus* being gone from *Giſchala* to *Cæſarea*, *Veſpaſian* went alſo from *Cæſarea* to *Jamnia*, and *Azotus*; and ſubdu'd them both; ſettled Garriſons in them, and ſo return'd: Bringing a vaſt Multitude of People along with him that were now enter'd into a League with the *Romans*. The Cities were all peſter'd with Tumults and inteſtine Broils; and no ſooner at Peace with the *Romans*, but immediately together by the Ears among themſelves: And *War* or *no War* was the ſingle Queſtion; for the two Oppoſites fought for the one againſt the other. The Quarrel began in private Families that had been a long Time Adverſaries, upon the Score of hereditary Feuds. It paſs'd thence into divided Multitudes, that of Friends became Enemies: And it terminated at laſt in Matter of Faction and Opinion; where Men of the ſame Mind ſided into an Oppoſition of Party to Party, and ſo incorporated in a Rebellion. This Diſorder, in Fine, was general. The Men of Action, Youth and Heat, were violently bent upon Arms and Innovations: The Men of Senſe and Gravity, on the other Side, were for moderate Counſels; but the former carry'd it.

The Jews *divided among themſelves.*

The Riſe and Progreſs of the Quarrel.

The Fruit of an univerſal Liberty.

This Confuſion began with an univerſal Licence, that every Man took to himſelf, of robbing his Neighbour, without any Regard to Law or Conſcience. They proceeded afterwards to do the ſame Thing in Bands and Parties; and to do it barefac'd too up and down the Country: In which Practice, the *Jews* themſelves did one another as much Miſchief, upon the Matter of Cruelty and Injuſtice, as the *Romans*; beſide that the Calamity was much more tolerable from an Enemy than from a Friend.

The Outrages of the Robbers.

The Garriſons, that conſulted their own Eaſe, and mortally hated the People, never troubled their Heads for what they ſuffer'd: Till in the Concluſion ſome of the Principals of the Faction enter'd *Jeruſalem* with a great Body of their Party, that they had pick'd up here and there. Now the City being under no Rule of Government, theſe Ruffians met with no Oppoſition: Beſide that according to ancient Cuſtom, the Gates were open to all *Jews* without Exception; and at this Time more eſpecially, when they took all People that came in to them for Friends, and Aſſiſtants. This was the Caſe, and this Liberty in the Concluſion prov'd the Ruine of the City; when the infinite Numbers of idle and unprofitable Mouths devoured the neceſſary Proviſions that were laid up for the Soldiers that had the Guard of the Town: By which Means, the Miſeries of Sedition and Famine were added to the Calamities of the War.

Another Band of Thieves worſe than the former.

There came at the ſame Time another Party of Thieves out of the Country; that joyning with thoſe they found in the Town (who were yet worſe than themſelves) ſtuck at no Manner of Inſolence, though never ſo flagitious and cruel. Robbery and Pillage was as nothing with them, unleſs it was ſeaſon'd with downright Murder: And that not by Stealth neither, and in the Dark; or upon ſome common Perſons; but in the Face of the Sun, and upon the moſt conſiderable Men in the City. As they began with the impriſoning of *Antipas*, a Perſon of the Blood Royal, and of ſuch Credit and Authority, that he was entruſted with the Charge of the Treaſury. They treated *Levias* afterwards, and *Sophas* the Son of *Raguel*, with divers others of the moſt conſiderable Perſons they could lay their Hands on, after the ſame Manner. Theſe horrid Violences made the Town look like a Prize in the Hand of a common Enemy, and put all People to ſhift for themſelves.

Nay, and theſe profligate Wretches did not ſtop here neither; but finding their Priſoners to be Men of Power, Intereſt, Credit, and a vaſt Acquaintance, they did not know but it might be dangerous to keep them longer in Cuſtody; for Fear of either a Reſcue or a Revenge from their Friends, or of a popular Tumult, upon ſo deſperate a Provocation. Wherefore they proceeded to a formal Sentence of Death upon them, and ſent a blood-thirſty Hireling of their own Crew (one *John* the Son of *Dorcas)* with a Train of ten other Bravo's at his Heels to do the Execution; and it was done accordingly. Now for a Colour to this execrable Villany, they gave it out that theſe People were in a Conſpiracy to deliver up the City to the *Romans*; and not without valuing themſelves upon the Merit of a publick Service, for doing ſo neceſſary an Act of Juſtice upon the Betrayers of the common Liberty.

A bloody Sentence and Execution.

The Faction was now ſo daring and arrogant, and the People's Hearts ſo low, that they aſſumed to themſelves the diſpoſing of the *Pontificate*; took the High-Prieſthood out of the right Line; abrogated the Succeſſion, and promoted Creatures of their own, without either Blood or Virtue, to the Office: And ſo by this Choice of Miniſters like themſelves, they made the Government all of a Piece; well knowing that the wicked Inſtruments of wicked Men would not fail of obſerving their Maſters.

They create and depoſe High-Prieſts at Pleaſure.

There was nothing wanting all this while of artificial Calumnies, and feigned Stories, to create Miſunderſtandings among thoſe that had it in their Power to croſs their Deſigns, and ſo to make Advantage of their Diſagreements: Till in the End, when they had glutted themſelves with putting Affronts and Indignities upon Men, they tranſported their Impieties even againſt God himſelf, and againſt his Laws and his holy Sanctuary. But upon this audacious Extravagance, the People, at the Inſtigation of *Ananus* the High Prieſt, made Head againſt them; a Perſon no leſs venerable for his Years, Piety and Wiſdom, than he was for his Character; and one that probably might have preſerv'd the City if he could but have got clear of the Train of a Conſpiracy that was then laid againſt him.

Putting Indignities upon God himſelf. Ananus *the High-Prieſt makes Head againſt them.*

The Faction took Sanctuary in the Temple, and made Uſe of it both for a Place of Defence againſt the Multitude, and for the Seat of their Tyranny and Uſurpation. But the moſt ſenſible Part of the Calamity was the Mockery and Contempt that attended it, in the wanton Experiment of their own Strength, and the heartleſs Deſpondency of the People. As for Example, they took upon them to elect a *High-Prieſt* by Lot; according to the Precedent, as they pretended, of Former Times: Whereas, in Truth, there was no ſuch Precedent; but the ſacerdotal Function was originally a Family Privilege, and deſcended in a Line by Succeſſion. Now this Practice of theirs was only a Self-ended Invention of their own, to get the Power into their Hands. But they were taken in their own Snare; for upon ſummoning one of the holy Tribes (called *Eniacim)* in order to a Choice, the Lot fell upon a Perſon that ſufficiently diſcover'd the Iniquity and the Corruption of the Proceeding. His Name was [a] *Phanes*; his Father's Name *Samuel*; born in a Village call'd *Aphthas*; a Man, in Fine, brutiſhly ignorant, and ſo far from having any Relation to a ſacerdotal Family, that he did not ſo much as know what belong'd to the Office. They forc'd him away however from his country Affairs in Spite of his Heart; and, dreſſing him up in his Prieſtly Robes, as if it had been for the Stage, they gave him his Leſſon how he was to behave himſelf: Making no more in Short of the whole Story than if it had been the Foolery of a Farce, or of a Frolick. This could not but go to the Hearts of the Prieſts that ſtood all this while at a Diſtance, Spectators of theſe Indignities; to ſee their holy Laws trampled upon, and their Worſhip and Profeſſion ridicul'd, (as they expreſs'd their Senſe of it in Tears and Groans.) But the People were ſo tranſported with the Senſe of this Oppreſſion, that they had no longer any Patience for ſo ſcandalous a Slavery; but join'd as one Man in a Reſolution to depoſe the Tyrants, and caſt off the Yoke.

The Faction draws into the Temple.

Phanes *choſen High-Prieſt by Lot.*

A Perſon wholly unqualify'd for the Function.

The Solemnity turn'd into a Mockery.

The People bent upon a Revenge.

The two forwardeſt in this Commotion were *Gorion* the Son of *Joſeph*; and *Simeon* the Son of *Gamaliel*; who made it their Buſineſs to go up and down from Man to Man, inculcating the Doctrine of Liberty and Revenge, and provoking the People at the ſame Time, *one and all*, to ſtand up for the Vindication of their Religion, Laws and Freedoms, againſt their prophane and ſacrilegious Enemies.

Gorion *and* Simeon *the Heads of the Party.*

There was alſo *Jeſus* the Son *Gamala*, and *Ananus* the Son of *Ananus*; two Prieſts of the firſt Note for Men of ſingular Piety and Virtue: Theſe two holy Men labour'd their Diſciples as heartily too, in frequent Diſcourſes upon the ſame Subject; upbraiding them with their Sloth and Cowardice, and inflaming them by all Manner of Reproaches againſt the *Zelotes*. I call them *Zelotes*, as the Name that they aſſumed to themſelves, out of an hypocritical Oſtentation of Holineſs; though at the ſame Time, in their Lives and Practice, the lewdeſt of Men, The People being now gather'd together, were all raging mad to ſee the Havock theſe Miſcreants made in the holy Places, and how they went on pillaging and murdering without Controll.

Jeſus *and* Ananus *do their Parts alſo.*

Zelote *is only another Word for* Hypocrite.

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[a] Gr. Φαννίας.

Ananus *ſets forth the whole State of the Caſe in a Speech to the People. The Cauſe notably reaſon'd from one End to the other.*

But yet in the Height of an outragious Horrour and Indignation, there was not one Blow ſtruck all this while; for the People did not as yet think themſelves in Condition to encounter theſe *Zelotes* by downright Force: As in Truth they were not. *Ananus* the High-Prieſt was at this Time in the Middle of the Croud; and caſting many a ſorrowful Look toward the Temple, with Tears in his Eyes. *Why did not I rather die*, ſays he, *than live, to ſee the Houſe of God thus polluted and prophan'd, and the wickedeſt of Men admitted promiſcuouſly into thoſe ſacred Places of Privilege, that were only reſerv'd for the High-Prieſt? Why do I live, and ſee all this? in my ſacerdotal Robes too, and with the venerable Name of the great God written on my Forehead? What do I live any longer for, after ſo glorious an Opportunity now in my Age of ending my Days with Honour? What have I more to do, in Fine, under my Circumſtances, but to fall alone, and give up my Life to my God and my Duty? What ſhould any Man deſire to live for, in an inſenſible Generation, and among People that have neither the Prudence to foreſee Calamities, nor the Courage to reſiſt them? You ſtand ſtill to ſee your ſelves robb'd; beaten and abus'd; and your Friends and Companions murder'd before your Faces; without ſo much as one Look, Word, or Action of Tenderneſs or Compaſſion that you dare own. A ſhameful, and an inſupportable Tyranny! But what do I talk of the Actors of the Tyranny, and not rather of thoſe that ſuffer it, and that train'd up the Tyrants themſelves to the Power of exerciſing what they now Practice? Why did you not cruſh them when you might have done it? When they were but a few, weak, and inconſiderable? No no, it was your Patience and nothing elſe that made theſe People your Maſters. But when you ſhould have turn'd your Arms againſt your Enemies, you muſt be cutting of Throats among your ſelves. You ſhould have call'd them to an Account betimes, for the Outrages they put upon your Brethren. And you ſhould have conſider'd that the Sufferance of one Affront naturally draws on, and encourages another; as appear'd in what follow'd. For when they found that they might commit all Manner of Inſolencies without Control, they advanc'd a Step farther, and put ſeveral of the beſt Men of the City in Chains (who were effectually betray'd by your Tameneſs) and dragg'd them to Priſon, not only unheard, and without a Sentence, but without ſo much as an Accuſation. No Matter for their Names or Qualities; but all this was done, and not one Creature appearing in their Favour. After the Loſs of their Eſtates and Liberties, there remain'd nothing more to be taken away but their Lives: And that was done too, and their Throats cut, like ſo many Beaſts drawn out of the Herd for Sacrifices, before our very Faces: And not a Mouth open'd or a Hand lifted up in their Defence. And after all theſe Sufferings, one upon the Neck of another; can you have the Patience now to ſee your holy Altars prophan'd, and your Religion expos'd to Scorn; without ſhewing ſome Reſentment worthy of your Profeſſion? And what is it that you are afraid of, at laſt, but Monſters of your own creating, and the profeſs'd Enemies of all that's good and holy? If they ſtop here, it is not for Want of good Will to be yet more and more wicked; but for Want of freſh Matter to work upon: For it is impoſſible for them to outdo the ill Things they have done already. They are poſſeſs'd you ſee of the ſtrongeſt Place of the City; and that which you call the* Temple, *ſerves them only for an impregnable* Caſtle, *maintain'd againſt you. Conſidering now the Strength of the Place, and your Enemies the Maſters of it, (as that you ſee is the Caſe,) what is that you propoſe to your ſelves? or what do you imagine will be the End of theſe Things? Unleſs you fancy that the* Romans *will eſpouſe the Cauſe of your Religion, and Ceremonies; and in Truth ſuch is the Miſery of our preſent Condition, that our very Enemies cannot but pity us. Why, if ſo many Beaſts were in your Places now; hunted, aſſaulted, and wounded, as you your ſelves are, they would have the Spirit to turn again upon their Purſuers, and to revenge themſelves upon their Enemies; while you at the ſame Time ſuffer all tamely, without ſo much as the Senſe or Apprehenſion of the Brutes. But will you bear this always? And ſink in Infamy, under the Affronts, publick and private, that have been put upon you, without avenging your ſelves? This abject Patience looks as if you had no longer any Senſe* (in Truth) *of the moſt natural and powerful of humane Affections, the Deſire of Liberty: And as if you had taken up on the Contrary the Love of Slavery, inſtead of it; a Temper, which I am ſure you never inherited from your Anceſtors; witneſs the many, and the dangerous Wars they underwent againſt the* Medes *and* Ægyptians *to aſſert their Freedom. But what need of looking back for Preſidents, when the very War we are now ingag'd in againſt the* Romans, *(whether it ſucceed well or ill) is advanced evidently upon the ſame Foot? And ſhall we now that diſpute our Liberties with the Maſters of the whole World, crouch and truckle like Slaves to our own Countrymen? To be overcome by Strangers is but the Chance of War, and may be imputed, without Loſs of Honour, to the Iniquity of Fortune: But for People to give themſelves up in Subjection to their own Brethren and Countrymen, and to the very worſt of them too, betrays a ſordid Servility of Spirit, and a Soul prepar'd for* Bondage.

The Romans *much eaſier to the* Jews *than the Zelotes.*

But now I am ſpeaking of the *Romans*, I have ſomewhat comes into my Head upon this Occaſion. *Make it the Caſe that we were all actually now their Priſoners* (which Heaven forbid!) *Whether would our Condition, in Probability be better or worſe, than it is now? For what Miſery could an Enemy inflict upon us, that we have not ſuffer'd already? Can any Man ſtand a Spectator to look upon the* Jews, *and to ſee them robbing the Temple of the Oblations and Donatives that the* Romans *beſtow'd upon it? Defacing the moſt glorious City under the Sun; and dipping their Hands in the Blood of thoſe* Heroes, *which the* Romans *themſelves, in the very Triumph of their Victories, would have had a Veneration for: Can any Man ſee all this,* I ſay, *without Tears in his Eyes and a bleeding Heart? Whereas the* Romans, *on the other Side, made a Conſcience of paſſing the Bounds of ſacred and prophane; and of breaking in upon the Solemnities of holy Cuſtoms; or but ſo much as caſting a Look, unleſs with Reverence, and at a Diſtance, toward the ſacred Incloſure? But we have a Sort of People among our ſelves, train'd up after our Way too, and calling themſelves* Jews; *that make no more Scruple of Walking in the Temple, than in a common Place; and that, while their Hands are yet reeking with the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens. Shall any Man after this, ſtand in Dread of a* foreign *War, compar'd with ſuch a* Domeſtick *one? The Enemy is in Truth (to call Things by their right Names) the greater Friend of the two: For while the* Romans *ſhew'd themſelves the Preſervers of our Laws, our pretended Friends that were in our Bowels deſtroy'd them. Certain it is, that theſe Tyrants have betray'd your Liberties, and that no Puniſhment can be equal to their Crimes. I tell you no more in this now, than what you all knew before I open'd my Mouth; and you need no other Inſtigation againſt theſe Men, than the Senſe of your own Sufferings. But you were afraid of their Numbers perhaps; the daring Boldneſs of theſe Men, and the advantagious Poſt they are now poſſeſs'd of. Well! And what was it, I beſeech you, but your Want of Reſolution, that rais'd them up to this, and made them ſo conſiderable? And you have no Way left you now but a ſpeedy, a generous and a joint Aſſociation among your ſelves, to bring them down again; for Delay gives Time to ſettle; Opportunity to encreaſe, and Heart to gather Courage:* Like will to like, *and the whole Faction will flow into the Party; which will make them numerous: And then they have nothing to fear, where they meet with no Oppoſition, and that makes them bold; and ſo for deferring the Attempt, the longer it is put off, the more Time they have to fortify and intrench. Now 'tis but one bold Puſh, to ſhew that you are in Earneſt, to bring down their Stomachs; and you will find that betwixt the Terrours of a guilty Conſcience, and the Infamy of baſe Actions, they will have little Joy of their Station. As who knows but theſe impious Wretches may be cut off by the juſt Judgment of a righteous God, as a Vengeance upon them for their Contempt of his divine Majeſty? And that the very Weapons they launce at us, may by a providential Miracle, be turn'd againſt their own Hearts and Faces; ſo that they ſhall not be able to ſtand the very Sight of us, but with Confuſion: Or to put Matters at worſt; what if we ſhould fall every Man of us in the Conteſt, could any Thing be more glorious, than to lay down our Lives at the Gates of the Temple, for the Honour of God, and in the Service of his holy Houſe and Cauſe? As to the Conduct of the Enterprize, you ſhall have my Heart, Hand, Example and Advice along with you.*

Ananus *makes a Party againſt the* Zelotes.

This Diſcourſe of *Ananus*'s irritated the People ſufficiently againſt the *Zelotes*; but yet *Ananus* was ſo well inform'd of their Number, their Choice of Men, and their Courage; with the Circumſtances of the Place and the Poſture they were in, and finally their Deſpair of Pardon in Caſe they ſhould happen to be worſted; that he could not promiſe himſelf any preſent Advantage from the Effect of this Management: But he was nevertheleſs reſolv'd to run all Hazards, rather than abandon his Country in this Diſtreſs; the People in the mean Time deſiring nothing more than ſome Body to lead them on againſt theſe Miſcreants, in Defiance of all Dangers whatſoever.

Ananus finding the Multitude in ſo good a Diſpoſition, made a Cull of the beſt Men he could pick out, and ranged them preſently in ſuch Order as the Time would bear. The *Zelotes* had their Spies about *Ananus*; and, upon Intelligence of his Deſigns and Motions, they march'd immediately toward him; one while, in ſmall Parties, and then again in groſs Bodies; without giving Quarter to any one Creature that fell into their Hands. *Ananus* had his Men quickly together, and outnumber'd the other; but the *Zelotes* however had the Advantage of being better arm'd: Though what was wanting one Way, was ſupply'd on both Sides with Heart and good Will another. The Rage and Indignation of the Citizens doubled their Valour againſt the *Zelotes*: And that of the *Zelotes* alſo, on the other Hand, inflamed their Reſolution againſt the Multitude: The Inhabitants found they could not be ſafe, unleſs they clear'd the City of the Faction: And it was certain Death to the *Zelotes* not to come off victorious. In this Diſpoſition, both Parties ingag'd;

gag'd; and a Skirmiſh began not far from the Temple by pelting one another with Stones. Thoſe that fled were cut off by the Swords of their Enemies; ſo that there were a great many dropt on both Sides. As any of the Inhabitants happen'd to be wounded, their Friends carry'd them off into their own Houſes; but the *Zelotes* were convey'd up to the Temple, where they polluted and prophan'd the holy Place and Religion with their Blood. But the Thieves came off ſtill in all their Sallies and Excurſions with Advantage.

An Encounter in the Temple.

Ananus's *Scruples.*

Ananus *erects a ſtanding Guard.*

The People were now grown ſtrong and numerous, and out of all Patience with the Fugitives for not ſtanding their Ground: Inſomuch, that cloſing up the Way behind them in their Flight, they turn'd them back again upon the Enemy; ſo that they were forced to cut out their Way forward in their own Defence. By this Means, they were brought every Man of them to the Combat; and the Faction not being able to ſtand the Shock of the whole Body, gave Way by little and little toward the Temple; and *Ananus* with his Troops, preſſing on Pell-Mell along with them. When he had driven the *Zelotes* before him out of the firſt Court, they got in a Fright into the ſecond Incloſure; ſhutting the Gates after them in a Hurry upon the Purſuers. *Ananus* had too great a Reverence for the holy Place to make Uſe of any Sort of Violence for the forcing of his Paſſage: Though the Enemy did all that was poſſible to be done by their Darts and Lances from over their Heads, to provoke him to it. But ſuch was the Conſcience the High-Prieſt made of polluting the holy Temple with the Mixture of an unpurify'd Multitude; that, if he might have gain'd the main Cauſe by ſuch a Diſpenſation, he would not have admitted it. So that all he did at preſent was to order a ſtanding Guard of ſix thouſand choice Men upon the Porches of the Temple, and ſo ſucceſſively ſix thouſand more after them to do Duty, and to be reliev'd by Turns; not exempting the beſt Men of the Town from their Part in this Service: Only when it came to their Lot, they were allow'd to hire Men of an inferior Quality to watch in their Stead.

The Character and Hiſtory of John *of* Giſchala.

His falſe and perjurious Practices in ſeveral Reſpects.

John *artificial and malicious to the higheſt Degree.*

The popular Party at this Time carry'd all before them; but *John* of *Giſchala*, the Fugitive before ſpoken of, ſpoil'd all again. He was a falſe, crafty Wretch; ambitious beyond Meaſure; an Enemy and a Traytor to the Publick of a long Standing. In Order to his Ends, he began with making himſelf popular by ſetting up for a *Patriot*. No Man ſo aſſiduous at Councel with *Ananus* in the Day Time as himſelf; nor any Man ſo careful of the Guards and Watches by Night. And he was at the ſame Time ſo neceſſary a *Spy* for the *Zelotes*, that there was ſcarce any Thing 'ſcap'd his Knowledge: And what *he* knew, *they* knew ſo ſoon as he could tell it them. And for the better Diſguiſe of his pretended Zeal for *Ananus* and the People, he was moſt officiouſly nice and forward in all his Reſpects to the High-Prieſt, and the great Men he had to do withal. But ſo it fell out, that the very Over-doing of his Part laid him under a Jealouſy; for it was too *much* to be *true*, and too much *labour'd*, to be *natural*: Beſide, that the Flatteries were too groſs. Another Thing that increas'd the Suſpicion was this; that he thruſt himſelf into their Councels ſtill, without being call'd. *Ananus* found that his Secrets were betray'd, and none ſo likely as *John* to do it. But this Wretch had play'd his Game ſo artificially; and was ſo rooted in the good Opinion of ſeveral great Men, that there was no Thought or Poſſibility of removing him from his Poſt: So that they could think of no better Expedient for the putting of him to the Teſt, than to give him an Oath of Faith and Secrecy, to keep all the People's Councels, and to ſerve them againſt all Rebels to the uttermoſt of his Power. *John* made no Difficulty of ſwallowing this Oath; and *Ananus* and his People as little of believing him without any further Scruple: And thereupon, they did not only take him immediately into their Councels, but ſent him ſoon after upon a Commiſſion to the *Zelotes*, with Propoſals of Peace. The Thing they fear'd was, leſt the Temple ſhould come to be defiled with the Blood of the *Jews*, and the Blame laid at their Door. This perfidious Impoſtor went his Way to the *Zelotes* with quite another Story; and told them, that the Oath he had taken was ſo far from being againſt them, that, on the contrary, it was much in their Favour. *I have*, ſays he, *run all Manner of Hazards for your Sakes, in the Care I have taken to inform you of all the Deſigns and Practices of* Ananus *and his Party againſt you. But I am now to tell you that neither you nor I were ever in ſo great Danger as at this preſent, if God in his Providence does not avert it. For* Ananus *hath prevail'd with the People to ſend Deputies to* Veſpaſian *to deſire him to come away forthwith, and to take Poſſeſſion of the City; having order'd the People to purify themſelves the next Day, to the End, that under a Pretext of Religion, they might either by fair Means or by foul get into the Town. I do not find*, ſays he, *under their Circumſtances, how they ſhould be able to hold out long againſt ſo prodigious a Number of Men:*

But however, as God hath been pleaſed to order it, I am at preſent deputed to bring you a Project of Peace; which in Truth is no other than a Trick of Ananus's *to hold you in Hand with the Amuſement of a Treaty, and then to fall upon you by Surprize, when you think your ſelves moſt ſecure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other Choice before you, that I can ſee, than either to caſt your ſelves at the Beſiegers Feet; or to call in a foreign Force to your Reſcue.* For, ſays he, *if you are taken, the very Memory and Conſcience of what you have done, (appear as penitent as you pleaſe) puts you out of all Hope of Mercy; beſide, that Criminals prove the Worſe many Times for Repentance: Over and above that the Thirſt for Revenge increaſes with the Power of taking it with Security. Conſider again what you are to expect from the Friends and Relations of thoſe you have ſlain, and from a furious Multitude in the Height of their Rage for the Diſſolution of their Laws and Cuſtoms. Not but that here and there a ſingle Man perhaps may have ſome Senſe of Humanity and Tenderneſs; but what will that avail againſt the impetuous Violence of a brutal Multitude?* This Diſcourſe of *John*'s ſtartled the People; which was the Thing he aimed at. As to the *foreign Force* he hinted at, he meant it of the *Idumæans*; though he durſt not venture to ſpeak it out in plain Terms. After this he took ſome of the Heads apart, and gave them ſome ſhort Touches of *Ananus*'s Cruelty, and of the implacable Malice of his Heart toward them in particular.

CHAP. VI.

The Zelotes *write to the* Idumæans *for Aſſiſtance, which is granted them in a Supply of near 20000 Men.* Jeſus *diſcourſes the Matter with them.* Simon *the Son of* Cathlas *to the High-Prieſt. The* Idumæans *reſolve to make good the Siege.*

ELeazar the Son of *Simon*, and *Zachary*[a] the Son of *Amphicalus*, were look'd upon as two of the ableſt Men the *Zelotes* had in their Council, and the beſt qualify'd for Buſineſs, either to adviſe or to execute: And they were both of the ſacerdotal Race. Theſe Men, taking for granted, that beſide Menaces in general, their particular Lives were threatened; and that *Ananus* and his Party had call'd in the *Romans* to their Aſſiſtance, as *John* had order'd the Story; they found themſelves ſo hamper'd under ſeveral Difficulties, that they could not reſolve which Way to turn themſelves: Fancying in the firſt Place that the very People would tear them to Pieces. As to foreign Succours, there were none to be expected Time enough to prevent the Execution of the Plot; for the Blow would be ſtruck before their Allies could have any Notice of their Diſtreſs. But in the Concluſion, they reſolved to apply themſelves to the *Idumæans*, and wrote them a Letter upon that Occaſion to this Effect. *Finding that* Ananus, *having firſt ſeduced the People, hath deſigned the Betraying of* Jeruſalem *to the* Romans; *we have retired into the Temple in Defence of the common Liberty: Where we are now beſieged, and upon the very Point of Falling into the Hands of* Ananus *and the reſt of our Enemies; and the City it ſelf into the Hands of the* Romans, *without immediate Relief.*

The Zelotes *in Diſtreſs; write to the* Idumæans *for Help.*

The Bearers of this Letter had ſeveral Things in Charge to deliver by *Word of Mouth* to the Principals of that Nation. The Perſons choſen for this Commiſſion, were two *Ananias*'s; both reſolute Men, good Speakers, and Perſons that had the Faculty of Perſuaſion; and (which was equal to all the reſt upon this Occaſion) Men of Speed and Diſpatch. They made no Doubt of the *Idumæans* ready Aſſiſtance toward the Promoting of ſuch an Affair; being a People fond of Broils and Changes; brutal and churliſh, and ſuch as needed no great Art to ingage them in any Thing of this Nature; for they are a People that go to War as other People do to a Banquet. Expedition was now the main Buſineſs, and the Meſſengers did their Parts.

Upon their coming to the Governors of *Idumæa*, and to the Reading of their Letters and Inſtructions, the People went raving up and down like ſo many Mad-Men; provoking and incouraging one another to take up Arms: Inſomuch that they had gotten together a Party of near twenty thouſand Men, that were all raiſed for the Relief of the Mother-City. This Army was raiſed in a Trice and diſpatch'd away to *Jeruſalem*, under the Command of *John* and *James*, the Sons of *Soſas*; *Simon*, the Son of *Cathlas*; and *Phineas*, the Son of *Cluſoth*.

The Letter is no ſooner read than the Requeſt granted:

In a Levy of near 20000 Men to their Aſſiſtance; and upon their March towards Jeruſalem.

Ananus and his People knew nothing of the fore-mentioned Deputation of the two Meſſengers to the *Zelotes*; but he was better informed however of the *Idumæan* Expedition, and ſo order'd the Gates to be ſhut up, and the Walls well guarded;

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[a] Gr. υἱὸς Φαλέκȣ.

but no Act of Hoſtility to be committed, till he had firſt try'd what might be done by Reaſon and fair Words toward the Compoſing of the Broil; So that *Jeſus* (the firſt Prieſt next *Ananus*) mounted a Tower over againſt the *Idumæans*, and within hearing of them, and ſo ſpake as follows.

Jeſus's Reaſonings and Propoſals to the Idumæans.

“ Of all the Calamities, (ſays he) that ever befel this famous City, nothing amazes me more than to ſee Fortune in a Conſpiracy with the lewdeſt People in Nature to deſtroy it. Who could ever have thought to have ſeen you joyning with a Band of Miſcreants againſt us; even more heartily than would have become you toward *Barbarians* themſelves, if *Jeruſalem* had deſired your Aid? But if you are of the ſame Mind with your Superiors, this you have to ſay for your ſelves: That a Similitude of Manners, naturally begets an Agreement of Affections. But this cannot be the Caſe betwixt you and them. For if you conſider their Lives and Actions, you will not find one Man of them that does not deſerve a thouſand Deaths. As to their Quality, they are the very Scum and Sink of Mankind: And then for their Manners: After their Squandring away their Fortunes in *Luxury* and *Debauch*, they proceeded to *Rapine* and *Pillage*; and ſtealing afterward into the City like Thieves, they advanced to *Sacrilege* and *Bloodſhed*; even in the Holy Temple it ſelf: Wallowing in Drink and Surfeits, at the very Altar, without either Fear or Shame; devouring the Spoils of thoſe they have murder'd, and prophaning the ſacred Place with all Manner of Pollutions. Now in the Middle of this Confuſion, I find your People here in as regular a Formality of Order and Equipage, as if your Army had been brought in at the Requeſt of the whole Body of the City againſt a foreign Enemy. What ſhall I call this now, but the Iniquity of Fortune, to ſee your whole Nation united in ſo infamous a Confederacy againſt your own Brethren? I cannot but admire, I muſt confeſs, at the Suddenneſs of your Reſolution as well as at the Thing it ſelf. It muſt be ſome great Matter ſure that could move you to take up Arms for Thieves and Vagabonds, againſt your Allies. But you have gotten a Story among you, I perceive, of our *calling in the* Romans, *and betraying the City to them*; and upon that Pretence, you take upon you to ſet up for Aſſerters of the Liberties of *Jeruſalem* againſt a foreign Power. Now though this was a groſs and a malicious Calumny, it was yet pertinent enough to the Purpoſe of the Inventers of it: for our Enemies could never have gain'd their Ends upon Men that value Liberty at the Rate that you do, and would venture ſo far for the preſerving of it, but by poſſeſſing you with a Rage againſt us, as the baſe and unmanly Betrayers of a Bleſſing and a Privilege that you have ſo great a Veneration for. But you ſhall do well now to conſider, who they are that thus bely and traduce us; and then make a Judgment upon the whole, not upon the Credit of plauſible Tales and Hearſays, but upon the Force of clear Truths and convincing Reaſon.

“ How will it conſiſt that we ſhould diſpute our Liberties thus long with the *Romans*, and juſt now own them for our Maſters? How came it that we fell off from them at firſt? Or how came it that we did not go over to them again, before our Lands, Towns and Villages were totally laid waſte and deſtroy'd? Neither is this a Time for a Treaty, if we had never ſo great a Mind to it; for the Conqueſt of *Galilee* hath made them too proud to hearken to any Conditions. And then to go out Crouching to them to beg a Peace, ſo ſoon as they ſhew themſelves before our Walls, would be an Infamy more inſupportable than Death it ſelf. For my own Part, I am rather for Peace than War; but, on the other Side, when the War is once begun and inevitable, I am rather for a glorious Death, than the Life of a Slave.

“ But how ſtands the Caſe, I beſeech you, of our ſending to the *Romans*? Is it that the Ring-Leaders have privately ſent ſome particular Perſons out of their own Number, or Families? Or will you have it to be a Deputation as the common Act of the People? If this was done by a particular Commiſſion, why are we not told the Names of the Commiſſioners? Are there any Letters to be produc'd in Proof of this Suggeſtion? Or hath any Man been taken up going or coming upon this Errand? How comes it that among ſo many thouſands of People as we daily converſe with in the City, not ſo much as one Man ever heard of it? And how comes it again, that this Secret that has been manag'd with ſo much Caution out of the City, ſhould be only known to a few Perſons that are lock'd up in the Temple, and not at Liberty ſo much as to ſtir out of the Walls? Is it not a ſtrange Thing too that this Treaſon ſhould never be heard of, till the Reporters of it were in Danger themſelves, and in Dread of being call'd to an Account for their own Crimes? Neither could it be call'd the Peoples Act, without paſſing the Vote of a general Aſſembly; which would have made it impoſſible to be kept ſo long a Se-

“ cret. Or to what End ſhould there be a Deputation too, when the Thing was reſolv'd “ beforehand, and no Room left for a Treaty? And then, as I ſaid before, “ they ſhould have done well to have named the Commiſſioners. But drowning “ Men will catch Hold of any Thing; and all this Shifting and Shuffling is only for “ the ſaving of their own Skins. But if it muſt be the City's Fate at laſt to fall by “ Treachery, none ſo likely to bring it to that End as our Accuſers themſelves; for “ 'tis but adding Treaſon to Blood, Sacrilege, and the reſt of the Impieties they are “ guilty of already, to fill up the Meaſure of their Iniquities.

“ But ſince you are here upon the Place with us, and in Arms, what can you do “ better than to join with us in the Relief of the City, and in the rooting-out of “ theſe tyrannical Monſters? Wretches that have trod all our Laws under Foot, to “ make Way for Tumult and Violence, treated our Governours worſe than Bond-“ Slaves or common Criminals, in Jails, Chains, nay, and with Death itſelf, though “ never ſo innocent; and which is worſe, without ſo much as any Pretence to the “ contrary; and without any Place at laſt for Prayers or Interceſſions in Favour of “ the miſerable. This is no more than what you may be Eye-witneſſes of yourſelves, “ if you will but enter the City as Friends, and believe your Senſes. There you ſhall “ ſee the Gutting of Houſes, and the whole Town in Mourning for their maſſacred “ Kindred and Friends; your Ears entertain'd with nothing but Cries and Lamentations, “ and not one Creature to be found, upon the whole, but has his Part in this “ Oppreſſion. And they have carry'd up the Inſolence to ſo extravagant a Pitch too, “ that after the barbarous Robberies and Outrages committed in the Country-Towns “ and Villages, they have brought the Scene likewiſe into the Mother-City it ſelf, “ though the Head and Glory of the Nation; carrying the Outrage from thence “ alſo, into the very Temple it ſelf, which they have made the Seat of the War. “ From thence it is that they make their Sallies; and thither, their Retreats; there “ they keep their Guards, their Stores, and their Magazines: And at this Rate it is, “ in fine, that theſe Profligates, (of our own Tribe and Extraction too) profane, “ diſhonour, and trample upon God's holy Habitation; and the Place that is venerable “ all over the World ſave only among our own People. They are never ſo deſperate, “ but in the Depth of their Deſpairs, they ſtill take Delight in forcing all “ Things to Extremities, and in ſetting Cities and Nations together by the Ears; and “ running all into a Confuſion of Civil Broils. Now the moſt righteous and reaſonable “ Thing that you can do, (and that which might beſt become you too) would be, as “ I ſaid before, to go Hand in Hand with us in delivering the Nation from theſe “ Firebrands, and in taking your Revenge upon them for the Impoſture they have “ put upon you, and for preſuming to invite you into their Party for Aſſiſtance: “ Whereas they ſhould rather have dreaded the Vengeance and Juſtice from you, that “ belongs to a common Enemy. Or if you take it to be Matter of Decency and “ Reſpect, to pay ſome Sort of Deference to their Requeſts, be but you pleaſed to paſs “ into the City as Friends; leave your Arms at the Gates, make your ſelves Neuters, “ give the Cauſe a fair Hearing, and be you your ſelves the Judges of the Controverſy. “ But now for theſe People that have ſo many notorious Crimes to anſwer “ for themſelves; and after the hurrying away of ſo many Men of Quality to Death, “ without ſo much as the Forms of either Charge or Defence: For theſe People, I “ ſay, to be admitted to ſo impartial and eaſy a Way of Tryal, will be a Condeſcenſion “ very extraordinary, and it will become them to acknowledge the Obligation “ they have to you for the Favour. But if you will neither join with us in the “ Equity of the Cauſe, nor appear in the Quality of a Judge betwixt us, pray do “ but withdraw from both Parties, without either inſulting over honeſt Men in their “ Affliction, or ſiding with Traytors and Uſurpers againſt your Mother-City. Or if “ you are not as yet thoroughly ſatisfy'd of our Innocence, as to any ſecret Correſpondence “ with the *Romans*, do but ſend out your Scouts and Agents to ſpy upon “ the Paſſes and Avenues; and whenever you find one Creature of us guilty of ſuch “ a Practice, ſpare neither the Actor nor the Party. Now that will be the only “ proper Time for you to ſtand up for your *Metropolis:* And there is no Danger in “ the mean Time; for as you are poſted, it is not poſſible for any Enemy to interpoſe “ to your Prejudice. If this may work upon you, 'tis well; but if otherwiſe, you “ cannot think it reaſonable for us to open our Gates 'till you lay down your Arms.”

The *Idumæans* were ſo incens'd at their being ſhut out of the Town, that they gave little or no Heed to what *Jeſus* ſaid; and then for laying down their Arms, it look'd ſo like a Conqueſt, that the Commanders would not ſo much as endure the Thought of it. The Multitude, upon this, fell into a Kind of Uproar; but *Simon*

mon the Son of *Cathlas*, one of the Officers, with much ado appeaſing it, took a Standing upon an Advance-Ground within hearing of the High-Prieſt, and deliver'd himſelf to them after this Manner.

Simon *the Son of* Cathlas, *to the High-Prieſt.*

“I do not wonder, *ſays he*, to ſee the Defenders of our Country's Liberties ſhut up here in the Temple, when the very Beſiegers of thoſe Patriots have likewiſe ſhut up the City it ſelf, which ought to be free and open to the whole Nation; but at the ſame Time ready enough perhaps to intertain the *Romans* with Garlands and Acclamations. 'Tis enough for us, you think, to talk to us from your Towers, adviſe us to lay down our Arms (though taken up in the common Cauſe) and not to truſt our neareſt Friends with the Guard of the City. But inſtead of defending our Capital, we are held in Hand with Propoſals of being made Judges of the Matter in Queſtion; and in the ſame Inſtant, while you are laying Load upon others for deſtroying your Fellow-Citizens without any Colour of Law, you your ſelves pronounce Judgment at Will and Pleaſure upon the whole Nation, and violently keep your own Brethren out of a City that gives Admittance, upon the Account of Piety and Devotion, to all Mankind beſide. But is this your Way then of acknowledging Obligations? Do you call it an Expedition againſt you, and a Siding with your Enemies, to make all the Haſte we could to your Reſcue? At the ſame Rate are thoſe in the Temple your Enemies: And you have juſt as much to ſay againſt us as againſt them. You have at preſent the very Supporters of the Commonwealth, Priſoners in the Temple, and we are to be flamm'd off with a Pretence that the End of your keeping all the World out of the City, is to avoid their Tyranny: When in Truth the very Tyranny you complain you, you your ſelves practiſe. Now this is too groſs to paſs upon any Man that hath Eyes in his Head. And keeping us out of the City is not all neither, for we are barr'd by that Excluſion, from the Exerciſe and Enjoyment of the religious Rites and Ceremonies of our Profeſſion. And it is the ſame Caſe again with thoſe that are beſieg'd in the Temple, for puniſhing certain Traytors that you are pleas'd to honour with the Title of honeſt Men and Perſons of Quality, for the Credit of the Confederacy. Now the only Thing that they were to blame for, was, that they did not begin with you: That is to ſay, at the Root of the Conſpiracy. But if they were over tender, it will concern us to act with more Vigour, for the Maintenance of the Houſe of God, and of the Rites of our Country, as well within the City as without, and againſt all Oppoſers. So that this Siege we are reſolved to make good, till either the *Romans* deliver you, or the Conſcience of what you have done amiſs, bring you back again to your Duty.”

The Idumæans *reſolve finally to make good the Siege.*

CHAP. VII.

The Idumæans *incamp under the City Walls. A furious Tempeſt; and the* Idumæans *ſhelter themſelves under thir Bucklers againſt it. Several Forebodings upon it. The* Zelotes *adviſe in Council how to ſecure their Friends. The* Idumæans *enter the City by Night, and join the* Zelotes. *A bloody Maſſacre.* Ananus *and* Jeſus *are put to Death.*

THE Multitude gave to underſtand by Shouts and Clamours, how much they were pleas'd with what was ſaid. But *Jeſus*, on the other Hand, went away penſive and ſorrowful, not only for the untractable Temper of the *Idumæans*; but likewiſe to find that the Citizens had now a double War upon their Hands. And the *Idumæans* were not much eaſier neither, partly out of an Indignation at the Affront of ſuch a Repulſe, and partly to find themſeves ſo much miſtaken in the Strength of the *Zelotes*; for they were not ſo ſtrong as they imagined; and the Difficulties of the Undertaking made them half repent their Coming. But the Shame of returning juſt as they came, and without making any Attempt, carry'd it againſt all other Scruples: So that they reſolved (raſhly enough) to take up their Station where they were, and to incamp under the very Walls of the City.

They poſt themſelves under the Walls of the City.

A furious Tempeſt.

Several Judgments and Forebodings upon it.

On the Night following, there blew a dreadful Tempeſt of Wind and Rain, accompany'd with ſuch terrible Flaſhes of Lightning, tearing Claps of Thunder, and ſuch bellowing of Earthquakes, as put all People to their Wits End, to think what theſe Prodigies might portend.

The *Inhabitans* and the *Idumæans* were both under the ſame Apprehenſion: That is to ſay, that God was incenſed againſt them for the War, and that ſome vindictive Judgment threaten'd them both, if they went on with it againſt their Mother-City. *Ananus* and his Party looking upon it all this while as a Declaration from Heaven in their Favour, taking for granted that God would fight for them, and give them a Victory without a Battle. But the Event ſhew'd them to be falſe Prophets; for that which they apply'd to the Enemy befell themſelves in the Concluſion.

All that the *Idumæans* were able to do in the Fury of this Storm, was to edge one to another as cloſe as they could preſs, and cover themſelves with their Bucklers; which by this Means they made tight againſt Wind and Weather. The *Zelotes* all this while were in more Pain for the *Idumæans* than for themſelves; and ſo laid their Heads together, to adviſe which Way it was poſſible for them to bring their Friends off. The more daring Part of the Councel were abſolutely for ſetting upon the City Guards; and, after the gaining of that Point, for downright forcing the Gates, and making Way for the *Idumæans*; arguing, that ſuch a Surprize upon Raw-Soldiers, and Men ill-arm'd, would ſo diſorder them that they would find it a hard Matter to appear in a Body again; beſide, that they had moſt of them hous'd themſelves to be out of the Weather. But let the Danger be what it would, nothing (they ſaid) ſhould ever make them ſo baſe as to abandon their Friends and Allies, that came ſo generouſly to their Succour.

The Idumæans *cover themſelves with their Bucklers againſt the Storm.*

The Zelotes *in Councel how to ſecure their Friends.*

The moderate Men were utterly againſt that Way of Adventure; giving for granted, that the Guards at this Time were undoubtedly doubled upon ſo critical a Juncture; a ſtricter Watch than ordinary ſet upon the Walls, in Regard of the *Idumæans*; beſide, that *Ananus* would be every where up and down, at all Hours, upon his Rounds, to keep the Soldiers to their Duty. And ſo it would have been any other Night but that, when *Ananus* went to refreſh himſelf; not ſo much out of Negligence and Lazineſs, as by a judicial Fatality that over-rul'd him upon that critical Inſtant, to the Ruine of himſelf, and his People: For the Night being now far ſpent, and the Tempeſt increaſing, the Guards upon the Temple-Gates fell all faſt aſleep.

It came now into the *Zelotes* Heads, that if they could but deſtroy the Bolts and Bars of the Gates, the Work were done: Whereupon they took down certain Saws and other Inſtruments, dedicated to the Service of the holy Temple, with which they fil'd and cut them to Pieces; and it fell out ſo luckily, that betwixt the Raging of the Wind, and the Roaring of the Thunder, the Beſiegers heard nothing of the Noiſe. Upon this, they ſlipt away privately toward the City-Gates, next to the *Idumæans*; which they open'd as they had done the former. The *Idumæans* took it at firſt for *Ananus*, upon ſome Motion toward a Sally, and every Man with his Sword in his Hand made toward the Paſſage; but upon finding their Miſtakes, the *Idumæans* enter'd the City; and with ſuch a Rage, that, if they had diſcharg'd it upon the People, as they were about to do it, they muſt have put the whole Body of them to the Sword. But the *Zelotes* earneſtly beſeeching them not to leave their Friends in the Temple in Diſtreſs, for whoſe Sakes they came thither, and ſo expoſe them to ſtill greater Dangers; and likewiſe Reaſoning with them how much eaſier they would find the Enterprize, if they began with the Guards; whereas, if the Inhabitants took the *Alarum* firſt, they would gather in Multitudes, and diſpute every Inch of Ground upon ſuch Advantages, that they could never carry their Point; the *Idumæans* were of the ſame Mind, and ſo made it their firſt Buſineſs to paſs directly thorough the City to the Relief of their Friends that were Priſoners in the Temple; where the *Zelotes* waited their coming with great Impatience. The *Idumæans* were no ſooner enter'd, but the *Zelotes* advanced out of the Inner-Temple, and join'd with them in a Sally upon the Guards. Some they kill'd in their Sleep, while others took the Alarum at the Outcries of the People; and the Multitude ſtood to their Arms, though with all the Confuſion in the World. But taking it at firſt to be only a Party of the *Zelotes*, they made little Doubt of running them down with Numbers, and took Heart upon it; but when they ſaw how others came powering in upon them from Abroad, and that the *Idumæans* had join'd the *Zelotes*; the greater Part of them betook themſelves to Cries and Lamentations, dropping their Courage and their Arms both at once. Some few brave young Fellows there were however, that had the Hearts yet to encounter the *Idumæans*, and to cover the timorous common People; while others went raving up and down from Place to Place, making Proclamation as it were of the Ruine of the City. But not one Creature more to ſtrike a Blow after it was known that the *Idumæans* were Maſters of the Town. The Streets rung of vain and fruitleſs Exclamations, and mournful Complainings; the Shrieks of Women in Frights for the Loſs of their Guards; and all theſe Clamours were made much more dreadful by the Shouts of the *Idumæans* and *Zelotes*, and the tempeſtuous Violences of the Winds and Thunder. But ſuch, in fine, was the natural Barbarity and Fierceneſs of the *Idumæans*, together with the vexatious Thought of being ſhut out of the City, and expos'd to the Streſs of Weather, that they ſpar'd not a Creature; and whether they were in Arms or upon their Knees, it was the ſame Caſe. Some pleaded Reli-

The Idumæans *enter the City by Night.*

They join the Zelotes.

A bloody and inhumane Maſſacre enſues upon it.

Religion; others, Kindred: But Death ſtopp'd all their Mouths; and their Condition was ſuch, that they could neither fight nor run away. Nay, the very Fear of Death contributed as much to the Execution of it, in ſome Sort, as the Rage of the Enemy. For by preſſing ſo hard one upon another, they block'd up all Poſſibility of retiring, and brought them ſo thick together, that their Adverſaries made not one Blow in vain. In this Extremity of their Diſtraction, ſome of them, to avoid one Death, leapt headlong down a Precipice into another. There was a Flood, in fine, of Blood quite around the Temple; and by the Time it was fair Day-light, they computed eight thouſand five hundred dead Bodies upon the Place.

And this was not enough yet to quench the Drought of the inſatiable blood-thirſty *Idumæans*, without turning their Rage againſt the City; where they pillag'd all Houſes indifferently, and kill'd all the People they found in their Way. As for the Rabble they look'd upon them as below their Anger; but their main Buſineſs was to wreak their Malice upon the High-Prieſts; which they did, by cutting off their Heads ſo ſoon as they found them, and then trampling upon their Bodies, making Sport with *Ananus* for his Popularity, and with *Jeſus* for his Harangue upon the Wall, in a Way of Mockery and Deriſion. Nay, they were come to that Pitch of Impiety, as to forbid them the Rites of Burial; though the *Jewiſh* Laws, out of a Reverence to the Dead, have provided for the taking down even of executed Criminals from the very Croſs, and burying them before Sun-ſet. If I ſhould now date the Deſtruction of this City from the Death of *Ananus*, and reckon that *Ananus* and *Jeruſalem* fell both on the ſame Day, I believe I ſhould not be much out in my Account. For in the Loſs of this Man they loſt the Support of their Government and all Hope of Safety; and *Jeruſalem* was effectually as much put to Death as *Ananus*: Beſide that, over and above the Dignity of his Character and Extraction, he was a Man highly eſteem'd in the World for his perſonal Virtue and Juſtice; and his Humility was yet the Crown of all the reſt. He was a famous Aſſerter of Liberty and a Common-wealth; for he had no Intereſt of his own but to ſerve the Publick, a Lover and a Promoter of Peace above all Things; for he knew well enough that the *Romans* were not a People to be baffled, and that nothing could ſecure the *Jews* but a fair Underſtanding with the other. To ſpeak all in a Word; if *Ananus* had liv'd, the *Romans* and the *Jews* would have come to an Agreement. He was a moſt powerful Speaker, and had the Talent of moving his Hearers to a Miracle. He had already humbled thoſe Incendiaries, (the *Zelotes*, falſly ſo call'd;) and the *Jews*, with ſuch a Captain in the Head of them, would have found the *Romans* Work enough to do. He was ſo happy alſo as to have *Jeſus* for his Second; a Perſon as much above all other Men as he was inferiour to *Ananus*. But it was God's Will to purge this holy City as by Fire, for all the Pollutions and Abominations that had been committed in it: And this was done by taking away theſe two illuſtrious Perſons, which were the only Means of preſerving it. Two Perſons that but Yeſterday were venerable for their prieſtly Robes; the Heads and Protectors of the moſt glorious Religion under the Sun; and the Darlings, not only of their own People, but of all Foreigners that had the Honour to know them; and now, in the Turn of a Hand, expoſed naked for a Prey to Dogs and Wild-Beaſts, to the Aſtoniſhment and Heart-breaking of all good Men, to ſee Virtue trampled upon and Iniquity ride triumphant.

Ananus *and* Jeſus *put to Death.*

Two Perſons of exemplary Piety and Virtue.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS OF THE WARS of the *JEWS*.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

The Cruelty of the Idumæans *and the* Zelotes. *12000 eminent Men put to Death.* Zachariah *charged with Treaſon before a Mock Court of Juſtice. The Court acquits him; and the People murder him in the Temple. The Practice is diſcover'd; and the* Idumæans *diſcharge their Priſoners, and leave the City.* Gorion *and* Niger *of* Peræa *are put to Death. Divine Juſtice overtakes the Tyrants.*

AFTER the horrid Butchery of *Ananus* and *Jeſus*, (as aforeſaid) the common People were treated at the Rate even of the worſt of Beaſts, both by the *Zelotes* and *Idumæans*; who cut them to Pieces as faſt as they found them: But for Men of Quality and thoſe that were in the Vigour of their Youth, they kept them only in Cuſtody; in Hope that for the ſaving of their Lives they might be brought over to their Party: But they choſe rather to dye every Man of them than to join in a Conſpiracy with Traytors againſt their native Country. And Death was the leaſt Part of their Miſery too; for it was brought on with the moſt exquiſite of Torments: And when the Bodies of Men were torn and mangled with Scourges, till they were all over Ulcers, and could hold out no longer, they had Recourſe then to the Sword, for the finiſhing of the Work. Thoſe that they took up in the Day, were crowded into Priſons at Night; and as any of them dy'd there, their Bodies were thrown out to make Room for more; and the next Comers to be ſerv'd after the ſame Manner. Theſe horrid Maſſacres put the People in ſuch a Dread, that they durſt not own ſo much as a Sigh or a Tear for the Loſs of a Friend, or any Sort of Funeral Rites for the neareſt Relations they had in the World: Nay, they durſt not ſo much as weep or mourn in their own Houſes or Chambers, without ſearching all the Holes and Corners firſt, to be ſure that no Body was within Hearing: For Humanity was become ſo dangerous a Crime, that it was Death even to ſhew a Tenderneſs for the Memory of thoſe that were gone. All they could do, was now and then in the Dark and by Stealth to caſt a Handful of Earth or two upon the Body: Though ſome few were ſo bold as to venture upon it in the Day too. This Perſecution coſt the Lives of twelve thouſand Men of the firſt Quality.

The barbarous Cruelties of the Idumæans *and the* Zelotes.

12000 *Men of the beſt Quality put to Death with Infamy.*

Theſe Blood thirſty Monſters began now to be almoſt ſurfeited with this bare-fac'd, cut-throat Way of Murder, and had the Confidence to ſet up a Mock-Court of Juſtice, and to do the ſame Thing over again under a Form of Law and Equity. There was one *Zachariah* the Son of *Baruch*, a Man of the firſt Rank; a Friend to all good Men, and an Enemy to the wicked: A Man, in Short, of great Authority and Virtue, and wealthy over and above. This *Zachariah* was look'd upon by the *Zelotes*, as a Man ſo dangerouſly popular, that they themſelves could not be ſafe they thought, without removing him. So they reſolv'd to take away his Life; or, which was all one, to put him upon his Tryal for it. To this Purpoſe they call'd together *ſeventy* of the better Sort of the People, under the Name of *Judges*; but without any Semblance of a Commiſſion to authorize them. This pretended Court being met, the *Zelotes* exhibited a formal Charge againſt *Zachary*, for being in a Conſpiracy to betray *Jeruſalem* to the *Romans*, and treating about it with *Veſpaſian*. There was not the leaſt Colour either of a Proof, or ſo much as any Inducement to the believing of it; but the *Zelotes* ſaid it was ſo, and therefore it muſt be ſo.

Zachary *charged with Treaſon before a Mock Court of Juſtice.*

He makes an honourable Defence.

The whole Court acquits him.

Zachariah murder'd by the Rabble in the Temple.

Zachary perceiving manifeſtly that his Life was at Stake, and that the whole Menage was a Cheat (for he had nothing to do with *Veſpaſian*) he gave himſelf without more Ceremony for loſt: But ſtill in the abandon'd State of his Deſpair, he govern'd himſelf in his Defence with a Serenity of Mind and a Freedom of Spirit, well becoming the Character of a Man of Honour and Virtue. He began with contemptuous Reflexions upon the ſhameful Practices and Pretences of his Accuſers; and ſo proceeded to the evident Calumnies and Inconſiſtences of their Suggeſtions; briefly laying open the Vanity of all their Objections, and turning their Arguments in their own own Faces; ſetting forth in Order the whole Courſe of their Iniquities; and complaining by the Bye of the troubled State of Things. This generous and daring Behaviour of *Zachary* tranſported the *Zelotes* into ſo malicious a Rage, that they had certainly murder'd him upon the Place, if it had not been to keep up the Credit of their pretended Judicature; by putting it to the Experiment, whether their new Judges would venture their Heads or no, upon ſo dangerous a Point of Juſtice. When it came to the Iſſue, the whole Court pronounc'd the Priſoner innocent, without ſo much as one Man of the ſeventy that did not chuſe rather to run the Hazard of his own Life, than to deſtroy ſo good a Man by a Sentence againſt all Conſcicience and Equity. This Judgment of Acquittal put the *Zelotes* into ſuch an Uproar, that they were all raging mad at the Judges for being ſuch Blockheads as not to underſtand to what End they were ſet there. Upon this, two of the rankeſt Ruffians of the Crew fell outragiouſly upon *Zachary*, and murder'd him in the Middle of the Temple with this inſolent Raillery in their Mouths: *Now*, ſays one of them, *we have given you our Diſcharge too, and you are much ſurer of this, than you were of the other:* Caſting the Body at the ſame Time down the Precipice under the Temple. As to the Judges, their Lives were ſpar'd, and their Puniſhment only a Judgment of Infamy, to be beaten out of the Temple with the Flats of the Swords that were to execute the Sentence. By this Means they were diſpers'd up and down ſo many Eye-Witneſſes of the Slavery of the capital City at that Time.

One of the Zelotes *repents and diſcovers the whole Practice.*

Upon this Diſcourſe the Idumæans *diſcharge their Priſoners and leave the City.*

The *Idumæans* themſelves were ſo diſguſted at this Way of Proceeding, that they curs'd the Hour of their coming; and ſo conferring about it, they had ſecret Intelligence given them by one of the *Zelotes*, of the whole Hiſtory of the People that invited them in. *True it was*, he ſaid, *that they did take up Arms upon the Credit of a Report that the High-Prieſts were treating with the* Romans *for the Betraying of the City; however, upon further Enquiry, they found nothing at all in it; but, on the contrary, the pretended Aſſerters of our Liberties were actually the Subverters of them, and they themſelves the Tyrants that ought to have been timely ſuppreſt. But*, ſays the Zelote, *ſince it hath been your unhappy Lot to join with them thus far in their Iniquities, it will be high Time for you to break off ſo criminal an Alliance with the profeſt Enemies of your Laws and Country. You took it ill to be kept out of the Town: And are you not ſufficiently reveng'd, do you think, upon thoſe that excluded you, in the Death of* Ananus, *and ſo many thouſands of the Citizens in one Night? An Action*, ſays he, *which many of your People will live to repent. But I ſpeak this only to ſhew you the Barbarity of your Confidents, that had the Impudence to commit theſe ſhameleſs Cruelties even before the Faces of their Preſervers, and by doing the baſeſt Things that ever were heard of in the Sight of their Allies, to transfer the Infamy from the* Zelotes *to the* Idumæans; *who in Truth ſhould either have hindred them, or left them. Now*, ſays he, *ſince it is as clear as the Sun, that the whole Story of the Conſpiracy is nothing but a Calumny, and that there's no ſuch Thing in Proſpect as the Dread of a* Roman *Army; beſide the impregnable Strength of this City, if it were true to it ſelf: Since thus it is, I ſay, what have you more to do than to return whence you came; and by abandoning theſe Monſters, to expiate in ſome Sort for the ill Things you did in their Company? Wherein you are thus far excuſable, that you were rather paſſive under a well meaning Miſtake, than voluntary Actors at your own Liberty and Choice.* This Diſcourſe had ſuch an Effect upon the *Idumæans*, that they forthwith ſet all their Priſoners at Liberty, (which were near two thouſand;) left the City; and ſo went to *Simon*, (of whom hereafter) and then Home.

This unexpected Departure of the *Idumæans* was equally a Surprize both to the Inhabitants and to the *Zelotes*; though upon ſeveral Accounts. For the People, that knew nothing of the other's Repentance, took Heart upon it, and comforted themſelves in the Thought of ſuch a Deliverance. The *Zelotes*, on the other Hand, grew as inſolent upon it, in a Confidence of their own Strength; and to conſider that the Check being now taken off that kept them in ſome Sort of Awe of the *Idumæans*, they were now at Liberty to go their own Way to Work without any Reſtraint of Scruple, Conſideration or Delay: So that every Thing was now done in a Hurry, without Deliberation or Counſel. They ſtuck at nothing, though never ſo wicked; and whatever came in their Head, it was no ſooner thought than executed.

But their deadly Spite was againſt Men of Bravery and Honour; and thoſe they perſecuted to the uttermoſt Extremity; the Nobility, out of Envy; the Men of Reſolution and Virtue, out of Fear: For they could never think themſelves ſafe ſo long as any Man of that Character was alive. This was it that made them put *Gorion* to Death (with ſeveral others) a Man well-principled and well-born; a Man of Courage, and a Lover of the People and of Liberty, no Creature more; and, in Fine, this Spirit of Liberty, (together with his other Virtues) was his Ruine. *Niger* of *Peræa* fell alſo under the ſame diſaſtrous Fate: A Man of a try'd Valour and Conduct againſt the *Romans*; ſhewing and glorying in the Wounds and Scars he had receiv'd in the Service of his Country, as they dragg'd him along the Streets. When they had him out of the Gates, and that he gave himſelf for dead, he made them this one Requeſt, that his Body might be bury'd: But it was deny'd him; and ſo they put him to Death, with this prophetical Imprecation in his laſt Breath, that the *Romans* might come to avenge his Blood; and divine Juſtice overtake them with Famine, Sword, Peſtilence and mortal Diviſions among themſelves, anſwerable to the Enormity of their Crimes.

Gorion *and* Niger *of* Peræa *put to Death.*

Divine Vengeance overtakes them.

It was not long before God in his righteous Providence poured down all theſe Plagues upon them, as foretold; beginning with their inteſtine Broils. The Death of *Niger* ſet their Hearts at Eaſe as to any farther Danger that Way. But there was not yet ſo much as one common Man that they did not find ſome Occaſion or other to pick a Quarrel with. Some they put to Death for Things gone and paſt, and for Diſaffections of old Date. In other Caſes, where there was no Matter of Fact againſt a Man, a bare Jealouſy or Poſſibility was enough to deſtroy him. If they made Court to the Faction, they were Spies; if they kept off, it was interpreted Envy and Contempt: But whether the pretended Crime was great or ſmall, the Penalty was ſtill the ſame; and nothing ſcap'd them that had either Money or Honour.

CHAP. II.

The Jews *miſerably confounded. The Officers preſs* Veſpaſian *to Rigour, but* Veſpaſian *is for Moderation. The* Zelotes *go over daily to the* Romans. *Horrid Perſecution and Oppreſſion. The Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem *foretold by an ancient Prediction.*

The Jews *miſerably divided.*

The Roman *Officers preſs* Veſpaſian *to make Advantage of it.*

Veſpaſian *adviſes Temper and Moderation.*

THE *Roman* Officers having their Hearts ſet upon *Jeruſalem*, could not wiſh a fairer Opportunity for the advancing of their Deſign, than by laying Hold of the Diſtractions in the City: To which End, they apply'd themſelves to the General, *Veſpaſian*, by all Means to improve the Providence of the preſent Occaſion, without allowing the *Jews* one Moment of Time to bethink themſelves: For they would either agree or tire, or repent, or ſomething or other; and the Work would be then to begin again: Repreſenting alſo at the ſame Time, that the Hand of God did moſt evidently appear, upon theſe Factions, in Favour of the *Romans*. The General gave them this Anſwer, *That their Bravery was more than their Policy; and that they conſider'd the Glory of the Action in the Oſtentation of their Courage, (as if it were to fight a Prize) more than the Prudence and the Advantage of it. For* (ſays he) *to attack the City, Hand over Head, would be the ready Way to make them all Friends again, and to draw their Forces upon us, which are very conſiderable, into a Conjunction as againſt a common Enemy; whereas if we do but wait a while with a little Patience, they'll do our Buſineſs to our Hands, in ſpending their Numbers and their Spirits one upon another. For God does better for us than we could do for our ſelves, in delivering up the* Jews *to the* Romans *without Labour or Peril; and giving us Victory without ſo much as a Battle. Are they not already up to the Ears in a civil War (which is the heavieſt of all Judgments) and cutting Throats among themſelves like ſo many Madmen? And who but a Mad-man then, will enter into a needleſs Conteſt with Mad-men, and run the Riſque of bearing a Part in the Tragedy, when he may do his Buſineſs better in the Quality of a Spectator? Theſe People, I tell you, are hot-headed, and rather than not be deſtroy'd they'll kill one another. As for thoſe that look upon a cheap Victory to be inglorious, they ſhould do well to ſet the Advantages of a temperate Accommodation without Blood againſt the uncertain Chance of War. This is not to derogate from the Honour of military Virtue; for provided the ſame Thing be done, what matters it whether by Arms or by Council? But yet undoubtedly that muſt needs be the beſt Way of doing it, which at the* *ſame Time weakens the Enemy, and keeps our own Men by daily Exerciſe in Diſcipline and in Breath. Neither* (ſays he) *is this a Time for us to propoſe to our ſelves the Fame of a glorious Exploit, when the* Jews *are playing our Game for us, and mind neither their Arms, their Works, or their Walls, or the making of Intereſt and Friends; but by tearing one another's Hearts out, and doing the Part of the worſt of Enemies one to another; till they have brought themſelves into ſuch a Condition, that the beſt they can hope or wiſh for, is to be our Slaves. Now as to the Prudence and Honour of the Matter in Queſtion; if they have a Mind to worry one another, why ſhould we hinder them? Nor is there, in Fine, any Reputation to be gotten by a Victory that was rather caſt upon us by the Faction of the one Side, than gain'd by the Valour of the other; and this is effectually the Truth of the Caſe.*

Deſerters go over daily from the Zelotes *to the* Romans.

Tyranny and Oppreſſion to the higheſt Degree.

This was *Veſpaſian*'s Senſe of Things, and the Officers were of the ſame Opinion with their General; as it appear'd they had Reaſon to be by that which follow'd ſoon after. For there came over Deſerters to him from the *Zelotes* in great Numbers, Day after Day; though the Ways and Paſſes were ſo beſet, that it ſeem'd almoſt impoſſible to eſcape. They put every Man to the Sword that they took, upon a Pretence that he was running away to the *Romans*: That is to ſay; unleſs he redeem'd himſelf for a Sum of Money, and that brought him off. So that there was no Treachery but where there was no Caſh; for the Rich compounded, and the Poor were left in the Lurch. The Maſſacre was ſo outragious, that the dead Bodies lay pil'd up in Heaps upon the High-Ways; and many that were thinking to get off, chang'd their Minds, and choſe rather to periſh in the City, only in Hope of a little Earth to cover them. Nay, ſuch was the extravagant Barbarity of theſe Monſters, that they would not allow Burial to any Creature either within the City or without: But like profeſs'd Enemies to the Inſtincts of Nature, as well as the Rites of their Country, they affronted God and Man indifferently, and expoſed the Bodies to lie rotting above Ground in the Face of the Sun. Nay, and it was as unpardonable a Crime to attempt the burying of a Friend, as to go over to the Enemy: And he that had but newly bury'd another, wanted a Friend the next Moment to do the ſame Office for himſelf. There was no ſuch Thing left among them as Compaſſion (the moſt humane of all our Affections) but it was wholly extinguiſhed in the Hearts of theſe Miſcreants; and Miſery was made rather a Provocation to Rage, than a Motive to Pity.

The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem *according to an ancient Prediction.*

The Spectacle, in Fine, was ſo frightful, that it made the Living envy the Dead; and the Want of a Grave was nothing to the Miſeries of a Priſon: And they did not only trample upon all that was ſacred among Men, but trifled with Divinity it ſelf, and made no more Account of the Oracles of the Prophets, than of ſo many Dreams or Fables. But yet after the Contempt of all the Laws and Precepts of their Forefathers, concerning the Meaſures of Good and Evil, they found the denouncing Predictions to be yet made good in the Concluſion againſt themſelves and their Country. For there was a traditional Prophecy handed down to them from Antiquity, that in Time to come there ſhould break out a violent Sedition in *Jeruſalem*; and that the *Jews* themſelves with their own Hands ſhould prophane the holy Temple: The City to be afterwards taken, and all that was ſacred belonging to it laid in Aſhes. The *Zelotes* made no Doubt of the Authority of this Prophecy, and put their own helping Hands to the Execution of it.

CHAP. III.

John *ſets up for ſovereign Power. A ſharp Wit and a good Speaker. There are* Zelotes *and* Antizelotes; *and* John *ſides with the latter. Three heavy Judgments upon the* Jews, *and a worſe yet behind.* Engaddi *taken by Storm; and* Judæa *made the Scene of the War. A good Underſtanding betwixt the* Jews *and* Veſpaſian. Gadara *invites and receives him. The Factions betake themſelves to Flight.* Placidus *puts them all to the Rout. The Fugitives make their Way to* Bethennabris. Placidus *rifles the Place, and ſets Fire to it. The* Jews *forced upon a Battle, where they loſt* 15000 *upon the Place.*

John *of* Giſchala *ſets up for ſovereign Power.*

A Man of an impoſing imperious Humour.

THE ambitious Heart of *John* of *Giſchala* was grown now too big to content it ſelf with any Thing leſs than ſovereign Power, (a Freak that he had had a long Time in his Head;) ſo that withdrawing inſenſibly from the Fellowſhip of his Companions, and liſting by little and little, a Party of profligate Ruffians into his Intereſt, his Buſineſs was now to ſet up for himſelf. He had a Humour of impoſing his own Orders and Opinions imperiouſly upon others, and of treating theirs again with Contradiction and Contempt: And this he did out of a manifeſt Affectation of a ſole and abſolute Power. Some join'd with him out of Fear; and ſeveral, out of Affection and good Will: For he was the greateſt Maſter of Words in Nature; and in the Art of moving the Affections. Many follow'd him for their own Security, in Hope that all the Ills that they had done would be laid at his Door as the firſt Mover of them, whenever they ſhould be call'd to an Account for their evil Doings. The martial Part of his Train ſtuck to him as he was ſtout and a Man of Parts: But divers yet of the adverſe Party fell off from him: Some, out of Envy and Greatneſs of Stomach, in a Kind of Diſdain to own him for their Maſter that had ſo lately been their Enemy. But the Thing that wrought more upon them than all the reſt, was the Averſion they had to a ſingle Perſon, and the Deſpair of getting him out again if he were once poſſeſs'd of that Dignity: Beſide, that he would never forgive thoſe that oppos'd him in his Pretenſion at the Beginning. The People upon theſe Deliberations, came at laſt to a Reſolution, rather to ſtand the worſt of a War, than to periſh under the Infamy of making themſelves voluntary Slaves. The Faction, upon this, divided into two Parties; *John* putting himſelf in the Head of the *Anti-Zelotes*. They ſtood both upon their Guards one againſt the other; and not without ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes too: But rather againſt the People than betwixt themſelves; for the ſingle Point in Queſtion was only this, which of the two Parties ſhould get the greater Booty.

A ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker.

The Factions divided into Zelotes *and* Anti-Zelotes.
John *ſides with the Latter.*

Jeruſalem being at this Time labouring under three terrible Judgments; War, Tyranny and Sedition; the People taking the War to be the moſt tolerable of the three; quitted their Habitations, and fled from their own Country-Men for Sanctuary to Strangers, and found afterwards, that Safety and Protection among the *Romans*, which they could not obtain one from another.

Three heavy Judgments upon the Jews.

The three Judgments above-mentioned were now followed with a fourth; which contributed as much to the Deſtruction of the *Jews* as any of the reſt. There ſtood a Caſtle not far from *Jeruſalem* called *Maſſada:* A Piece of great Antiquity, and of mighty Strength and Importance. It was erected, and made Uſe of, by our Kings in former Times for a royal Treaſury; and a Magazine of all Manner of Stores, and Neceſſaries for War; and for an impregnable Retreat in a Time or Caſe of Danger. It was now in the Poſſeſſion of a Band of *Bravo*'s, commonly called *Sicarii.* There was not enough of them to kill, burn and over-run the Country barefac'd; but the Miſchiefs they had done hitherto were by Treachery and Surprize. It happen'd, upon this Juncture, that the *Roman* Army lying quiet and out of Action, and the *Jews* at the ſame Time ſplit into Factions, and tearing out one another's Throats among themſelves; theſe *Aſſaſſins* took Advantage of the Occaſion to make a bolder Attempt than ever they durſt venture upon before. It was now the Feaſt of *unleavened-Bread*; a Feſtival celebrated by the *Jews* with great Solemnity, in Memory of their Deliverance out of the *Ægyptian Bondage*; and their Tranſlation into the Land of Promiſe. On that Night, the Ruffians broke into *Engaddi* by Surprize; ſcatter'd the People, and maſter'd the Place before the Inhabitants could recover their Arms. They drove them out of the Town; and after killing upward of ſeven hundred Perſons upon the Chace, moſt of them Women and Children, they rifled their Houſes, and carry'd away all the Fruits that were ripe and in Seaſon, to *Maſſada:* Depopulating all the Towns, Villages, Caſtles and Country thereabouts after the like Manner. Their Numbers increas'd daily by the Acceſſion of a looſe abandon'd Rabble that came Flocking in to join them. *Judæa*, that till now lay eaſy and quiet, became the very Scene of all Manner of Violences upon that Inroad, from the one End of the Country to the other. But as it is in our Bodies, when any of the nobler Parts are indiſpos'd, all the reſt feel of it; juſt ſo it fares in the Caſe of a ſeditious and diſorderly City. When the Capital is ſick, all the Parts ſuffer by Conſent; as well as they tranſgreſs by Example. When they had plunder'd all within Reach, they march'd off with the Booty into Solitudes and Deſerts; where they aſſociated in Conſpiracies, and gather'd together Multitudes of Free-Booters, little inferiour to formidable Armies, and ſufficient to deſtroy Cities, and lay Temples deſolate. The Sufferers did not forget (as it is natural enough, and common Practice) to revenge themſeves upon their Oppreſſours, whenever they could come at them: But that was very rarely; for the Thieves were too nimble for the honeſt Men, and got off with the Prey, before the Purſuers could reach them. But ſo it was in Fine, that there was not one Inch of Ground in *Judæa* that did not partake in the Calamities of the capital City.

And a fourth yet Worſe.

Maſſada *a ſtrong Place in the Hands of the* Sicarii.

Theſe Cut-Throats take Engaddi *by Storm; and lay the whole Country waſt.*

Judæa *becomes the Scene of the War*

The Jews *hold ſecret intelligence with* Veſpaſian: *And ſue to him for Relief.*

Veſpaſian *in a generous Tenderneſs draws toward the Town.*

The Faction had guarded all the *Avenues* with the uttermoſt Strictneſs and Caution imaginable: And not a Creature could ſtir without the Hazard of his Life. But all this Precaution and Rigour did not hinder ſeveral Deſerters yet from ſtealing away privately, Day after Day, with Intelligence of the State of the Town to *Veſpaſian*; and to implore his Relief in the Names of the miſerable Remainder of a diſtreſſed City: Great Numbers of the Citizens having loſt their Lives already for their good Will to the *Romans*, and a great many more at preſent in Danger of periſhing by the ſame Fate. *Veſpaſian*, in a generous Tenderneſs for the Caſe and Condition of an unhappy People, advanced with his Army nearer the Town: Not, as ſome imagin'd, to lay a cloſe Siege to it; but upon a Proſpect (in Truth) of delivering them from any Siege at all, by reducing all ſtrong Holds about it in the firſt Place, ſo as to leave no Obſtacle from abroad to thwart him in his Deſign.

Gadara *invites and receives him.*

The Faction betake themſelves to Flight.

When he came to *Gadara*, the richeſt and the ſtrongeſt Town beyond *Jordan*, and the *Metropolis* of that Province, he entered the Place [a] on the fourth of the Month *Dyſtrus*, upon an Invitation from ſome of the leading Men by their Deputies to come and take the Town into his Protection: Which they did to ſave both their Lives and Eſtates, being a very wealthy People. The Faction knew nothing of this Menage, but as they gueſſed at it by *Veſpaſian*'s Drawing nearer the Walls. They were now in a great Streight, and knew not which Way to turn themſelves, or what to do. They found it utterly impoſſible for the Town to hold out againſt ſo many Enemies both within and without; the Majority of the Citizens againſt them, and the *Roman* Army at Hand. So that they had nothing now to truſt to but Flight; which was a Point that in Honour could not be reſolved upon, without taking a Revenge firſt upon ſome of the Authors of their Ruine. Upon this Conſideration, they took up *Doleſus*, the firſt Man of the City both for Blood and Merit; over and above that he was the Author and the Adviſer of the aforeſaid Embaſſy. They took him, in Fine, into Cuſtody, and cauſed him to be put to Death; ordering the dead Body to be whipt and ſcourg'd; and that being done, they ſlipt away all out of Town.

Placidus follows the Purſuit; and puts them all to the Rout.

The Fugitives make away to Bethennabris.

Upon the nearer Approach of the *Romans* towards the City, the Inhabitants met *Veſpaſian* upon the Way, and conducted him into the Town with gratulatory Acclamations: And beſide the Ceremony of Oaths of Fidelity, and other common Aſſurances of that Kind, in the like Caſes, they made it their own Act to demoliſh their own Walls; as a farther Security for their good Faith and peaceable Intentions, by putting it out of their Power to do Miſchief if they would never ſo fain. *Veſpaſian*, after this, gave them a Garriſon of Horſe and Foot for their Safeguard; ſent away *Placidus* with 500 Horſe and 3000 Foot after the Fugitives; while he himſelf with the reſt of his Troops went back to *Cæſarea*.

When the Fugitives found themſelves purſu'd, and a Party of Horſe at their Heels, they turned off into a Village call'd *Bethennabris*, before the *Romans* could come up to them. Where there was a Parcel of ſtout young Fellows, to a conſiderable Number. Some of them they engag'd by fair Words to join with them; others they forc'd: And with this Party they ſally'd out, and made a raſh and a deſperate Charge upon *Placidus*; who gave Ground upon the very firſt Puſh, but it was only to draw their Adverſaries a little farther from the Town: Which ſucceeded accordingly; for *Placidus* got them out into a Place of Advantage, and there ſet upon them, and put them to the Rout. Thoſe that fled for their Safety were intercepted by the *Romans*; thoſe that fought were cut off by their Foot; they were beaten, in ſhort, quite off their Mettle. When they attack'd the *Romans*, they might as well have charg'd a Wall or a Rock; for they ſtood ſo firm and cloſe, that there was no Breaking the Body: And they lay upon ſuch a Guard under their Arms too, that no Lance or Dart could touch them. Whereas the *Jews*, on the other Hand, lay expos'd to all Sorts of Weapons, and to all Manner of Aſſaults; till in the End, being ſeized into a brutal Rage, they caſt themſelves like the fierceſt of wild Beaſts upon the Points of their Enemies Swords, and ſo periſh'd: Some were ſlaſh'd over the Faces; others diſperſed by the Horſe, and trampled under Foot. Now *Placidus* made it his particular Care, as far as poſſible, that none of the Fugitives ſhould get back into the Town. Wherefore as any of them offer'd at it, he and his People put in with their Horſes betwixt them and Home, and ſo forc'd them off again. Thoſe that were within Reach, they kill'd with their Lances, and others at a Diſtance, they intercepted: But ſome yet that were fleeter and ſtronger than the reſt, made their Way to the very Wall; and now the Watch were at their Wits End, whom to let in and whom to keep out; for it would be hard they thought to open the Gates to the Townſmen, and refuſe Entrance to thoſe of *Gadara*: And then, on the other Side, they were afraid leſt by opening to all indifferently, they might endanger the Loſs of the Place; as it came afterwards very near the Matter. For the *Romans* having purſu'd ſome of the Fugitives up to the Wall, were within a very little of falling into the Town with them Pell Mell: But with much ado they made a Shift to get the Gates ſhut, and ſo prevented it. *Placidus*, upon this, gave a vigorous Aſſault to the Place; and follow'd it ſo cloſe, that he made himſelf Maſter both of the Wall and of the Village, that Afternoon. The wretched Common-People that had no Means of Defence were all put to the Sword, and the reſt did what they could to ſave themſelves by Flight; and carry'd the Terrour along with them, wherever they came, all over the Country. But now to finiſh the Calamity, they firſt pillag'd the Houſes, and then laid the Village in Aſhes.

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[a] *According to* Toinard's *Correction of the Text, it ſhould be,* on the fourth of the ſecond Month. *See his Notes upon* Lactantius, *p.* 360.

Placidus *rifles the Place, and lays it in Aſhes.*

The Miſery was very great in the Truth of the Fact; but made much greater in the Report yet then it was. For they gave it out all the Way they paſs'd, that the whole *Roman* Army was coming toward them. This *Alarum* put the Country into ſuch a Fright that they quitted their Habitations upon it, and in prodigious Numbers retir'd into *Jericho*; being a ſtrong, a populous and a well fortify'd Garriſon, and conſequently the ſafeſt Retreat they could think of. *Placidus*, in the Courſe of his Succeſſes and good Fortune, purſu'd them to the River *Jordan*; putting every Creature to the Sword that they overtook upon the Way. When the Fugitives came to the River Side, the Waters were ſo out upon a great Fall of Rain, that there was no Paſſing; nor, as the Caſe ſtood, any Poſſibility of getting away. In this Difficulty they found themſelves under an abſolute Neceſſity of putting it to a Battle. The *Jews* poſted themſelves along the Bank of a River; which they made good for a while: But when they came once to be broken; what betwixt thoſe that were drowned and others that were ſlain, the loſs of the Men was not to be computed. They reckoned upon fifteen thouſand kill'd upon the Place; about two thouſand two hundred taken, beſide a mighty Booty of Sheep, Camels and Oxen.

The Country frighted with a falſe Alarum.

The Jews *forced upon a Battle.*

A prodigious Victory and Booty.

This Diſaſter was not only the greateſt that the *Jews* had ever yet received; but in ſome Sort even beyond it ſelf. The High-Ways where they march'd were all cover'd with dead Bodies; the River *Jordan* ſo choaked with Carcaſſes, that there was no Croſſing it; and vaſt Numbers floating down ſeveral Chanels that led into the Lake *Aſphaltitis*.

Placidus being now in the Train of his good Fortune, reduced *Abila*, *Julias*, *Beſemoth*, and other Places as far as the Lake; where he ſettled Garriſons of the beſt and truſtieſt Men he could pick out of thoſe that came over to the *Romans*: His next Work was to put his Soldiers abroad, and clear the Lake of all the Fugitives that fled thither for Refuge: Which he did ſo effectually, that the *Romans* were by this Time abſolute Maſters of all beyond *Jordan*, as far as *Machærus*.

Placidus *reduces ſeveral Places, and ſettles Garriſons in them.*

CHAP. IV.

Gaul *revolts.* Veſpaſian'*s Marches and Motions: He comes to* Jericho. *A Deſcription of the Place. The Lakes of* Aſphaltitis *and* Tiberias. Eliſha'*s Fountain.*

WHILE this paſs'd in *Judæa*, came News out of [a] *Gaul* of a Revolt there from *Nero*; and that *Vindex* with ſeveral principal Men of the Country were the Heads of it, (but of this more particularly elſewhere.) *Veſpaſian*, upon this Intelligence puſh'd on the preſent War with more and more Vigour; for he did not know how many Revolts might follow one upon the Neck of another, and the whole Empire come to be in Danger at laſt by a Civil War: Whereas if the Troubles in the *Eaſt* were but firſt compos'd, *Italy* would have the leſs to fear. But Winter not being a Seaſon for it, all that could be done toward it at preſent was only to garriſon the Towns and Cities he had ſubdu'd; erect proper Offices in every City. and to order Reparations where they were needful.

Gaul *revolts.*

The firſt Thing he did was to march with his Army from *Cæſarea* to *Antipatris*; where he ſtay'd two Days to put Things in Order; and on the third laid all the Neighbourhood waſte with Fire and Sword, together with the Borders of the *Toparchy* of *Thamna*: And thence to *Lydda* and *Jamnia*. Theſe two Places ſubmitted to him. And then when he had peopled them with Inhabitants from other Towns, ſuch as he thought he might beſt confide in, he advanced to *Ammaus*; and poſſeſ-

Veſpaſian'*s Marches and Motions.*

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[a] *See* Sueton. *in* Nero, *c.* 40.

ſing himſelf there of the Paſſage that leads to the capital City, he pitch'd his Camp and ran a Wall about it: And leaving the fifth Legion there, he mov'd with the reſt of his Troops [a] into the *Toparchy* of *Bethlepton*; which he burnt and deſtroy'd together with the neighbouring Country and the Borders of *Idumæa*; ſaving only ſome ſtrong Caſtles that he manned and fortify'd.

There were two Towns that he took in the Middle of *Idumæa*; [b] *Bethabri* and *Caphartoba:* Where he kill'd upward of ten thouſand Men, reſerving near a thouſand for Slaves; drove out the reſt of the People, and left a conſiderable Part of his Troops to ſally out and commit Outrages upon the Mountains.

He returned after this, with the Remainder of his Army to [c] *Ammaus*; and paſſing from thence by *Samaria*, and *Neapolis*, (which the Natives call [d] *Mabartha)* he came the ſecond of the Month *Deſius* to *Corea*; where he encamped, and ſhew'd himſelf next Day before *Jericho*. At *Jericho*, *Trajan*, one of his chief Officers, join'd him with the Troops under his Command, after the entire Reduction of all beyond *Jordan:* But moſt of the Inhabitants were withdrawn to the Mountains over againſt *Jeruſalem* before the Arrival of the *Romans*; and a great Part of thoſe that ſtay'd behind were put to the Sword.

Veſpaſian *comes to* Jericho. *A Deſcription of the Place.*

Veſpaſian, in Fine, found *Jericho* a deſolate and a forſaken City. It ſtands upon a Plain that is overlooked by a naked and a barren Mountain; and of ſuch an Extent, that it reaches upon the *north Side* to the Region of *Scythopolis*; on the *ſouth*, as far as *Sodom* and the Borders of the Lake *Aſphaltitis*; a Country ſo wretchedly poor and barren, that there's no Living there. Over againſt this, and on the farther Side of the River *Jordan*, there lies another Mountain; which begins at *Julias* toward the *North*, and ſtretches *ſouthward* up [e] to *Gomorrha*, and ſo borders upon *Petra* a City of *Arabia*. There is alſo another Mountain which they call the *Iron-Mountain*, and runs out as far as the Land of the *Moabites*. Betwixt theſe Mountains lies a Place called the *great Plain:* It begins at [f] *Gennabara*, and ſtretches out to the Lake *Aſphaltitis*; the Length of it is two hundred and thirty Furlongs; a hundred and twenty over, and the River *Jordan* croſſes the Middle of it.

The great Plain.

The Lakes of Aſphaltitis *and* Tiberias.

There are two remarkable Lakes: The one, call'd *Aſphaltitis*; the other, the Lake of *Tiberias*; but of very different, if not contrary Qualities: The former being ſalt and crude without Fiſh; but the other, ſweet, kindly and fruitful. The Summer-Heats there are intolerable; the Country burnt up with them; and the Air hot and ſickly, without any Refreſhment but from the River of *Jordan:* As appears by the Palm-Trees, which thrive much better upon the Banks than at a Diſtance.

Eliſha's *Fountain cured by Miracle.* 2 Kings 2. 21.

At or near to *Jericho* it ſelf, there is a large and a plentiful Fountain; which overflows all the Grounds thereabouts, and takes its Riſe not far from an ancient City; the firſt Place that *Jeſus*, the Son of *Nave*, the famous General of the *Hebrews*, gain'd from the *Chanaanites* by the Sword. There goes a Tradition, that this Fountain in Time paſt was ſo dangerous, that it did not only corrupt the Fruits of the Earth, as well Grain as Plants; but likewiſe cauſed Abortions in Women, and tainted with a blaſting Infection whatever it touched that was capable of ſuch an Impreſſion. But it ſays farther, that from the Days of the Prophet *Eliſha*, the illuſtrious Succeſſour of *Elias*, the Waters of this Fountain became not only innocent but nouriſhing and wholeſome; and upon this Occaſion: *Eliſha* having been treated with great Hoſpitality and Reſpect by the People of *Jericho*, bethought himſelf of ſuch an Acknowledgment as they themſelves, their Country and Poſterity might be the better for to the End of the World. The Prophet, upon this, went out to the Fountain; and cauſing a Pitcher of Salt to be let down into the Bottom of it, he advanced his right Hand toward Heaven; and preſenting his Oblations at the Side of it, he beſought God in his Goodneſs to correct the Waters, and to ſweeten the Veins that paſs'd from them; to ſoften the Air, and make it temperate and fructifying; to beſtow Children as well as Fruits upon the Inhabitants in Abundance, and never to withdraw theſe Bleſſings ſo long as they continu'd in their Duty. Upon the offering up of this Prayer, with all due Ceremony and according to Form, the Quality of the Fountain was chang'd; and inſtead of Sterility and Famine, the Waters were now become an efficacious Means of Plenty and Encreaſe: Inſomuch that the bare Touching of the Ground with them gives every

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[a] Gr. Ἐπὶ τὴν Βεθλεπτηφῶν τοπαρχίαν

[b] Gr. Βήταρις ϗ Καφαρτόβας. Lat. *Begabris & Caphartophas.*

[c] In the *Latin* Verſion *Jamnia*.

[d] Lat. *Mabortha*.

[e] Ἕως Σομεῤῥῶν. Lat. *Uſque ad Bucra.*

[f] Gr. Γινναβρὶς.

Thing a more ſavoury Reliſh; but then let them lie never ſo long upon it, the Effect is much the ſame; eſpecially if it ariſes from any Diffidence of the Miracle. And over and above all this, there is not another River in the Country that runs ſuch a Tract of Ground.

A Deſcription of the Country.

The Country is ſeventy Furlongs in Length, and twenty in Breadth; furniſh'd with curious Gardens and thick Groves in Abundance; with Palm-Trees along the Brooks of different Kinds, Names, and Taſtes. They preſs out of ſome of them great Quantities of a Sort of Honey not much inferiour to other Honey; which they have there alſo in great Plenty. And then for *Balſam*, which is the choiceſt Fruit they have, there is great Store of it; and ſo for *Cyprus*, and *Myrobalanus:* A bleſſing from Heaven undoubtedly, for a Country to produce not only the choiceſt of all the Fruits of the Earth, but the largeſt and beſt of the ſeveral Sorts. And they are not behind the happieſt of all other Countries neither for the Production of other Fruits, and for the improving of them as well in Growth as in Virtue. This may be aſcrib'd in my Opinion to ſome peculiar Property and Diſpoſition in the Water, and to a certain kindly Warmth in the Air. The latter to draw out and diffuſe the Virtue of the Subject Matter it hath to work upon; as in the diſcloſing of Leaves, Flowers, and the like. The other ſerves to bind and confirm the Roots, and to fortify them by increaſing the Sap againſt the parching Rages; which are ſo furious in that Country, that nothing would be able to ſprout or bud without it. But yet in the Extremity of theſe burning Heats, they have likewiſe every Morning ſuch refreſhing Breezes, that the very Breath of them makes the Water that is drawn before Sun-riſe quite another Thing. In the Winter it is warm, and comfortable to bath in. Such, in Fine, is the Temperature of the Climate, that when it is Froſt and Snow in other Parts of *Judæa*, the Natives of this Place go clad only in ſingle Linen. It lies a hundred and fifty Stadia from *Jeruſalem*, ſixty from the River *Jordan*, and the whole Country betwixt that and *Jeruſalem* is all Rock and Deſert. It lies lower indeed betwixt this Place and *Jordan*, and ſo to the Lake *Aſphaltitis*; but every Jot as rude and barren as the other. This is enough ſaid of the happy Situation, and the natural Advantages of *Jericho*.

CHAP. V.

Nothing ſinks in the Lake of Aſphaltitis. Veſpaſian *tries the Experiment, and finds it ſo. Several wonderful Qualities in this Lake. It borders upon* Sodom. *A fair Fruit there to the Eye, but falls to nothing upon the Touch.*

Nothing ſinks in the Lake of Aſphaltitis.

IT will become me now to ſay ſomething of the *Aſphaltitis* and the Nature of that Lake. It is ſalt to the Taſte, and no Fiſh will live in it; nor hardly any Thing ſink that is thrown into it, let it be never ſo heavy: So that a Man would find it a hard Matter to drown himſelf in this Lake, if he had never ſo great a mind to't. *Veſpaſian* having heard of the ſtrange Quality of this Water, took a Journey on Purpoſe out of a Curioſity to ſee it: And order'd ſeveral Perſons that could not ſwim to be caſt into it from above, with their Hands ty'd behind them; and they all came up again, as if they had been rais'd by a puff of Wind, and ſo floated on the Surface of the Water. There is a wonderful Secret in this Lake; which is, that it changes Colour thrice a Day, according to the various Refractions of the Light of the Sun-beams upon it: There are alſo to be ſeen in ſeveral Parts of it, up and down adrift, large Lumps of a dark bituminous Matter, not much unlike the Bodies of Bulls without Heads. The People of the Country fiſh them up in their Boats; but the Subſtance of them is ſo viſcous, and one Part ſo glew'd to another, that there is no getting the Veſſel off again but by diſſolving the Lumps, and ſeparating that Part without the Boat from the other within; which Diſſolution is to be wrought by the Means of *Urine* and the *Menſtrua* of a Woman. This *Bituminous* Matter ſerves both for Shipping, and for Medicines; for it ſtops Leaks, and cures many Diſeaſes. The Length of this Lake is five hundred and eighty Furlongs; the Breadth of it a hundred and fifty, and it runs out as far as *Zoar* in *Arabia*.

Veſpaſian *makes the Experiment, and finds it ſo.*

Several wonderful Secrets in this Lake.

The Lake borders upon Sodom.

It borders upon the Land of *Sodom*; a Country once famous both for the Wealth of the Inhabitants, and for the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil. But at Preſent it lies totally deſolate; having been deſtroy'd by a Judgment of Fire from Heaven for the Wickedneſs of the People. There are yet to be ſeen there ſome Remains of the Ruines of five abominable Cities that periſh'd in that Conflagration: And

A fair Fruit to the Eye, that falls to Aſhes upon the Touch.

there are Mock-Fruits to be ſeen to this Day ſpringing out of the Aſhes; fair and lovely to the Eye, but reſolving into Smoak and Aſhes upon the Touch. So that we have not only Tradition, but ocular Teſtimony alſo for the Credit of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. VI.

Veſpaſian *inveſts* Jeruſalem. Geraſa *taken by Aſſault and burnt. The News of* Nero's *Death. The End of* Nero, Galba, Otho, *and* Vitellius. Veſpaſian *ſuſpends his Deſign upon* Jeruſalem. *All Things are put to a Stand.*

Jeruſalem *inveſted by* Veſpaſian.

Geraſa *taken by Storm, and put to Fire and Sword.*

VEſpaſian being reſolved to inveſt *Jeruſalem* on every Side, raiſed two Forts, at *Jericho*, and *Adida*; putting into each of them Garriſons both of *Auxiliaries* and *Romans*. The General then ſent *Lucius Annius* with a Body of Horſe and Foot to *Geraſa*; which he took by Storm upon the firſt Attack. He put a thouſand young Men to the Sword; which he intercepted in their Flight; carrying away whole Families Priſoners, and giving the Soldiers the Pillage: And this being done, he ſet Fire to the Place, and ſo went forward. The rich fled; thoſe that could not get away, were cut to Pieces; and whatever they took they burnt; nothing, in ſhort, ſcap'd them; neither Mountains nor Valleys; Places, or People; but all ſuffer'd in the Outrages of the War. As for thoſe that were ſhut up in *Jeruſalem*, there was no ſtirring out: The *Zelotes* keeping ſo ſtrict a Watch upon thoſe that were Friends to the *Romans*; and the Town being ſo beſet by the Enemy, that the *Zelotes* Party doſt not venture for Fear of falling into their Hands.

The News of Nero's *Death comes to* Veſpaſian, *on his March toward* Jeruſalem.

The Ends of Nero, Galba, Otho, *and* Vitellius.

When *Veſpaſian* was now return'd to *Cæſarea*, and preparing to advance with his whole Army againſt *Jeruſalem*, News was brought him of the Death of *Nero*; who had now reigned thirteen Years and eight Days. It is not my Buſineſs to arraign his Memory for the Diſhonour he put upon the Government, in ſuffering himſelf to be impos'd upon, and led like a Child by *Nymphidius* and *Tigillinus*; two of the moſt ſcandalous Varlets that he had about him: How he was betray'd by theſe infamous Wretches; abandon'd by his Senators and Guards, and being forc'd to fly for Safety into the Suburbs, only with four of his Freemen (all that ſtood by him:) How he there laid violent Hands upon himſelf, and what became of thoſe in the Concluſion that brought him to his End: What was the Iſſue of the War with the *Gauls*; *Galba*'s being declar'd Emperour; and afterwards, upon his coming out of *Spain* to *Rome*, his being calumniated by the Soldiery for a Man of a mean Spirit, and by them ſlain in the Middle of the great Market-Place: How *Otho* was then created Emperour, and then march'd with his Army againſt *Vitellius*. This is all little or nothing to my Purpoſe: Neither is it worth my while to enlarge upon the Troubles of *Vitellius*; the Combat before the Capitol; or how *Antonius Primus*, and *Macianus*, after they had ſlain *Vitellius*, defeated the *German* Troops and put an End to the civil War. I am the leſs particular upon theſe Points, in Regard that ſeveral famous Hiſtorians, both *Latin* and *Greek*, have already done that Work ſo accurately to my Hand: So that I ſhall content my ſelf with theſe ſhort Touches, provided only that I do not break the Order, and diſcontinue the Thread of my Hiſtory.

Veſpaſian *upon this Revolution ſuſpends his Deſign.*

Veſpaſian, upon this Intelligence put a Stop at firſt to his Expedition againſt *Jeruſalem*; till he might know what became of the Government after the Death of *Nero*; and finding the Succeſſion ſettled upon *Galba*, he did not yet think it prudential to act in an Affair of that Quality without Orders. So that he ſent his Son *Titus* immediately away to *Galba*, both to congratulate his Acceſſion to the Government, and to receive his Inſtructions, and Commands, what Meaſures to take. King *Agrippa* would needs put himſelf aboard with *Titus* upon the ſame Errand; ſo that they embark'd together. But as they were upon their Paſſage near *Achaia*, they were given to underſtand that *Galba* was ſlain, after a Government of ſeven Months and ſeven Days: *Otho* ſucceeding him, who govern'd three Months. This Alteration did not hinder *Agrippa* from proſecuting his Journey to *Rome*: But *Titus* by a divine Impulſe ſail'd from *Achaia* into *Syria*, and from thence very ſeaſonably got back to *Cæſarea* to his Father.

The Surprize puts all Things to a Stand.

The Surprize of this extraordinary Revolution put all Things to ſuch a Stand, that the very Empire it ſelf ſtagger'd at it. There was no more Talk now of the *Jewiſh* War; nor was it a Time to think of enlarging the Empire, when they were ready to tear all to Pieces at Home.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A new War in Jeruſalem. Simon *encounters* Ananus. *He is worſted, and flies to* Maſſada. Simon *begins with* Idumæa *upon the Death of* Ananus. *An obſtinate Fight betwixt him and the* Zelotes. Eleazar *ſummons* Herodion, *and the Garriſon receives him. He is diſcover'd, and makes himſelf away.* James *of* Idumæa *falſe under the Countenance of a Spy.* Idumæa *taken without a Stroke.* Chebron *ſurpriz'd.* Idumæa *laid waſte.* Simon's *Wife taken Priſoner. He breaks out into a Rage upon it; and they ſend him his Wife again.*

UPON this Revolution there brake out a new War in *Jeruſalem*. There was one *Simon* the Son of *Gioras*; a *Geraſene* born, and in the Prime of his Age, though not ſo dextrous and artificial as *John*; who was now in Poſſeſſion of the City: But younger, ſtronger, and much the hardier of the two. He was ſo dangerous a Perſon, that *Ananus* the High-Prieſt drove him out of his Government in the *Toparchy* of *Acrabatena*, and made him fly to the Thieves in *Maſſada* for Refuge. They were ſo ſuſpicious of him at firſt, that they would not truſt him any farther than the firſt Floor of the Fortreſs, among the Women he brought along with him; while the reſt of the People kept above. But upon farther Acquaintance, and finding how fit he was for their Turn, they had a better Opinion of him; and who but *Simon* to command Parties upon Adventure, and to join the reſt of the Troops in pillaging and depopulating the Territory of *Maſſada?* He did all he could to put greater Things in their Heads too; but nothing leſs than Sovereignty would ſerve his Turn; though to no Purpoſe, till the News was brought him of the Death of *Ananus*. And immediately, upon the Removal of that Obſtacle, he took his Courſe into the Woods, and iſſu'd out Proclamations of Liberty to all Slaves, and Rewards to all Freemen, that would liſt themſelves in his Party. This brought over to him a great many diſorderly and licentious People; and with that Rabble he ſack'd and deſtroy'd the Villages upon the Hills; augmenting his Numbers daily, till in the End he marched down directly to the Plains, and kept the Cities in Awe wherever he paſs'd. So that *Simon* was no longer a Captain of Thieves and Slaves: But a great many Men of Power and Quality upon the Reputation of his Valour and Succeſſes, were come over into his Intereſt; and the Generality of the better Sort of the People made their Applications to him with the Reſpect and Reverence of Subjects to their Prince. He made ſeveral Excurſions into the *Toparchy* of *Acrabatena* and the greater *Idumæa*; where he made Choice of *Nain*, (a Town that he himſelf had wall'd in and fortify'd) for his Retreat. In the Valley of *Pharan* he found many Caverns fitted to his Hand; and others that he enlarg'd, for Granaries, Stores, Magazines, and Places of Stowage, (in ſhort) for what he got by Pillage and Booty. By this Proviſion of Men and Neceſſaries, every Body gave it for granted that his main Deſign was upon *Jeruſalem*. The *Zelotes* were of the ſame Opinion too; and finding it dangerous to let him go on ſtrengthening himſelf every Day more and more, they made one bold Puſh of it to try how they might prevent him in the Progreſs of his Ambition, before it was too late. Upon this, they advanc'd in a full Body to charge him in the Head of his Troops; who encounter'd them with great Courage; made a conſiderable Slaughter among them, and put the reſt to the Rout.

A new War in Jeruſalem *upon this Occaſion.*

Simon *of* Geraſa, *an ill Man, makes Head againſt* Ananus.

He is worſted, and takes Sanctuary among the Sicarii *in* Maſſada.

They find him a Man fit for their Turn.

Simon's *Way of Conduct and Menage, upon the Death of* Ananus.

Now *Simon* did not think himſelf ſtrong enough yet to meddle with *Jeruſalem*; but choſe rather to begin with the Conqueſt of *Idumæa*, and ſo march'd away preſently twenty thouſand ſtrong toward the Borders. Upon this Appearance, the Heads of the *Idumæans* quickly got an Army together of near twenty five thouſand choice Men; leaving alſo a competent Number to ſecure the Country againſt the Excurſions of the Cut-Throats in *Maſſada*. The *Idumæans* waited for *Simon* upon the Borders; where upon his Advance, the two Bodies engag'd, and the Battle laſted from Morning till Night; upon Terms ſo equal, that no Body could ſay which of the two had the better or the worſe. But they had both enough of it; for *Simon* drew off quietly to *Nain*, and the *Idumæans* return'd to their own Home.

He begins with Idumæa.

An obſtinate Fight betwixt Simon *and the* Zelotes.

It was not long after this that *Simon* took the Field again with the Reinforcement of a much ſtronger Army; and encamping near the Village of *Thecuë*, he ſent *Eleazar*, one of his Companions, with a Summons to the Governour of *Herodion*, requiring him to deliver the Caſtle into his Hands. The Officers receiv'd him at firſt with all the Niceties of military Honour and Reſpect; but upon coming to underſtand his Commiſſion, they all drew upon him in that very Inſtant; and

Eleazar *ſends a plauſible Summons to* Herodion, *and the Garriſon receives him.*

Eleazar *detected, and caſts himſelf over the Wall into the Ditch.*

Eleazar finding it impoſſible to make an Eſcape, leap'd down the Precipice from the Wall, where he was daſh'd to Pieces.

The Treachery of James *of* Idumæa *under the Colour of a Spy.*

The *Idumæans* were poſſeſs'd with ſuch an Apprehenſion of *Simon*'s Stomach and Power, that they had no Mind to grapple with him; till they might firſt be perfectly well informed in the State and Strength of his Army. *James*, one of their Commanders, very readily, and of his own Accord, (but with Treachery in his Heart) took upon himſelf the Office of an Informer. Upon this Commiſſion he went away from *Olurus*, (where the *Idumæan* Army lay at that Time encamp'd) and ſo to *Simon*. After ſome Diſcourſe upon the Buſineſs, he enter'd into a ſolemn Contract with *Simon* to deliver up his Country into his Hands, upon Condition to be treated after the Performance of it, as his firſt Miniſter and Favourite; and undertaking in the next Place, to make all *Idumæa* for him. When *Simon* had ſufficiently ſweeten'd this treacherous Inſtrument with a ſplendid Treat, fair Words, and large Promiſes, he went his Way back again to his own People: Where he made *Simon* twenty Times more conſiderable than in Truth he was; for Strength, Conduct, Number, Order, every Thing: Which, by little and little, made ſuch an Impreſſion, not only upon the ignorant Multitude, but upon the Officers themſelves too, that they were all prevail'd upon not to diſpute the Matter any farther by Arms; but rather to lay all at *Simon*'s Feet, for Fear of worſe Conſequences: *James* ſending away Meſſengers to *Simon* at the ſame Time to come away immediately, and not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity, for he would be anſwerable for it that *Idumæa* ſhould be his own without Blood: Which he made good accordingly. Upon the Approach of the Army, *James* was the firſt Man that took Horſe; and away he ſpurr'd, as in a Fright, with the reſt of the Faction at his Heels. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Hearts of the People, that they ran their ſeveral Ways; and ſo diſpers'd upon it, that the whole Army was diſſolv'd without ſo much as one Stroke.

A panick Fright, and Idumæa *taken without a Stroke.*

Chebron *ſurpriz'd.*
A Deſcription of the Place.

Simon being now poſſeſs'd of *Idumæa*, without Blood; which was little leſs than a Miracle, he ſurpriz'd the Town of *Chebron*; with Corn in it and other Booty to a prodigious Value. This City is of great Antiquity, and not only the eldeſt of the Province; but, if we may believe the Natives, ancienter than even the *Ægyptian Memphis* it ſelf; being computed to be of 2300 Years ſtanding. They have a Tradition that *Abraham*, the original Father of the *Jews*, took up his Habitation there, upon his leaving *Meſopotamia*; and that his Poſterity remov'd from thence into *Ægypt*: Where there are Monuments to be ſeen at this Day, with *Marble-Inſcriptions* curiouſly wrought, in Confirmation of what I deliver. There is likewiſe to be ſeen, within ſix Furlongs of the Place, a wonderful *Turpentine-Tree*; which according to the Tradition of the Place, was created with the World it ſelf, and is yet ſound and firm.

Idumæa *and the whole Countrey about it laid waſte.*

From this Place *Simon* made his Inroads quite through *Idumæa*, with a Train of forty thouſand Men at his Heels beſide his Men of Arms; deſtroying and depopulating, not only Towns and Villages, but whole Territories and Countries wherever he came. The marching of his Army was the ſame Thing to the People, that a Flight of Locuſts are to a Wood: Not a Leaf or a Spire of Graſs, nor any Thing more than a Deſert that they left behind them. It was a Thing utterly impoſſible to find Proviſions for ſo many Mouths; and then the natural Fierceneſs of *Simon*, and the malicious Animoſity of his Rage againſt the *Idumæans* was ſtill a farther Aggravation of the pinching Neceſſity. In Fine, what with burning, demoliſhing, devouring the Fruits of the Earth, or trampling them to Dirt, *Simon*'s Troops did not leave ſo much even in a fruitful well-cultivated Country, as the leaſt Sign or Memorial of what it had been formerly.

The Inhumanity of this Proceeding ſtuck in the Stomachs of the *Zelotes*, though they durſt not bring it to an open War; but contented themſelves with what they got now and then upon the Snap, by Surprize; and it was their Fortune at laſt to make a conſiderable Purchaſe, as they accounted it: For they took *Simon*'s Wife Priſoner, and ſeveral of his Domeſticks, and carry'd her away to *Jeruſalem*, with as much Joy and Triumph, as if it had been the Huſband himſelf; making no Doubt but *Simon* would now lay down his Arms and compound for his Wife. But this Violence upon the Woman wrought it ſeems a quite contrary Effect upon the Huſband; and inſtead of moving him to Tenderneſs and Compaſſion, tranſported him into the furious Extravagancies of a Mad-man.

Simon's *Wife taken Priſoner by the* Zelotes.

His brutal Fury upon it.

He went immediately to the Gates of *Jeruſalem*; and there like a wild Beaſt that's wounded, and cannot come at the Man that did it, he diſcharg'd his outragious Choler upon whatever came in his Way; Men, Women and Children, that only went out of the Town for Sticks and Herbs, he cauſed to be taken up and whipt to Death, young and old without Diſtinction: Only he was ſo merciful as not to eat their Fleſh when he had kill'd them. He cut off the Hands of a great many of them for a Terrour to his Enemies, as well as to fright the People from their Party, and ſent them to the Town ſo maim'd with theſe Words in their Mouths: *That* Simon *ſwore by the great God, who governs the Univerſe, if they did not immediately ſend him his Wife again, he would force their Walls, and put every Creature in the Town to the ſame Extremity; whether they were young or old, guilty or innocent.* The Dread of theſe Menaces did not only work upon the Multitude, but upon the *Zelotes* themſelves: Inſomuch that they return'd him his Wife upon it; and ſo far pacify'd his Wrath, as to obtain ſome Sort of Reſpite to his daily Cruelties.

And upon theſe Menaces they ſend him his Wife again,

CHAP. VIII.

The Roman Empire *fallen to Pieces within it ſelf. Two Battles betwixt* Otho *and* Vitellius: Otho *gets the better of it the firſt Day, and* Vitellius *the next.* Galba *ſtabs himſelf.* Veſpaſian *propoſes to over-run* Judæa. Cerealis *takes* Capharis; *and lays* Chebron *in Aſhes. There wants nothing now but* Jeruſalem, *to put an End to the War.*

IT was not *Judæa* alone that was harraſs'd with the Sedition of a civil War; but the ſtubborn Humour was gotten into *Italy* too; *Galba* ſlain in the very Heart of *Rome* it ſelf; *Otho* declar'd his Succeſſor; and then up ſtarts *Vitellius*; who, being elected Emperour by the *German* Legions, diſputes his Title with him. They had two Battles for it near [a] *Bebriacum* in [b] *Lombardy*. *Otho* had the better of it the firſt Day; and *Vitellius* carry'd it the next, under the Command of his two Generals, *Valens* and *Cæcinna*. There was a great Slaughter: And *Galba*, who was then at *Brixellum*, upon the News of this Defeat, ſtabb'd himſelf with a Dagger; after a Reign of three Months and two Days. Upon this Change, *Otho*'s Soldiers went over to the Party of *Vitellius*; who preſently march'd away with his Army to *Rome*.

The Roman Empire *torn to Pieces with Factions and civil Broils.*

Two Battles betwixt Otho *and* Vitellius: Otho *carry'd it the firſt Day, and* Vitellius *the next.* Galba *ſtabs himſelf.*

Veſpaſian in the mean Time remov'd from *Cæſarea* on the fifth of the Month *Deſius*, in a Proſpect of making a thorough Conqueſt of *Judæa*, by reducing the Remainder of it that yet ſtood out: He began among the Mountains, and made himſelf Maſter of the *Toparchies* of *Gophnis* and *Acrabatena*; poſſeſſing himſelf afterwards of the Cities of *Bethel* and *Ephraim*; where he ſettled Garriſons. His next Remove was toward *Jeruſalem*; where he took and kill'd a World of *Jews* by the Way.

Veſpaſian *propoſes to himſelf a thorough Conqueſt of* Judæa.

Cerealis, in the mean Time, one of the principal Officers, with a Body of Horſe and Foot, over-ran the *Upper Idumæa*; took and burnt the Caſtle [c] *Caphetra* by the Way; laid Siege to *Capharis*, a ſtrong wall'd Town; and they were in Hope it would have made a good Defence: But beyond all Expectation, the Townſmen open'd their Gates; threw themſelves at their Feet, and ſo gave it up. Having thus carry'd every Thing before him, he went to *Chebron*; the ancient Town upon the Mountains, formerly ſpoken of; not far from *Jeruſalem*: Which he attack'd and carry'd at the firſt Aſſault. He put all the People in it to the Sword; ſack'd and burnt the City. There were yet three Caſtles in the Poſſeſſion of the Faction; *Herodion*, *Maſſada* and *Machærus*: And *Veſpaſian* wanted nothing after this to put a final End to this terrible War but the taking of *Jeruſalem*.

Cerealis *takes* Capharis.

Lays Chebron *in Aſhes. And nothing wanting but* Jeruſalem *to put an End to the War.*

CHAP. IX.

Simon *a worſe Enemy within the Town than the* Romans *without: And the* Zelotes *worſt of all. The horrid Brutalities of the* Zelotes. *The* Idumæans *revolt and ſcatter the* Zelotes: *Purſuing them to the Palace, and ſo to the Temple.* John *caſt off; and* Simon *invited into the Government: Where he is welcom'd with Shouts and Acclamations. An Aſſault upon the Temple.*

WHen *Simon* had got his Wife again from the *Zelotes*, he wreak'd the Bitterneſs of his Malice upon the Remainder of the *Idumæans*; and perſecuted them

Simon *takes his Revenge of the* Idumæans *for his Wife.*

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[a] *Some would have it* Bedriacum. Joſephus *has* Φρηγδιακὸν. *But this I ſuppoſe is a Corruption. See* Ortelius's Theſaurus, *and* Ryckius's *Notes upon* Tacitus, *p.* 363.

[b] Gallia Ciſalpina.

[c] Gr. Καφαεθρὰ.

Simon *worſe within the Town than the* Romans *without: And the* Zelotes *worſt of all.*

The brutal and inhumane Luſts and Liberties of the Zelotes.

No Eſcaping.

ſo bloodily with haraſſing and hunting them up and down, that divers of them in a Deſperation, fled to *Jeruſalem* for Sanctuary: *Simon* purſuing them to the very Foot of the Wall, and killing all Comers and Goers that came within his Reach. So that *Simon without* the Town was a worſe Enemy than the *Romans*; and the *Zelotes within*, worſe than both. But the *Galileans* all this while taught them their Leſſon, and improv'd them in all the Arts of Wickedneſs, by Inſtruction, Encouragement and Example. Now *John* being their Creature, thought it but reaſonable to employ the Power they had procured him to the Satisfaction of his Patrons; and ſo left them at Liberty to live without Controll according to their Luſts. In the Matter of Rapine and Pillage, their Avarice was inſatiable. They made no more of taking away the Lives of Men, and the Honour of Women, than of a common Frolick or Diverſion: And when they had ſated themſelves with Blood and Oppreſſion, they went on wallowing in the Brutality of their carnal Appetites: Powdering and curling their Hair; diſguiſed in the Dreſs and Habit of Women; Painting, and ſetting themſelves off with Dawbs and Waſhes. Nor did they imitate Women only in their Clothes and Ornaments, but in their Impudence alſo; for they converſed with no more Reſtraint in the Face of the Sun, than they would have done in a common Stews: Preſſing and practiſing unnatural Luſts, and polluting the whole City with Impurities not to be nam'd, or ſo much as thought of. But all this while, with the Faces and Impudence of Women, they had the Hearts and Hands of Cut-Throats: And how effeminate and mincing ſoever they were in their Gate and Motions, they had yet their martial Weapons about them, and their Swords out in a Trice upon any ſudden Occaſion to kill the next Man they met. He that 'ſcap'd *John*, fell into the Hands of *Simon*, the bloodier Monſter of the two: And he that got clear of the domeſtick Tyrant, was deſtroy'd by the other before the Town: Beſide that all the Paſſages were ſo blockt up, that there was no coming off for thoſe that had a Mind to go over to the *Romans*.

The Idumæans *revolt; and rout the* Zelotes.

Purſuing them to the Palace, and ſo to the Temple.

John *caſt off, and* Simon *invited to the Government.*

Simon *receiv'd into the City with Shouts and Acclamations.*

Betwixt the Envy of *John*'s Power and the Deteſtation of his barbarous Cruelties, the Eyes of the *Idumæans* were by this Time open'd; for they brake out into a direct Revolt, and made Head againſt him. It came to a Battle, and a great many of the *Zelotes* were ſlain upon the Spot; the reſt fled into the Palace Royal, which was originally erected by one *Grapte*, a [a] Kinſwoman of *Izates* the King of the *Adiabenians*. The *Idumæans* puſh'd in along with them; and ſo beating the *Zelotes* into the Temple, they made themſelves Maſters of the whole Maſs of *John*'s Treaſure for a Booty; which was there depoſited under the Roof of his own Habitation. The *Zelotes* up and down the Town gather'd together upon this, to join thoſe of their Companions that were got into the Temple; and *John* immediately put himſelf in a Poſture for a Sally upon the *Idumæans* and the Citizens: Not that they had any Apprehenſion of their Number, for they were too many for them; but for Fear of their ſlipping out of the City by Night, and at the ſame Time cutting of Throats and ſetting Fire to't. Upon this Occaſion they call'd a Council, and deliberated with the High-Prieſt what Meaſures they were to take. But it pleas'd God to infatuate their Policies, by giving them over to a Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe; ſo they reſolv'd among themſelves to caſt off *John*, and to ſet up *Simon* in his Stead: And in ſo doing they did but clear their Hands of one Tyrant, and lay themſelves at the Feet of another. But the Vote paſs'd however, and *Matthias* the High-Prieſt was ſent to invite *Simon* into the Town for their Governour, whom they had been ſo often in Dread of. There were divers others alſo that had been forced out of *Jeruſalem* by the *Zelotes*, and would gladly have been at Home again, that join'd with *Matthias* in the ſame Requeſt. *Simon* gave them a magiſterial Anſwer that their Petition was granted, and ſo enter'd the City in the Quality of their Preſerver; the People receiving him alſo with Acclamations in the ſame Style and Character. This happen'd in the third Month that they call *Xanthius*. *Simon* had no ſooner enter'd *Jeruſalem* with his Troops, but his Head was preſently at Work how to ſettle himſelf; for he look'd upon thoſe that call'd him in, and thoſe againſt whom he was call'd, to be equally his Enemies.

An Aſſault upon the Temple.

When *John* found himſelf coop'd up in the Temple with the reſt of the *Zelotes*, and that *Simon* and his Companions had made a thorough Rifle of the City, he gave himſelf for loſt. The latter, in the mean Time, led on the common People to an Aſſault upon the Temple; but the Beſiegers were ſo gall'd with Stones, Darts and Arrows from the Galleries and Battlements over Head, that they were driven back with great Loſs; ſeveral kill'd, others carry'd off wounded, and upon the whole a general Diſappointment; the *Zelotes* having gotten the vantage Ground, where there was no coming at them: Beſide four ſtrong large Towers of their own erecting to annoy the Enemy from above: One to the *Eaſtward*; another to the *North*; a third upon a Gallery at the Corner over againſt the lower Town, and a fourth upon the Top of what they call the [a] *Paſtophoria*; a Place where formerly the Prieſt ſtood to make Proclamation by Sound of Trumpet when the *Sabbath* began, and when it ended: And ſo to the People in like Manner, when they were to *work*, and when to keep *Holiday*. In theſe Turrets they had diſpos'd of their Archers, Slingers and Engineers with Arrows, Stones and all their military Proviſions about them. *Simon* and his Men were not a little ſurpriz'd at this obſtinate Reſiſtance of the *Zelotes*; but depending upon their Numbers, they preſs'd forward ſtill; though with the Loſs of a great many Men from the *Zelotes Slings* and *Machines*.

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[a] Gr. Συγγενὴς Ἰζᾶ.

CHAP. X.

A civil War in Rome; *and* Vitellius *in the Head of a vaſt Army there. The News of* Vitellius *being choſen Emperor goes to the Heart of* Veſpaſian. *An Invective againſt* Vitellius *and his Party, to the Honour of* Veſpaſian *and* Titus. *The Soldiers are bent upon a Change*; *and* Veſpaſian *takes the Army into his Care.*

A civil War in Rome; *and* Vitellius *there with a vaſt Army.*

IN the very Heat of theſe Broils in *Jeruſalem*, there brake out a worſe Miſchief in *Rome* it ſelf: That is to ſay, a civil War. *Vitellius* was now come out of *Germany*, and ſo prodigious a Multitude of foreign Troops along with him; that for Want of Room in the Lodgments that were aſſign'd them, they were fain to take up in private Houſes, and to turn the whole City into one general Quarter. The ſparkling of the *Romans* Gold and Silver was ſuch an Eye-ſore to Strangers, that were not us'd to thoſe Sights, that they could hardly keep their Fingers off, either from taking Things by Force, or killing thoſe that hinder'd them. This was the Condition of *Italy* at that Time.

Veſpaſian *meets the News at* Cæſarea *of* Vitellius's *being choſen* Emperour. *This Report goes to the Heart of* Veſpaſian.

Upon *Veſpaſian*'s Return to *Cæſarea*, after laying Waſte all about *Jeruſalem*, the News was brought him of ſtrange Tumults in *Rome*, and that *Vitellius* was declar'd *Emperour*. Now though *Veſpaſian* was a Man of Order, and knew as well how to obey as to command, it went ſore againſt his Stomach yet, to think of owning that Man for his Maſter, that came to the Empire, as to a Prey rather than to a Dignity. This wonderful Turn was ſo great a Mortification and Diſtraction to him, that he could not ſo much as think of any foreign Wars, at a Time when his Country lay labouring under ſuch miſerable Circumſtances at Home. But as his Indignation ſpurr'd him on to a Revenge on the one Hand; ſo the Difficulties of ſo long a Journey in Order to the Execution of it (eſpecially in Winter too) put a Check to him on the other: For many ſtrange Things might fall out for ought he knew before he could reach *Italy*. Theſe, and ſuch Thoughts as theſe, brought him by Degrees to himſelf again. While this was in Agitation, the Officers and Soldiers drew into Clubs and Cabals, in Parties; and ſo diſcourſing freely upon Matters of State and Government, *they bolted out their Opinions for another Change*; *roaring out of all Meaſure againſt the* Roman *Soldiers*: *A Company of diſſolute effeminate Wretches* (they cry'd!) *that would not ſtand ſo much as the Noiſe of a War. Theſe were pretty Fellows indeed*, they ſaid, *to diſpoſe of Empires*; *or in Truth, rather to ſell them to the faireſt Bidder. Can they ever think that we, that after the Fatigues of ſo much Duty and hard Labour, till we are grown old under our Arms*;——— *that we, will ever ſubmit to an Emperour of their chuſing, when we have ſo much a worthier Prince of our own? Over and above, that if we loſe this Opportunity of expreſſing our Gratitude for the generous Obligations* Veſpaſian *hath laid upon us, 'tis Odds we ſhall never have the Fellow of it again. Beſide that* Veſpaſian *is in himſelf as much ſuperiour to* Vitellius, *with Reſpect to the Character of an* Emperour, *as we our ſelves are to thoſe that made him one. Have not we run as many Riſques and born as great a Part in the War, as the* German Legion *that brought this Uſurper into the capital City? Are not we as well skill'd in the Art and Diſcipline of War as they? Now for* Veſpaſian, *there can be no Diſpute or Competition*; *for the Senate and the People of* Rome *are all for him, and will never endure the licentious Debauches of* Vitellius *to be put in the Balance againſt the Modeſty and Temperance of* Veſpaſian; *which would be the exchanging of a gracious*

An Invective of the Officers againſt Vitellius *and his Party; to the Honour of* Veſpaſian *and* Titus. *The Soldiers bent upon a Change.*

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[a] Suid. Παςοφόριον, τὸ φέρον τὸν παςόν. *See* Iſ. *c.* 22. *v.* 15. *in the* Septuagint.

Prince for a mercileſs Tyrant. [a] *Nor is it to be expected that the Son* Titus, *though a Prince of extraordinary Virtue, ſhould be choſen in Preference to his Father. But let it ſuffice that it is the Honour and Juſtice of a Prince that eſtabliſhes the Peace of the Throne. Now if either Maturity of Experience, or Vigour of Youth, may intitle a Prince to the Choice, you have the one in* Veſpaſian, *and the other in* Titus; *and all the Advantages that attend Wiſdom, Force and Reſolution. It is further to be conſider'd that in electing the admirable Father of this incomparable Son, the three imperial Legions and Auxiliaries will be enforced with the whole Power of the* Eaſt; *that Part of* Europe *that lies out of the Reach of* Vitellius; *and all the Intereſt that* Veſpaſian's *Friends, his Brother, and his other Son can make in* Italy: *The one being* Præfect *of* Rome, *a Charge of great Influence and Credit, eſpecially at the Beginning of a Reign; and the other ſo popular, that which Way ſoever he went, the Flower of the Nobility would be ſure to ſide with him. But now after all* (they cry'd) *What if the Senate it ſelf ſhould put up* Veſpaſian *for* Emperour, *and take the Glory and the Merit of the Action out of our Hands; while we ſtand upon Forms and Niceties to no Manner of Purpoſe: Should not we be finely deceiv'd then? We, that of all Men living have the greateſt Obligation to him.*

The Army preſſes Veſpaſian *to take them into his Protection: Which with much ado they obtain'd.*

This was the Soldiers Talk among themſelves, at firſt only in Knots and Corners: But their Confidence increaſing with their Numbers, they came unanimouſly to the Point; and one and all cry'd up *Veſpaſian, Emperour*; begging him at the ſame Time to take the tottering Empire into his Protection. This great Man had been a long Time the Supporter of the Empire; but for the Style of Emperour, he abſolutely refus'd it, (though in that very Refuſal he deſerv'd it) declaring that he had much rather ſpend the Remainder of his Days in the Freedom of a private Life, than among the Snares and Difficulties of a more illuſtrious Station. The more *Veſpaſian* ſtood off, the more the Officers preſs'd him: Till at length, upon his obſtinate Denial, they came all up to him with their [b] Swords drawn, and threaten'd to kill him; unleſs he would ſubmit to accept of the Honour that he deſerv'd. He held off a long Time; but in the End, when he ſaw they would not be deny'd, he yielded to the Importunity.

CHAP. XI.

Mucianus *preſſes* Veſpaſian *to march againſt* Vitellius; *but* Veſpaſian *is rather for* Alexandria. *Of* Ægypt *and the Situation of it.* Alexandria *a dangerous Port. The Tower of* Pharos. Tiberius Alexander *a true Friend to* Veſpaſian.

Mucianus *urges* Veſpaſian *to march with his Army againſt* Vitellius. Veſpaſian *is rather for* Alexandria; *and gives his Reaſons for it.*

VEſpaſian was no ſooner advanced to the Empire, but *Mucianus* and the reſt of the Officers that invited him to the Government, with the whole Army, called out with one Voice to march againſt *Vitellius*; but *Veſpaſian* was rather of Opinion for beginning with *Alexandria*; *Ægypt* being one of the moſt neceſſary and conſiderable Branches of the Empire, in Reſpect of the vaſt Quantities of Corn it produces: Inſomuch that if he could but make himſelf Maſter of that Country, he was in Hope that *Rome* it ſelf would rather turn out *Vitellius* than run the Hazard, if they ſtood it out, of ſtarving for his Sake, as of Neceſſity they muſt without Relief from *Ægypt*. He deſired alſo an Enforcement of two Legions that lay at *Alexandria* to join him.

Of Ægypt *and the Situation of it.*

He propounded alſo the making of the Province a ſecure Place of Retreat in the worſt of Fortunes. There is hardly any coming at it by Land, and no Ports to the Sea. It is bounded on the *Weſt* with the parching Land of *Libya*: On the *South*, *Syene* divides it from *Æthiopia* and the unpaſſable Cataracts of the River *Nile*: On the *Eaſt*, the *Red-Sea* ſerves it for a Rampart as far as the City *Coptos*; and on the *North*, it ſtretches out as far as *Syria*, and that which they call the *Ægyptian-Sea*, and the Coaſt quite thorough wholly deſtitute of Ports: So that Nature hath provided for the Security of *Ægypt* in the very Situation of it. From *Peluſium* to *Syene* they reckon two thouſand Stadia; and three thouſand ſix hundred by Sea, from *Plinthine* to *Peluſium*. The *Nile* is navigable [c] as far as *Elephantine*; but, as I ſaid before there is no paſſing further for the Cataracts.

Alexandria *a dangerous Port.*

Alexandria, let the Weather be never ſo fair, is a nice and a dangerous Port; the Entrance very narrow, and the Rocks ſo ſcatter'd up and down in ſhallow

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[a] *See* Mr. Spanheim's *ſeventh Diſſertation about the Excellency and Uſe of Coins, p.* 649. *where this Paſſage is handled at large.*

[b] *See* Ryckius *upon* Tacitus, *p.* 378.

[c] *Gr.* Μέχρι τῆς ἐλεφάντων καλουμένης πόλεως. *See* Agatharcides *de Mari Rubro, p.* 22. Ed. Oxon.

Water, that he muſt be a very exact Guide that knows all the Turnings. On the Left Hand it is encompaſs'd with a Dike, like an Arm about it; on the Right, lies the Iſle of *Pharos*; which hath been ſo celebrated for a famous Sea-Mark. The Light of it is ſeen three hundred Furlongs off at Sea, and ſerves for a Direction to Mariners what Courſe they are to ſteer. About this Iſland there are mighty Defences of ſtrong Keys and thick Walls to break the Violence of the Waves that beat upon that Quarter, and the Rage of the Billows daſhing one upon another makes the Paſſage yet more hazardous. But after all theſe Difficulties in the Way, there is not a ſafer Port in Nature when you are once over the Bar. The Length of it is thirty Furlongs, and it is furniſhed with Conveniencies of Storehouſes for all Manner of Goods, to be either imported or exported.

The Tower of Pharos; *a famous Sea-Mark.*

Veſpaſian was much in the Right when he pitch'd upon *Alexandria* in Order to the Eſtabliſhment of the Empire: And upon that Occaſion, he gave the Governour *Tiberius Alexander* to underſtand, that being prevail'd upon by the Importunity of the Soldiers to take Charge of the Government, he could not do better than to deſire the Favour of his Aſſiſtance and Advice in the Adminiſtration. *Alexander* had no ſooner read the Letter, but with all Frankneſs and Alacrity, he [a] gave the Legions and the People the Oath of Fidelity to *Veſpaſian*; who took it with the greateſt Inſtances of Joy and Affection imaginable: Being abundantly ſatisfy'd before-hand in the certain Knowledge and Experience of his Honour and Virtue. *Alexander* in the mean Time made a juſt and a generous Uſe of the Power that was given him for the Service of the Publick, and apply'd himſelf in the firſt Place to provide Neceſſaries for the Reception of the new Prince.

Tiberius Alexander *a great Friend to* Veſpaſian.

CHAP. XII.

Veſpaſian's *Advancement pleaſes all People. He aſcribes all his Succeſſes to Providence. Several Preſages of his future Greatneſs.* Joſeph *treated* Veſpaſian *in the Style of* Emperour, *even while* Nero *was yet living, and himſelf a Priſoner; for which* Veſpaſian *gives him his Liberty with Honours and Rewards.*

THE News flew like Lightning every where up and down the Eaſt of *Veſpaſian*'s being advanced to the Empire; and it was ſo welcome wherever it came, that all the Cities made Holiday upon the Arrival of it, with Vows and Sacrifices for *Veſpaſian*'s happy Reign.

The News of Veſpaſian's *Advancement gives an univerſal Satisfaction.*

The Legions that were quarter'd in [b] *Mœſia* and *Pannonia*, and were lately up in Arms againſt *Vitellius*, for his tyrannical Inſolence, took the Oath to *Veſpaſian* with all the Chearfulneſs in the World.

Upon *Veſpaſian*'s Return from *Cæſarea* to *Berytus*, there were ſeveral Embaſſadors from *Syria* and other Provinces that met him upon the Way, with Garlands and gratulatory Addreſſes in the Name of the Cities and People: *Mucianus* the Governour of *Syria* among the reſt, with Aſſurances of the Faith and good Affection of all in general; expreſs'd by Oaths and otherwiſe, to the Perſon and Authority of *Veſpaſian*.

Now *Veſpaſian* being ſo fortunate in all his Undertakings, that whatever he did, ſucceeded to his Wiſh, he began to bethink himſelf, that ſuch a Concurrence of ſeeming Accidents making for him, look'd liker a providential Diſpoſition of Things in the Order of Cauſes and Effects, than the Work of Chance; and that it was the Hand of God, not Fortune, that rais'd him up to the Enterprize. It came then into his Head what ſtrange prophetical Hints and Touches he had obſerv'd in the Courſe of his Life; and all pointing to the ſame End; as a Paſſage particularly of *Joſeph*'s, who had the Confidence in the very Life of *Nero*, to give *Veſpaſian* the Title of *Emperour*. This remarkable Prediction made ſuch an Impreſſion upon *Veſpaſian*, (eſpecially from a Perſon that was yet his Priſoner) that calling *Mucianus* and ſeveral of his Friends and Officers about him, he took Occaſion to make Mention of the Bravery of *Joſeph*, and how hard he had put them to it at the Siege of *Jotapata*; and ſo from one Thing to another till he came to his Predictions; which, ſays *Veſpaſian*, I took to be only Inventions to keep himſelf in a whole Skin; till Time and the Event of Things have now made it evident that they were Inſpirations. And *what a Shame is it for me now*, ſays *Veſpaſian*, *to treat the Miniſter and the Meſſenger of God that brought me the Tidings of my Preferment, at the ſcandalous Rate ſtill of a* Priſoner?

Veſpaſian *aſcribes his Succeſſes to Providence.*

A prophetical Hint of Veſpaſian's *future Greatneſs.*

Joſeph *treated* Veſpaſian *in the Style of* Emperour *while* Nero *was yet living, and himſelf a Priſoner.*

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[a] Ryckius *in his Notes upon* Tacitus, *p.* 378. *diſcovers an Errour of* Joſephus *in this Place.*

[b] *Al.* Myſia.

Veſpaſian *ſets* Joſeph *at Liberty for it with remarkable Honours and Rewards.*

He had no ſooner paſs'd this Reflection, but *Joſeph* was immediately ſent for, and ſet at Liberty: From which generous Gratitude his Officers took their Meaſures what they themſelves might expect from ſo gracious a Maſter, that were his faithful Friends and Servants. *Titus* being then preſent, told his Father with Submiſſion, that in barely ſetting *Joſeph* at Liberty, the Work was but half done; for his Chains ought to be broken as well as taken off, to pronounce him an Innocent, and to leave him as he found him; according to common Practice when Men are wrongfully impriſon'd: For otherwiſe he is only diſcharg'd of the Bondage, but the Diſhonour ſticks upon him ſtill. *Veſpaſian* thought it but reaſonable, and order'd his Chains immediately to be cut to Pieces with an Ax. So that *Joſeph* did not only get his Freedom, but the Reputation of a great Prophet alſo for what he had foretold; and Credit enough to be farther believ'd in whatever he ſhould ſay for the future.

CHAP. XIII.

Veſpaſian *takes* Antioch *in his Way to* Rome; *and ſends* Mucianus *with a great Army into* Italy. Cæcinna *draws* Vitellius's *Men over to* Veſpaſian; *and the Soldiers ſeize him as a Traytor. A Fight betwixt* Anthony *and the* Vitellians; *the latter worſted, and fly toward* Cremona, *where they are totally cut off.* Cæcinna *diſcharged; and ſent to* Veſpaſian *with the News of the Victory.* Sabinus *ſeizes the* Capitol. *A bloody Battle.* Vitellius *dragg'd through the Streets ſtark drunk; and ſtabb'd to Death in the City. The People declare every where for* Veſpaſian.

Veſpaſian *quits the Thought of* Alexandria, *and takes* Antioch *in his Way to* Rome. *He ſends* Mucianus *into* Italy *with an Army.*

WHEN *Veſpaſian* had given the Embaſſadours their Anſwers, and ſettled all his Governments in the Hands of fit and careful Officers, he chang'd his Mind, and went to *Antioch*; and ſo forward to *Rome*, rather than *Alexandria*, as he thought to have done; the latter being ſafe and quiet, and the other miſerably embroil'd by *Vitellius*, and ſtanding in more Need of him of the two. So he ſent *Mucianus* over Land into *Italy* with an Army of Horſe and Foot, by the Way of *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia*; for he durſt not venture his Troops upon a Winter Sea.

Cæcinna *perſuades* Vitellius's *Men to go over to* Veſpaſian.

The Soldiers deſert and repent, and ſeize Cæcinna *as a Traytor.*

An Encounter betwixt Anthony *and the* Vitellians.

The latter worſted, and fly toward Cremona, *where they are intercepted, and totally cut off.*

Among others there was [a] *Antonins Primus*, the Governour of *Mœſia*, with the third Legion that lay in that Province; who deſir'd nothing more than to come to an Encounter with *Vitellius*. And ſo *Vitellius*, on the other Hand, ſent *Cæcinna* in the Head of a ſtrong Army againſt him. As he was upon his March for *Rome*, he met *Anthony* upon the Borders of *Italy* not far from *Cremona*; where he ſtopp'd at Gaze upon the Numbers, the Order and the Diſcipline of the Enemy; but durſt not engage them. He was now at a Stand what to do. Fight he durſt not, and he could not run away with Honour: So that he choſe the Part of a Deſerter rather than of a Coward. He call'd his Centurions, Tribunes, and in ſhort, all his Officers together, and made Uſe of that Occaſion to enter into a Deſcant upon *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius*, ſtill derogating from the one, and elevating the other; and with a Deſign all this while to draw *Vitellius*'s People over to *Veſpaſian*. *The former*, he ſaid, *had but the* Name *of an* Emperour; *the other, the* Right *and* Authority, *and the true Stamp of an imperial Character in his very Perſon, over and above the Odds of* Veſpaſian's *Choice of Men and Numbers; to ſuch a Degree, in Fine, that there was no contending with him. And if it be ſo*, ſays he, *why ſhould not we now do the ſame Thing before-hand, by Choice, that we ſhall be forc'd to do but the next Hour by Neceſſity? Not but that* Veſpaſian *is able to do his Buſineſs, to all Manner of Purpoſes, without your Help: Whereas* Vitellius *is not able to ſtand upon his own Legs, or to protect any Party that adheres to him. Cæcinna* ply'd his Argument ſo far, till he gain'd his Point, and carry'd the Soldiers over to *Anthony*. But the next Night, *Cæcinna*'s Men, betwixt Repentance for what they had done, and for Fear of Puniſhment in Caſe *Vitellius* ſhould get the better of it, came in a Rage with their Swords drawn up to *Cæcinna* to kill him; and they had certainly done it, if the Tribunes had not paſſionately interpos'd on his Behalf. So that they ſpar'd his Life; but however order'd him to be kept in Chains, and ſent away to *Vitellius* for a Traytor. So ſoon as this came to *Anthony*'s Ear, he preſently commanded out a Party to fall upon them as Deſerters. They made a ſhort Stand; but after the firſt Shock, they gave Ground, and took their Flight toward *Cremona*. But *Anthony* put in with his Horſe betwixt them and the Town; and begirting them a-round, made a great Slaughter upon the Place, and gave the Soldiers the Pillage of the Town. There periſh'd promiſcuouſly in this Ravage, foreign Merchants and Townſmen in Abundance; with the whole Army of *Vitellius*, to the Number of thirty thouſand and two hundred Perſons. There fell of *Anthony*'s Men that he brought out of *Mœſia*, four thouſand five hundred; who ſetting *Cæcinna* at Liberty, ſent him away to *Veſpaſian* with the News of the Victory; where he was receiv'd with great and unexpected Honours to balance the Diſgrace of being falſe to his Maſter.

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[a] Ryckius *in his Notes upon* Tacitus, *p.* 502, *&c. ſhews us ſeveral Errours of* Joſephus *in what follows.*

Cæcinna *ſet at Liberty; and ſent to* Veſpaſian, *with the News of the Victory.*

When *Sabinus*, *Veſpaſian*'s Brother, underſtood that *Anthony* was upon his March toward *Rome*, it put new Life into him; ſo that drawing together the City Guards, that Night he ſeiz'd the Capitol: Great Numbers of Perſons of the firſt Quality coming in to them the next Day; and among the reſt his Nephew *Domitian*, who had a great Hand in the Glory of that Action.

Sabinus *ſeizes the* Capitol.

Vitellius never troubled his Head about *Anthony*; but his main Spite was at *Sabinus*, and the reſt that join'd with him in the Revolt: And being naturally ſanguinary and cruel; eſpecially where there was noble Blood in the Caſe, he ſent a Body of his own Troops to attack the Capitol; and there was great Bravery ſhew'd betwixt them and thoſe in the Temple; but in the End, the *Germans*, overpowering their Adverſaries with Numbers, gain'd the Hill. *Domitian* and ſeveral *Romans* of the higheſt Quality 'ſcap'd in a Manner by Miracle; but *Sabinus* was carry'd to *Vitellius*, who order'd him immediately to be put to Death; and all the reſt were cut to Pieces; the Soldiers ſeizing the Plunder of the Temple, and then ſetting Fire to it.

Anthony came up the next Day with his Army, and the *Vitellians* gave him Battle. They fought in three ſeveral Parts of the City, and were all ſlain. After this, came *Vitellius* out of his Palace, wallowing drunk and overcharg'd with a gluttonous Exceſs, (according to his Cuſtom;) where he was taken up and dragg'd through the Streets; viliſy'd with all Sorts of ſcurrilous Outrages, and in the Concluſion, ſtabb'd to Death in the Middle of the City. He had now reign'd eight Months and five Days; and ſuch was his Profuſion, that if he had liv'd longer, the Revenue of the Empire would not have anſwer'd the Charge of his Debauches. They reckon upon upward of fifty thouſand Men ſlain, over and above thoſe already mention'd: And this great Action happened upon the third Day of the Month *Apellæus*.

A bloody Battle. Vitellius *dragg'd thorough the Streets ſtark drunk, and ſtabb'd to Death in the City.*

Mucianus next Day enter'd *Rome* with his Army: And after ſome Sort of Stop put to the mercileſs Rage of *Anthony*'s Soldiers (who were ſtill ſearching in all Corners up and down for *Vitellius*'s Men, whom they kill'd as faſt as they found them, without ſo much as examining whether they were guilty or innocent) intimated to the People that they ſhould do well to chuſe *Domitian* for their Governour till his Father came up. But the People being now out of Danger, and nothing farther to fear, would not hear of any other Governour than *Veſpaſian*; and ſo crying him up to the Skies with Acclamations, they made a double Feſtival of it; one, for the Bleſſing of *Veſpaſian*'s coming to the Government; the other, for their Deliverance from the Tyranny of *Vitellius*.

The People declare every where for Veſpaſian.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Veſpaſian *at* Alexandria, *and courted with Addreſſes from all Quarters. He ſends away his Son* Titus *towards* Jeruſalem. Titus's *March.*

Veſpaſian *courted at* Alexandria *with Addreſſes from all Quarters.*

VEſpaſian, at his coming to *Alexandria*, was entertain'd with the whole Hiſtory of what had paſs'd at *Rome*; and ply'd with gratulatory Embaſſies and Applications from all Quarters, to joy him of his Exaltation to the Empire. *Alexandria* is look'd upon as one of the largeſt Cities in the World, next to *Rome* it ſelf: And yet upon this Occaſion it was too little for the Company. The imperial State of *Rome* being now ſettled and ſecur'd, the People quiet and eaſy, beyond all Expectation, and the Winter over, *Veſpaſian* began to bethink himſelf of looking toward the Remainder of *Judæa*, and to prepare for his Journey to *Rome*. When he had put every Thing in Order in *Alexandria*, he ſent away his Son *Titus* with his beſt Troops, upon an Expedition againſt *Jeruſalem*. He went as far as *Nicopolis* by Land (a Matter of twenty Furlongs from *Alexandria*;) and then embarking his Troops upon long Boats, paſs'd down the *Nile*, along the Banks of the [a] *Mendeſian* Canton, to the City of *Thmuis*; and went a-ſhoar at *Tanis*. From thence he went to *Heracleopolis*, and ſo to *Peluſium*; where he ſtay'd two Days to refreſh his Troops, and then march'd away croſs the Deſert, and encamped by the Temple of *Jupiter Caſſius*. The next Day he went to *Oſtracine*; a Place ſo extremely dry, that the Inhabitants have no Water at all but what they fetch from Abroad. From thence to [b] *Rhinocorura*, where he ſtay'd a while; and then to *Raphia*, the firſt City upon the Borders of *Syria*, and his fourth Stage: *Gaza* was the fifth; and he went from thence to *Aſcalon*, and ſo to *Jamnia* and *Joppa*: From *Joppa* to *Cæſarea*, with a Reſolution to ſtrengthen himſelf with other additional Troops.

He ſends away his Son Titus *towards* Jeruſalem.

Titus's *March.*

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[a] *Gr.* Κατὰ τὸν Μενδήσιον νόμον.

[b] *Lat.* Rhinocolura

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
WARS of the JEWS.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Three Factions in Jeruſalem. Eleazar *began the Breach, by ſetting up the* Zelotes *againſt the People.* John *of* Giſchala *puts in for himſelf. A Fight betwixt* John *and* Eleazar. *An Encounter betwixt* John *and* Simon. *The deplorable State of* Jeruſalem, *that has neither Humanity left in it, nor Conſcience. The March and Order of* Titus's *Army.*

Three Factions in Jeruſalem.

WHEN *Titus* had paſs'd the Deſarts betwixt *Ægypt* and *Syria*, in ſuch Manner as is already ſet forth, he came to *Cæſarea*; with a Reſolution to draw his Troops together there, and to form his Army. While he was, as yet, with his Father *Veſpaſian* at *Alexandria*, giving Orders about the Adminiſtration of the Empire which God had put into their Hands, the Factions in *Jeruſalem* were divided into three Parties, and each againſt the other; which, for an ill Matter, was well enough to ſee a common Enemy doing Juſtice upon it ſelf. As for the domineering Faction of the *Zelotes* (whoſe Inſolence was certainly the Ruine of this City) we have ſpoken both of the Riſe and Encreaſe of it very particularly elſewhere; and it was no more, in ſhort, than one Sedition bred out of another. It had ſomewhat in it of the Rage of a wild Beaſt, that for Want of other Matter to work upon, preys upon its own Bowels, rather than not be doing ſome Miſchief or other.

Eleazar *began the Breach, by ſetting up the* Zelotes *againſt the* People.

John of Giſchala *ſets up for himſelf, and makes a Party.*

A Fight betwixt John *and* Eleazar.

Eleazar the Son of *Simon* was the firſt that began the Separation in the Temple, by ſetting up the *Zelotes* againſt the People, upon the Pretence of being wonderfully offended at the daily Inſolencies of *John* of *Giſchala*, but at the ſame Time doing the ſame cruel Things himſelf; and in Truth, the main Exception was no more than this: That the greater Tyrant of the two could not bring his Heart down to ſubmit to the leſs: So that betwixt an inſatiable Thirſt after Power; and an ambitious Impatience of having any Body above him, he fell off from his Companions and ſet up for himſelf, with *Judas* the Son of *Chelcias* and *Simon* the Son of *Ezron*; two Perſons of great Quality and Intereſt; and likewiſe with *Ezechias* the Son of *Chobar*, a Man nobly deſcended; and every one of them a Train of *Zelotes* at his Heels. With this Party they took Poſſeſſion of the Inner-Temple, and put Guards upon the ſacred Porches and Doors, in Confidence that the Proviſions of the Place, by Reaſon of the Multitude of their daily Oblations, would ſupply them with all Neceſſaries; and putting no Difference, in fine, as to the common Uſe of Things, betwixt ſacred and prophane. Being thus poſted, the only Thing they fear'd was Want of Men for the Execution of any conſiderable Deſign. *John* was much the ſtronger of the two; but what *Eleazar* wanted in Number, was abundantly made good to him by the Advantage of the Place, for he had his Enemy under him. Now *John* could not attempt any Thing upon him but to his Loſs; ſo that betwixt the Fear of doing a raſh Thing on the one Hand, and the Impatience of ſtanding ſtill to do nothing at all on the other, he was not a little divided how to behave himſelf. But his Stomach and Animoſity carry'd it in the End however from his Diſcretion; and he made ſeveral Attacks both with Darts and other Weapons of that Quality, till the Temple was polluted with the Gore of dead Bodies.

On the other Side, *Simon* the Son of *Gorias*, whom the People in their Diſtreſs had invited and entertained for their Governour and Protector, having in his Poſſeſſion the upper Town, and the greater Part of the lower, carry'd on the Aſſault againſt *John* and his Party with the greater Vigour, when he ſaw how he was preſs'd at the ſame Time from above by *Eleazar*. But *John* had the ſame Advantage of *Simon*, that *Eleazar* had of *John*, who effectually had a double War upon him, and as much the better of the one, as the worſe of the other: For juſt ſo much as *Eleazar*

An Encounter between John *and* Simon.

was too hard for *John*, whom he had under him; ſo much was he too hard for *Simon*, who was below him again. So that *John* had little or no Difficulty to repulſe the Attempts of *Simon* from the lower Ground; as he defended himſelf the beſt he could from *Eleazar* that was over his Head, with Slings and Machines to caſt Darts and Stones. And theſe Engines did Execution not only upon the People in Arms, but upon thoſe alſo that came out of Devotion to worſhip. For it muſt be acknowledg'd that theſe Miſcreants, even in the Outrage of their Impieties, gave Admittance to all that offer'd themſelves upon the Account of Religion; ſaving only that the *Jews* were more expos'd to ſtrict Searches and Examinations. And for the Strangers that were ſo happy as to 'ſcape the Malice of a military Fury, they fell here and there by Caſualty and Miſchance: That is to ſay, by the Random-ſhot of Stones and Lances, that reach'd the very Altar, and cut-off the Sacrificers themſelves in the Exerciſe of their holy Function, together with a Multitude of common Worſhippers. Some that came from all Quarters of the Earth out of Devotion to worſhip in this holy Place, fell themſelves the Sacrifices; and defiled that Altar with their Blood, that not only the *Greeks*, but even the wildeſt of *Barbarians* had a Veneration for. The dead Bodies of Strangers and of Natives; Perſons holy and profane, were here promiſcuouſly confounded, and their Blood flowing up to the very Altar.

The Temple polluted with Blood.

Ah, miſerable, miſerable City! The Fire and Sword of the *Romans*, when they enter'd thee by Force, and endeavour'd the purging of thee by Flames for the Iniquities of thy Faction and Apoſtaſy, with all the Deſolation that enſu'd upon it: All this, I ſay, was nothing to the Miſery of thy preſent Caſe. Thou wert no longer the Seat of God, after turning his holy Houſe, by thy civil Broils, into a Shambles or a common Charnel-Houſe; nor could'ſt thou ever expect to come off unpuniſh'd for theſe impious Provocations. But it is not yet impoſſible; not impoſſible, (I ſay) by a true Repentance to appeaſe the incenſed Juſtice of a righteous God that laid this heavy Judgment upon thee. But this were better let alone; for private Paſſions and Complaints are not the Buſineſs of an Hiſtorian; ſo that I ſhall betake myſelf to my Text, and proceed to the Matter of Fact that follow'd upon this Uproar.

John *ſtands a double Attack.*

Jeruſalem (as I have ſaid already) was divided into *three Factions*. *Eleazar* and his Party, that had the Charge of the firſt Fruits and Oblations, got drunk and fell upon *John*. *John* ſally'd out upon *Simon*; and the People that aſſiſted him with Proviſions, againſt himſelf and *Eleazar*. When *John* happen'd to be attack'd at the ſame Time by *Eleazar* and *Simon*, both together, he divided his Forces, and held thoſe in Play that aſſaulted him on the City-ſide, with Darts from the Tops of the Porches, plying thoſe in the Temple above him with Stones and Arrows from his Machines. When at any Time his Enemies over Head gave him a little Reſpite (as they did frequently, when *Eleazar* and his People were either tir'd or drunk) he was then at Liberty to make ſtronger Sallies upon *Simon* and his Complices; and ſtill as he beat him further and further into the Town, he burnt all before him: Magazines, Granaries, Stores, and all Houſes indifferently with whatever was in them, that ſtood in his Way. Upon his Retreat, *Simon* follow'd him upon the Heel; and then it was his Turn to do the ſame Thing over again. They could have done no more if they had been in a direct Conſpiracy for the betraying of *Jeruſalem* to the *Romans*, by putting it out of Condition of Defence, in deſtroying all that was neceſſary to preſerve it. And to increaſe the Calamity, every Thing was burnt to the Ground quite round the Temple; the City turn'd into a Deſert by the very Natives of the Place, and a Field of Battle one againſt another. The Proviſion of Corn, in fine, and other Neceſſaries ſufficient to have maintain'd a Siege for ſeveral Years, was almoſt totally conſum'd; which led inevitably to a Famine, and the Ruine of the City that they brought upon themſelves.

Corn and other Neceſſaries for Life, burnt and deſtroy'd.

The deplorable State of Jeruſalem.

Jeruſalem in the mean Time, betwixt the Faction within the Town, and the Beſiegers without, was like a great Body worry'd and torn to Pieces for a Prey. Old Men and Women under ſuch an Aſtoniſhment for what they ſaw and ſuffer'd, that they pray'd for the Succeſs of their very Enemies, the *Romans*, and for a foreign War in Exchange for a Civil? They lay under the Impreſſion of a moſt ſcandalous Dread and Terrour. It was now paſt Adviſing-Time, and there was no Place left either for Repentance, Compoſition, or Flight, All Paſſages were guarded, and the Heads of the Factions, how mortal Enemies ſoever in other Caſes, were all of a Mind yet in the Agreement of killing any Man that deſerv'd to live. They ſuffer'd not one Man to 'ſcape, that was but ſuſpected to be a Well-willer to the *Romans*; but they were all treated like common Enemies. The Clamour of Shouts, and the

Claſhing of Arms was heard Day and Night. The Fear it ſelf of Evils to come was a great Miſery: But then the Senſe of thoſe Evils being come upon them was much a greater, and their daily Lamentations were never yet without a juſt Ground to work upon. Their Fears made them ſmother their Sorrows. Grief is dumb when it comes to be ſtupifying; and that is the tormenting Affliction that lies gnawing, like a Canker, at the Heart, without making any Noiſe. There was no ſuch Thing left as Reverence for the Living. The Relation was loſt betwixt Superior and Inferior, and as little Regard had to the Humanity of burying the Dead. And what was the Reaſon of all this, but an univerſal Deſperation; *for he that hath nothing to hope for, hath nothing to fear.* Every Man that was not of the Faction, gave himſelf for loſt, and carry'd his Life in his Hand, as if he were the next Moment to die. The Faction all this While fought on, with Heaps of Carcaſſes under their Feet, in a Kind of triumphant Vanity of Oſtentation, as if the Horrour of the Spectacle had made the Living as hard and inſenſible as the Dead. But their Heads and their Hearts were bent upon Wickedneſs; and whatever came into their Thought that they were able to compaſs, let it be never ſo bloody and cruel, they made no Scruple to execute it. Witneſs *John*'s perverting to profane Uſes thoſe ſacred Materials that were ſet apart for the Service of God's Houſe. There was once upon a Time a Reſolution taken up by the People and the High-Prieſts, to raiſe the Temple twenty Cubits higher, and to carry up an Arch to ſupport the Work. To this End King *Agrippa*, with incredible Charge and Labour, brought from Mount *Libanus*, certain admirable Pieces of Timber, both for Length and Size: But the War breaking out, interrupted the Deſign. So that *John* having Occaſion for the Materials, had the Trees cut out into Lengths for his own proper Uſe, and then fram'd into Turrets for his Security and Defence againſt *Eleazar*. They were raiſed along the Wall to the *Weſtward*, over-againſt the great Hall, as the only Place capable of ſuch a Structure, by Reaſon of ſo many Stair-Caſes in the Way. *John* flatter'd himſelf that this impious Contrivance of his would have laid his Enemies at his Feet: But God in his Providence diſappointed him, by bringing the *Romans* in upon him, before he could perfect his Work.

Neither Humanity nor Conſcience.

The March and Order of Titus's *Army.*

When *Titus* had gotten together one Part of his Army, and order'd the Remainder of it up to *Jeruſalem*, he went to *Cæſarea*; where he had with him, over and above the three Legions, that had formerly made ſuch Havock in *Judæa* under his Father, the twelfth Legion alſo; which was nevertheleſs brave for that unlucky Encounter under *Ceſtius*; nay on the other Side, burning with Impatience for the Opportunity of a Revenge for that Diſaſter. He order'd the fifth Legion to meet him by the Way of *Ammaus*; and the tenth, by *Jericho*; while he himſelf march'd with the reſt, in Conjunction with a Body of Royal Auxiliaries, larger than ever heretofore, and a great Number of *Syrians*. The Detachments that were ſent by *Veſpaſian* under *Mucianus* into *Italy*, out of the four Legions, he made good out of two thouſand choice Men of the *Alexandrian* Army that he brought along with him, and three thouſand more that follow'd him from the *Euphrates*: And there was the beſt of Friends alſo, both for Integrity and Councel, *Tiberius Alexander*, formerly the Governour of *Ægypt*, but now made Choice of to command the Army, being the firſt Man that own'd and ſtood up for *Veſpaſian* in the Infancy of his Government; enter'd into a League with him, and ſtood firm to it in Deſpite of all the Hazzards of an uncertain Fortune. He was likewiſe qualify'd with all the natural Advantages for martial Undertakings, that Reſolution, Generoſity, and Wiſdom, could give a Man.

CHAP. II.

Titus *marches into the Enemy's Country; and takes a View of* Jeruſalem. *The* Jews *make a deſperate Sally.* Titus *preſerved by Providence. His Bravery and Conduct.*

Titus *advances into an Enemy's Country.*

TITUS being now advancing into an Enemy's Country, this was the Order of his March. The Auxiliaries went firſt; after them, the Pioneers; and in the next Place, thoſe that were to mark out the Camp; which were follow'd with the Officers Baggage, and a Convoy: And then came *Titus* himſelf with his Guards; the choiceſt of his Men, and his Enſign-Bearers about him; a Body of Horſe following them in the Head of the Machines. The next in Courſe were the Tribunes, and other Officers, with a Train of choice Men under their Command: The *Roman* Eagle after them, with the Enſigns of the Legions about it, and Trumpets before them;

them; the Body of the Army marching in Rank and File, ſix in Front; and the common Soldiers, every Man following the Legion he belong'd to, with their Luggage before them. The Mercenaries and their Guards brought up the Rear. In this Order *Titus* advanced according to the Method of the *Roman* Diſcipline, by the Way of *Samaria* up to *Gophna*; a Place that his Father *Veſpaſian* had formerly taken; and there he found a Garriſon, where he took up his Lodging that Night, and proſecuted his March next Morning to a Place that the *Jews* call [a] *The Valley of Thorns*, near the Village of *Gabath Saul*, or, *The Valley of Saul*; where he encamped that Evening near thirty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*.

Titus *marches with a Party to take a View of* Jeruſalem.

The Jews *make a deſperate Sally upon him.*

Titus *preſerv'd by a wonderful Providence.*

The Conduct and Bravery of Titus.

At this Place *Titus* put himſelf in the Head of ſome ſix hundred choice Horſe, and led them toward *Jeruſalem* to take a View of the Town, and learn what he could of the State and Diſpoſition of the *Jews*. For being well aſſured that the People were altogether for Peace, and as weary every Jot of their Oppreſſors as they were of the Oppreſſion it ſelf; and that they wanted nothing (in fine) but Strength and Opportunity for a Revolt; he did not know but that upon the Sight of him and his Army, they might perhaps bethink themſelves of bringing the Matter to Terms of Accommodation before it came to Blows. With this Fancy in his Head *Titus* advanced toward the City, and ſo long as he went forward in the ready Way to the Walls, there was not one Creature appear'd upon the Battlements. But upon croſſing over toward the Turret call'd *Pſephinos*, there ſally'd out a vaſt Number of *Jews* from the Gate over againſt the Sepulchre of *Helena*, on the Quarter they call *the Woman's Tower*, that brake quite through the Middle of *Titus*'s Body, and cutting off the Communication betwixt the two divided Parties, they could not relieve one another. In this Confuſion the *Jews* ſingled out *Titus*, with a very ſmall Number of his People about him, in a Place, where there was no going forward for the Encloſures, Gardens, and Ditches betwixt him and the Wall; and his Retreat was intercepted, on the other Hand, by a ſtrong Body of the Enemy that was gotten betwixt him and his own People. But *Titus*'s Men not knowing the Danger their General was in, and believing him to be yet ſafe and in the Crowd, ſhifting for himſelf; they had nothing more to do, they thought, but every Man to look to one, and ſo to follow their Captain. *Titus* finding, in this Extremity, that he had nothing but his Sword and his Courage left him to truſt to, call'd out to his Fellow-Soldiers to follow him, and in the ſame Inſtant ſpurr'd deſperately into the Enemies Body to force his Way thorough to the reſt of his Men. Now this was a Time and Action to give all People to underſtand how far the Providence of God interpoſes in the Event of Wars, and in the perſonal Preſervation of Emperours and Princes. For *Titus*, who came not out (as I ſaid) to fight a Battle, but to make a Diſcovery, had not provided himſelf of Arms, either for his Head or his Body, and yet not one Dart or Arrow, of all thoſe Showers that were thrown againſt him, once touch'd him, but were carry'd off from the Mark, as if they had been deſign'd to miſs it. *Titus* in the mean Time clearing his Paſſage on both Sides with his Sword in his Hand, overbearing all before him, and trampling his Enemies under his Horſe's Feet. This fearleſs Reſolution of *Cæſar*'s drew the Rage of the whole Party upon him with Fury and Clamour; crying out one to another to fall upon him, as the only Check to their Succeſſes. But which Way ſoever *Titus* turn'd, the *Jews* fled before him; and yet at the ſame Time others preſſing him Flank and Rear, and his Companions all the while ſticking cloſe and bravely to him. They found by this Time that there was no Way to come off but by one ſeaſonable generous Charge, quite thorough and thorough. They made the Puſh immediately, wherein one of *Titus*'s Friends was kill'd, Horſe and Man; another overthrown and ſlain, and his Horſe taken and carry'd off; while *Titus*, with the Remainder of his People, got back again to his Camp, without ſo much as one Wound. The *Jews* took ſuch Heart upon this temporary Advantage, that they look'd upon it as an Earneſt of greater Things to follow, but their Hopes deceiv'd them.

[a] Gr. Ἀκάνθων αὐλών. *Acanthorum Vallis.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Domeſtick Factions are united by a foreign War. The Roman *Soldiers being ſurpriz'd without their Arms, are beaten from their Camp. A Skirmiſh betwixt the* Jews *and the* Romans. Titus *miſſing; and the* Romans *at their Wits End to know what was become of him. The* Jews *make a running Fight of it.*

UPON the coming up of a Legion that Night from *Ammaus* to joyn *Cæſar*, he marched away next Morning early to *Scopos:* A Place ſeven Stadia, to the *Northward* from the City. It ſtands low, and in a Fair Proſpect both of the Town and of the Temple; (and ſo properly enough called *Scopos.*) He order'd two Legions to encamp upon the Place, and the fifth Legion to withdraw three Stadia farther off; where they might intrench without any Danger from the Enemy, being already wearied off their Legs with a tedious Nights-March. Theſe Legions were no ſooner at Work upon the Orders, but up comes the tenth Legion from *Jericho*; a Place lately taken and garriſon'd by *Veſpaſian*. This Legion was appointed to encamp ſix Stadia to the *Eaſt* of *Jeruſalem*, and the *Mount of Olives*; which is over againſt the City, and the Valley of *Cedron* betwixt them.

The Factions in the Town went on tearing one another to Pieces, as the bittereſt Adverſaries in the World; till the Dread of a foreign War and a common Enemy made them Friends again. For, upon the very Sight of the *Roman Camp*, and the Order of it, the three ſeditious Parties agreed the Matter, and piec'd again; reaſoning with themſelves upon the Equity and Neceſſity of ſuch a Compoſition; and expoſtulating one with another, after this Manner. *What will be the End of this Buſineſs do you think, if we ſtand ſtill to ſee our ſelves ſurrounded with Forts and Troops; our Lives and Liberties at Mercy; and we all this while coop'd up within Walls, and our Arms a-croſs, the tame Spectators of a licentious War, to the Advantage of our Enemies, and our own Ruine? Nay,* (ſays another) *we are only valiant againſt our ſelves and in cutting one another's Throats to make Way for the* Romans *to a Conqueſt without Blood.* Upon this they gather'd into Parties and Cabals; and in that very Inſtant betaking themſelves to their Arms, made a furious Excurſion croſs the Valley upon the tenth Legion, with horrid Clamours and Outcries, as they were intrenching their Camp. This Sally was ſuch a Surpriſe to the *Romans*, that they were half diſtracted at it: And it was ſo much the greater, upon an Opinion, both that the *Jews* durſt not offer at it, and that their Diviſions had made them incapable of ſuch an Agreement. But the Soldiers, in Fine, being at Work without their Arms, the *Jews* fell upon them at unawares; whereupon every Man quitted his Poſt: Some ran quite away; others fled to their Arms, but were cut off before they could make Uſe of them. Upon the Credit of this Victory ready to their Hands, the *Jews* came flowing in ſtill more and more; and though they were not in Truth very numerous, their good Fortune made them appear ſo, both to the *Romans* and to themſelves. Of all Nations under the Heavens, the *Romans* are certainly the People that beſt underſtand the Art and Diſcipline of War, and diſcharge their military Exerciſes and Duties with the beſt Conduct and Grace: And yet upon the Aſtoniſhment of this unaccountable Surprize, they trembled; and turning their Backs, the *Jews* follow'd them upon the Purſuit: And upon turning their Heads as any of the Enemy came up with them, ſome they ſtop'd or repuls'd; others they kill'd, or wounded; for in the Heat of their Rage they kept themſelves upon no manner of Guard. But as the Numbers encreas'd on the one Hand; ſo of Neceſſity muſt the Confuſion on the other; till in the End the *Romans* were forc'd totally to abandon their Camp: And the whole Legion had been entirely cut-off, if *Titus* had not come in the Preciſe Minute to their Succour; and betwixt Reproaches of Cowardice on the one Side, and exemplary Bravery on the other, put a Stop to their Flight. *Titus* took this Opportunity of joyning the Fugitives, with a Party of choice Men he had about him of his own; and charging the *Jews* in Flank, he kill'd ſeveral of them upon the Spot; wounded more, and drove the whole Body down into the Valley in great Diſorder and not without a conſiderable Loſs of Men, before they could gain the other ſide of the Bottom. Upon their paſſing the Valley they made a Stand and maintain'd a Fight with the *Romans* a-croſs it till Mid-day. In the afternoon, *Titus* enforced the Legion with the Troops he brought to ſuccour it; and poſting Parties up and down to ſecure the *Romans* againſt Excurſions, he order'd the Remainder of his Forces up the Mountain, to encamp and fortify upon the Top of it.

A foreign War unites the Domeſtick Factions.

The Soldiers ſurpriz'd without their Arms.

The Romans *beaten from their Camp.*

A Skirmiſh betwixt the Jews *and the* Romans

The *Jews* that were within Diſtance of obſerving this Motion from the Walls, took it for a direct Flight: And one of their Intelligencers gave to underſtand as much by a Signal from the Town, by ſhaking a Garment in the Air, as a Way of Intelligence concerted among themſelves. Upon this Intimation the *Jews* ruſh'd out in ſuch an outragious Fury, that they look'd liker a Herd of wild Beaſts than a Multitude of Men. The Violence was ſo impetuous that not ſo much as one Man in the contrary Party durſt ſtand the Shock: But they were all driven, as if it had been by a Blow from an Engine; ſome one Way; and ſome, another: But preſſing up the Mountain all that was poſſible for Refuge. About half Way up the Hill, *Titus* made a Stand, with a few of his generous reſolute Friends about him: Who, out of the Veneration they had for the Perſon and Dignity of the Emperour, beſought him not to expoſe any longer his own ſacred Life againſt the worthleſs Lives of a deſperate Rabble of *Jews*; whoſe Condition was ſuch, that Death was the beſt Thing could befall them; but rather to conſult his own Quality and Safety, minding him that he was not there in the Circumſtances of a Soldier, but in the Character of the ſovereign Maſter of the World; and that it was not for him to think of ſtanding alone, when the Foundations of the Earth ſunk under him. *Titus* took no more Notice of what they ſaid than if he had not heard it; but ſtood upon his Guard againſt all Oppoſers, and encounter'd all Aſſaults: Cutting ſome over the Face; killing others that preſs'd upon him, and forcing ſome again down the Mountain into the Valley. The Vigour and the Reſolution of this Prince kept them in ſome Sort of Awe; though not enough to fright them into the City again: But opening to the right and left, they attack'd his People on each Hand of him; while *Titus* galling them in the Flank, gave ſome Obſtruction to the Purſuit.

When the *Romans* from their Camp above took Notice what Havock was made of their Companions below, it ſtruck them with ſuch a Horrour and Amazement, that the whole Legion diſpers'd upon it; taking for granted that the *Romans* were not able to ſtand before the *Jews*, and that *Titus* himſelf had quitted the Field; or his Soldiers (they thought) would never have forſaken him. While they were in the Diſtraction of this panick Terror, running up and down like Madmen, they knew not why, nor whither, there was an *Alarum* given to the whole Legion, by ſome that had ſeen *Titus* labouring for Life in the Middle of his Enemies; calling upon them with Outcries to haſten away to the Reſcue of their General. This Reproach betwixt the Shame and the Conſcience of having abandon'd their Commander, tranſported them to ſo revengeful a Rage that, without any farther Thought of ſhifting for themſelves, they fell with all their Might upon the *Jews*, and drove them away before them down the Brow of the Mountain. Not but that they made their Retreat fighting too: And for a while diſputed every Foot of Ground they loſt; till the *Romans*, by the Advantage of the higher Station, forced them all down into the Valley. *Titus* preſs'd hard upon thoſe he had to do withall, and ſo ſent the Legion back to make an End of their Trenches; he himſelf ſtaying with his own People about him, to keep the Enemy at a Diſtance. Now if I may be allow'd to ſpeak the juſt Truth of the Matter, without Flattery, Envy, or Detraction, this was the ſecond Time that *Titus* ſav'd this Legion in the ſame Day. And the Soldiers were now at Liberty to fortify and ſettle their Camp.

The Romans *at their Wits End for fear of their General.*

The Jews *make a running Fight of it.*

CHAP. IV.

The paſchal Feaſt at Hand. A curſed Deſign under the Cover of Religion. The three Factions contracted into two. Titus *moves toward* Jeruſalem, *and orders the levelling of the Paſſes.*

The Paſchal *Feaſt at Hand.*

An execrable Deſign under the Cover of Religion

THE *Jews* had no ſooner a little breathing-while from the Hoſtilities of the *Romans*, but they fell preſently all to Pieces again among themſelves. The *Paſchal-Feaſt*, or the Feaſt of *unleavened Bread* being now at Hand: That is to ſay, the fourteenth of the Month *Xanthicus*; which is the Day, from whence the *Jews* date their Deliverance out of *Ægypt*: *Eleazar* cauſed the Temple-Gate to be ſet open for a free Entrance to all People that come up to worſhip. *John* made Uſe of this religious Occaſion, and Pretext, for a Cover to a moſt execrable Wickedneſs that he had in his Heart. He pick'd out a ſelect Number of his own People that were the leaſt known, and moſt of them Licentious and prophane: And theſe he ſecretly intermingled with the Worſhippers; giving them Daggers, and private Arms under their Coats, with Inſtructions how to behave themſelves. The Temple was immediately all in a Tumult both within and without; and this Uproar looked upon as a general Deſign upon the whole Multitude, by thoſe that were not of the Plot. But *Eleazar* and the *Zelotes* knew better; and that the Malice of this Exploit was principally levelled at them: And thereupon the Guards drew off from the Gates; others leapt down from the Towers without ſtriking a Blow, and crept into the Temple Vaults to hide themſelves. The common People that betook themſelves to the Altar, were miſerably deſtroy'd; ſome of them ſqueez'd and trampled to Death in the Croud; others lay weltering in their Blood up and down, or their Brains beaten out with Swords and Cudgels. Where any Man had a Pick at another, it was but making him one of the contrary Faction to cover his Revenge; and a particular Grudge was Pretence enough to take away any Man's Life, or to call him a *Zelote.* But after all theſe barbarous Inhumanities upon the Innocent, the Guilty found ſome Sort of Quarter yet; in a Connivance of their Eſcapes out of thoſe Vaults and Holes, where they had abſconded. The *Zelotes* being now abſolute Maſters of the Inner-Temple, preſſed harder and harder ſtill upon *Simon:* The Faction being now reduced to two Diviſions that were in three before.

The three Factions reduced to two.

Titus was at this Time thinking to decamp from *Scopos*, and to advance nearer *Jeruſalem.* So that in Order to his Removal, he poſted a competent Strength of his beſt Troops to prevent and to encounter Inroads, and gave it in Charge to another Body of Men, to ſee all the Ways levell'd betwixt that and *Jeruſalem.* Upon this, the Hedges, the Walls and the Country-People's Fences about their Gardens were all taken away, and the Trees cut down round about; Fruit-Trees and all, though never ſo choice: The Hollows all filled up; the Crags plain'd, and the whole Tract of Ground from *Scopos* to *Herod's Sepulchre*, and *the Pool of Serpents* [otherwiſe call'd *Bethara,*] all made ſmooth and even.

Titus *moves from* Scopos *toward* Jeruſalem.

And gives Order for the filling up and levelling all the Paſſes.

CHAP. V.

The Jews *lay their Heads together to put a Cheat upon the* Romans. Titus *has no Faith in the Pretence. The* Jews *outwit the* Romans. Titus *threatens his Men with martial Law; but upon the Officers Mediation* Titus *grants them their Pardon. The Siege of* Jeruſalem.

THE *Jews* had at this Time a Plot in their Heads how to put a Trick upon the *Romans.* Some of the boldeſt of the Party made a Step out of the Town, a little beyond the Place they call the *Women's Towers*; upon a Pretence, that they were forced out of the City, for Fear of a Party within it that was for Peace; and that they durſt not venture any farther for Fear of the *Romans:* But there they kept themſelves as cloſe, and as much out of Sight as they could. There was at the ſame Time another Party upon the Walls roaring out as loud as they could, and in the Name of the Inhabitants, for a Peace and an Alliance with the *Romans:* Imploring them at the ſame Time to come over to them, and they would open them the Gates. And for the better Grace of this Impoſture, they counterfeited a Squabble and a Conteſt among themſelves: Some pretending to preſs out to the *Romans*; and others caſting Stones at them to hinder them: And ſtill perſiſting in Appearance either by fair Means or by foul to make their Way. At this Rate, after ſeveral feigned Attempts and Repulſes, they went their Way back again like Mad-Men at the Diſappointment. The Cheat went down well enough with the Common Soldiers, who look'd upon the Town to be as good as their own already; and preſs'd ſo eagerly to be in Action, as if there had been nothing wanting but the Ceremony of opening the Gates to put them in Poſſeſſion of it. But *Titus* had no Faith at all in the Pretext of this Invitation; having made them an Offer by *Joſeph*, but the Day before, of as much as they ſeemed now to deſire, and they rejected the Propoſal. So that *Titus* commanded his Soldiers every Man of them to ſtand to their Arms and to maintain their Poſts. But in the mean while, ſome of thoſe that were employed upon the Trenches, betook themſelves to their Weapons in a Hurry, and ran toward the Gates. The *Jews* that pretended to be driven out of the Town, let them paſs by without any Interruption; till they were got up within a little of ſome of the Towers near the Port: And then following them cloſe upon the Rear, they hemmed them in within Reach of Stones, Darts and all Manner of Shot of that Quality from the Walls: Where great Numbers of them were kill'd and wounded; being ſo pent up by thoſe that preſſed upon the Backs of them, that there was no getting clear of the Wall: Beſide that

The Jews *deſign a Cheat upon the* Romans,

Titus *has no Faith in the Pretence.*

betwixt Shame and Confuſion, on the one Hand, for their Diſobedience; and the Fear of Puniſhment for it, on the other, they were hardened into a Reſolution of proſecuting what they had begun, But, in Fine, after a long Diſpute, and with an equal Loſs on both Sides, the *Romans* in the Concluſion brake thorough the Body of the *Jews*; who yet purſu'd them in their Retreat with Lances and other ſuch like Weapons, as far as the Sepulchre of *Helena*: And not without inſolent and contemptuous Reproaches upon the *Romans* for being outwitted, and made ſuch Fools of. This they did, waving their Bucklers over their Heads; leaping and dancing all the Way they went, with Shouts of Joy and Triumph.

The Jews *outwit the* Romans.

When the *Romans* were thus come off, their Officers treated them with Menaces and Scorn; and *Titus* himſelf received them with a Speech of Reſentment and Indignation, to this following Purpoſe. *How comes it*, ſays he, *that the* Jews *that have nothing but their Deſpair for their Directors*, *ſhould yet manage their Affairs with ſo much Conſideration, Stratagem and Succeſs? The Queſtion is anſwer'd in one Word:* They live in Obedience to their Superiours, and in good Will and Union one with another: *Whereas the* Romans, *that have been hitherto ſo famous for their excellent Order and Diſcipline and conſequently for their good Fortune, are now fallen off, and deſtroy'd by the headſtrong Intemperances of their own Folly, in making War without Officers*; *and, which is worſt of all,* Cæſar *himſelf to be a Spectator of this. What a Scandal will this be to the very Rules and Methods of Arms! Or what will my Father ſay, do ye think, when he ſhall come to hear of it: A General, that in the whole Courſe of a long and a military Life, never met with any Thing like it before? Now ſuch is the Severity of* Martial Law, *that it makes it Capital for any Man to depart from the ſtrict Rule of Diſcipline, even in a ſmall Matter; but in this Caſe, the whole Army is a Deſerter. And be it known to you all, that, according to the Strictneſs of the* Roman *Conduct, Victory it ſelf is a Scandal when it is gain'd by extravagant Means.*

Titus *gives his Men a ſevere Reproof: And threatens to deliver them up to the Law.*

Titus delivered theſe Words with ſome Sort of Indignation; which gave the Officers to underſtand, that the Law was to be executed; and upon this, the whole Body of the Offenders gave themſelves for loſt; being ſatisfy'd in their Conſciences that they had deſerv'd the Juſtice they fear'd. But, in this Interval, the *Legions* did in a Manner beſet *Titus*, with Petitions and Interceſſions on the Behalf of their unfortunate Companions: Imploring his Mercy toward the Failings of a few raſh People for the Sake of a greater Number that ſtood firm; and upon an Aſſurance that they would attone by their future Services for their paſt Faults. *Cæſar* found his Intereſt, as well as his Inclination, in complying with this Mediation; for though in the Caſe of a ſingle Perſon it may be requiſite to uſe Severity, the ſame Reaſon does not hold yet in a Multitude. *Titus*, in fine, forgave and forgot all that was paſt; upon Condition, that his People would be honeſter and wiſer for the Time to come: And from thence forward he ſet his Thoughts at Work how to revenge himſelf on the treacherous *Jews*.

But the Soldiers interpoſe on their Behalf, and Cæſar *pardons them.*

The Siege of Jeruſalem.

His firſt Buſineſs was to lay all Level betwixt himſelf and the Town; which was the Work only of four Days: After which, he ordered the beſt of his Troops to advance towards the Ramparts, betwixt *North* and *Weſt*: The Foot drawn up in ſeven Battalions, and the Horſe in three Squadrons, with Archers betwixt them. This being a Force ſufficient to prevent or repel all Excurſions; the Baggage of the three Legions, and the Train thereunto belonging were all out of Danger.

Titus encamping at the Diſtance of two Stadia from the City, over againſt the Tower call'd *Pſephinus*; upon that Angle of the Wall, where it winds off from the *North* to the *Weſtward*; intrenching alſo another Part of his Army toward the *Tower Hippicos*, ſome two Furlongs likewiſe from the City; keeping the tenth Legion ſtill where it was, upon *Mount Olivet*.

CHAP. VI.

The Deſcription of Jeruſalem. *Three Walls. The old Wall impregnable. Three famous Towers. A diſmal Conflagration. The Magnificence and Situation of the Temple. The Womens* Oratory. *The holy Sanctuary. The inner Part of it, with the Partitions. The Candleſtick, Table and Altar. The Outſide of the Temple. The Roof The Altar before the Temple. No unclean Perſon ſuffered to enter. The Prieſts exemplary in their Converſation. The Prieſts Veil. The Ephod. Fort* Antonia.

The Deſcription of Jeruſalem. *Three Walls.*

THE City of *Jeruſalem* was ſurrounded with three Walls; ſaving only upon the Quarter toward the inacceſſible Valleys, where there was but one. It was erected upon two Hills; the one directly fronting the other, and a deep

Valley betwixt them; all cover'd with Houſes. The Mountain that the *upper Town* ſtands upon is much the higher and the ſteeper of the two: And for the Strength of the Situation, King *David* the Father of *Solomon* that erected the Temple, gave it the Name formerly of the Fortreſs or Caſtle; and this is it which we call at this Day the *upper Market*.

The lower Town.

The *lower Town* is ſeated upon another Hill that bears the Name of *Acra*, with a ſteep Declivity round about it. There was formerly another Hill alſo over-againſt this; ſomewhat lower than the *Acra*, and divided from it by a large Valley: But in the Time of the *Aſmonæans*, their Princes fill'd up this Bottom; and cutting off from the Hill *Acra*, they join'd the Town to the Temple; by which Means it overlook'd and commanded all the reſt.

The Valley of Tyropœon, and the Fountain of Siloe.

The Name of the Valley aforeſaid, that ſeparates the *upper Town* from the *lower*, is *Tyropœon*; and it ſtretches as far as to the Fountain of *Siloe*: That affords an excellent Water to drink, and great Plenty of it.

There are likewiſe without the Town two other Towns, next to inacceſſible, by the Crags and Precipices every where round about them.

The old Wall impregnable.

The oldeſt of the three Walls was extremely ſtrong, by Reaſon of the Depth of the Valley below, and the over-hanging of the Rock from above, whereupon it was erected. And beſide the natural Advantage of the Situation, it had all the Helps that *David* and *Solomon*, and ſeveral other Princes, could contribute to the further ſtrengthening of it by Art, Induſtry, and Expence. It began on that Side, at the *Tower Hippicos*; and ſo [a] to another Tower call'd the *Galleries*, running along by the *Town-Houſe*, to the *Weſt* Porch of the Temple. It paſs'd on the other Side, reckoning from the ſame Place, by [b] *Bethſo*, down to the *Eſſene-Gate*; and ſo *Southward*, by the Fountain of *Siloe*; where it ſtrikes off to the *Eaſtward*, toward the Pool of *Solomon*; and thence by *Ophlas*, to the *Eaſt Porch* of the Temple,

The *ſecond Wall* begins at *Genath*, a Gate belonging to the former Wall; and ſo runs on, upon the North Side of the City, to the Fort *Antonia*.

The [c] *third Wall* began at the Tower *Hippicos*, and ſo ran *Northward* to that of *Pſephinos*; over-againſt *Helena*'s *Sepulchre*, the Queen of *Adiabena*, and Mother of King *Izates*; keeping along by the royal Caves, from the Tower at the Corner toward that which they call the *Fullers Monument*; whence it came up to the old Wall in the Vale of *Cedron*: And this was the Compaſs of it. This Wall was the Work of *Agrippa*, for the Security of that Part of the Town that he had built; which was otherwiſe naked and defenceleſs. The City was by this Time grown ſo populous, that the Place was too narrow for the Inhabitants; ſo that by little and little they crept out into a Kind of *Suburbs*; and on the *North Side* of the Temple next the Hill, their Buildings encreas'd extremely.

There was a *fourth Mountain* that fronted *Antonia*; with Ditches cut out, of a prodigious Depth betwixt them; inſomuch that there was no coming at the Foundation of *Antonia*, to undermine it: Beſide that the ſinking of the Trench added ſo much to the Height of the Tower. They gave the *fourth Mountain* the Name of *Bezeth*, or the *New-Town*; being an Enlargement only of the former. When this Place came to be inhabited, the People earneſtly deſir'd to have it fortify'd: And *Agrippa* the Father of this King of the ſame Name, modell'd his Deſign, and ran up this Wall about it; as you have heard. But upon a Fancy coming into his Head, that *Claudius Cæſar* might perhaps take ſome Offence and Jealouſy at the Pomp and Oſtentation of ſo magnificent a Work; *Agrippa* went no farther than the laying of the Foundations, and ſo dropp'd the Project: But if he had gone on, *Jeruſalem* could never have been taken.

The Stones of this Wall were twenty Cubits in Length; and ten over: And ſo hard and firm withal, that they were Proof either againſt Mining or Battery. The Wall was alſo ten Cubits thick, and they would have been anſwerably high in Proportion; if the Fear of *Claudius* (as I told you) had not put a Stop to *Agrippa*'s Deſign. The *Jews*, 'tis true, carry'd up the Wall afterwards to twenty Cubits, with Battlements of two Cubits at the Top; and Parapets, of three: Which in all make five and twenty Cubits. The Wall was fortify'd with Towers of twenty Cubits Square, every Jot as ſubſtantial as the very Wall; and not inferiour, for Strength and Beauty, to the Stones and Workmanſhip of the Temple it ſelf. Theſe Towers were rais'd twenty Cubits above the Wall, with winding Stair-Caſes leading up to them; Lodgings and eating Rooms on the Top, and Ciſterns for Rain Water. Upon the *third Wall* there were ninety Towers all of a

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[a] Gr. Ἐπὶ τὸ Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον

[b] *Ruf.* Beriſo.

[c] *See Dr.* Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, *l.* 2. *c.* 4.

Make, and at the equal Diſtance of two hundred Cubits one from another. The *middle Wall* had only fourteen Towers; the *old Wall*, ſixty; and *thirty three Furlongs* was the Compaſs of the whole City,

The *third Wall* was all over a wonderful Piece of Workmanſhip from one End to the other; but yet not comparable to the Tower call'd *Pſephinos:* It ſtands upon the Angle of the Wall, *North-Weſt* of the City; upon that Quarter where *Titus* had encamp'd. The Height of it was ſeventy Cubits; and ſo advantagious a Proſpect, that in a clear Day one might ſee *Arabia* from it; the Sea, and the uttermoſt Confines of the *Hebrews*. The Figure of it was with eight Angles. Juſt againſt this, was the Tower *Hippicos*, and there were near at Hand two other Towers of *Herod's* erecting upon the *old Wall:* Which, for Size, Curioſity and Strength, were look'd upon as the moſt famous Maſter-Pieces in the World. For the King, over and above the natural Greatneſs of his Mind, gratify'd the Impulſe of his Inclination alſo; in doing all he could for the Good and Glory of the City. He dedicated his three Towers to the Honour and Memory of the three Perſons he had the greateſt Eſteem for in the World; his Brother, his Friend and his Wife: The two former having ſignaliz'd themſelves by dying gloriouſly upon the Field of Battle; the other being put to Death by himſelf, in a Freak of Jealouſy.

Three famous Towers to the Honour of his Brother, his Friend, and his Wife. Hippicos, Phaſaelus, *and* Mariamne.

The Tower of *Hippicos* (the Name of one of his Friends) had four Angles, five and twenty Cubits over, and thirty in Height, and the whole Body of it ſolid. Above this, was a Platform of Stones accurately joynted; and a Receptacle for Rain Water, of twenty Cubits deep. Over this Terraſs, were yet two Stories of five and twenty Cubits each, and divided into ſeveral Chambers or Quarters: And over that Building were Battlements of two Cubits high, and Parapets of three Cubits all around; amounting in the whole to the Height of eighty five Cubits.

Herod call'd the *ſecond Tower*, *Phaſael*, by the Name of his Brother. It was forty Cubits ſquare, and in Height; after the Manner of a Pillar: All maſſive within from Top to Bottom. And above this, was a Porch of ten Cubits high; ſupported with Arches, and ſet out with other Curioſities. Over the Middle of this Porch, was another; with rich Bathes and Apartments to it, ſuitable to the Magnificence of the royal Founder. On the Top of it were Battlements and Fortifications; the whole Height of the Tower falling little ſhort of ninety Cubits. It had at a Diſtance ſome Reſemblance of the Watch-Tower of *Pharos*; the famous Sea-Mark to thoſe that ſail'd toward *Alexandria*; only much the larger of the two, and at this Time, the Reſidence of *Simon*, that tyrannical Oppreſſor.

Herod gave the *third Tower* the Name of the Queen *Mariamne* his Wife. It was twenty Cubits ſquare, Length and Breadth; and five and fifty Cubits high. It muſt be allow'd, that the Structure, the Rooms and the Furniture of the two other Towers were rich and pompous; but they were yet as much below the Curioſity, the Beauty and the Ornament of this, as this fell ſhort of the Strength and Dignity of the other two: The King rightly diſtinguiſhing betwixt the maſculine Virtues of the two *Heroes*, *Hippicos* and *Phaſael*, and the ſoft Tenderneſs of a fair Lady in the Perſon of *Mariamne*.

Now as to theſe three Towers, the Height was prodigious; and yet the Place they were rais'd upon, made it ſeem much more than it was. For the *old Wall* they ſtood upon, was it ſelf erected upon a very high Piece of Ground · And theſe Turrets again were advanc'd upon the Top of a Mountain that was yet thirty Cubits higher than the ancient Wall. Neither were they leſs admirable for the Materials they were made of, than for the Structure. The Stones were neither common, nor of a Weight to be remov'd with Hands: But of white Marble cut out into Planks of twenty Cubits long; ten in Breadth, and five Cubits deep; and ſo artificially put together, that there was no Joynts to be ſeen: But every diſtinct Tower look'd like one entire Piece.

The Palace Royal.

This was on the *North Side* of the City; and juſt within it there ſtood a royal Palace, ſo rich and curious, that it is not for the Tongue of Man to expreſs it: Beſide that it was all encloſed with a Wall of thirty Cubits in Height, and Turrets of the beſt Work and Maſters, planted at equal Diſtances one from another round about it; with ſplendid Lodgings and Treating-Rooms to receive a hundred Perſons. There was an incredible Collection of the choiceſt Marbles for Variety and Beauty, that could be gotten for Money. The Beams and Timbers that ſupported the Roofs were for Length and Thickneſs, beyond Imagination; and ſo were the ornamental Additions toward the finiſhing of the Work. There were a World of Chambers with commodious Paſſages, and Contrivances innumerable; for Sight as well as for Convenience; the whole being magnificently ſet out and furniſh'd, with all the Advantages of Gold and Silver, and whatever elſe was precious. There were alſo Porches and Galleries in Abundance, leading in a Kind of Circle from one to another, and in each of them a Row of Pillars. Now for the Diſtances betwixt thoſe Pillars that lay to the open Air, nothing could be more agreeable than the Proſpect of ſo many Groves and Nurſeries of ſo many ſeveral Plants; long and pleaſant Walks, beſet with Ciſterns, Fountains, Pipes and brazen Figures to ſpout out Water, with Volaries of tame Pigeons gathering about it for Refreſhment. But it is impoſſible for any Man to do this Palace Right in the Deſcription of it; beſide that my Heart bleeds at the very Thought of the Story, to conſider what a Devaſtation hath been made here by an impious Crew of Incendiaries and Traytors. For this Conflagration was not the Work of the *Romans*, but of a Band of wicked Miſcreants, as we have already obſerv'd upon the Beginning of this Sedition, who burnt all from the Fort *Antonia*; and then carrying it on to the Palace, ſet Fire to the Roofs of the three Towers.

A diſmal Conflagration.

The Temple was built, as I ſaid, upon a very hard Rock, which was ſo ſteep on all Hands, that at firſt there was ſcarce Ground ſufficient on the Top of it for the Temple, and the Encloſure that was to be about it. But when King *Solomon* erected this Fabrick, he order'd the running up of a Wall to the *Eaſtward* of it, to keep up the Earth: And having ſo far ſecur'd it, he built a Porch upon the Rampart. There was not as yet any other Fortification; but the People carrying up Earth from Time to Time afterwards to ſupply the Defect, the Hill came by Degrees to be enlarged. They brake down ſome Time after this the *North-Wall*, and took in as much Ground there too, as ſerv'd in Time to come for the Foundation of the whole Temple.

The Deſign ſucceeding ſo much beyond Expectation, they encompaſs'd the Hill with three Walls; but with a prodigious Expence of Time and Treaſure; for it was not only a Work of many Ages; but the whole Maſs of religious Oblations from all Parts of the World, to the Honour and Service of God and his Worſhip, was ſpent upon this Undertaking, reckoning the Charge as well of the upper as of the lower Temple; which latter was erected upon a Foundation of three Hundred Cubits deep, and in ſome Places more; but the Depth did not appear in Regard that the Valley was now fill'd up to the very Level of the Streets in the City. The Stones provided for this mighty Undertaking, were of forty Cubits in Length; which gave them to underſtand that there was nothing impoſſible where there was Money and Good-will; and that Conſtancy, Time, and Patience, could work Miracles.

The Situation, Magnificence, and Structure of the Temple.

As the Foundations were wonderful, ſo the Dignity of the Superſtructure was not inferiour to that of the Ground-Work. The Galleries above were all double, upheld by Pillars of White Marble all of a Piece, and five and twenty Cubits in Height, and wainſcotted with Cedar; which for the Curioſity of the Work, and the Smoothneſs of the Grain, was a delightful Entertainment to the Spectator, without Need of any additional Ornaments either of Painting or Carving. They were all thirty Cubits over, and ſix Stadia the whole Compaſs of them, including the Tower *Antonia*. In the open Air, where there was no Covering over Head, the Ground was pav'd and chequer'd with all Sorts of Stones: But the Way to the ſecond Temple was lin'd on each Hand with Stone-Baluſtres, delicately wrought and poliſhed, of three Cubits high. In this Paſſage there were alſo ſeveral Pillars orderly diſpos'd, with Inſcriptions and Precepts upon them in *Latin* and *Greek*, upon the Subject of Continence and Chaſtity, and forbidding Strangers to enter into that holy Place. For the ſecond Temple was call'd holy, and it was fourteen Steps above the firſt. The Figure of it was four-ſquare, with a Wall of its own; which though forty Cubits without, was yet but five and twenty Cubits within, the Place being cover'd with the Steps that led to mount it. Now this Wall being built upon an Advance-Ground with Stairs to it, Part of the Inſide was ſo blinded with the Mountain that it could not be diſcern'd.

At the Top of theſe fourteen Steps, there was a plain Level of three hundred Cubits up to the Wall; and from thence, five Steps more to the Gates of the Temple. There were alſo four from the *North*, as many from the *South*, and two from the *Eaſt*.

The Womens Oratory.

The Women had an Oratory, or a worſhipping Place by themſelves; with a Partition Wall to it, and two Gates; one to the *South*, the other to the *North*; which were the two only Paſſages of Entrance to the Women; neither were they permitted to paſs their own. For that Place was free indifferently to Women, Inhabitants, as well as Strangers that came thither upon Devotion. The *Weſt* Side of it was a dead Wall, without any Door at all. Betwixt the aforeſaid Gates, and over-againſt the Wall within near the Treaſury, there were Galleries with ſtately Pillars to ſupport them; plain and ſimple, and not much inferiour to thoſe below.

Some of theſe Gates were plated all over with Gold and Silver; Poſts, Front and all; but there was one, without the Temple, of *Corinthian* Braſs; which is much the richer Mettal of the three. There were double Doors to every Gate, each thirty Cubits high, and fifteen broad. They were wider within, and withdrawing-Rooms on each Hand, of thirty Cubits ſquare after the Manner of Turrets; and upward of twenty Cubits high, and each of them born up with Pillars of twelve Cubits in Thickneſs, the other Gates being of the ſame Dimenſions in Proportion. As to the *Corinthian* Portal on the Eaſt-ſide of the Temple where the Women came in, it was undoubtedly the largeſt, and the moſt magnificent of them all; for it was fifty Cubits high, the Gates forty; and the Gold and Silver Plates upon it more ſubſtantial than thoſe that *Alexander*, the Father of *Tiberias*, laid upon the other nine. There were fifteen Steps from the Wall that parted the Men and the Women, to the great Gate; which was five ſhort of thoſe that led to the other Gates.

The holy Sanctuary.

The Temple it ſelf; that is to ſay, the holy Temple or Sanctuary, was placed in the Middle with twelve Stairs up to it. The Height of it was a hundred Cubits, and the Breadth, as many in the Front; but backward, it wanted forty of the Number. For upon the Entrance, there were two Additions rais'd (like two Shoulders) of twenty Cubits each. The Height of the firſt Gate was ſeventy Cubits, and five and twenty over; but it had no Doors to it, being a Figure of Heaven, open and viſible to the whole World. The Front and Outſides of it were all over guilded; and nothing to be ſeen in the Inſide of the Temple neither, which had not likewiſe a dazling Luſtre.

The inner Part of it, with the Partitions.

The inner-Part of it was divided into two Partitions. The firſt of them in Sight was open to the Top, which was ninety Cubits in Height, forty in Length, and twenty over. The Inſide of the Gate was, as I ſaid, plated all over with Gold, and the Wall guilded every where about it. There were alſo Leaves and Branches of Vines over-head, and huge Cluſters of Grapes that hung dangling down, betwixt five and ſix Foot deep, all of Gold too. The other Partition of the Temple being ciel'd above, appear'd the lower of the two. The Doors to it were of Gold, five and fifty Cubits in Height, and ſixteen Broad, with a Piece of *Babylonian* Tapiſtry hanging before them, of the ſame Dimenſions, and interwoven with Blew, Purple, and Scarlet, moſt artificially put together, and wrought to Admiration. And the Mixture was not a bare Curioſity neither, but a myſtical Alluſion to the four Elements, either by the Colours, or by the Matter they were made of; the Scarlet repreſenting the Fire, the Silk, the Earth that produced it; the Azure, the Air; and the Purple, the Sea from whence it comes. So that this Veil or Hanging, was, in little, an Emblem of the Univerſe, only excepting the celeſtial Signs.

This Entrance leads you into the lower Part of the Temple; the Height and Length of it ſixty Cubits, and the Breadth twenty. This Length of ſixty Cubits was then ſubdivided into two unequal Parts, one of forty Cubits, and the other of twenty. The former Part of forty Cubits, had in it the three wonderful Rarities that had been celebrated over the whole World, the *Candleſtick*, the *Table*, and the *Altar of Incenſe*. The *Candleſtick* had *ſeven Branches*, (all out of the ſame Stem) with *ſeven Lights*, repreſenting the *ſeven Planets*. The *twelve Loaves* of Shew-Bread upon the Table pointed at the *twelve Signs* in the *Zodiack*, and the Courſe of the Year. By the *thirteen* Sorts of *Perfumes* in the *Cenſer* upon the *Altar* of *Incenſe* (divers of theſe Odours being extracted out of the Deep of the inhoſpitable Sea) we are given to underſtand that God is Maſter of the Univerſe, and that all Things are made for his Honour and Service.

The Candleſtick, *the* Table, *and the* Altar, *three Pieces of Art.*

The inner Part of the Temple being only twenty Cubits in Height, was divided by a Veil alſo from the other, and nothing at all in it; neither was any Man permitted to enter in, or ſo much as look into it; and it was called the *Sanctuary* or the *Holy* of *Holies*. Upon the Sides of this lower Temple there were ſeveral Lodgings, leading from one to another, with three Stories over Head, and Paſſages into them out of the great Portal. Now the upper Part being narrower than the other, could not have the Convenience of the ſame Order of Chambers; but it was forty Cubits higher, though the leſs ſplendid of the two. The Height, in fine, upon the whole, was a hundred Cubits, and the *Plan* only ſixty.

The Outſide of the Temple.

The Beauty and Curioſity of the Temple, on the Outſide, was agreeable and charming beyond Imagination; being fac'd every where with ſubſtantial golden Plates, that ſparkled like the Morning-Sun; and every Jot as dazling to the Eye to gaze upon them. Where there was no Guilding; the Structure was all ſo delicately white, that it look'd at a Diſtance to Travellers like a Marble Mountain, or a Pillar of Snow.

The Roof.

The Roof of the Temple was cover'd and arm'd all over with pointed Spikes of Gold, to keep off the Birds from Neſtling upon it and fouling it. There were a great many Stones in this Building, of forty five Cubits long, five in Height, and ſix Cubits broad.

The Altar before the Temple.

The Altar before the Temple was fifteen Cubits high, and forty ſquare; and four Angles to it like Horns. The Aſcent to this Altar was on the *South-ſide*, and very difficult by Reaſon of the Declivity of the Paſſage. There came no Hammer upon it, nor any Iron-Tool in the Working of it.

There was a Partition rais'd of Stone Work, curiouſly wrought, and of one Cubit in Height, encloſing the Temple and the Altar, and ſeparating the People from the Prieſts.

No unclean Perſons admitted into it.

No People troubled with the *Gonorrhœa*, and no *Lepers* were ſuffer'd, either in the Temple, or in the City. No Women to come near the Temple in the Time of their Courſes; and even when they are over, not to paſs further than as we have ſaid above. Neither were Men allow'd to enter the inner Temple without being firſt purify'd, and even then alſo, they were not to mingle with the Prieſts.

Thoſe of the [a] *ſacerdotal Race* that were hinder'd by any Defect from the Exerciſe of their Function, took their Places yet with thoſe that had none, and had their Allowances in common with the reſt; only under the Diſtinction of a Lay-Habit: For no Man is allow'd to wear the Veſtments of a Prieſt, but he that actually executes the Office.

The Prieſts exemplary in Life and Converſation.

The Prieſts Veil.

And the Myſtery of it.

The Prieſts that ſerve in the Temple and at the Altar, were to be Perſons exemplary in their Lives and Converſations, and without either Scandal or Blemiſh: Their Cloathing, fine Linen; temperate and abſtemious in their eating and drinking, for the Reverence of the holy Function. The High-Prieſt went up with the other Prieſts to the Altar every *ſeventh Day*, and upon the firſt Day of every Month, and upon all publick anniverſary Feſtivals; where he officiated in a Veil girt about him, and hanging down over Part of his Thighs; with a Linen Veil under it that reach'd down to the Ground: And over both theſe, he wore a large Violet colour'd Garment, fring'd at the Bottom; and golden Bells and Pomegranates interchangeably faſten'd to it: The Bells repreſenting the Thunder, and the other, the Lightning. His *Pectoral* was ty'd about him with Party colour'd Ribbons; as Gold Colour, Purple, Scarlet, Linen and Violet: Which were the Colours alſo, as I have ſaid already, of the Veils of the Temple.

The Ephod.

The Mixture of the *Ephod* was the ſame too, only more of Gold in it; and in the Shape of it, not much unlike that of a Breaſt Piece. It was bound together with two golden Buckles in the Figure of *Aſpes*, and ſet with *Sardonyx Stones*, the largeſt and the richeſt that were to be got, with the Names of the *twelves Tribes of Iſrael* inſcrib'd upon them. There were alſo four Rows of precious Stones, hanging down in the Order of three and three in a Row: That is to ſay; a *Sardonyx*, *Topaz*, *Emerald*, *Carbuncle*, *Jaſpar*, *Sapphire*, *Agat*, *Amethyſt*, a *Lynx Stone*, *Onyx*, a *Beryl* and a *Chryſolite*; with the ſame Names upon them reſpectively as before.

He had upon his Head a ſilken *Tiara*, with a Crown over it of Violet Colour, and another Crown over that of Gold; with the ſacred Vowels engraven upon it.

The High-Prieſt's [b] every Day's Habit was not ſo rich and magnificent; but this was only made Uſe of for the Solemnity of once a Year, and that for him alone too; and when he enter'd into the Holy of Holies; which Day was ſtrictly obſerv'd as a religious Faſt. But I ſhall have Occaſion hereafter, and elſewhere, to be more particular upon the Subject of the City, the Temple, and our Laws and Cuſtoms; as there ſhall be Occaſion for it.

The Fort of Antonia.

The Fortreſs of *Antonia* was built in an Angle betwixt the two Galleries of the firſt Temple, looking *Weſt* and *North*. It was rais'd upon a Rock of fifty Cubits in Height; inacceſſibly ſteep on all Hands; and, in Fine, *Herod*'s Maſter-Piece, both for Magnificence and Contrivance. The Rock was faced and cruſted with thin Scales of Marble from the Bottom to the Top, both for Ornament and for Security-Sake; for it was ſo ſlippery, that there was no going up or down. This Tower was encloſ'd with a Wall only of three Cubits High; and within that Compaſs ſtood the Caſtle of *Antonia* of forty Cubits; with the State, Splendour and Conveniences of a Court, Lodgings, and Offices for all Purpoſes; ſpacious Halls, and Places of Parade for the Uſe and Service of a Camp. So that for Matter of Neceſſaries, it was rather a City than a Fort; and for the Magnificence, it look'd like a Palace. It was upon the whole, the Reſemblance of a Tower, and encompaſſed with four other Towers at equal Diſtances one from another, and one from every Corner: Three of them of fifty Cubits in Height; and the fourth that look'd to the *South* and *Eaſtward*, of ſeventy Cubits; and from thence they had the View of the whole Temple. From the Place where the Galleries join'd, there were upon the right and left two Pair of Stairs; which ſerv'd for a Paſſage to the Soldiers into the Temple: For when the *Romans* were Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, there were Guards poſted ſtill upon that Quarter to prevent Seditions upon their publick Feſtivals and Meetings. The Temple commanded the City, as *Antonia* commanded the Temple. This Place had a Guard upon it, and *Herod*'s Palace was as good as a Fort to the upper Town. The Mountain *Bezeth* (the Top Mountain of them all) was cut off, as I ſaid before, from *Antonia*, and join'd to Part of the new Town: Beſide that it was the only Blind upon the *Northſide* of the Temple. This is all I have to ſay at preſent of the City and the Walls; being to ſpeak further of them hereafter.

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[a] *See* Selden de Synedr. Hebr. *p.* 102 *l.* 3. *c.* 11. Ed. Amſtel.

[b] Cunæus *confutes this Opinion of* Joſephus, *in his* Rep. Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *See* Bonfrerius *upon* Leviticus, *who gives another Reading of the Text.*

CHAP. VII.

Simon 15000 *ſtrong.* John *in Poſſeſſion of the Temple.* Simon *Maſter of the upper Town; and* Monobazus, *of the Hill* Acra. *The* Romans *at the Gates; and the Factions in the Town as violent as ever.* Titus *views the Place where to give the Aſſault.* Nicanor *baſely wounded, and* Veſpaſian *meditates a Revenge. A Siege reſolv'd upon, and the Manner of it.* Titus *orders three Attacks. The Factions fall heavy upon the* Roman *Enginiers.* Titus *ſupports the Machines. The* Romans *worſted by Surprize: But a Party of* Alexandrians *recover the Honour of the Day.* Titus *finiſhes the Work.* John *the* Idumæan *ſlain by an* Arabian.

Simon *fifteen thouſand ſtrong.*

SImon had a Body of ten thouſand Men, beſide *Idumæans*; which were five thouſand more; fifteen thouſand in all: Ten thouſand of them under fifty Captains, and *Simon* himſelf the Commander in Chief; the other five thouſand under twenty Officers; and theſe were the moſt daring mutinous Part of the whole Faction. The Principals among them were *James* the Son of *Soſas*, and *Simon* the Son of *Cathlas*.

John *with ſix thouſand Men poſſeſs'd of the Temple.*

John was now in Poſſeſſion of the Temple with ſix thouſand Men under the Command of twenty Captains; and there came in to him (all Quarrels apart) four and twenty hundred of the *Zelotes*; who liſted themſelves under *Eleazar*, whom they had formerly ſerv'd, and *Simon* the [a] Son of *Jair*.

Simon *Maſter of the upper Town.*

And Monobazus *of the Hill* Acra.

In this Oppoſition of the two Parties the People were a common Booty, and the leaſt Seditious were a Prey to them both. *Simon* was now Maſter of the *upper Town*, and the *great Wall* as far as *Cedron*, and ſo likewiſe of the *old Wall* that runs out to *Siloe*; and then bending to the *Eaſtward* goes on to the Palace of *Monobazus*. This *Monobazus* was the King of the *Adiabenians*, a People beyond *Euphrates*. He was poſſeſs'd alſo of the Hill *Acra*, the Seat of the *lower Town*, as far as the royal Reſidence of *Helena* the Mother of *Monabazus*.

The Romans *at the very Gates, and the Sedition in the Town as hot yet as ever.*

John all this while had the Command of the Temple, and ſome Places about it; but for *Ophlas*, and the Vale of *Cedron*, and what lay betwixt him and *Simon*, it was all conſum'd to Aſhes, and of no other Uſe or Service than for a Field of Battle. The *Romans* were at this Time drawn up before the very Gates; and yet the Sedition within the Walls as hot as ever. The Enemy's preſſing upon them brought them now and then by Fits, to their Senſes again: But upon the leaſt Interval of a Breathing while, they preſently relaps'd and brake out into Factions and Diviſions among themſelves; contending afreſh again upon the Foot of their former Pretenſions. Now this was the greateſt Service to the *Romans* they could have done them in the World; for they treated one another worſe than they were treated by the common Enemy: Having this Comfort yet in their Miſery, that they had no new Calamity to fear. They were put to harder Extremities, 'tis true, before the City was totally deſtroy'd; but the *Romans* did yet a greater Thing than the taking of the Place: For whereas the Sedition did but deſtroy the City, they deſtroy'd the very Sedition; which was a far greater Work than the bare Demoliſhing of the Walls. So that, upon the Short of the whole Matter, the *Jews* themſelves brought this Ruine upon their own Heads, and the *Romans* were only the Executioners of divine Juſtice upon them for their Impieties; as will better appear in what follows.

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[a] Lat. *Arini fil.*

Titus *takes a View of the Place where to give the Aſſault.*

While Matters were at this Paſs in the City, *Titus* with a Party of choice Horſe took the whole Tour of the Walls; to conſider upon what Quarter it lay moſt expos'd to an Attack. There was no coming at it he ſaw, for either Horſe or Foot, by the Way of the Valleys; and on the other Side, the firſt Wall was ſo firm, that there was no good to be done upon it by Battery. He bethought himſelf a while, and after a little Pauſe pitch'd upon that Part of the Line toward the *Sepulchre* of *John* the High-Prieſt, as the Place that lay the moſt expoſed to an Aſſault; both as the *firſt Wall* was lower there, and likewiſe cut off from the ſecond Wall; having neglected the fortifying of that Place, in Regard that the new City was not as yet peopled enough to attend it: Beſide that they might paſs from thence to the *third Wall*, and ſo to the *Upper Town*; and, with the Help of *Antonia*, take the very Temple it ſelf.

Titus'*s Friend* Nicanor, *at the ſame Time ba'ely wounded for adviſing a Peace.* Titus *in Revenge reſolves upon a Siege in Form, and to carry it by Force.*

While *Titus* was a conſidering and weighing theſe Things within himſelf, a particular Friend of his, *Nicanor*, by Name, was wounded in the left Shoulder by an Arrow from the Wall; as he was labouring with *Joſeph* (being an excellent Speaker) to bring the *Jews* over to deſire a Peace. *Titus* was ſo tranſported at the ungrateful Bitterneſs of theſe People toward their beſt Friends and Adviſers, that he immediately took up a Reſolution of beſieging the Town in Form, and taking it by Force. Upon this, he gave the Soldiers the Pillage of the Suburbs; ordering them to make Uſe of the Rubbiſh and Ruins for Works and Platforms. He divided his Army into three Bodies; aſſigning to all his Troops their Work and Stations. He diſpoſed of his Archers and Slingers upon the Mounts, in the Middle of the Body; with Engines to caſt Stones and other Shot before them; which ſerv'd them to two Purpoſes, either to repel the Enemy's Sallies, or to hold them in Play upon the Walls. The Trees were all cut down, and the Suburbs laid naked in an Inſtant; and the Timber employ'd upon Fortifications. All Hands, in Fine, were at Work on the *Roman* Side; and the *Jews* were not idle neither.

John'*s People do their Parts; but he himſelf dares not appear.*

A Combat, and the Manner it.

The People that had been formerly expoſed to Robberies and Murders, finding the Faction ſo wholly taken up in their own Defence, began to flatter themſelves with ſome Proſpect of Eaſe, in the very Hope that the *Romans* themſelves if they got the better of it, would effectually revenge their Quarrel; by putting it into their Power to do themſelves Juſtice. *John*'s People made a very vigorous Oppoſition to the Beſiegers; but he himſelf durſt not ſtir out of the Temple for Fear of *Simon*. Now *Simon* being poſted next the Enemy, was never out of Action. He planted all along the Wall the Shot and Engines that he had formerly taken from *Ceſtius*, and out of the Fort of *Antonia*. But his People made little Advantage of it, for Want of underſtanding the right Uſe and Management of them; only ſome little Skill they had got from here and there a Deſerter among them. But yet the *Jews* made Uſe of them however, to gall the Enemy from the Ramparts, with Stones and Arrows: Sallying out alſo in ſmall Parties, and coming to handy Blows with the *Romans:* Who on the other Side cover'd their Workmen with Hurdles and *Gabions*. The *Roman* Legions had every one of them wonderful Machines, to diſappoint the Inſults of an Enemy: The tenth eſpecially; not only for the caſting of larger Stones, but for throwing them farther. Every Stone was of a Talent Weight; and did Execution not only at Hand, but to the Top of the Walls or Ramparts; though it were at a Furlong Diſtance: And where it fell, it carry'd a whole File before it. The *Jews* were ſeveral Ways advertiſed of theſe Stones: Firſt, as they were white and eaſily diſcern'd in their Paſſage; ſecondly, by the Noiſe they made in the Air; and thirdly, by the Notice that was given from thoſe that were ſet to watch them: For there were People plac'd up and down upon the Towers to obſerve the playing of theſe Engines; and ſtill as any of them were diſcharged, the Watch-man cry'd out in his Mother's Tongue, [*THE STONE COMES*;] which gave every Man Time to look to himſelf, and get out of Harms-Way. The *Romans* after this, diſcoloured the Stones that they might not be diſcover'd in their Courſe; and by the Help of that Invention, killed ſeveral *Jews* ſometimes at one Blow. But this was not enough yet to divert the *Jews* from oppoſing the Progreſs of the *Romans* in their Fortifications; for they perſiſted Night and Day in doing all that was poſſible to be done, by Policy and Courage, to obſtruct their Proceeding.

So ſoon as the *Romans* had compleated their Works, they caſt down a Line and Plummet to take Meaſure of the Diſtance betwixt the Mount and the Wall: Which could not be done otherwiſe; for there was no abiding near it for the Shot and Darts that were ſhower'd down from above. When they found the Place juſt

fit

Titus *advances with his* Rams, *and orders three Attacks.*

fit for the *Rams*, *Titus* order'd them to be brought up and the other Machines to be advanced nearer the Wall, that they might have more Liberty to play: And hereupon, they ſet three Batteries at Work at a Time upon three ſeveral Parts of the Wall. The terrible Knocking of theſe Engines was heard all over the City, with the Cries of Citizens upon the Terrour of it; and the Faction it ſelf trembling under the Apprehenſion. The divided Members of this Sedition, finding themſelves now to be all under one common Danger, bethought themſelves of joining in one common Defence: Crying out one to another, that at this Rate they were only doing the Enemies Work; and if they could not agree among themſelves for good and all, it would behove them however at preſent to join unanimouſly in a Confederacy againſt the *Romans*. *Simon*, upon this, ſent away a Herald to thoſe that had ſhut themſelves up in the Temple; with Commiſſion to tell them, that ſo many of them that had a Mind to quit the Temple, and advance to the Wall, they had free Liberty to do it. *John* did not much confide in the good Faith of the Meſſage; but left his People to their own Freedom.

The Factions propoſe joining in one common Defence.

They march immediately up to the Walls in a full Body, and fall deſperately upon the Roman *Enginiers.*

The Factions piec'd immediately upon this Overture; and all old Grudges apart, march'd directly up to the Walls in a full Body. So ſoon as they had poſted themſelves for their Purpoſe, they fell to Work with their Fires and Torches upon the *Roman* Engines: Preſſing furiouſly alſo upon thoſe that had the ordering of them, and plying them with Darts and other Weapons of Offence without Intermiſſion. In this Heat of Rage and Reſolution, the *Jews* leap'd down deſperately from the Walls in Troops, upon the very Engines, tore off their Covers, and brake in upon the Guards that were ſet to defend them.

Titus *ſupports the Machines.*

But *Titus*, that never fail'd his Friends in a Time of Need, clapt a Party of Horſe and Archers upon the Guard of the Machines to keep off the Fire, and holding the *Jews* in Play upon the Walls, to leave the Engineers at Liberty to do Execution. But all this Battery made little or no Impreſſion yet: Only the Ram of the fifth Legion ſhook the Corner of a Tower, but without any Damage to the Wall it ſelf; for the Tower being much higher than the Wall, it tumbled down without drawing any Part of the Wall after it.

The Romans *worſted by a Surprize.*
And beaten back to their Camp.

The *Jews*, having for ſome ſhort Time intermitted their Sallies, the *Romans* took it to be either out of Fear or Wearineſs; and ſo went their Way careleſly up and down as in a State of Security. But the *Jews* taking Notice of this from the Town, and how the *Romans* were ſcatter'd and out of Order; they made a furious Excurſion upon them out of a Sally-Port from the Tower *Hippicos:* Set Fire to their Works, and in the Heat of this Succeſs, puſh'd the Beſiegers back to their very Camp. The *Alarum* paſſed immediately through the whole Army, and the *Romans* far and near drew preſently together to the Relief of their Companions: But the daring Hardineſs of the *Jews* was not yet able to ſupport it ſelf againſt the Diſcipline of the *Romans*. They over-ran at firſt all that they met withal; attacking thoſe that they found in a Body. But the Pinch of the Conflict was about the Engines; how to burn them on the one Side, and to ſave them on the other. The Air was torn with uncertain Outcries from both Parts: And this Encounter upon the Shock, coſt many a brave Man's Life. But the *Jews* were much the bolder and the more adventurous of the two. The Fire had by this Time laid hold of the Machines: And they had certainly been deſtroy'd with all that belong'd to them, if they had not been ſupported by a choice Party of *Alexandrian* Troops; who behav'd themſelves that Day to a Miracle, and had a great Share in the Honour of the Action.

A Party of Alexandrians *puts a Stop to the Purſuit, and recovers the Honour of the Day.*

Titus *finiſhes the Work, and forces the* Jews *into the City.*

Theſe Troops gave the *Jews* a Stand; till the General himſelf, with a brave Body of Horſe brake in upon them. He cut down twelve Men with his own Hand, and drove the reſt before him into the City. This Exploit was the ſaving of the Engines.

John *the* Idumæan, *a famous Officer, ſlain by an* Arabian.

There was a *Jew* taken alive upon this Encounter; whom *Titus* ordered to be crucify'd in Sight of the Walls; to try how far ſuch an exemplary Terrour might work upon them. But for all this, after his Departure, one *John*, an *Idumæan* Officer, as he was talking with a Soldier of his Acquaintance before the Walls, was ſhot with an Arrow quite thorough the Heart by an *Arabian*; to the great Grief of all that knew him, *Jews* and *Zelotes:* Having the Reputation of a worthy Man to all Purpoſes, both for Wiſdon and Valour.

CHAP. VIII.

A Tumult occaſion'd by the Fall of a Tower in the Night. The Jews *fear nothing elſe. The Ram made the firſt Breach. The* Jews *quit the firſt Wall, and betake themſelves to the ſecond. They make ſeveral bold Sallies. The Diſcipline of the* Romans *is too hard for the hot-headed Raſhneſs of the* Jews. *The* Jews *are Proof againſt all Hardſhips.* Simon's *Men had a ſtrange Veneration for their Maſter. A glorious Action of* Longinus.

THERE happen'd the next a moſt dreadful Tumult in the *Roman* Camp. *Titus* had order'd the raiſing of three Towers of fifty Cubits in Height, to be erected upon three ſeveral Ramparts; ſo as to have the Command of the Town Wall. In the dead of the Night one of theſe Towers fell of it ſelf down to the Ground; with ſo dreadful a Clatter, that the Surprize frighten'd and alarum'd the whole Army. The *Romans* could not tell what to make of it; but ran preſently to their Arms, and put all the Legions into a Confuſion, and a Kind of Uproar. Some fanſy'd the *Jews* might have a Hand in it: Some, in Fine, ſurmiſing one Thing, ſome another; till they came in the End (no Enemy appearing) to have a Jealouſy one of another, and every Man to demand the [WORD] of his next Neighbour, with the ſame Formality and Strictneſs as if the *Jews* had been in Poſſeſſion of the Camp. They lay under the Conſternation of this *panick Terror*; till *Titus* had learnt out the whole Matter, and made the Truth of it publick by Proclamation over the whole Camp. This, with much ado, put an End to that Commotion.

A terrible Tumult in the Roman *Camp, occaſion'd by the Fall of a Tower.*

The *Jews* all this while kept up their Hearts againſt all other Difficulties but that of the Towers; which was in Truth not to be diſputed or avoided. From thoſe Turrets they were gall'd with all Sorts of Machines, Archers, Slingers, *&c.* and no Remedy. For firſt it was impoſſible for them to carry up their Platforms to the Height of theſe Towers; and then they were too ſtrong and too heavy to be over-turn'd: And there was no burning of them neither; for they were all plated over with Iron. So that all the *Jews* had to do was to get out of the Reach of the *Roman* Darts, Arrows and Stones; without making any Oppoſition to the Force of the *Rams*; which, by little and little, and the Shock of repeated Strokes, in the Concluſion did the Work. The *Romans* had one terrible Machine, which the *Jews* call'd *Nicon*, or the *Conquerour*; and it was *this Ram* that made the firſt Breach. The beſieged were by this Time ſo ſpent with watching and fighting, (having been upon Duty all Night) that betwixt Levity and ill Advice, they came to an Agreement among themſelves to quit the firſt Wall; having two other yet to truſt to. Upon this, they retir'd, and the *Romans* mounted the Breach that *Nicon* had made: And after that open'd the Gates to the whole Army; the *Jews* being all withdrawn to the ſecond Wall. It was now the ſeventh of the Month *Artemiſius*, when the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of the firſt Wall: The greater Part of it they deſtroy'd; and ſo likewiſe the *North Quarter* of the Town, which *Ceſtius* had ravaged before.

The Jews *ſtand firm againſt all Difficulties but the Towers.*

The Ram, *or that which they call the* Nicon, *made the firſt Breach.*

The Jews *quit the firſt Wall, and withdraw to the ſecond.*

Titus being now remov'd to a Place they call'd the *Aſſyrians* Camp, poſſeſſed himſelf of all betwixt that and the Valley of *Cedron*; ſomewhat more than a Bow-Shot from the ſecond Wall: Reſolving from thence to begin his Attack; which he went in Hand with immediately. The *Jews* poſted themſelves orderly upon the Wall, and made a gallant Reſiſtance. *John* and his Companions commanded in the Fortreſs *Antonia*, and the *North Side* of the Temple from the *Sepulchre* of *Alexander*. *Simon* and his Party maintain'd the Paſſage from the *Monument* of *John* the High-Prieſt to the Gate by which Water is convey'd to the Tower of *Hippicos*. The *Jews* made ſeveral deſperate Sallies, and came many Times to a cloſe Fight with the *Romans*, Hand to Hand; but the *Roman Diſcipline* was too hard for the unſkilful Temerity of the *Jews*, and beat them back with Loſs: Only upon the Walls they had the better of them. The *Romans* had both Fortune and Conduct on their Side; but the *Jews* ſupported themſelves by a Kind of deſpairing Roughneſs, and by a natural Hardneſs againſt either Fatigue or Danger. And it is farther to be conſider'd, that the *Jews* fought for Life and Safety; the *Romans*, for Victory and Honour: And they were neither of them to be tir'd out; for Approaches, Aſſaults, Sallies, Forlorns, and Combats of all Sorts, were their daily Exerciſes. They began with the Peep of Day, and ſo continu'd till Night parted them: When both Sides were kept waking; the one for Fear of their Walls; the other for Fear of their Camp; all Night in Arms; and the next Morning by Day-light ready for a Battle. The *Jews* valu'd themſelves

They make ſeveral bold Sallies.

The Roman Diſcipline *too hard for the brutal Temerity of the* Jews.

The Jews *are proof againſt all Manner of Fatigues or Dangers.*

ſelves

A ſtrange Veneration that Simon's *Men had for their Maſter.*

ſelves ſo much upon the Contempt of Death, and Hazzards, that they made an Emulation of it who ſhould dare moſt; as the only Way to ingratiate themſelves with their Superiors. Such was the Fear and Reverence they had for *Simon*, that all and every Man that he had about him would have dy'd at his Feet, if he had but ſaid the Word; nay, and have been their own Executioners too. Now for the *Romans*, they were ſo wonted to Victory that they did not know what it was to be overcome. So that they needed no other Encouragement to do bravely, than Experience and Succeſs: Beſide, that War was familiar and habitual to them, by the continual Exerciſe of Arms in the Service of a glorious Empire; which with the Preſence and Aſſiſtance of a martial Prince, over and above all the reſt, could not but inſpire them with a more than ordinary Courage. What could be more infamous than Cowardice, with a martial Emperor for a Witneſs of it? Or what more charming on the other Side, than the Honour and Reward that naturally follows great Actions, in the Bounty and Eſteem of *Cæſar?* This Ardour and Ambition of Men's ſignalizing themſelves, tranſported ſeveral heroical Spirits, 'tis true, into the Attempt of Things extravagant, and beyond their Force.

A glorious Action of Longinus.

There was at this Time a ſtrong Body of the *Jews* drawn up before the Walls, and they were come already within Diſtance of exchanging Blows and Lances with the *Romans*. In this Inſtant of Time, one of the *Roman* Horſemen, (*Longinus* by Name) ſpur'd into the Middle of the Enemy's Army; where he kill'd two of the beſt Men they had: One of them he ſtruck through the Jaws with his Lance, and he ran the other thorough the Body afterward with the ſame Weapon; coming off to his Party at laſt without a Wound. He made himſelf famous by this Action, and provoked others to a generous Emulation of following his Example. The *Jews* all this while were ſo intent upon doing Miſchief, that they never heeded what they ſuffer'd: And reckon'd upon Death as nothing, if they had but one Life in exchange for another. But *Titus* had an Eye upon the ſaving of his Men as well as the gaining of a Victory, and look'd upon the Heats of an inconſiderate Raſhneſs, but as another Sort of Deſperation: Neither would he allow any Exploit for true Valour, that was not govern'd by Caution and Prudence, and with the leaſt Danger to our ſelves, and the moſt to our Enemies.

CHAP. IX.

Caſtor, *a bold, a crafty, and a treacherous* Jew. *He deſires a Treaty, and* Titus *embraces the Motion. The whole Story a Cheat from firſt to laſt.* Caſtor *makes an Eſcape from the very Flames. Miſtaken Mercy is Cruelty.*

Caſtor *and ten more with him lay cloſe behind the Battlements.*

A bold, a crafty, and a treacherous Jew.

Caſtor *deſires a Treaty.*

Titus *accepts of the Motion.*

Five of the ten divide: One half ſeemingly for it, and the other againſt it.

The whole Story a Cheat from firſt to laſt.

THE *Ram* being now pointed againſt the Middle of the Tower on the *North Side* of the City; *Titus* pour'd in ſuch Showers of Arrows upon the Defendants, that they all quitted their Poſts: Only one ſly crafty *Jew*, whoſe Name was *Caſtor*, and ten of his People with him, lay ſkulking behind the Battlements. But when they had lain ſtill a while, they felt a Shock that made the Tower ſtagger under them. Upon this, they got up; and *Caſtor* in the Language, Poſture, and Tone of a Supplicant, addreſs'd himſelf to *Titus* for Quarter, and begg'd his Pardon. *Titus* was ſo good-natur'd as to fanſy the *Jews* had now enough of the War, and ſo put a Stop both to the Battery and the Archers; telling *Caſtor* at the ſame Time, that if he had any Thing to ſay, he was ready to hear him. *Caſtor* made Anſwer that there was nothing he deſir'd ſo much as a Treaty. With all my Heart, ſays *Titus*; and if all your Companions be of the ſame Mind, I am ready to grant you your Pardon. Upon this Offer, five of the ten pretended to joyn with *Caſtor*; the other five cry'd out, that ſo long as they might die free, they would never live Slaves. During this Diſpute, there was nothing farther of Hoſtility. But *Caſtor* in the mean Time ſends privately to *Simon*; to make the beſt of his Time, and to conſider what was to be done, and leave it to him to hold the *Roman* General in Hand a while, under the Pretext of adviſing his Companions to a Peace. *Caſtor* did his Part ſo to the Life, that there were Swords drawn upon it; Blows given, and Men ſeemingly kill'd: But the whole Story was a Cheat.

Titus and thoſe about him were all amazed at the inflexible Obſtinacy and Boldneſs of the *Jews*; and not without a Compaſſion for their Miſery: But being upon the lower Ground, they could not ſee ſo diſtinctly what was done above. While this paſs'd, *Caſtor* was wounded with an Arrow near his Noſtrils; who preſently drawing it out, held it up to *Titus*, as an Appeal to him for Juſtice. This Prince reſented the Injury to ſuch a Degree, that he bad *Joſeph* (ſtanding next to him) go to

Caſtor from him, and give him all Aſſurances in his Name of Amity and fair Quarter. *Joſeph* begg'd his Excuſe, and not only declin'd going upon that Errand himſelf; but diſſuaded his Friends alſo that would have gone: Telling them, that this pretended Submiſſion was a Treachery all over. But *Æneas* however (one of the Deſerters to the *Romans*) would needs be venturing for all this; eſpecially upon *Caſtor*'s Invitation; who bad him bring ſomewhat along with him to put a Sum of Money in, that he intended to preſent him. *Æneas* was forward enough to go upon theſe Terms; and had no ſooner put himſelf in a Poſture to receive the Preſent, but *Caſtor* dropt a great Stone down from the Wall, which *Æneas* had much ado to avoid; but it wounded the Man that ſtood next him. This Treachery gave *Titus* to underſtand the Danger of unſeaſonable good Nature; and that a ſteady Rigour is the beſt Defence againſt fair Words and plauſible Pretenſions. So that to revenge himſelf upon *Caſtor* and his Companions for the Affront they had put upon him, he betook himſelf to his Batteries again with greater Violence than before. When *Caſtor* and his People found the Tower tottering, and juſt ready to ſink under them, they put Fire to it; and ſo made their Eſcapes into a Vault thorough the very Flames. This Exploit gave them a mighty Reputation among the *Romans* for Men of Reſolution and Courage; upon an Opinion that in this Action they were no other than *Devotees*.

Caſtor *makes his Eſcape through the very Flames.*

Titus made himſelf Maſter of this Part of the Wall within five Days after the taking of the firſt: And now finding the Way open to the ſecond Wall, he drove out the *Jews* before him; and with a thouſand choice Men enter'd the Town, among the Clothiers, Braſiers, Sales-Men, and all the croſs narrow Paſſages up to the Wall. Now if *Titus* had immediately broken down the greater Part of this Wall, as by the Laws of War he might have done done; the Victory would have coſt him little or nothing: But conſidering the miſerable Neceſſities of the *Jews* on the one Hand, if they ſtood it out, and the Security of their Retreat on the other Hand, if they had a Mind to be gone; *Titus* relented yet once again, in Confidence that they would better bethink themſelves, and never imagining that they could be ſuch ungrateful Monſters as to betray a Man that had taken ſo much Care for their Preſervation.

Miſtaken Mercy is Cruelty.

CHAP. X.

Titus *a Prince of Tenderneſs and Humanity. The Spight and Malice of the Factions. A ſharp Fight, and the* Jews *get the better of it.* Titus *recovers the Day. The* Romans *get the ſecond Wall, and loſe it again. The Famine a greater Calamity than the War. The ſecond Wall holds out three Days; and* Titus *maſters it upon the fourth.*

T*ITUS* being now enter'd the Town, would not ſuffer ſo much as one Priſoner to be kill'd, or one Houſe to be burnt: And he was ſo fair to the Faction themſelves too; that if they had a Mind to fight it out, he left them at Liberty ſo to do, provided only that they ſhould not force and oppreſs the People. He promis'd the Inhabitants alſo at the ſame Time, to maintain them in their lawful Poſſeſſions, and to give them back again what had been taken from them. Theſe Propoſals were generally acceptable; ſome deſiring the City might be ſpar'd for their own Sakes; others, that the *Temple* might be ſpar'd for the *City*'s. But this Humanity and Tenderneſs was all imputed by the Ruffian Part of the Faction, to the Want of Courage in the General: For *Titus*, they ſaid, had only offer'd theſe Conditions, becauſe he deſpair'd of going thorough with his Work: The Faction threatning Death at the ſame Time to any Man that ſhould but open his Mouth for a Peace or a Treaty. The *Romans* were no ſooner got into the Town, but the *Jews* annoy'd them all Manner of Ways; by blocking up the narrow Paſſes; galling them from the Houſes, and forcing the Guards by Sallies from the Walls to quit their Towers and retire to the Camp. Never ſuch a Confuſion and Outcry as betwixt the Soldiers within the Town, in the Middle of their Enemies, and thoſe without the Town for Fear of their Companions within. The *Jews* being both more in Number, and better acquainted with the By-ways and ſecret Paſſages than the *Romans*; they were too hard for them upon all Encounters: And the Breaches not being wide enough to march out many a Breaſt, they were ſo put to it in the Croud, that, if *Titus* had not come in juſt as he did; ſcarce a Man of them had got off. But upon ſetting a Body of Archers at the End of every Street; and *Titus* poſting himſelf ſtill where there was moſt Danger, with *Domitius Sabinus* for his Second (a brave Man upon the

The Humanity and Tenderneſs of Titus.

The Malice and Calumny of the Faction.

A ſharp Fight, and the Jews *too hard for the* Romans.

Titus *recovers the Day.*

the Main, and one that did Wonders in that Action) they held the *Jews* in Play with their Darts and Lances, till they brought off their Men, under the Cover of that Diverſion. Thus were the *Romans*, after the gaining of the *ſecond Wall*, beaten out again.

The Romans *gain the ſecond Wall, and loſe it again.*

The reſolute Part of the Citizens had the Vanity to flatter themſelves upon this Succeſs, into an Opinion, either that the *Romans* would never dare to look them in the Face again; or if ever it ſhould come to a Battle, that they themſelves were invincible. Now if theſe wicked Men had not been judicially infatuated, they would have conſidered that the *Romans* which they had already defeated, were not a Handful, to the vaſt Numbers they were yet farther to encounter: To ſay nothing of the Famine that ſtill gain'd more and more upon them every Day. For the publick Ruine ſerv'd hitherto only for the Nouriſhment of theſe People, and the Blood of the Citizens for their Drink. Good Men, in Fine, fell into great Neceſſities; and not a few dy'd, even of Famine it ſelf: But the Loſs of theſe People was ſome Sort of Conſolation to the Faction, and they only wiſh'd well to thoſe that would have a War with the *Romans*. As to the reſt, they look'd upon them only as an uſeleſs unprofitable Burden to the Publick; and this was the Kindneſs they had one for another.

A Famine worſe than the War.

The *Romans* made another Attempt to recover the Wall again, which they had gotten and loſt; and for three Days ſucceſſively, without Intermiſſion, they ply'd the Aſſault with one Attack upon the Neck of another, and were as valiantly repuls'd. But on the fourth Day, *Titus* gave ſo furious a Charge, that they were not able to ſtand it any longer: And upon this Puſh, he got Poſſeſſion of the Wall; demoliſhed the *Northern* Part of it, and immediately placed Garriſons in all the Towers to the *Southward*.

The ſecond Wall ſtands it out three Days, and Titus *carries it the fourth.*

CHAP. XI.

Titus *victuals and prepares for Action. He trys Council and Argument as well as Force.* Joſeph *harangues the* Jews. *A ſtarving Famine in the City. Inſtances of GOD's Providence toward the oppreſſed. As in the Caſe of* Pharaoh Nechao. *The* Ægyptian *Bondage. The Plagues of* Ægypt. *The* Aſſyrians *taking the* Ark. Sennacherib's *mighty Army.* Jeruſalem *deſtroy'd by* Zedekiah. *The Story of* Antiochus Epiphanes. *GOD is merciful to the Penitent.* Joſeph's *generous Reſignation. The Miſeries of the Famine.* Jeruſalem *was effectually burnt by the* Jews.

TITUS's Heart was now ſet upon ſtorming the third Wall; but not looking upon it as a Work of Time or Difficulty, he bethought himſelf of trying what might be done by gentler Methods towards the bringing of them to their Duty and their Wits again; in Hope that betwixt Force and Famine, they might be prevailed upon to hearken to better Councels: For their Booty and Proviſion was well nigh ſpent, on the one Hand; and *Titus* in as much Eaſe and Plenty as his Heart could wiſh on the other: Inſomuch, that upon a Day of general Muſter, *Titus* order'd his Troops to be drawn up and paid in Sight of the Enemy; the Foot advancing with their Swords drawn; and the led Horſes ſo gloriouſly capariſon'd, that the whole Field ſparkled with Gold and Silver. Nothing, in Fine, could have been a more agreeable charming Sight to the *Romans*, or a more terrible one to the *Jews*; who were gotten in Swarms together upon the old Wall, on the *North-ſide* of the Town: Beſide, that the Houſes were all crouded, and the whole City cover'd with People, gazing at the Bravery of this Pomp: Which was ſuch, in Short, that it ſtruck a Damp into the very boldeſt of the *Jews*; and would in all Probability have brought them over to the *Romans*, if they had not been conſcious to themſelves of Provocations and Affronts never to be forgiven; beſide, that it was certain Death on the other Hand, to give over the Diſpute. So that they rather choſe to die like Men of Honour by the Chance of War, than tamely by a Butchery. But the Fates had ſo order'd it that the Innocent were to fall with the Guilty, and the City it ſelf with the Faction.

Titus ſpends four Days in Victualling his Camp; and on the fifth prepares for Action.

When *Titus*, after this, had paſs'd away four Days in victualling his Camp, without any Act of Hoſtility, he divided his Army upon the fifth Day into two Bodies; and finding no Diſpoſition in the *Jews* to a Peace, he fell to caſting up of Works againſt the Fortreſs *Antonia*, near *John*'s Monument, in Hope of gaining the upper Town from that Quarter, and then making himſelf Maſter of the Temple from *Antonia*: For without taking the Fort, the City was not to be maintain'd. Againſt each of theſe two Places, he advanced two Attacks, and poſted a Legion at every Mount,

Mount to cover the Workmen. They that wrought next the Monument, were gall'd by the *Jews*, and by *Simon*'s People; and the other againſt *Antonia* were yet harder put to't by *John*'s Party, and his Bands of *Zelotes*; who had both the higher Ground, and the Advantage of their Machines, an Engine which by daily Uſe and Practice they were now come perfectly to underſtand. They had three hundred Croſs Bows, and forty Slings for Stones, which very much annoy'd the *Romans*, and put a Check to the Progreſs of their Deſign.

Titus did ſo far preſume upon his Fortune, that he reckon'd the Town as good as his own beforehand; but ſtill however as he ply'd the Siege on the one Hand, he did not forget to make Tryal of Perſuaſion and Advice, as well as Force, to bring the *Jews* to Reaſon on the other. And conſidering that Words in many Caſes do more than Arms, he made it firſt his own Requeſt to the *Jews* to be kind to themſelves, only by putting a Place into his Hands that he could force at Pleaſure; and then left the reſt to *Joſeph*, upon an Opinion that the Humanity of ſuch an Office from the Lips of their own Country-man, and in their own Language, might probably find better Succeſs. *Joſeph* in Purſuance of *Titus*'s Commiſſion and Appointment, took a Walk about the Town; and at laſt making a Stand upon a riſing Ground, within Hearing of the Enemy, and out of Reach of their Shot, he deliver'd himſelf to them in Words to this Effect.

He trys Perſuaſion and Advice, as well as Force.

I am now to beſeech you, my dear Friends, (ſays *Joſeph*) *as you love your Lives and Liberties, your City, your Temple and your Country, let your Tenderneſs appear upon this Occaſion, and learn to be merciful to your ſelves from your very Enemies and Strangers. The* Romans *you ſee, have ſo great a Veneration for holy Things, that they make a Conſcience of laying violent Hands upon any Thing that is ſacred, and without pretending to any Part, or Intereſt in the Communion: Whereas inſtead of defending the Religion you were brought up in, you are engaged here in a direct Conſpiracy to ſuppreſs it. Do you not ſee that your Strengths are all beaten down already; your Weakneſſes expoſed, and your Walls defenceleſs; and that in this Condition it is morally impoſſible for you to hold out any longer againſt ſo formidable a Power? Neither is it a new Thing (in Caſe of the worſt) for the* Jews *to be ſubject to the* Romans. *It is a glorious Cauſe, 'tis true, when Liberty is the Queſtion; provided it be early enough, and before that Liberty is either forfeited or loſt; but for People to talk of ſhaking off the Yoke, after they have once ſubmitted to it, and continu'd in that Obedience till they became Slaves by Preſcription: This is not the Way to live free, but rather to die with Infamy. It would be a ſcandalous Bondage indeed, to ſerve a Maſter that a Man of Honour would be aſham'd to own; but it is another Caſe to be ſubject to a People that have the whole World at their Feet. As where's that Spot in the Univerſe, that has ſcap'd the Dominion of the* Romans; *ſaving only where extreme Heats, or Colds have render'd the Place intolerable and uſeleſs. Fortune is effectually gone over to them; and the great Diſpoſer of Empires himſelf hath in his Providence at preſent made* Italy *the Seat of the univerſal Monarch. Beſide, that it is according to the ſovereign Law of Nature, that governs in Beaſts, as well as in Men, to give Way to the ſtronger, and to ſubmit to the longer Sword. This was it that made your Anceſtors, though in Power and Politicks, much your Superiours, to pay an Allegiance to the* Romans: *Which they would never have done, if they had not been thoroughly convinc'd that it was GOD's Will to have it ſo. But to what End is it for you now to diſpute a Point any longer, that's as good as loſt already? For if the Walls were yet entire, and the Siege rais'd, Famine alone would do the Work. It has begun with the Multitude, and the Soldiers Turn will be next; and every Day ſtill worſe than other: For the Calamity is inſuperable, and there is no Fence againſt Hunger. Wherefore you ſhould do well to bethink your ſelves in Time, and to take wholeſome Advice before it be too late. The* Romans *are naturally a generous Enemy, and ready to forgive and forget all that's paſt; provided you do not carry on the Affront to an unpardonable Extremity. They are not a People to ſacrifice their Intereſt to their Revenge, and to charge themſelves with the Incumbrance of a depopulated City, and a deſolated Province; but rather for receiving you with open Arms into their Friendſhip. But if ever you come to be taken by Storm, you muſt expect to be put to the Sword every Man of you: Thoſe eſpecially that in Defiance of the Emperour's Grace and Mercy ſhall continue obſtinate to the laſt. And for your* third Wall, *what have you to look for from it, but the Fate of the other two that are gone before? Or what if your Works were abſolutely impregnable? The very Want of Bread, as I told you, would do the Office of the Sword.*

Joſeph *harangues the* Jews.

A pinching Famine in the City.

While *Joſeph* was thus reaſoning the Matter with them, they return'd him only bitter and contemptuous Reproaches from the Walls, for his good Will; and not without Darts and Stones to accompany their Revilings. So that when he ſaw they were not to be wrought upon, either by Admonition, or by Affliction, he betook himſelf to the Hiſtory of former Times, for Precedents and Arguments to his preſent Purpoſe.

Several Inſtances of God's Providence in Favour of the oppreſſed.

The Cauſe is rather God's Cauſe, than the Romans.

Ah miſerable and unthankful Wretches that you are, ſays he, *to forget your beſt Friends, and to encounter the* Romans *with carnal and common Weapons, as if the Victories you have formerly obtained had been the Effect of your own Wiſdom and Virtue! Can you ſay that God, the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, ever fail'd of protecting the* Jews *when they were oppreſs'd? Will you never be wiſer? Do but conſider whence you come, where you are, and what you are a doing; and how glorious a Protector it is that you provoke by theſe Outrages. Why do you not call to Mind the divine Exploits of your illuſtrious Anceſtors, and the wonderful Deliverances that God hath wrought for them by the Sacredneſs of this holy Place? It gives me a Horrour to think of expoſing the Hiſtory of God's miraculous Diſpenſations to a People ſo unworthy of the Bleſſing; but yet upon this Occaſion, I ſhall diſpenſe with that Scruple, to ſhew you that the War you are now engag'd in, is not ſo much againſt the* Romans, *as againſt God himſelf.*

Pharaoh Nechao.

[a] Pharaoh Nechao, *a King of* Ægypt, *carry'd away with a mighty Army,* Sarah, *the Queen and Mother of us all. Now you would have thought perhaps that* Abraham *the Husband of* Sarah *and our common Father, having at that Time the Command of three hundred and eighteen Lieutenants, and Troops innumerable under them, ſhould have attempted the righting of himſelf by Arms: But he choſe rather to lie quiet; and offering up his Prayers toward this holy Place which you have polluted, to implore God's Aſſiſtance. And what came of it, but the King's ſending the Queen back again untouch'd to her Husband, the ſecond Night after ſhe was taken away; the* Ægyptian *in the mean while, contracting a Veneration for the Place, which you have defil'd with the Blood of your Countrymen; till in the End, finding himſelf haunted with frightful Dreams and Viſions, he poſted away back again into his own Country: But firſt ſcattering large Donatives of Gold and Silver among the People, in Token of the Reverence he had for a Nation ſo much in God's Favour.*

The Ægyptian Bondage.

What ſhall I ſay now of our Predeceſſors tranſporting themſelves into Ægypt; *their* four hundred Years Bondage *under a foreign Tyranny, and their ſubmitting with Patience, and Reſignation to God's good Pleaſure, even at a Time when they were ſtrong enough to have redeem'd themſelves by Force! To tell you now how the* Ægyptians *were infeſted with Serpents, and tainted with all Manner of Diſeaſes; how the Fruits of the Earth were blaſted; the* Nile *corrupted, and* ten Plagues *ſucceeding one upon the Neck of another, would be no more than what every Body knows: But thoſe of our Anceſtors that God had deſign'd to the Prieſthood, were conducted out ſafe and ſound, without either Blood or Danger, under the Guard of a ſpecial Providence.*

The Plagues of Ægypt.

The Aſſyrians *taking the* Ark.

And ſo when the Aſſyrians *forced away from us the* holy Ark, *how did* Palæſtine, Dagon, *and the whole Nation that was concern'd in't, rue the Seizure of it! Their Guts became putrid and rotten, and the Pain of the Gripes intolerable: Inſomuch that their Bowels and their Excrements came away together. And what was the End of it, in the Concluſion, but the bringing of the* Ark *back again to us with the Sound of muſical Inſtruments, and with the ſame ſacrilegious Hands that took it away, to expiate in ſome Degree for the Wickedneſs! This was the Work of God himſelf in Favour of our Anceſtors, for caſting themſelves entirely upon his Providence and Mercy, without having having any Recourſe to common Means.*

Sennacherib's *mighty Army.*

And what became of Sennacherib *the King of* Aſſyria, *and that prodigious Army of his, when he ſat down before this Place with the whole Strength of* Aſia *at his Heels! Was he cut off by the Arm of Fleſh, or any humane Power? No. But when the* Hebrews *were quietly at their Prayers, the Angel of God confounded in one Night, that mighty Army: And the* Aſſyrian *found* 185000 *of his Men dead upon the Place next Morning, and the reſt flying in a Fright from the unarmed* Hebrews *that had no Thought of purſuing them.*

The Captivity of Babylon.

You know likewiſe that our People were ſeventy Years Captives in Babylon, *without making any Attempt toward the Recovery of their Liberty, till God put it in the Heart of* Cyrus *to diſcharge them, and to diſmiſs them into their own Country; where they began to offer Sacrifices again to God, as their only Deliverer and Preſerver. But to be ſhort, what great Thing did our Forefathers ever bring to paſs, either with Arms, or without, but by God's particular Direction and Aſſiſtance in the Execution of his Orders. If they ſtay'd at Home, they were victorious without Fighting; it being God's Pleaſure that it ſhould be ſo: And when they fought in a Confidence of their own Strength, they never ſucceeded. As for Inſtance; when the King of* Babylon *laid Siege to this City, our King* Zedekiah *gave him Battle contrary to the Advice of the Prophet* Jeremy; *and what was the Event of it, but the routing of his Army; the taking of* Zedekiah *Priſoner, and the Deſtruction both of City and Temple before his Face! Do but obſerve the Difference now betwixt the Moderation of that Prince and People, and of yours. The Prophet told them plainly, that they were fallen under God's Diſpleaſure for their Wickedneſs; and that, if they did not deliver*

Jeruſalem *deſtroy'd by* Zedekiah.

[a] *Gr.* Νεχαὼς ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο ϗ Φαραώ.

up the City, it ſhould be forced from them by Aſſault: And yet for all this foreboding, neither Prince, nor People, offer'd him any Violence. To ſay nothing now of what paſſes within your Walls; (an Iniquity, in Truth, not to be expreſs'd) I ſhall only take Notice how barbarouſly I my ſelf have been treated by you both in Words and Actions; and what's my Crime, I beſeech you, but the honeſt Liberty of telling you your Faults, and adviſing you for the beſt? But you have not Patience for the very Story of your own daily Practices.

The Caſe of Antiochus Epiphanes.

It was much the ſame Caſe too, when Antiochus, call'd Epiphanes, laid Siege to this City. Our Forefathers, having many Ways incurr'd God's high Diſpleaſure, preſs'd the Enemy to a Battle, without waiting for his divine Direction and Aſſiſtance: The Jews were totally defeated; the Town taken and pillag'd; and the Sanctuary, for three Years and ſix Months, wholly abandon'd. In few Words, what was it but the ſtubborn Croſſneſs of our own People that firſt irritated the Romans again the Jews? Whence are we to date our Slavery, but from our own ſeditious Countrymen; when the two Factions of Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, in an ambitious Heat of Competition, brought Pompey into the City; and made the Jews that were unworthy of Liberty, Slaves to the Romans? When they had held it out three Months, they render'd the Place, though in a much better Condition to defend it than you are, and infinitely ſhort of what you are to account for to the Laws and Religion of our Country. We all know what was the End of Antigonus the Son of Ariſtobulus; in whoſe Reign, the Jews were puniſh'd with another judicial Captivity for the Sins of the People. And did not [a] Herod likewiſe beſiege Jeruſalem with the Aſſiſtance of [b] Soſius a Roman General, and in the Head of a Roman Army? After ſixth Months the Town was reduc'd, and rifled by the Enemy, as the juſt Judgment upon the Party for their Iniquities.

Here is enough ſaid to ſhew that this Way of Arms, and Sieges, hath been ever fatal to our Brethren; and that the End of ſuch a War would be certain Ruin. And therefore it ſeems reaſonable to me, that thoſe that are in Poſſeſſion of the this holy Place, ſhould entirely remit themſelves to the Conduct of God's Providence; who will never be wanting to them that ſerve him, and keep his Commandments. But you for your Parts lead your Lives in a direct Oppoſition to his holy Will, in leaving undone what you are commanded to do, and in doing what you are forbidden. How much have you more to anſwer for, than thoſe that you have ſeen taken off by a vindictive Juſtice in the Career of their Wickedneſs! As for the ſecret Sins of Theft, Fraud, Treachery, and Adultery; you look upon as Trifles, and not worth the ſpeaking of. But you value your ſelves upon Oppreſſion, Murder, and other Sins of the firſt Magnitude, that were hardly ever heard of before. Nay, and you have made the holy Temple itſelf the Scene of your Wickedneſs; a Place ſo ſacred, that the Romans themſelves have a Veneration for it, notwithſtanding the Inconſiſtences of their Religion: And yet this Place, that the very Romans have ſo great a Reverence for, is polluted and blaſphem'd by thoſe who have been train'd up to the Temple Worſhip. With what Face now can you pretend to expect Aſſiſtance from a Power that you have ſo impiouſly provok'd! But taking it for granted that you are juſt, humble and righteous; and your Hands as clean, as our King's were when he ſtretch'd them out to implore Succour from Heaven againſt the Aſſyrian, and when the Return of his Prayer was, the next Night, the utter Ruine of the Enemie's Army. Now if you will have it that the Romans behave themſelves as the Aſſyrians did, you may expect that God will deal with them after the like Manner. But this is quite another Caſe, for the Aſſyrian compounded for a Sum of Money to ſave the City; and then brake his Oath, and ſet Fire to the Temple: Whereas the Romans only demand a yearly Tribute; and no more neither than what had been paid them formerly Time out of Mind. Let this be made good to them, and the Temple and City having nothing to fear: But you ſhall enjoy your Families, your Liberties, and your Eſtates; with the free Exerciſe of your Religion, and under the Regulation of your own Laws. You muſt be mad to imagine that God will treat Tyrants and Murderers, and Men of Moderation and Juſtice, all alike; eſpecially when Puniſhment and Vengeance are but the Work of a Moment to the Almighty.

The Aſſyrians, you ſee, were deſtroy'd the firſt Night they came before the Town; and if it had been the Will of God to ſet the one free, and to chaſtiſe the other, he would have pour'd down his Wrath upon the Romans, as he did upon the Aſſyrians: Either when Pompey firſt forced Jeruſalem; or Soſius, after him; or when Veſpaſian haraſs'd Galilee; or now at laſt upon the Attack of Titus. But neither Pompey, nor Soſius, met with any ſignal Oppoſition from Heaven; and they both ſucceeded in their Enterprizes upon the Place. As for Veſpaſian, he advanced himſelf to the Empire upon the Credit of the War he made upon us. And what do you think of (almoſt) a Miracle, wrought in Favour of Titus? Siloa, you know, and other Fountains without the City, were drawn ſo low before Titus came hither, that Water was hardly to be got for Money; but ſince his Arrival here,

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[a] Gr. Ἡρώδης Ἀντιπάτρου. [b] Gr. Σόσιος.

the Springs are grown ſo quick again, that there is ſufficient for the Romans, *to all Manner of Purpoſes: And not only for themſelves, and their Cattle; but for the Gardens too. The ſame Thing happen'd at the Time when the King of* Babylon, *before mentioned, march'd up to* Jeruſalem *with his Army; took the Town and City, and laid them both in Aſhes: Now this Prodigy was the Forerunner of that Ruine and Conflagration. Not that I take the Wickedneſs of thoſe Days to have been comparable to that of the preſent Age: but it looks as if God had abandon'd his own Houſe and People in Favour of the Enemy. Make it the Caſe now of the Maſter of the Houſe, and a vicious and debauch'd Family. If he be a virtuous Man, he'll ſhiſt his Quarter, and never endure to be under the Roof with that Sort of People. How can you imagine then, that God will countenance your Abominations? An All-ſeeing God, that ſearches the Privacies of your Hearts, and reads your Thoughts in their very Conception? But alaſs! you have no Privacies at all, no Reſerves; but make your very Enemies the Confidents of all you do. You live in a Kind of Competition who ſhall be the lewdeſt, and value your ſelves upon an Oſtentation of your Wickedneſs.*

God is merciful to the Penitent.

But God is not inexorable to thoſe that confeſs their Miſdoings, and truly repent; which is the Courſe that you muſt take, if ever you hope for Mercy. Wherefore caſt away your Arms; let your Hearts bleed for the Judgments you have brought upon your Country. Do but look well about you, and conſider the Sweetneſs of the Place; the Glory of the City, and the Majeſty of the Temple that you are now about to betray: With the ineſtimable Maſs of Treaſure that is there depoſited, in Donatives, and Oblations from all Quarters. Can any Man have the Heart now to think of expoſing theſe magnificent Curioſities to Fire and Pillage; or of ſeeing thoſe Excellencies deſtroy'd, which of all Things under the Sun are beſt worth the preſerving? If you were not harder, and more inſenſible than Stones, this Reflection would move you; or, if nothing elſe will work upon you, bethink your ſelves of your Parents, your Wives, your Children, and your Families, that are at this Inſtant upon the Brink of periſhing, either by Famine or by the Sword. It will be ſaid perhaps, becauſe I have a Wife of my own, a Mother and a Family, (of ſome Credit formerly) concern'd in the common Hazzard, that it is for their Sakes, and my own Intereſt, that I give this Councel. But if either the ſacrificing of their Lives, or mine, or both, may conduce to your Safety; I am ready to deliver them up all, upon Condition that you will be wiſer, and honeſter, when we are gone.

Joſeph's generous Reſignation for the Good of his Country.

This Diſcourſe of *Joſeph*'s drew Tears from his own Eyes; but the Factions were not one Jot ſoften'd with it: Neither did they think it ſafe to cloſe with the *Romans*, even if they had a Mind to't. But, on the contrary, the common Sort were ſtagger'd at it, and made it their Buſineſs too, how to ſave themſelves by Flight. To this End, they ſold what they had that was valuable, though at eaſy Rates, and ſwallow'd the Gold for Fear of being robb'd upon the Way: By which Means they ſupply'd themſelves with Neceſſaries when they got over to the *Romans*. *Titus*, in the mean Time, leaving the Stragglers at Liberty to go whither they would; and this Diſcharge was ſtill a greater Encouragement to their Eſcape; for they got clear of the City-Broils without being Slaves to the *Romans*. But *John* and *Simon*, and their Companions, clapt a ſtrict Guard upon the Paſſes, and took as much Care to keep the *Citizens* from going out, as the *Romans* from coming in: So that the leaſt Suſpicion, or Pretence of a Suſpicion, was enough to take away any Man's Life that they thought fit to ſuſpect. And it was all one to the rich what they did: For he that had any Thing to loſe, was ſure to fall under a Jealouſy; and that Jealouſy was Death.

The Rage of the Faction, and the Pinch of the Famine encreaſed daily; and when there was no Corn any longer in Sight, they brake up Houſes for't. If they found any upon the Search, the Owners were ſeverely handled for denying it; or, if none, they were put to the Torture to diſcover their Stores. Nay, they drew Inferences of Guilt from the very Bodies of the miſerable; and to be hail and ſound, was made an Argument of private Stores and Plenty. The conſumptive were diſpatch'd out of Hand; though no need, one would think, of putting them to a violent Death, that were ready to ſtarve for Want of Bread. There were ſeveral of the better Sort that ſold all they had in the World for a Buſhel of Wheat; and others of the poorer, for the ſame Proportion of Barley: And then ſhutting up themſelves, with their Purchaſe in ſecret Hiding-Holes; ſome fell to work upon the Corn without grinding, and ſome again ſtay'd the baking of it; according as they were more or leſs preſs'd by Hunger or Danger. There was no ſuch Thing as the Ceremony of covering, or marſhalling a Table; but happy was he that could ſnatch a Bit from the Coals betwixt raw and roaſted. Never ſo miſerable a Calamity, or ſo lamentable and horrid a Spectacle; where the ſtrongeſt ſtill far'd beſt, and the weaker had nothing more to do than to bemoan their

Misfortunes: Starving being certainly of all Deaths the moſt deplorable, as it takes away all Senſe of [a] Shame, Tenderneſs and Reſpect: Wives forc'd away the Meat out of the very Mouths of their Husbands; Children did the like by their Parents; and what was yet more barbarous, Mothers, by their Infants; taking away from them, as they lay languiſhing in their Arms, the very laſt Support of Life: And this could not be done ſo privately neither, but ſome Body or other was ſtill at Hand to take away that from them again, which they had taken from others. Wherever they ſaw a Houſe ſhut up, they concluded there was eating in that Houſe; and preſently forcing the Doors, they tore the Meat ready chew'd out of the very Throats of the People, juſt as they were about to ſwallow it, though to the Hazzard of choaking them. They had no Mercy either for Age or Sex; but beat the old Men that offer'd to defend what Proviſion they had got, and dragg'd the Women by the Hair for endeavouring either to keep or to conceal any Thing. Neither did ſucking Children 'ſcape any better; but they were torn away from the Breaſt, and daſh'd againſt the Ground: So that Infancy and grey Hairs had the ſame Quarter. There could hardly be a more unpardonable Affront, when any of theſe Freebooters were abroad upon Adventure, than for him that was purſu'd to outrun his Purſuer, and to eat his own Bread before the other could come up. They ſpar'd for no Manner of Cruelty, provided they might but get ſomething to ſtay their Stomachs: As the putting of People to exquiſite Pains in their moſt ſenſible Parts; thruſting up pointed Sticks into their Bodies, and other ſuch like Torments not to be mentioned without Horror: And all this for the Diſcovery of a poor Loaf of Bread perhaps, or a Handful of Flour that they had conceal'd. And their Tormentors were not hungry neither; for the Tyranny would have been more pardonable, if they could have pleaded Neceſſity in their Excuſe. But this was a Freak purely of Inhumanity, when they were victualling themſelves with ſix Days Proviſion before-hand. Some poor Wretches, that had given the *Roman* Guards the Slip, and crept out of the Town by Night for Herbs and Sallad, had the ill Hap to fall into their Hands when they thought themſelves out of all Danger; where they were ſtripp'd of all they had; and glad at laſt, after a thouſand Importunities, and Prayers, only for Part of their own again, for which they had run ſo great a Hazzard to compound for their Lives. This was the Treatment they receiv'd from the common Soldiers; but Perſons of Quality were carry'd to the Uſurpers themſelves: Some of them put to Death for Treaſon, and a Deſign of betraying the City to the *Romans*, upon the Teſtimony of falſe Witneſſes; and this was ſtill one of the Articles, that they had a Mind to go over to the Enemy. Thoſe that *Simon* had pillag'd were carry'd to *John*, and *John*'s Priſoners to *Simon*, as if they had been quaffing Healths one to another, and ſharing their Carcaſſes betwixt them. They were divided, in Fine, who ſhould be uppermoſt; but perfectly well agreed in the Methods of their Tyranny and Uſurpation. They went Halves in their Robberies, and he was reckon'd the greater Knave of the two that cozen'd his Companion of any Part of his Moiety in the Booty; to which they were both equally entitled.

It would be endleſs to run thorough the Hiſtory of their Iniquities; but to comprize all in a little, I am verily perſuaded that there never was ſo miſerable a City, or ſo barbarous a People, upon the Face of the Earth: In Fine, the better to palliate their Inhumanity to Strangers, they revil'd the very Nation of the *Hebrews*; and own'd themſelves, (as in Truth they were) for a Company of Slaves and Scoundrels, Vagabonds and Baſtards. In the Concluſion, they laid the City in Rubbiſh and Aſhes; nay, and the burning of the Temple was effectually their Act too, both in the haſtening of it, and by the forcing of *Titus*, even againſt his Inclination, upon thoſe Extremities. As the upper Town was in a Flame, the *Romans* gave many Inſtances of a generous Compaſſion; (as will be ſeen hereafter) but not ſo much as a Sigh, or a Tear to be heard of among the *Jews*. But of this farther in its proper Place, with Remarks upon the whole Matter.

The burning of the City was their own Act.

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[a] *See* Spanheim's *Notes upon* Callimachus, *p.* 718.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Jews *miſerably tortured and crucify'd.* Titus *ſevere in his own Defence. Scandals caſt upon the* Romans. *The* Jews *hard and reſolute. The* Romans *raiſe four mighty Works. The* Jews *ſet Fire to the Bulwark.* Simon *attempts the other Mounts. A brave Action of three* Jews. *The* Romans *beaten from their Works. Death without Mercy for a* Roman *to quit his Poſt. A bloody Fight upon mounting the Engines.* Titus *begins to deſpair of carrying his Point.*

The miſerable Diſtreſs of the Jews.

Tortur'd and crucify'd in the Sight of the beſieged. Titus *forced upon Severities in his own Defence.*

TITUS, all this while, ply'd his Works daily; but not without Loſs of Men from the Walls. It was the *Jews* Practice to ſteal out in the Night, and look abroad for Proviſions; and not without ſome Soldiers among them, that could not get wherewithal in the City to anſwer their Neceſſities. Theſe People were moſt of them poor, and durſt not deſert for Fear of having their Wives and their Childrens Throats cut that they left behind. Neither durſt they take their Families along with them for Fear of Diſcovery. *Titus* being aware of theſe Difficulties, ordered out a Detachment of Horſe to way-lay the *Jews* in the Vallies. Hunger had made them deſperate, and ſo out they went, and fell into the Enemies *Ambuſhes*. When they found themſelves hamper'd, they were then forc'd to fight upon Neceſſity, for Fear of ſome Puniſhment worſe than Death it ſelf; beſide that it was now too late to think of begging Quarter. In ſhort, they were maſter'd; and after expoſing them to all Manner of Tortures, they were crucify'd in the Sight of the beſieg'd. *Titus* was not at all pleas'd with the Severity of this Rigour; but he did not find it ſafe, either to diſcharge ſo many obſtinate Priſoners that he had now at Mercy, or to ſpare Men enough to look after them from the Service of the Army: Beſide the Hope he had, that the Terror of ſuch an Example might move them to bethink themſelves, leſt it ſhould come to be their own Caſe. They were all crucify'd, but in ſeveral Ways and Poſtures: Some, to expreſs their Rage; others, their Hatred; and ſome again, their Mockery and Contempt: But the Number of the Priſoners was ſo great, that they wanted Room for more Croſſes, and Croſſes for the Bodies. And ſo far was the Horror of this Execution from ſoftening the Faction, that as they ordered the Matter, it wrought a clear contrary Effect by the Help of this Invention. The Friends and Relations of the Fugitives, and thoſe that had but the leaſt Inclination to a Peace, were dragg'd out to the Walls to ſhew them what they were to truſt to that went over to the *Romans*; and bearing them down all the while, that the Men they ſaw in Chains were not Priſoners of War, but Deſerters, that ſu'd for Mercy. This Device kept a great many from filing off, till the Truth came to be known; though ſome there were that immediately ſlipt away to the Enemy to avoid ſtarving, which they look'd upon as incomparably the more miſerable Death of the two.

Priſoners of War they pretend to be Deſerters that could get no Quarter.

Titus, upon this, cauſed ſeveral of his Priſoners Hands to be cut off, and ſo ſent them away to *John* and *Simon*, in ſuch a Plight, that they might neither look like Deſerters, nor to be taken for ſuch; adviſing them at the ſame Time to put an End to the War, without forcing him upon the Deſtruction of the City; for it was not yet too late, upon a ſeaſonable Submiſſion, to preſerve their Lives, their Country, and their Temple, entirely to themſelves. But *Titus* advanc'd his Works all this while; quickening and encouraging the Workmen, being reſolved very ſuddenly to follow his Works with Effects, and to gain his Point by Force, which he could not compaſs by Reaſon and Perſuaſion.

The obſtinate Malice and Reſolution of the Jews.

The *Jews*, in the mean Time, caſting out a thouſand Curſes from the Walls, againſt both *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, declared one and all their Contempt of Death, and how much their Liberties were dearer to them than their Lives: And that, provided they might plague the *Romans*, they car'd not what became either of themſelves or of their Country; which *Titus* told them, were in Danger to periſh. And as for their Temple, they look'd upon the World to be much the more magnificent Structure of the two; or however, they made no Doubt but God would take Care of his own Houſe; and upon him they depended for Protection, in Deſpite of all their Threatnings, which God would never ſuffer to take Place. This was the Subſtance of their outragious and unmannerly Reply.

Antiochus Epiphanes was by this Time come up, and a Train of armed Troops along with him; one Company, among the reſt, of ſtout young Fellows for his Guard, all about the ſame Age; accoutred and train'd up after the *Macedonian* Way; from whence they took the Name of *Macedonians*: Not for their Birth, neither did the greater Part of them anſwer the Character of that People. Of all the Princes that were ever ſubjected to the *Roman* Empire, the King of *Camagena* was undoubtedly the moſt proſperous and ſucceſsful, for the former Part of his Life; but in his latter Days his Fortune forſook him, and verify'd the old Saying, that *no Man is to be pronounc'd happy before his Death.* He had a Son of a martial enterprizing Spirit; of a robuſt Body, and bold to the Degree of Raſhneſs. This Son of his was ſaying one Day, that he wonder'd the *Romans* ſtood trifling before the Walls at that Rate, and did not rather puſh it to an Attack. *Titus* anſwer'd him with a Smile, that the Way was open to any Man that had a Mind to't. The Word was no ſooner out, but *Antiochus* led up his *Macedonians* to the Aſſault, and gave Proof both of his Valour and Conduct in the Management of the Action: But his Followers however were almoſt all of them kill'd, or wounded; having made ſuch Brags before-hand what Wonders they would do, that they could not in Honour quit the Undertaking. This gave the young Men to underſtand that the *Macedonian* Courage would never do the Buſineſs without *Alexander*'s Fortune: So that they were forc'd to quit the Attempt, and bring off the Remainder of their Men as well as they could.

The Romans *raiſe four mighty Works in ſeventeen Days.*

It was upon the twelfth of the Month *Artemiſius*, that the *Romans* began the *Platforms* formerly mention'd; and upon the nine and twentieth that they finiſh'd them, after ſeventeen Days hard Labour; for there were four of them in all, and they were mighty Works. There was one toward *Antonia*, that was rais'd by the fifth Legion over againſt the Middle of the [a] *Struthian-Pool:* There was another caſt up by the twelfth Legion, within twenty Cubits of the former. The tenth Legion, (which was more conſiderable than the other two) threw up another Work to the *North* over againſt the [b] Pool call'd *Amygdalon*; and at thirty Cubits Diſtance from the laſt, was a fourth Mount erected by the fifteenth Legion, not far from the Monument of *John* the High-Prieſt.

The Jews *ſet Fire to the Bulwark.*

Theſe Works were no ſooner up and perfected, but *John* cauſed a Mine to be wrought under that which look'd toward *Antonia*, and ſeveral wooden Props to be ſet up all along the Trench, to keep the Weight of the Earth above from falling; dawbing the Wood-Work with a bituminous Matter that would take Flame immediately. So that *John* had now no more to do, but to ſet Fire to the Pillars; which when the Props were gone, brought down the whole Bulwark with a moſt hideous Noiſe. There was no Fire to be ſeen at firſt, but only a ſmothering Duſt and Smoke; till the Flame at laſt brake thorough all Oppoſition, and ſhew'd it ſelf. This was ſo aſtoniſhing a Surprize to the *Romans*, that it put them to their Wits End to receive ſuch a Baffle, when they made themſelves ſure of their Point. Neither was it to any Purpoſe to think of quenching the Fire, when their Ramparts were gone.

Simon *attempts the other Mounts. A glorious Action of three* Jews.

It was but two Days after this that *Simon* and his People made an Attempt upon the other Mounts; where the *Romans* had already planted their *Rams*, and began to batter. There was one *Jepthæus* of *Garſis* a City of *Galilee*; *Megaſſarus* a Domeſtick of Queen *Mariamne*'s; and one of *Adiabena*, the Son of *Nabatæus*; who from a Misfortune he had, was called *Agiras*; which ſignifies *Lame:* Theſe three Men, with Torches in their Hands, flew directly to the Machines; and breaking through the Enemies Troops, with no more Concern than if they had been among their Friends, ſet Fire to them; and in Deſpite of all Oppoſition, with Darts and Arrows, they purſu'd their Deſign till their Engines were all in a Flame. Theſe were reputed three of the braveſt Men that appear'd in that War.

The Romans *beaten from their Works; and their Batteries deſtroy'd.*

Upon the mounting of the Fire, the *Romans* diſpatch'd away a Detachment from the Camp to the Relief of their Companions; but the *Jews*, in the mean Time, pour'd their Shot upon them from the Walls; and without any Regard to their own Lives or Perſons, fought it out Hand to Hand with thoſe that were endeavouring to put a Stop to the Fire. The *Romans* did all they could to ſave their Rams; the Covers of them being conſum'd already: And the *Jews* ventur'd into the very Flames to hinder them; and would not let go their Hold, though the Iron-work of them was burning hot. The Fire paſs'd from thence to the Ramparts; and there was no Help for it. Upon this, the *Romans* finding themſelves incompaſs'd with Flames, and no Hope left them of ſaving the Works, withdrew into their Camp. The *Jews* had ſo many Enforcements out of the City, that the Encreaſe of their Number made them more and more preſſing and inconſiderate: Inſomuch, that in the Heat of their Succeſs, they advanced to the very Camp it ſelf, and attack'd the Guards. Now the Office of theſe Guards, according to the Rule of the *Roman* Diſcipline, was to do

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[a] *Gr.* Στρουθίου κολυμβήθρα.

[b] *Gr.* Κολυμβήθρα Αμύγδαλον προσαγορευομένη.

Death for a Roman to quit his Poſt.

Duty by Turns, and relieve one another, and not a Man of them, upon Pain of Death without Mercy, to quit his Poſt, under any Colour whatſoever. Now theſe People having this Charge before-hand, either to fall like Men of Honour, or to ſuffer an infamous Death, as Deſerters; they made a generous Reſiſtance, and brought ſeveral of thoſe back again, betwixt Neceſſity and Shame, that had abandon'd their Station; and with their Engines, put a Stop to the Excurſions of the *Jews* from the City. They made their Sallies without any Guard of Defence for their own Security; fighting all they met, at a Venture, and caſting themſelves like Madmen upon the very Points of the Enemies Pikes, and falling in Pell-Mell among them. The *Jews*, in Fine, gain'd more upon the *Romans* by a raſh Hardineſs, than by pure Courage: And the *Romans*, on the other Hand, gave Way rather to the ouragious Boldneſs of the *Jews*, than for the Apprehenſion of any Miſchief they could do them.

Titus, at his Return from *Antonia*, where he had been to find out a commodious Ground for advancing his Attacks, gave the Soldiers a ſevere Rebuke for ſuffering themſelves after the gaining of the Enemy's Works, to be diſtreſs'd in their own, and in a Manner beſieg'd by thoſe that were no better than Priſoners themſelves. *Titus*, upon this, with ſome of his choice Troops, ſurrounded the *Jews*, and charged them in the Flank; while they, on the other Side, maintain'd their Ground with a wonderful Reſolution. Upon the Shocking of the two Bodies, it rais'd ſuch a Duſt and Clamour, that there was nothing diſtinctly to be either ſeen or heard; and neither Friend nor Foe to be known aſunder: Neither were the *Jews* thus obſtinate out of any Confidence in their own Strength; but out of Deſpair of Safety: While the *Romans* were ſo enrag'd, on the other Side, betwixt the Nicety of military Honour, and the Paſſion they had for the Perſon of the Emperour, which was then in Danger, that if the *Jews* had not ſlipt away into the Town juſt as they did, they had undoubtedly been all cut to Pieces: But ſtill the Loſs of their Bulwarks went to the Heart of the *Romans*; and to find it the Work but of one Hour to deſtroy what had been ſo long a raiſing. This Diſappointment, together with the diſmounting of their Engines, put them out of all Hope of ever gaining the Place.

A ſharp Fight upon the diſmounting of the Engines.

Titus *in Deſpair of gaining his Point.*

CHAP. XIII.

Titus *conſults a Councel of Officers. Some for puſhing it to a Battle; ſome for making good the Ramparts; others for intercepting Proviſions.* Titus *orders the running up of a Wall: The Courſe and Compaſs of it: And this Wall finiſhed in three Days.*

Titus *calls a Council of War. Some for a main Battle.*

Some for repairing the Ramparts. Others for no Ramparts at all, but rather for intercepting Proviſions.

WHILE Things were in this Poſture, *Titus* call'd a Council of his great Officers to adviſe him what to do. Some ſharp Men among them were of Opinion for a general Aſſault, and falling on with the whole Army; for there had been nothing done as yet (they ſaid) but in Skirmiſhes, and Parties; and if it came once to a main Battle, the *Jews* would never be able to ſtand the Dint of the very Darts and Arrows. The more conſiderate Part were for renewing and repairing their Ramparts; others for having no Works at all, but only watching the Victuallers, and keeping the City from Proviſions: And ſo committing the reſt to the Famine, which would do the Buſineſs of the Sword without ſtriking a Blow. There is no beating of People out of their Reſolution that have a Mind to die. Now *Titus*, 'tis true, did not think it honourable to lie ſtill in the Head of a formidable Army, altogether without Action; but he was not for fighting yet with a People ſo bent upon their own Deſtruction. As for the erecting of new Works, he found it morally impracticable for Want of Materials; and ſo, for the watching of all Paſſengers, to ſecure the Avenues; for it was not a Thing to be done, in Regard both of the Compaſs of the Town, and the Difficulties of the Places: Or, if the High-Ways were all block'd up, the *Jews* would yet find out other private Conveyances in Caſe of Neceſſity; and by the Advantage of knowing all the ſecret Paſſages in that Neighbourhood. Now what if the *Jews* ſhould ſlip any Relief into the City by Stealth, it would but draw out the Siege at Length; and leſſen the Honour of the Victory by the Delay; or let it be granted now, that all this may be done; and the Reputation of the *Romans*, together with the Safety of the Army, may be provided for, both in one: Diſpatch is yet to be preferr'd before Glory; but the ſure Way to do the Thing at laſt, with Caution and Expedition, muſt be by running a Wall quite round the City. By this Means all Excurſions will be prevented; and the *Jews* either forc'd to deliver up the Place in the Depth of their Deſpair, or weaken'd by the Pinch of their Neceſſities, into an Incapacity of defending themſelves: Whereas otherwiſe, the Diſpute will be endleſs. *But this ſhall not hinder me,* ſays *Titus, from giving Orders for the repairing of the Works; eſpecially when the weaker Part of thoſe that are left, are already ſufficient to put a Stop to the Courſes of the Enemy. This may be look'd upon perhaps as a Project of inſuperable Difficulty; but if it had been leſs, it would not have ſtood with the Dignity of the Undertaker: Neither are great Things to be brought about without Labour, but by the more immediate Aſſiſtance of an Almighty Power.*

Titus *orders the erecting of a Wall about the Town, and diſpoſing the whole Army into their proper Stations.*

Titus made an End of what he had to ſay, with an Order to his Officers to go in Hand immediately with the erecting of this Wall, and to enter upon it with a regular Diſtribution of the whole Army into their proper Stations. The Word was no ſooner given, but the Soldiery were all tranſported by a Kind of divine Impulſe into a generous Emulation of outdoing one another: For after the Meaſuring of the Ground, and the dividing of the Legions, the ſame Spirit of Competition ran thorough the whole Body. The common Soldiers with their Serjeants; the Serjeants, the like with their Captains; the Captains, with their Tribunes; the Tribunes, with their Superiours, and all in Subordination to *Titus*; who was ſo intent upon his Buſineſs, that he never miſs'd a Day of taking a Round of the whole Work.

The Courſe of the Wall.

Titus began this Wall at a Place called the *Aſſyrians* Camp, where he himſelf had his Quarter. He carried it forward to the *Lower Cænopolis*; and ſo by the Way of *Cedron* to Mount *Olivet* which he encloſ'd on the *South* as far as the Rock *Periſtereon*; together with a neighbouring Hill that overlooks the Vale of *Siloah*. From thence he turn'd his Point a little to the *Weſtward*, and ſo on to the Valley of the Fountain. He took his Way next, to the Sepulchre of *Ananus* the High-Prieſt; and ſo encloſing the Mountain where *Pompey* had formerly encampt, he return'd to the *Northward*, and paſs'd on to a Village called [a] *Erebinthonicus*; took in *Herod's* Sepulchre toward the *Eaſt*; and there joined one End of the Wall to the other where he began.

The Compaſs of it.

The Wall finiſh'd in three Days.

The Compaſs of this Wall was nine and thirty Furlongs; thirteen Forts built on the Outſide of it; and every Fort ten Furlongs about. But the moſt incredible Part of the Story was the finiſhing of an Encloſure in three Days, which might well have taken as many Months. Upon the perfecting of this Work, there were Guards poſted in all the Forts that did Duty every Night under their Arms. *Titus* went the firſt Round himſelf; *Tiberius Alexander*, the ſecond; and the Commanders of the Legions, the third. The Soldiers, and the Watch ſlept by Turns; but ſome or other ſtill upon the Guard in the Caſtles, all Night.

CHAP. XIV.

The miſerable Diſtreſſes of a devouring Famine. The Romans *make Oſtentation of their Plenty, to enflame the Envy of the* Jews. *Four Ramparts raiſed at* Antonia *larger than the former.*

The diſmal Ravage of a devouring Famine.

THE Shutting up of the *Jews* in the Town put them to the uttermoſt Degree of Deſpair: For the *Famine* was now ſo outragious, that it ſwept away whole Families. The Houſes were ſtrew'd with the Carcaſſes of Women and Children; and the narrow Lanes, with the Bodies of old Men that lay dead there; young Men walked the Streets like ſo many Ghoſts. There was no ſuch Thing as burying the Dead: Some wanted Strength to do the Office; others wanted Will, as being diſcouraged partly by the great Number of them, and partly in Regard they did not know but their own Turn might be next. Some there were that expir'd themſelves in the very Act of burying others; and ſome again haſtened away to their Grave before their Time, to make ſure of a reſting Place while they were yet living. And yet in the Depth of all this Miſery, there was not heard ſo much as one Groan or Outcry; but all other Paſſions were ſtifled in the Pain of a tormenting Hunger. Thoſe that dy'd laſt, ſtood gazing with dry Eyes, and ghaſtly looks, upon thoſe that were out of their Pain before them. The City was all wrapt up in a profound Silence, and Heaps of dead Bodies piled together up and down in the Night. But the moſt deplorable Part of the Story, was the Inſolence and Brutality of the Thieves: Inſomuch that the Famine it ſelf was nothing to it. They brake into Houſes, which at that Time were no better that Charnel-Houſes; ſtript the Dead to their very Skins, and then made themſelves Sport with their Nakedneſs; trying the Temper

[a] Gr. Ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος.

of their Swords upon the Bodies of the poor People as they lay half Dead. If any Man called for a Hand or a Sword to diſpatch him out of the Way, and deliver him from the Miſery of the Famine, he was repulſed with an inſenſible Cruelty and Neglect. As they came to the Point of Death, they ſtill clos'd their Eyes toward the Temple; and it went even then to the Hearts of them to leave theſe wretched Miſcreants yet among the living, that had ſo lewdly prophan'd that holy Place. When they were now no longer able to endure the putrid Corruption of the dead Bodies, Order was given to have them all interred at the publick Charge: But for want of Room to diſpoſe of them, theſe impious Monſters caſt them down Head-long from the Walls into the Vallies; which was ſo horrid a Spectacle, that *Titus*, upon taking the Round of the Place, finding the Ditches ſo peſtered and annoy'd with rotten Carcaſſes and peſtilential Vapours, he ſtretched out his Hands to Heaven in an Appeal to Almighty God, that it was againſt his Will to have it ſo. This was the State and Diſpoſition of the City at that Time.

The Romans *make an Oſtentation of their Plenty, to reproach the* Jews *in their extream Neceſſities.*

While the Faction was now ſo coopt up within their Walls, that there was no ſtirring out of the Town; beſide the double Mortification they endur'd, of Famine, and Deſpair; the *Romans* at the ſame Time, paſs'd their Days merrily, and at Eaſe, in an Abundance of all Sorts of neceſſary Proviſions out of *Syria*, and the neighbouring Provinces: Inſomuch that ſeveral of the *Romans*, out of an invidious Oſtentation of their Stores, came up to the very Walls to irritate the Wants on the one Side, with expoſing the Plenty on the other. But all wrought nothing upon the inſenſible Hearts of the ſeditious; inſomuch that *Titus*, in pure Compaſſion to the Remainder of a miſerable People, reſolved to go in Hand with caſting up new Works afreſh; and haſtening the Diſpatch as faſt as he could. The only Difficulty was the providing of wherewithal to carry it forward: For the Wood near the City was all cut down already for the former Works; ſo that they were now forced to fetch all their Timbers for a ſecond Supply, at ninety Furlongs Diſtance from the Place; and there were four Ramparts erected at the Fortreſs *Antonia* larger than the former. *Titus* loſt no Time; and having the Faction now at Mercy, he gave them to underſtand as much. But they went on ſtill without any Sign of Remorſe, and with as little Regard to their own Bodies and Souls, as if they had been the Bodies and Souls of other People: For the dead they tore to Pieces like Dogs; and choak'd up the ſick and languiſhing, in Priſons.

Four Ramparts erected at Antonia, *larger than the former.*

CHAP. XV.

Matthias *recommends* Simon *to the City.* Simon *murders him in Requital, by the Hand of* Ananus *the worſt of Men.* Ananias *put to Death.* Judas *in a Plot to deſtroy* Simon. Simon *ſurprizes the Town.* Joſeph *wounded, and reported to be kill'd.* Titus *reſcues him, and he recovers. The* Jews *ſwallow their Gold. Two thouſand of their Bellies ript up in one Night.* Titus *tranſported at ſo horrid an Outrage. The Love of Money is the ſtrongeſt of all Appetites.*

Matthias *brings* Simon *into the City.*

Simon in Requital puts Matthias *to the Torture, and then murders him upon the Bodies of his three Sons.*

Ananus, *the vileſt of Men, the Executioner.*

WHEN *Simon* had firſt put *Matthias* to the Torture, he put him afterwards to Death; and this was the Thanks he had for getting him admitted into the City. This *Matthias* was the Son of *Boethus*, a Prieſt, in high Eſteem with the People, and no Man generally better belov'd. The *Jews* were hardly uſed (it ſeems) by the *Zelotes*; and upon *John*'s joining with them, *Matthias* moved the calling in of *Simon* to their Aſſiſtance; but without any Caution, or Conditions, or any Bargain before-hand whatſoever. *Simon* had no ſooner made himſelf Maſter of the Town, but he treated *Matthias* as one of the greateſt Enemies he had, and imputed the Advice he gave for the opening of the Ports, to groſs Simplicity, and Over-Sight: So that, upon this, he was arraigned and accus'd for holding Intelligence with the *Romans*; and a Sentence of Death paſs'd upon the *Father*, and his *three Sons*, (the fourth having made his Eſcape to the *Romans*) without ſo much as hearing what he had to ſay for himſelf. The only Favour this venerable old Man had to deſire of *Simon*, in Return for the Obligation of letting him into the Town, was, that he himſelf might dye firſt; but *Simon* refuſed that Grace, and commanded the *Father* to be laſt executed; to keep him ſo much the longer in Pain. *Matthias*, in the Concluſion, was put to Death upon the Bodies of his *Sons*, and in the Sight of the *Romans*, according to *Simon*'s Order to *Ananus*, the Son of *Bamadus*; the moſt hard-hearted Creature that *Simon* had about him. Neither did he content himſelf barely to execute the deteſtable Sentence; but in a Frolick of Inſolence, and Deriſion, when he was juſt upon the Point of ſtriking the Stroke; *you would fain* *have gone over to the* Romans, ſays he to *Matthias, and let them bring you off now if they can.* But, in ſhort to conſummate the Inhumanity, the Bodies were all refuſed Burial, by the ſpecial Command of *Simon* himſelf.

There was alſo *Ananias* a Prieſt, the Son of *Masbalus*, nobly deſcended; and *Ariſteus* a Native of *Ammaus*, and Secretary to the Council; who, with *fifteen more* of the Principals of the People, were all put to Death. The Father of *Joſeph* was alſo made a Priſoner, with a Proclamation upon it, that no Man ſhould preſume to come at him upon Pain of Treaſon. Nay, it was made Death alſo, without either Tryal or Mercy, but ſo much as to pity them.

Ananias *put to Death: And* Joſeph's *Father made a Priſoner.*

It fell out after this, that *Judas* the Son of *Judas*, an Officer of *Simon's*, and a Commander of one of the Turrets, laying to Heart the brutal Oppreſſion of a miſerable People, and not forgetting to look to himſelf in the firſt Place, he took an Occaſion to diſcourſe half a Score of the truſtieſt Friends he had, upon that Subject. *How long are we*, ſays he, *to crouch under the Burden of this Tyrany, or what Hope of Safety in the Service of ſo falſe, and ſo cruel a Maſter! We have* Sword *and* Famine *to encounter, and the Enemy as good as within our Walls already;* Simon, *of all Men living the moſt ungrateful. He lives in a perpetual Fear of Puniſhment: And the* Romans, *on the other Hand, are moſt certainly Men of Faith and Honour. So that we have no more to do, but to deliver up the Walls, and to preſerve our ſelves, and our Country, both in one. Neither has* Simon *any Cauſe of Complaint, only he ſuffers a little ſooner.*

Judas *the Son of* Judas *in a Plot to deſtroy* Simon.

When the ten Men were come to an Agreement, *Judas*, betimes ſent the Remainder of his People ſeveral Ways, for a Blind to his Deſign; and about the third Hour of the Day, call'd out to the *Romans*, from the Turret, and gave them to underſtand the Reſolution they had taken: Some gave no Heed to't; others, no Credit, and ſome again thought it not worth their while to maſter a Place they might get without Danger. By this Time, *Titus* had drawn ſome Troops up to the Wall; but *Simon* immediately ſurpriz'd the Town: And killing the Guard, in the very View of the *Romans*, tumbled the Bodies down the Wall. While *Joſeph* was walking up and down there, and doing the *Jews* the beſt Offices he could by Encouragement and Advice, it was his Fortune to be knock'd down with a Stone from the Battlements: Whereupon the *Jews* made a deſperate Sally, and had carry'd him off a Priſoner; if *Titus*, in that Inſtant, had not ſent a Party to his Reſcue. During this Skirmiſh, they got away *Joſeph*, before he was well come to himſelf again. The Faction took it to be as they wiſh'd it; and mightily overjoy'd they were in the Belief that *Joſeph* was ſlain. The Rumour paſs'd for current through the City, and put the Inhabitants into a diſmal Conſternation, for the Loſs of their Mediator, and Patron among the *Romans*. The Tidings of *Joſeph's* Death being brought to his Mother in Priſon, ſhe told her Guards that ſhe heard as much, and that ſhe ſhould never ſee him more. Upon this Occaſion, the Women condol'd with her; and ſhe her ſelf deploring her own Misfortune, that in bearing a Son who (ſhe hop'd) would have bury'd the Mother, ſhe was not now in Condition to pay thoſe funeral Rites to her Son. But the Mother was not long the worſe, nor the Faction long the better, for the Miſtake of a falſe Report. For the Danger of *Joſeph's* Wound was quickly over; and upon returning to his Poſt again, he gave them all to underſtand, that they ſhould pay dearly for what they had done: But ſtill animating the People all along to their Obedience. The Sight of *Joſeph* put his Friends in Countenance again, and caſt as great a Damp upon the Hearts of the Faction.

Simon *ſurprizes the Town.*

Joſeph *wounded with a Stone, and ſaid to be kill'd.*

Titus *reſcues him, and he recovers.*

In this Extremity there were ſeveral Deſerters went over to the *Romans*: Some leapt the Wall, and made their Eſcape that Way; others got off under a Colour of purſuing the Enemy with Stones. But inſtead of avoiding one Calamity within the Town, they fell into a worſe without; and the Surfeits they contracted in the Camp were much more mortal, than the *Famine* they left at Home. For being empty, and puff'd up with a dropſical Diſtemper, they could not come to their eating again, but by little and little, without Danger of burſting: And the moſt miſerable Part of the Story is yet behind.

There was a Fugitive ſurpriz'd among the *Syrians*, in the very Act of ſearching for Gold, that had been ſwallow'd, and paſs'd thorough him, as I ſaid before: Now the Faction put all People to the Scrutiny; and there was ſuch Plenty of Gold in the Town, that twelve *Atticks* at preſent was as much worth as five and twenty heretofore. The Fame of this Diſcovery was preſently all over the Camp, and that the *Jews* that deſerted had conceal'd Gold in their Guts: Whereupon, the *Arabians* and the *Syrians* ript up two thouſand of their Bellies in one Night for their Treaſure:

The Jews *carry off Gold in their Guts.*

Upon this Report two thouſand of their Bellies were ript up in one Night.

Treaſure: Which I take to have been the moſt barbarous Butchery the *Jews* ever ſuffer'd.

Titus *tranſported to the higheſt Degree.*

Titus was ſo tranſported at the Brutality of this Action, that he had certainly order'd his Horſe to put every Man of them to Death with Darts, that had a Hand in it, if the Number of the Guilty had not been ſo much greater than that of the Slain. Hereupon he call'd his Officers together, as well *Romans* as *Auxiliaries*, and finding ſeveral of his own People concern'd in the Outrage, he enter'd into an angry Expoſtulation with them upon the whole Matter. *Is it poſſible*, ſays he, (to the *Romans* in the firſt Place) *that any Soldier of mine ſhould be guilty of ſo unmanly a Cruelty, for a doubtful and uncertain Advantage; and not bluſh at the Thought of ſo infamous and ſcandalous a Purchaſe?* And then again to his Auxiliaries. *Can you think it reaſonable*, (ſays he) *that the Inſolencies, the Murders, and the Inhumanities of the* Syrians *and* Arabians, *in a foreign War, where they take all Manner of Licence, ſhould be imputed to the* Romans; *and the Malice of the one laid at the others Door?*

The Love of Money the moſt powerful of all Appetites.

Now *Titus* could not altogether excuſe his own People, and was ſo tranſported at it, that he threatned Death without Mercy to any Man that ſhould preſume to commit any of thoſe Outrages over again: Appointing the Legions alſo at the ſame Time, to make a ſtrict Search after all ſuſpected Perſons, and he himſelf would have the Hearing of the Cauſe. But Avarice will ſtand all Hazzards. Beſide that, cruel People are naturally covetous, and the Love of Money is the moſt inſatiable of all Appetites. Fear and Precaution, 'tis true, in ſome Caſes may be brought to hear Reaſon: But when a People are given up once to a Spirit of Reprobation, the ordinary Ways and Means of Security turn to their Deſtruction: And what *Cæſar* ſo ſeverely prohibited in publick, was nevertheleſs executed upon the *Jewiſh* Deſerters in ſecret. Only their Cuſtom was, upon any Fugitives coming over, firſt, to make ſure that none of the *Romans* ſhould be within Sight, and then cut up the *Jews* Bellies for the execrable Booty: And when they had done, they found little more (in Fine) than vain Hopes. This horrid Practice however frighted the *Jews* out of their Deſertions, and kept them from going over any longer to the *Romans.*

CHAP. XVI.

John *advances from Pillage to Sacrilege. The very Race of the* Jews *rooted out.* 600000 *dead Bodies carry'd out of the City.*

From Plunder John *advances to Sacrilege.*

WHEN the *Pillage* fail'd, *John* advanced to *Sacrilege:* Seizing to his own Uſe ſeveral Donatives and Oblations, with divers neceſſary Veſſels for the Service of God's worſhip; as Cups, Diſhes, Tables, *&c.* to the very [a] Pieces that *Auguſtus*, and the *Empreſs*, dedicated to the Honour of the holy Temple: Which the *Roman* Emperours had ever a great Veneration and Eſteem for; though a *Jew*, at that Time, had prophan'd it, and ſtript it of the very Bounties of Strangers; encouraging his Companions to take all Manner of Liberty with holy Things: *For it was but Reaſon*, he ſaid, *that they, that fought for the Temple, ſhould live by't.* So that he made no Scruple of diſtributing among the People the holy Wine and Oil that was reſerv'd in the inner Part of the Temple for Sacrifices: And as *John* made the Diſtribution, the Multitude took their Parts of it, drinking, and anointing, without any Difficulty. My Heart is full, and I cannot forbear giving it Vent. I am perſuaded, that if the *Romans* had delay'd the calling of theſe wicked People to an Account, this City would either have been drown'd, or ſwallow'd up with an Earthquake: Or have been deſtroy'd with Thunder and Lightning, like *Sodom*; the *Jews* being much the wickeder People of the two: Inſomuch, that for their Stubbornneſs and Iniquity, the whole Race of them was rooted out.

The Race of the Jews *rooted out.*

It would be endleſs to run thorough the ſeveral Inſtances of their Miſery. *Mannæus*, the Son of *Lazarus*, had the Command of one of the City-Gates; and going over to *Titus*, he gave him this Account: That from the Time of *Titus*'s encamping before the Town (from the tenth of *Xanthicus* to the firſt of *Panemus*,) there paſs'd thorough that Gate 115080 dead Bodies, and this was no more than what fell to his Share to take Notice of, by Virtue of a Commiſſion to that Purpoſe: Beſide what were bury'd by their Relations; that is to ſay, thrown out of the City, having no other Way of Burial. After this, upon the Computation of divers Men of Quality that deſerted, there were 600000 poor People carry'd out of the Gate; beſide others innumerable, that for Want of Friends to export their Carcaſſes out of the City, were pil'd in Heaps, and ſhut up in large Houſes. Wheat was by this Time valu'd at a Talent a Buſhel: And now ſince the walling up of the Town ſo cloſe, that they were cut off from all Proviſion, to the Value of a ſingle Spire of Graſs; they were brought to that Pinch of Extremity, that they were glad to rake Vaults and Sinks for Suſtenance, and to feed upon Ox-Dung, and other Naſtineſs, enough to turn a Body's Stomach but to look upon it. The bare Story of the Calamity drew Pity from their very Enemies; but the Faction in the City, that both ſaw and felt their Sufferings, were not ſo much as ſenſible that their own rebellious Obſtinacy had been the Cauſe of it. But they went on, under the Fatality of a blind Infatuation that led them on Hood-wink'd, to the irreparable Ruine both of themſelves and of the City.

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[a] *Gr.* 'Ακρατοφόροι.

600000 dead Bodies carry'd out of the City.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
OF THE
WARS of the *JEWS.*

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

The State of Jeruſalem. *From a civil War they advance to a foreign. A Paradiſe turn'd into a Deſart. The* Jews *outdo the* Romans. *They attempt the firing of their Engines, but fail.* Jeruſalem *aſſaulted. The* Jews *make a bold Defence. The* Romans *fall to mining.* Titus *to his Army. The* Jews *firm in all Extremes.* Titus's *Opinion of a future State. An Encouragement to his Soldiers to do their Duty. A gallant Action of* Sabinus.

The State of Jeruſalem.

THE State of *Jeruſalem* was every Day worſe and worſe; and the Faction ſtill more and more fierce and turbulent, as they grew more and more miſerable: The *Famine* having now taken Poſſeſſion of great and ſmall, all alike. It was a ſad Spectacle to ſee how the Streets were cover'd with dead Bodies; the Air infected, and the very Paſſages choak'd up with Carcaſſes that were trampled under Foot like the Ruines of a fought Field; and without any Conſideration either of Terror or Pity, or how ſoon it might come to be their own Caſe. They began with cutting one another's Throats, and advanced from a civil War to a foreign; as if divine Providence had not made Haſte enough to perfect their Deſtruction. For they did not contend ſo much for any Hope they had of Victory, as in a Tranſport of Rage and Deſpair.

From a civil War to a foreign.

The *Romans*, upon this Pinch, were hard put to't for Materials to finiſh their Works; but yet, upon cutting down all the Woods within ninety Furlongs of the City, they made a Shift in one and twenty Days to raiſe their Platforms But never ſo diſmal a Change of Things, from a Paradiſe to a Deſart; and inſtead of the moſt delicious Country under the Heavens, for curious Gardens, Plantations and Houſes of Pleaſure, not ſo much as a Tree or a Cottage left ſtanding, or any Thing to be ſeen but the Marks of Deſolation and Ruine: Inſomuch that Strangers could not forbear weeping to ſee the Difference betwixt the *old Jeruſalem*, and the *new*. For the War had ſo far defac'd the Beauty and the Glory of the Place, that it was hardly to be known again; and People enquir'd for *Jeruſalem* in the very Heart of the City it ſelf.

A Paradiſe turn'd into a Deſart. Not a Stick of Wood left within ninety Furlongs of the Town.

Upon perfecting the Mounts, the *Jews* and the *Romans* were both equally ſolicitous for the Event. The *Jews* were either to deſtroy them once again, or to loſe the City, and one Diſappointment more on the other Hand would put the *Romans* out of Condition to repair them: For there was no more Wood to be gotten, and the Soldiers were quite haraſs'd out with the Fatigue of the Service. Not but that the *Romans* all this while, were more afflicted for the Calamity of the City, than the Citizens for themſelves; who kept up their Courage yet in Deſpite of all Difficulties. But when the *Romans* found themſelves over-reach'd by Stratagem; their Inventions eluded; the Wall Proof againſt their Machines; and themſelves worſted, in Fine, at Handy-Strokes, their very Hearts fail'd them; eſpecially having to do with an Enemy, that inſtead of ſinking under the Diſcouragements of Faction, Famine, War, &c. rather gather'd Spirit from the Oppoſition. *What would not theſe People do*, ſaid the *Romans*, *if they had Fortune on their Side; that behave themſelves with this Bravery, in Defiance of all Oppoſition!* Upon this Conſideration, the *Romans* doubled their Guards.

The Jews too hard for the Romans.

They attempt the Firing of the Roman Engines; but fail.

John and his People in the Caſtle of *Antonia*, did all that was to be done, before the Rams were mounted, to prevent the Danger of a Breach. But it was ſo much Labour loſt, for the Deſign they had of ſetting Fire to the Mount with flaming Torches, came to nothing. The Truth of it is, they did not behave themſelves like

Jews, either for Union or Vigour; and ſo were forc'd upon a Retreat. But as *they* fell *ſhort* of themſelves, on the one Side, ſo the *Romans* alſo went *beyond* themſelves on the other, in planting ſo ſtrict a Guard on the Bulwarks, that there was no Poſſibility of doing any Execution by Fire: Beſide, that they were reſolv'd every Man of them to die upon the Spot, rather than to ſubmit to ſo irreparable a Miſchief as the loſing of that Poſt: For nothing could have put the Soldiers in a greater Confuſion, than to ſee brave Men trick'd upon; their Courage baffled by a hot-headed Temerity; military Diſcipline and Experience confounded by popular Outrage; and the *Romans*, in Fine, ſubjected to the *Jews*. While the *Jews* advanc'd, the *Romans* were ready with their Darts to encounter them; and the foremoſt that fell did not only hinder his next Man, but the exemplary Danger of the one, ſerv'd for a Warning to the other. As for thoſe that preſs'd upon the Enemy's Weapons, ſome of them were ſurpriz'd at the Dignity of the *Roman* Order; others, at their Numbers, and ſome again march'd off with their Wounds: So that in the Concluſion, they all quitted their Ground, every Man ſhifting the Blame off to his Fellow.

They blame one another.

The Aſſault was given on the firſt of the Month *Panemus*; and the *Jews* being now drawn off, the *Romans* advanced with their Rams toward *Antonia*, in Defiance of all they were able to do; by Fire, Sword, Stones, and all other Ways of Hoſtility whatſoever. Not but that the *Jews* depended much upon the Strength of their Walls againſt the Battery of the Machines: But they did what they could however to keep the *Romans* at a Diſtance, from fixing them. The Inference they drew from this Way of Management was, that the *Jews* were conſcious to themſelves that *Antonia* was in Danger; and that this Apprehenſion made them beſtir themſelves ſo much. They continu'd the Battery, and the Wall ſtood hitherto firm; but the *Romans* fortifying themſelves under the Defence of their Bucklers againſt the Shot and Stones from above, they apply'd themſelves to digging and mining: And when, with an indefatigable Labour, they had looſen'd four Stones under the Foundation of the Work, they betook themſelves on both Sides to their Reſt. In this *Interim*, that Part of the Wall that *John* had undermin'd for the Deſtruction of the former Works, fell down all on a ſudden. This unexpected Accident was a Surprize to both Parties. The *Jews*, that had Reaſon to be troubled at it, eſpecially when they might have foreſeen and prevented it, were yet in as good Heart as if *Antonia* had been their own ſtill: And the Joy of the *Romans*, on the other Hand, for an Accident that appear'd ſo ſeaſonable, was as quickly daſh'd upon the Sight of another Wall, that *John* had carry'd up within the former; only the latter appear'd to be the leſs defenſible Place of the two, both as the Ruine of the one facilitated the Paſſage to the other, and as the Work of the new Wall could not yet be ſo firm and ſettled as that of *Antonia*. But there was no Thought of ſcaling it, and coming off alive.

Jeruſalem *aſſaulted.*

The Jews *make a bold Defence.*

The Romans *fall to mining.*

Titus was not now to learn the Force of Reaſoning, and fair Words, upon the Minds of Men of Arms and Honour; or how generous Spirits may be wrought upon by plauſible Inſinuations of Artifice and Addreſs, into, not only the Neglect of Danger, but the very Contempt of Death it ſelf. With this Thought in his Head, he ſummoned the Flower of his Army together, and ſpake to them after this Manner.

My brave Fellow-Soldiers, there can be no Place for Encouragements, where there is no Danger: Neither would it become me to offer it, as if you wanted it; or you to take it. Exhortations are more properly for doubtful Caſes, wherein all brave Men will adviſe themſelves. It will be a hard Work, I muſt confeſs, to maſter the Wall we have here before us: But great Souls are given us for great and glorious Exploits; and Death is an Avantage when it is follow'd with immortal Fame for a Reward: Beſide that it ſhall be my Care to reward thoſe that deſerve it. In the firſt Place, I would have you think of that for your Encouragement, that works a contrary Effect upon others. I ſpeak of the inſuperable Patience and Conſtancy of the Jews *in the worſt of Fortunes. As what can be more ignominious, than for the military* Romans, *that ſtudy War in Peace, and are ſo wonted to conquer, that it is almoſt natural to them to be victorious: For theſe, I ſay, to be beaten out of their Strength and Courage by the* Jews; *and at the latter End of the Day too, with God's Providence moſt evidently on their Side; and the Enemy nothing to ſupport them, but the Fury of their own extravagant Deſpairs; beſide that they ſuffer daily under the judicial Vengeance of God's high Diſpleaſure in our Favour: Witneſs their Factions, Famine, Siege, and the Ruine of their Walls, even without Battery; which are but ſo many Declarations from Heaven againſt them, to our Advantage. It will not become us therefore to truckle to our Inferiours, and to caſt off the divine Protection. Shall the* Jews *that have been train'd up to* Slavery, *and conſequently have little or no Credit to loſe upon that Account;*

Titus to the Flower of his Army.

The Jews *firm and ſteady in all Extremes.*

ſhall theſe People, I ſay, have the Bravery to charge into the Middle of the Roman *Troops, and look Death in the Face, rather than run a Riſque of the ſame Condition over again; and all this, in a Freak of Oſtentation and Vanity, without the leaſt Hope or Proſpect of Succeſs: And ſhall we, on the other Hand, that are effectually the Lords and Maſters of the Univerſe, and in a Manner entitled to a Right of Conqueſt: Shall we, I ſay, lye ſtill and idle, without ſo much as one bold Attempt upon our Adverſaries, waiting only in our Arms, till Hunger and Fortune ſhall give up the Enemy, without any Difficulty, into our Hands? 'Tis but taking* Antonia *once, and the Town is our own. Or, in Caſe we ſhould meet with any Reſiſtance from within (which I do not expect) it would not be worth the ſpeaking of; for the Advantage of the higher Ground lays the Enemy at our Feet without all Hope of Recovery. I do not take upon me here to celebrate the Hiſtory of thoſe* Heroes, *that, having ended their Days in the Field of Battle, ſhall yet live in the Memory of future Ages to Perpetuity. As for thoſe worthleſs Wretches that think of going down Body and Soul into the Grave together, I wiſh them a Death ſuitable to that Abjection of Mind. No Man of Senſe and Spirit can be ſo far ignorant of the State of Souls departed, as not to underſtand that thoſe that fall by the Fate of War, are immediately tranſlated into the Heavens among the Stars, to appear from thence, to their Poſterity, like good Angels, or Influences to prepare them on the other Side for thoſe Manſions of Bliſs. But for thoſe that dye in their Bed, as we ſay, or of ſome bodily Diſeaſe, their Souls, from that Inſtant, are bury'd in Darkneſs, let them be never ſo pure; and their Names and Memories for ever ſunk and forgotten. Now ſince ſo it is, that Death is inevitable, and that the Sword compar'd with any Diſeaſe is the eaſier Death of the two, how mean and degenerous a Cowardice would it be to withdraw the Uſe of a Life from the Service of the Publick, which is an indiſpenſable Debt to Nature, and a Man's Country.*

Titus *his Notion of a future State.*

This may look, perhaps, as if I took the ſtorming of this Wall to be certain Death; but Reſolution is above Danger; and he that fears nothing, deſpairs of nothing. The Fall of the firſt Wall has open'd a Way to the reſt; and the ſecond will be eaſily over-born, if you do but encourage and ſupport one another: Only ſtand firm, and your very Numbers will do the Work: And who knows at laſt but you may carry your Point without Blood too. You are to prepare however for a vigorous Oppoſition, and to aſſure your ſelves, that upon any Advantage either by Stratagem, or by Force, they will never be able to withſtand us. And for him that firſt mounts the Breach, it ſhall be my Care, whether he lives or dyes, to crown him with Honours and Rewards.

He that does well ſhall be ſure of Honour and Reward.

Theſe Words of *Titus* caſt ſuch a Damp upon the Spirits of the Army, that there was but one Man in the Field had the Heart to anſwer the End of this Diſcourſe. His Name was *Sabinus*; a *Syrian* born, and a Soldier of the Guards; and a Man eminent both for Courage and Execution: One that had never ſeen him before, would hardly have taken him for a military Man, either by his Make, or by his Faſhion: A little black Fellow; but with a Soul too large for his Body. This Man made his Reverence, and addreſs'd himſelf to *Titus* in Words to this Effect. *I do here make a Tender of my ſelf to* Cæſar *with all my Heart, for the firſt Man to give the Aſſault. May* Cæſar's *Fortune anſwer* Sabinus's *Good-Will. Or if I ſhould miſcarry in the Attempt; what I loſe one Way, I get another, in the Honour of laying down my Life for my Maſter: Which makes it all one to me whether I live or dye.*

A glorious Action of Sabinus, *one of the Guards to* Titus; *and the glorious End he made.*

Upon theſe Words, with his Sword drawn in his Right Hand, and his Shield over his Head in his Left, he advanced toward the Wall about the ſixth Hour of the Day, with a Train of eleven Men at his Heels, that follow'd him purely in Emulation of his Virtue: *Sabinus*, in this Action, encounter'd all the Enemies Stones and Shot, with a Spirit more than humane; and ſeveral of his Followers were knock'd down upon that Attack. But this did not hinder *Sabinus* yet from preſſing forward upon the Enemies Darts and Arrows, till he had well-nigh mounted the Wall, and forced the *Jews* to abandon their Station, for Fear of an Enforcement of greater Numbers to overpower them. But what ſhall we ſay now to the ſpiteful Malignity of Fortune, that takes Delight to croſs all virtuous Undertakings; for when this *Heroe* was juſt upon the perfecting of his Work, he was moſt unluckily overborn with the Fall of a Stone. The *Jews* looking behind them upon the Noiſe; and finding *Sabinus* lying alone there, and in a Manner ſenſeleſs, they all fell upon him with their Darts. He defended himſelf upon his Knees, with his Buckler over his Head, as long as he could, and revenged himſelf upon his Enemies with his Sword: Killing ſome, and wounding others, till in the End, being able to ſtrike no longer, he breath'd his laſt under a Shower of their Darts.

The Bravery of this Man deſerv'd a more propitious Fate, but he dy'd yet as great as he liv'd. Three of his Companions were cruſh'd to Death with Stones from the Top of the Wall, and there were eight more carry'd off wounded to the Camp. This Action paſs'd upon the third Day of the Month *Panemus*.

CHAP. II.

The Romans *find the Guards aſleep at* Antonia, *and cut their Throats. A terrible Fight upon it with a great Slaughter and Confuſion. A Battle of ten Hours; and the* Jews *get the better of it.*

TWO Days after this, there were gotten together twenty of the Guards of the Platforms; the Enſign of the fifth Legion, two Cavaliers, and a Trumpet: And making a ſilent March over the Ruines up to *Antonia*, in the dead of the Night, without any Oppoſition, they found the advance Guards faſt aſleep, cut their Throats, and ſo taking Poſſeſſion of the Wall, the Trumpet ſounded. Upon this Alarum, the reſt wak'd and fled, without waiting to ſee what Numbers had enter'd the Place, but betwixt Fear and Fancy, they gave them for granted to be very ſtrong. *Titus* immediately, upon this Notice, put himſelf in the Head of the choiceſt Troops he had about him, and ſo took his Way up to the Ruines. The *Jews* were ſo ſtartled at this Surprize, that ſome of them made for the inner Temple; others, toward the Mine that *John* had wrought to ſupplant the *Roman* Works: But the two Factions of *John* and *Simon* giving all for loſt, if the *Romans* ſhould get the Temple, there follow'd a fierce and an obſtinate Combat upon it, before the very Doors of the Place; the one fighting for Life, the other for Victory. Launces and Darts were of little or no Uſe on either Hand; but the Controverſy was now decided by the Sword. In this Confuſion, there was no diſtinguiſhing who and who were together; but all crouding, without either Order or Diſcipline: And ſuch a Meddley of Outcries, that there was no underſtanding one another. The Slaughter was great on both Sides, and the Ground cover'd with Arms and Carcaſſes. There was no Place either to run away, or to purſue: But as they had the better, or the worſe of it, they advanc'd, or retir'd; ſhouting and exalting on the one Hand, and lamenting on the other. The Front of both Armies was of Neceſſity either to kill, or to be kill'd; for there was no Diſtance left betwixt them for a Retreat. The Battle, in Fine, laſted *ten Hours*: That is to ſay, from the ninth Hour over Night to the ſeventh next Morning. But the furious Obſtinacy of the *Jews* carry'd it from the Reſolution and Conduct of the *Romans*; and it was well for them they did ſo, for their laſt Adventure was at Stake. But the *Romans*, in the Concluſion, contented themſelves for the preſent, that they had gotten *Antonia*, with only one Part of their Army; for the Legions, upon whom they chiefly depended, were not as yet come up.

The Romans *march up to* Antonia; *find the Guards aſleep, and cut their Throats.*

A ſharp Fight upon it.

With a great Slaughter and Confuſion.

A Battle of ten Hours, and the Jews *carry it.*

CHAP. III.

A brave Exploit of one Julian *a Centurion; and as notable a Misfortune. The* Romans *ſhut up in* Antonia. *The Names of the* Jews *that ſignaliz'd themſelves upon this Occaſion.*

THere was one *Julian* a Native of *Bithynia*, and a Centurion; a Man well born, and the braveſt to all Manner of martial Purpoſes, that ever I heard of in the whole War. This *Julian*, as he was ſtanding by *Titus* in *Antonia*, and the *Romans* at that Time giving Way to the *Jews*, he took his Opportunity, and made a deſperate Leap on a ſudden into the thickeſt of the Enemy, and ſo gave them Chace in his ſingle Perſon up to the innermoſt Corner of the Temple. This prodigious Action put the Multitude into ſuch an Amazement, that there was more in it (they thought) than the bare force of Fleſh and Blood. But *Julian* purſu'd his Courſe; ſome he overturn'd; others he overtook, and put to Death: Nothing, in Short, was more agreeable to *Cæſar*'s Friends, or a more dreadful Spectacle to his Enemies. But there was a Fatality yet that befell this Man, not to be foreſeen, or avoided. For having his Shoes ſtudded with Iron Nails, after the Faſhion of other Soldiers, as he was running a Courſe upon the Pavement, he got a Slip; and the *Romans*, upon the Claſh of his Arms, brake into an Outcry, for fear he might have done himſelf ſome Miſchief. The *Jews* at the ſame Time fell upon him with

A brave Exploit of one Julian *a Centurion.*

An eminent Miſfortune of his; and as remarkable a Death.

with Swords and Darts, while he fenc'd off ſeveral Blows with his Buckler; and ſtill as he try'd to get up again, he was born down with Multitudes. And yet, ſuch was the Proof of his Arms, that even at his Length upon the Ground, they had ſome Difficulty to diſpatch him. But, what with Loſs of Blood and other Weakneſs, and no Mortal to ſuccour him, he gave up the Ghoſt.

The Romans *ſhut up in* Antonia. *The Names of the* Jews *that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Action.*

It went to the Heart of *Cæſar*, to ſee ſo brave a Man made ſo publick and ſo deplorable a Spectacle; and eſpecially to find himſelf under the utter Impoſſibility of ſaving a Perſon he had ſo great a Mind to preſerve. But there were others that might have reliev'd him, if they had had but the Courage to attempt it. *Julian*, in Fine, after a long Struggle with humane Frailty, and leaving ſeveral of his Murderers wounded behind him, departed this Life, to his everlaſting Honour, both with Friends and Foes. The *Jews* at laſt carry'd off the dead Body, and after another Rout to the *Romans*, ſhut them up in *Antonia*. The *Jews* that ſignaliz'd themſelves in this Action, were *Alexas*, and [a] *Gyphthæus* of *John*'s Party: And of *Simon*'s Faction, there were *Malachias*, and *Judas* the Son of *Merton*: *James* the Son of *Sozas*, Captain of the *Idumæans*; *Simon* and *Judas* the Sons of *Jair*.

CHAP. IV.

Titus *invites* John *out to a fair Battle.* John's *Ribaldry in Return.* John *deliberates upon the Matter.* Jechonias's *Piety and Prudence. The Fate of* Jeruſalem *draws on: And God puniſhes the* Jews *by the Hand of the* Romans. *The* Jews *give it out that the* Romans *put all the Deſerters to Death; but* Titus *proves the contrary.* Titus *has no Hand in theſe Abominations.*

Titus *makes ready to march, and clears the Way for his Army.*

He invites John *out to a fair Battle, for the ſaving of the Temple and City.*

TITUS, being now reſolv'd to tear up the Foundations of *Antonia*, and to level the Ways for the more commodious March of the Army, he called for *Joſeph*, and (underſtanding that on that Day, which was the ſeventeenth of the Month *Panemus*, the Solemnity of their daily Sacrifice could not be obſerv'd for want of a Congregation, and that the People were much troubled at it) ſent him to *John* a ſecond Time upon the ſame Errand: That is to ſay, if *John* had a mind to fight, let him bring what Numbers he pleas'd, and he ſhould have the Liberty to put it to a Battle; provided only that the City and the Temple might not be expoſed in the common Ruine; and that he would give over prophaning God's holy Name and Worſhip. Or, if he had a Deſire to revive the religious Services that had been for ſome Time diſcontinu'd, he might appoint which of the *Jews* he pleas'd to officiate.

Now *Joſeph* did not think it ſufficient to acquit himſelf of this Commiſſion to *John* alone; but mounting an Eminence where he might be furtheſt heard, he communicated *Cæſar*'s Pleaſure to the *Jews* in *Hebrew*, as loud as he could deliver it: Begging of the *Jews* all the while to have Compaſſion of their Country, and to prevent the burning of the Temple, before it was too late; with Liberty to ſolemnize their Prayers and Sacrifices, as formerly.

John's *execrable Ribaldry in Return.*

The People gave *Joſeph* a ſorrowful Hearing, without ſo much as one Word ſpeaking. But *John*, after ſeveral virulent Outrages againſt *Joſeph*, ſuperadded this *Irony*; that *there was no Danger of* Jeruſalem, *if it was the City of God.*

Joſeph *reaſons the Caſe according to his Commiſſion.*

No doubt of it, ſays *Joſeph*, (interrupting him with a loud Voice) *you have made a Conſcience of keeping every Thing pure and holy, and of paying your Duty to that God from whom you pretend to look for Help. What would you think of that Man now, but as the worſt of Enemies, that ſhould rob you of your daily Bread? And yet at the ſame Time you make no Difficulty at all of robbing Almighty God of his daily Sacrifices and Oblations. And what's your Quarrel after this to the* Romans, *but for ſtanding up in Defence of your own Laws and Worſhip, which you your ſelf ſuppreſs. Never was there ſo miſerable a Turn of Religion and State! Strangers and Enemies to do the Office of your beſt Friends: And the* Jews *themſelves, both by Blood and Education, crueller than* Barbarians *one to another. But Repentance is never out of Seaſon, let the Caſe be never ſo deſperate. As in the Inſtance of* Jechonias *the King of the* Jews; *who, when the* Babylonians *made War upon* Jeruſalem, *quitted the Town upon Choice, before it was taken, and gave up himſelf, Mother and Relations for Hoſtages, to ſave the holy City and Temple from being laid in Aſhes. The Name and Honour of this Prince ſtands upon Record to this Day, in an anniverſary Solemnity, to the Memory of that illuſtrious Action. I cannot recommend you to a more pertinent or ſeaſonable Precedent: And let your Diſtreſs or Offence be what it will, my Life for yours, the* Romans *ſhall pardon it. Wherefore conſider well with your ſelf, who it is that adviſes you; what they are to whom*

A memorable Inſtance of Jechonias's *Piety and Prudence.*

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[a] Al. *Tipthæus.*

I paſs this Promiſe; what moves me to it, and in whoſe Name I undertake it. Heaven forbid that I ſhould ever ſubmit to be ſo mean a Slave, as to forget what I owe to the Place of my Nativity, and to the Laws of my Country. And after all this, what do I get for my Good-will now, but freſh Indignities, Railings, and Injuries? And all this is not yet ſo bad neither as I deſerve, for endeavouring to preſerve a Sort of People that Fate and Providence are reſolved to deſtroy. What can be clearer than the frequent Predictions we meet with in Hiſtory, pointing at the Deſtruction of this miſerable City; and that the Time of it is then near at Hand, when the Jews *are tearing out the Hearts one of another. Now this is ſo far come to paſs, that not only the Houſes, but the Temples, are polluted with the Blood of your own Tribes. And what is all this now, but the divine Judgment of God, puniſhing the* Jews *by the Hand of the* Romans, *which will probably end in purging the City by Fire.*

The Fate of Jeruſalem near at Hand.

God puniſhes the Jews *by the Hands of the* Romans.

Joſeph could go no further for Sobs and Tears, which put the *Romans* into a tender Admiration at the Softneſs and Humanity of his very Diſpoſition: But the more *Joſeph* lamented, the more implacable were *John* and his Confederates againſt the *Romans*; inſomuch that they lay in Way to enveigle *Joſeph* into a Snare. But his Diſcourſe wrought very effectually upon ſeveral of the Nobility. There were divers of the Factions alſo, that finding the Caſe deſperate, and giving all for loſt, would have gone over to the *Romans*, if they durſt have ſtirr'd for Fear of their own Guards. But others there were, that taking their Opportunity, gave their own Companions the Slip, in which Number were the High-Prieſts, *Joſeph* and *Jeſus*; the three Sons of *Iſmael* that had his Head cut off at *Cyrene*; four Sons of *Matthias*; and one Son of another *Matthias*, who made his Eſcape to the *Romans*, after *Simon* the Son of *Gioras* had put the Father and three of his Sons to Death, as has been ſaid already. There were alſo a great Number of Perſons of Condition that deſerted with the Prieſts, who were graciouſly received by the Emperour, but ſent away to *Gophne* for the preſent, with a Promiſe of large Poſſeſſions to be diſtributed among them at the End of the War. *Titus* gave them this Aſſignment by themſelves, to avoid the Uneaſineſs of a mix'd Converſation among People of different Manners, Laws, and Cuſtoms; and they were very thankful for the Allotment.

Several of the better Sort give their Companions the ſlip.

When they were all withdrawn to their Colony, and none of them ſeen any longer in the City, the Faction ſtarted a ſpiteful Report; how the *Romans* kill'd all the Deſerters as faſt as they came over to them, with a Deſign to fright others from leaving their Companions. This Invention ſucceeded once again, as before; but *Titus* being now aware of the Stratagem, call'd them all back again from *Gophne*, and order'd them to take the *Tour* of the Walls with *Joſeph*, and ſhew themſelves to the Town, which brought over more Proſelytes to the *Romans* than ever. As they were gather'd together upon this Occaſion, they planted themſelves in the Sight of the *Romans*, and preſſing the Faction with Importunities and Lamentations, begg'd of them either to take the *Romans* into the Town, and deliver their Country; or otherwiſe quit the Temple, to prevent the firing of it; which the *Romans* would never agree to but upon the laſt Extremity. This did but make the Faction more and more outragious againſt the Fugitives, with their Stones, Darts, Arrows, Slings, and other neceſſary Engines; which being planted at the very Gates, made the Temple liker a Place of Arms than a Houſe of religious Worſhip; and the dead Bodies lay every where ſo thick about it, as if it were a common Burying-Place. They brake alſo into the *holy Sanctuary*, with their Arms ſtill warm and reeking in the Blood of their Countrymen, and advancing to ſuch a Degree of Extravagance, that the *Romans* pay'd a greater Reverence to the *Jewiſh* Rites and Ceremonies, than the *Jews* did to their own. There was not a Man in *Titus*'s Army, that had not a Veneration for the Temple it ſelf, and for the God that was worſhipped there, and that did not heartily wiſh to ſee the Faction repent while there was yet Place left for Mercy.

The Jews *give out that the* Romans *kill all the Deſerters.*

But Titus *proves it a manifeſt Impoſture.*

The Roman *Army to a Man, had a Veneration for the holy Temple.*

Titus was ſo ſenſibly touch'd with the Caſe of theſe wretched People, that he made one Tryal more yet, how far *John*, and his Confederates might be wrought upon by Reaſon. *Tell me*, ſays he, *you inhumane Miſcreants! What were all the Bars and Partitions for, about this holy Place, with the* Latin *and* Greek *Inſcriptions upon theſe Pillars, forbidding all People upon a Penalty, not to paſs this Encloſure? Neither have we our ſelves been leſs tender of your Privileges, in making it Death for any Man to paſs theſe Bounds, not excepting the* Romans *themſelves. How comes the Sanctuary after this, to be prophan'd with Aſſaſſinations and Murders, and the Temple defil'd with Blood, foreign and domeſtick. I appeal to all the Gods of my Country, and to the late Patron of this holy Temple (who hath now forſaken it,) to my Army, to the* Jews *that have join'd with me, and finally to your ſelves, that I am innocent of all theſe Abominations: And I do ſacredly promiſe, that, if you will but comply in quitting this holy Place,*

Titus has no Hand in theſe Abominations.

Place, no Man ſhall approach or offer it any Indignity; but that I'll preſerve and protect your Temple even whether you will or no.

CHAP. V.

Titus *forced upon the War. He forms his Party, and poſts himſelf upon Fort* Antonia. *An Attack in the Night follow'd with a diſmal Uproar and Confuſion. Day-light brings them into Order again. A drawn Battle at laſt. Several* Jewiſh Heroes *that fought bravely. Four Mounts erected. A bloody Diſpute. A famous Action of one* Pedanius. *The* Jews *fire the Temple-Galleries. A phantaſtical Challenge.* Jonathan *kills* Pudens; *and* Priſcus *kills* Jonathan.

Titus *forced upon a War.*

He forms his Party.

Poſts himſelf upon Fort Antonia, *within View of the Action.*

TITUS, upon this Occaſion, made Uſe of *Joſeph* for his Interpreter; but the Faction made a wrong Conſtruction of it, and imputed the Fairneſs of the Application rather to Fear, than Good-will, and the *Jews* grew inſolent upon that Miſtake. When *Titus* found they had no Regard, either to the Temple, or to themſelves, he took up a Reſolution, though never ſo much againſt his Mind, to carry on the War. But for his whole Army, there was not Room enough to draw it up; ſo that he detach'd thirty out of every Company, with a Tribune in the Head of every thouſand, and *Cerealis* to command them all in chief. With this Detachment they were to have fallen on upon the Enemy's Guards about the ninth Hour of the Night, and *Titus* himſelf to have led on the Attack: But upon a Council of War, the Officers were all of Opinion for *Titus* rather to poſt himſelf upon the Fort *Antonia*, where he might ſee and obſerve how his Men acquitted themſelves, without running the Riſque of any common Danger in his own Perſon; beſide, that it would inſpire his People with a new Soul, to ſhew their Bravery in the Sight of their General.

An Attack ordered at a ſet Hour in the Night.

And follow'd in the Dark with a diſmal Uproar and Confuſion.

Day-light brings them into Order.

It was hard fought, and came to a drawn Battle at laſt.

Titus, in fine, render'd himſelf to the Reaſons of his Officers and Friends; and ſo withdrew to a Watch-Tower in *Antonia*, where he might ſee and judge of the whole Action, charging his Officers at the ſame Time to take ſtrict Notice who did well, or ill, that he might ſee them rewarded, or puniſh'd accordingly. The Matter was no ſooner ſettled, but Order was given, and an Hour appointed for the Attack. The *Romans* did not find the Enemy aſleep this Bout, as was expected; but the Advance Guards came preſently to Blows, with a Confuſion of Clamours; and, upon wakening their Fellows, brought them on in Multitudes to ſecond them. The *Romans* ſtood the firſt Shock; but the Numbers that follow'd fell indifferently upon their own People, without knowing Friend and Foe aſunder; for betwixt the Noiſe of the Uproar, and the Darkneſs of the Night, they knew neither Voices nor Faces apart; but following the Impulſe only of a blind Rage and Paſſion, they fell foul upon what came next in their Way at a Venture. Now the *Romans* that kept themſelves in orderly Bodies all this while, under the Cover of their Bucklers, and knew one another by the *Word*, or *Signal*; theſe People made a tolerable Shift in the Scuffle; whereas the *Jews* mov'd not one ſober Step off or on; but taking their Enemies for their Friends, and their Friends for their Enemies, the *Jews* deſtroy'd more of their own Men than the *Romans* themſelves did. But upon Break of Day, ſo ſoon as the Light ſhew'd them their Miſtakes, they betook themſelves to a more regular Way of Combat, and fell to their Darts and Arrows, both Sides as freſh and vigorous, as if they had done nothing all Night. Now the *Romans*, that had *Titus* for the Judge, the Witneſs, and the Spectator of their Behaviour, and look'd upon the Bravery of that Day's Action as the Foundation of their future Fortunes, fought one and all in a noble Strife and Emulation, who ſhould do beſt; while the *Jews* at the ſame Time had their own Lives and the Temple at Stake, with the Tyrant *John* in the Head of them; cajoling ſome with fair Words, and treating others with Menaces or Blows. This Fight was moſt of it Hand to Hand, but with various Changes back and forward; for there was hardly any Room either for Flight or Purſuit. *Antonia* was in Effect, but a Kind of Theatre to the Battle; *Titus*, and his Friends, the Spectators; calling out to the Actors one while to follow their Advantage; other while to ſtand their Ground, as they ſaw Occaſion; and there paſs'd nothing that 'ſcap'd their Obſervation. The Diſpute laſted, in fine, from the ninth Hour of the Night, to the fifth the next Day; both Sides maintaining their Ground; and coming, in the Concluſion, to a drawn Battle. There were ſeveral noble *Romans* that behav'd themſelves like *Heroes*; and the moſt remarkable Captains of the *Jews*, were as follows.

Several Jewiſh *Officers that fought like* Heroes *upon this Encounter.*

Of *Simon's* Party, there was *Judas* the Son of *Merton*, and *Simon* the Son of *Joſias*; *Jacob*, the Son of *Soſa*; and *Simon* the Son of *Cathlas*, (*Idumæans.*) And then of *John's* Diſciples, there were *Gyphthæus* and *Alexas*; and of the *Zelotes*, there was *Simon* the Son of *Jair*.

The Paſſes about Antonia *levell'd.*

Four Mounts erected.

In the Compaſs of ſeven Days, the Foundations of *Antonia* were all turn'd up to the Bottom, and a broad Way cut out for the Legions to march up to the Wall; where they immediately fell to Work upon four Mounts: The *firſt*, over againſt the Corner of the inner Temple that looks *North* and *Eaſt*: The *ſecond*, againſt the Gallery, to the *Northward* betwixt the two Gates: The *third*, toward the *Weſt Porch* of the outward Temple; and the *fourth*, towards the *North Porch*. But it was an infinite Charge and Labour, the bringing of the Materials a hundred Furlongs from the Place: Beſide the many Surprizes they met withal by the Way; for the *Romans* were over confident and careleſs, and the *Jews* mad and raſh enough to venture upon any Thing.

It was the Practice of ſeveral of the *Romans*, when they went out a Foraging, to turn their Horſes looſe a grazing; and it was then a common Thing for the *Jews* to ſally out upon ſo fair an Opportunity, and carry them off. This happen'd ſo often that *Titus* imputed it at laſt rather to the Negligence of the *Romans*, than to the daring Induſtry of the *Jews*. And he found himſelf much in the Right too; for upon the putting of one Soldier to Death for the Loſs of his Horſe, it ſecur'd all the reſt; for the Soldiers and their Horſes never parted after.

An Attack, and a bloody Diſpute upon it.

When they had now raiſed their Platforms, and put themſelves in Condition to mount their Attacks againſt the Temple, there came down the next Day a Rabble of a Faction, that were ready to ſtarve in the City for Want of Pillage. This ſeditious Crew about the eleventh Hour of the Day, made an Effort upon the *Roman* Guards toward the [a] *Mount of Olivet*, in Hope of either taking them at unawares, or finding them withdrawn. The *Romans* ſaw the Storm a coming; and taking the *Alarum* in Time, drew out all the Strength they were able to make, and put a Check to a moſt deſperate Attempt they had projected upon the Wall. It came, in Short, to a bloody Diſpute, and there were great Things done on both Sides; the *Romans* valuing themſelves upon the Reputation of their Proweſs and military Conduct; and the *Jews* flattering themſelves in the Force of a Fool-hardy and a miſtaken Valour. The one fought for Shame, the other upon Neceſſity: For the *Romans* look'd upon the *Jews* to be now as good as noos'd, and could never have wip'd off the Diſgrace, if they had let them go again: And the *Jews* on the other Hand, had no Way of coming off but by forcing the *Romans*.

A wonderful Exploit of one Pedanius.

There goes a wonderful Story of one *Pedanius*, a *Roman* Cavalier, which is thus. The *Jews* happen'd to be routed once, and purſu'd by the Beſiegers into the Valley: This ſame *Pedanius* puſhing full Speed after them, overtook a corpulent young Man and heavy arm'd, ſpurring for Life. He took him off from his Horſe by the Leg, in the Middle of his Courſe, and carry'd him away a Priſoner, for a Preſent to *Cæſar*. *Titus* was in high Admiration at the Strength and Addreſs of this Man: But the Priſoner was put to Death upon't, for the Villany of the Attempt; *Titus's* Heart at the ſame Time being ſet upon the Diſpatch and finiſhing of the great Work.

The Jews *ſet Fire to the Temple Galleries.*

The *Jews* finding themſelves every Day weaker and weaker; the War hotter, and the Contagion ready to ſeize the very Temple it ſelf, the *Jews* did in this Caſe, as Men do in peſtilential Diſtempers, by cutting off the infected Parts, to ſave the Body. According to this *Allegory*, the *Jews* began with ſetting Fire to that Part of the Gallery, that reaching from the *North* to the *Eaſt*, faced *Antonia*; where they made a Gap of near twenty Cubits, and wrought the final Deſtruction of the holy Place with their own Hands.

On the four and twentieth of the Month above mention'd, the *Romans* put the ſame Gallery in a Flame; and when the Fire had gain'd fourteen Cubits, the *Jews* took down the Roof of it, and ſo went on ſtill cutting off all Communication with *Antonia*: Not but that they might have hinder'd the burning of it, if they would, as they ought to have done; but their Way was to regulate the Miſchief they did by their own Convenience: And all this while there paſs'd daily Skirmiſhes and Encounters every where about the Temple.

A fantaſtical Challenge of one Jonathan.

There was at this Time a contemptible Figure of a Man, that was a *Jew*; a dwarfiſh ill-lookt Fellow; and as deſpicable for his Fortune and Family, as otherwiſe; and his Name was *Jonathan*. He went out one Day to the Monument of *John* the High-Prieſt, and there talking vain glorioully of himſelf, he made a Challenge to any Man of the whole *Roman* Army to meet him with his Sword in his Hand.

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[a] Gr. Ελαιῶν ὄρος.

There

Jonathan *kills* Pudens.

And Priſcus *kills* Jonathan.

There was no Body appear'd to take him up; but ſome deſpis'd him; others, as it falls out many Times in thoſe Caſes, were afraid of him: Some were not for Fighting, they ſaid, with a Man that had a mind to die; nor others with Men in Deſpair, that fear neither God nor Man; or, where there is Honour to be loſt on the one Side, and none to be gotten on the other: Beſide that a Brute and a Man are not upon equal Terms. When this inſolent ſcoffing *Jew* had waited a long Time for a Champion, deſcanting upon the Cowardice of the *Romans*, and no Body came; there was a proud arrogant Man, and a *Roman* Cavalier, one *Pudens*, that out of an Indignation for this Affront, ſtood forth inconſiderately enough, and accepted the Challenge; which in the End made Sport for the Company: The Contempt he had for the *Jew* made him raſh and careleſs; ſo that getting an unlucky Stumble, *Jonathan* made his Advantage of it, and kill'd him when he was down: Trampling the dead Body under his Feet, and vapouring over it with his Buckler in his left Hand, and his bloody Sword in his right, clattering his Arms together, and inſulting at the ſame Time with foul Language and Ribaldry, both againſt his Adverſary and the Spectators of the *Roman* Army. While *Jonathan* was in the Height of his Buffoonry and Exultation; *Priſcus*, a Centurion, ſhot him through the Heart with an Arrow; which ſtruck him dead upon the Body of his Enemy. This put both *Jews* and *Romans* into an Uproar, though upon differing Motives, and was look'd upon as a juſt Judgment upon *Jonathan* for aſſuming that to his Virtue, which was only due to his Fortune.

CHAP. VI.

A War betwixt the Temple and the Mounts. The Jews *confound the* Romans *by a Stratagem.* Titus *pities them. The Bravery of* Longus. *A ſtrange Eſcape of* Artorius.

An open War betwixt the Temple and the Mounts. The Jews *deſtroy the* Romans *by a Stratagem.*

THE Faction in the Temple was now in open War with the Soldiers upon the Mounts; and on the 27th of the Month aforeſaid, the *Jews* bethought themſelves of this Stratagem. They fill'd the Roof of the *Weſtern Porch*, betwixt the Top of it and the Timbers, with a Quantity of dry Wood, Sulphur, and bituminous Matter: And then pretending to give Way upon an Attack, they ſuffer'd themſelves to be beaten out, as if they had not been able to maintain it. A Company of raſh People follow'd them cloſe upon the Purſuit, and ſet up Ladders to make good what the other had quitted: But the wiſer Sort look'd upon the whole to be a Trick, and never ſtirr'd for the Matter. Upon the *Romans* crouding into the Porch, the *Jews* ſet Fire to't, and all was immediately in a Blaze, to the Aſtoniſhment even of thoſe that were out of Reach of it; but the moſt deſperate Horrour and Confuſion of the reſt imaginable. Some plung'd themſelves into Wells and Pits; others leapt Head-long down the Houſes, ſome running one Way, ſome another: Some ſmother'd in the Flame, and others caſting themſelves upon their Swords to prevent one Death by another.

Titus *pities them with a generous Compaſſion.*

This Spectacle went to the Heart of *Cæſar*, out of a generous Compaſſion he had for the Calamity of ſo diſmal a Miſcarriage: Not but that he was offended with his Soldiers to the very Death, for venturing upon ſuch an Attack without Orders. But they had this Comfort however in their Diſtreſs, that to balance the Loſs of their Lives they had the Love and Pity of the Prince for whom they dy'd; for they could ſee him calling and labouring up and down to do all that was poſſible for their Relief: And every Inſtance of his Affection was look'd upon as a Memorial to his immortal Honour. As for thoſe that made a Shift to 'ſcape the Fury of the Flames, they were beſet by the *Jews*, and after a ſtout Reſiſtance every Man of them put to the Sword.

The Bravery of Longus.

There fell a World of brave Men in this terrible Adventure, but none greater than one *Longus*; who, with Honour to all the reſt in general, muſt not be forgotten upon this Occaſion in particular. This *Longus* was a *Roman*, and in the Vigour of his Youth. The *Jews* found him a daring and a dangerous Man, and had no Way to cut him off unleſs they could get him down to them upon Honour, that he ſhould return ſafe again without any Violence to his Perſon. His Brother *Cornelius* taking Notice of this, call'd out to him on the other Hand; adjuring him not to do any Thing, that either his Country or himſelf ſhould have Reaſon to be aſham'd of. *Longus* upon this, drew his Sword, and in the Sight of both Parties kill'd himſelf.

There

A ſtrange Eſcape of Artorius.

There was alſo one *Artorius* that delivered himſelf from the Fire by an artificial Addreſs. He was reduc'd to an Extremity; and ſeeing one *Lucius* his Fellow-Soldier, and Comrade, within Call. *Catch me in thy Arms*, ſays he, *and break my Fall, and I'll make thee my Heir. Artorius* took his Leap; and the other diſpoſing himſelf to receive him, the Weight of the one deſtroy'd the other; daſhing him to Pieces upon the Place. This Miſcarriage for the preſent made many a ſad Heart among the *Romans*; but it kept them afterward upon a better Guard againſt the Frauds and Subtilties of the *Jews*, which were very ſly and dangerous to thoſe that were not well aware of them.

The Porch was burnt as far as the Tower that *John* erected in his War with *Simon*, upon the Pillars that led to it: And the *Jews*, after the burning of the *Romans*, as above, brake down the reſt. On the Day following, the *Romans* put Fire alſo to the *North-Porch*, and ſo carry'd it before them to that on the *Eaſt*, that overlooks the Valley of *Cedron*, from a Precipice that turns a Body's Brain to look down it.

CHAP. VII.

The extreme Miſery that attends Famine.

No Diſtreſs like that of a Famine.

THIS was the Face of Things about the Temple: The City well nigh depopulated with a devouring Famine, and the Miſery of it not to be number'd or expreſs'd. It was enough to create a War in a Family, to have but any Jealouſy of Meat in't, and enough to break the tendereſt Friendſhips in Nature. Thoſe that were evidently ſtarv'd to Death could not yet be believed at the laſt Gaſp, that they dy'd in Want: But they would ſearch the very Boſoms of the Dead for Bread, when they had no longer any Breath in their Bodies. If they miſs'd what they look'd for, their Deſpairs hurry'd them up and down raging like mad Dogs, and ſtaggering like ſo many drunken Men; ranſacking the ſame Houſes at every Nook and Corner of them over and over again: Nothing coming amiſs to them, which the fouleſt of Brutes themſelves would boggle at: Girdles, Shoo-Leather, Beaſts Skins, *&c.* Nay a Handful of old Hay was ſold for *four Atticks*. But why do I trouble my ſelf with Illuſtrations of this dreadful Judgment, by Things inanimate; having at Hand ſuch an Inſtance for Matter of Fact as was never known, either among *Greeks* or *Barbarians!* And the Story is not to be heard or reported without Horror. I could be well enough content to paſs over this Relation, leſt Poſterity ſhould take me for a Falſary: But I have ſo many Witneſſes to the Truth of it, that I ſhould be wanting to my Country in ſuch a Partiality to the Dead, as to ſuppreſs it.

CHAP. VIII.

A Mother dreſſes and eats the Fleſh of her own Son. Cæſar *innocent upon the whole Matter.*

THERE was a certain Woman beyond *Jordan*, whoſe Name was *Mary*. She was the Daughter of *Eleazar*, of the Village [a] *Vetezobra*: That is to ſay, *The Houſe of Hyſſop*; rich and well born. She fled in Company with ſeveral others, and took Sanctuary in *Jeruſalem*; where they had the Fortune to be beſieg'd. The Tyrants ſtripp'd this Lady of all ſhe brought publickly along with her, that was precious: And for any Thing elſe that was conceal'd, either Goods or Proviſions; her Houſe was daily broken up and rifled by the Soldiers. Upon this Uſage, the Woman fell foul upon the Faction with the bittereſt and the moſt outragious Language; but could not prevail with any of theſe Monſters yet, either in Pity or in Rage, to put her to Death. When ſhe found her ſelf brought to this Extremity, that ſhe had no Way left her in Nature to keep Body and Soul together (the Gripes of a tormenting Famine having already ſeiz'd her, and no Poſſibility of getting over them) ſhe deliver'd her ſelf up to Fury and Neceſſity, and pitch'd upon the moſt unnatural Reſolution that ever was heard of.

She had a Child ſucking at her Breaſt, which ſhe ſnatch'd up; and looking tenderly upon it, *What*, ſays ſhe, *ſhall I ſay now to thee, thou moſt unfortunate Infant, to be brought into the World, under a Complication of three ſuch dreadful Judgments, as War, Famine, and Rebellion! Which of the three ſhall I reſerve thee for? The* Romans

[a] Gr. Βαθεχώρ.

A Mother dreſſes and eats the Fleſh of her own Son.

will give thee thy Life perhaps, but not thy Liberty. Now Famine will prevent Slavery; But for our preſent Tyrants, thou wilt find them incomparably worſe than the other two. What canſt thou do better now, than to ſupply the Want of a Meal's Meat to thy ſtarving Mother, and hag out the Party with the Horror of the Fact? And then finally crown the Hiſtory of the Jews *with the only execrable Abomination that is yet wanting to the perfecting of their Miſery?* With theſe Words, ſhe kill'd her Child, boyl'd and dreſs'd it; the one Half of it ſhe eat her ſelf; and the other Half ſhe ſet by out of the Way, and kept cover'd. The Faction had it preſently in the Wind; and upon the Smell of the inhumane Cookery, they came immediately to the Woman's Houſe; with Menaces of Death without Mercy, if ſhe did not forthwith bring them out her Proviſions. The Woman told them that this was all ſhe had, and ſo ſhew'd them the Remainder of her Child. They ſtood like Statues upon the very Sight of it, and ſo fell to trembling, and ran ſtark mad. *Look ye,* ſays the Woman, *this is really my Son, and this Diſh is of my dreſſing. I have eaten the one Half my ſelf, and pray do you eat the other. You will not pretend, I hope, to be nicer than a Woman, or tenderer than a Mother: But if you make a Conſcience of the Oblation, I have eaten Part of it already, and you may leave the reſt where you found it.* Upon this, they went their Way in a quaking Terror; and with ſome Difficulty, left the Child with the unhappy Mother: The only Thing they ever boggled at.

Cæſar declares himſelf innocent of the whole Matter.

The Noiſe of this bloody Execution was preſently all over the City; and ſuch an Abhorrence for it in general, as if every ſingle Man had had a Part in the Crime. The Dread of the Famine made Men weary of their Lives, and the Living envy'd the Dead that were taken away, before the Extravagance came to this Height. The Story was quickly gotten from the *Jews* to the *Romans*, where ſome pity'd the People; others hated them for it: And ſome again gave no Credit to it. *Cæſar acquitted himſelf, as in the Preſence of God, that he had done all he could to make the* Jews *eaſy and happy in their Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes: But if they had rather be tearing one another to Pieces, than live in Union, who could help it? If they had rather have War than Peace, or Famine than Plenty: Nay, if nothing elſe would ſerve their Turn, but the firing of that very Temple with their Hands, which* Titus *did all that he could to preſerve, their own Children were Meat good enough for ſuch Parents: And he was reſolved to bury their Iniquities in their Ruine, and not to leave a City ſtanding under the Sun, where Mothers devour'd their own Children; and the Fathers yet the more impious of the two, for keeping up the War, after ſo many Demonſtrations of God's terrible Diſpleaſure againſt it. Titus,* after this reflecting upon the incorrigible Hardneſs and Obſtinacy of the Faction, gave them all for loſt; for if any Thing in Nature would have wrought upon them, the Calamities they had ſuffer'd already, might poſſibly have reclaim'd them.

CHAP. IX.

Batteries and Mines ſignify nothing. Titus *tries ſcaling Ladders. The* Jews *make a ſtout Reſiſtance: And the* Romans *behave themſelves bravely.* Titus *orders the* Romans *to ſet Fire to the Gates. Two treacherous Deſerters go over to* Titus; *but he ſuſpects and pardons them. The* Jews *wrapp'd up in Flames. The Galleries burnt to the Ground.* Titus *adviſes with his Officers about the Temple; ſome for one Thing, ſome for another, but* Titus *for ſaving it. The* Jews *make a deſperate Sally upon the* Romans: Titus *brings them off, and forces the* Jews *into the Temple. This was the ſecond Time that* Jeruſalem *was burnt, upon the ſame Day of the Month.*

Batteries and Mines carry'd on for ſix whole Days ſucceſſively, to no Purpoſe.

Titus tries ſcaling Ladders.

WHEN two of the Legions had finiſh'd their Platforms, *Titus* on the eighth of the Month *Lôus*, order'd his Rams to be planted againſt the *Weſtern Gallery* of the *Outward-Temple*: Having play'd the beſt Piece of Battery he had for ſix whole Days without Intermiſſion; but to no Purpoſe: For the Work was Proof againſt the Engines. There were others at the ſame Time ſapping the Foundations on the *North Side*; and when they found that with an incredible Labour, they could only looſen ſome of the outward Stones, without moving any of the reſt; for the Porch ſtood yet firm, they perceiv'd at laſt that there was no good to be done by digging and mining, or by the Help of Levers and Bars: So that the *Romans* betook themſelves to their ſcaling Ladders.

The Jews *make a ſtout Reſiſtance.*

The *Jews* could not hinder them from planting their Ladders; but they made a brave Reſiſtance, where there was any Place for't: Encountering thoſe that got up, Hand to Hand, before they could put themſelves upon their Guard; caſting others down Head-long, as they were mounting: Cutting off ſome as they were advancing with Relief; and ſometimes overturning Ladders, Men and all together. So that the *Romans* Loſs upon this Encounter was very conſiderable; eſpecially in the Diſputes they had for the defending or recovering of their Colours, as one of the niceſt Points of Honour among Swordmen. But, in the Concluſion, the *Jews* kept the Enſigns that they took, and kill'd the Enſign-Bearers; which terrify'd the reſt, and forced them to a Retreat. Now to give the Beſiegers their Due at laſt, there fell not a Man of them but dy'd like a *Roman*. Thoſe of the Faction that had done bravely in former Encounters, did ſo ſtill; and ſo did *Eleazar*, the Nephew of the Tyrant *Simon*: But *Titus* finding by this Time, that, in ſparing a ſtrange Temple, he did but ſacrifice his own Men, he gave Order to his People forthwith to ſet Fire to the Gates.

And the Ro-mans *behave themſelves like Men of Honour.*

The Romans *order'd to ſet Fire to the Gates.*

Upon this Occaſion, there came over to him, *Ananus* of *Emmaus*, one of *Simon*'s Guards, and the moſt inhumane Wretch he had about him; with *Archelaus* the Son of *Magadathes*: Who flatter'd themſelves with the Hope of better Quarter for leaving the Faction upon a winning Hand. *Titus* was ſo well informed of the barbarous Practices and Characters of theſe pretended Converts, that he was once in the Mind to have cut off both their Heads, this Pretence notwithſtanding; being fully convinc'd, that it was pure Neceſſity and Deſign, not Affection or good Will that brought them over. Neither did he take them to have deſerv'd their Lives for that Service, that firſt ſet their Country in a Flame, and then abandon'd it. But however, upon ſecond Thoughts, he overcame the Provocation; and ſo forgave them, though with a Reſolution never to truſt them.

Two treacherous Deſerters go over to Titus.

Titus *ſuſpects, but pardons them.*

The Gates were by this Time in a Blaze; the Silver-work over them melted, and the Timbers all in a Flame; inſomuch that the Fire was gotten to the next Galleries. This was ſuch a Surprize to the *Jews* to find themſelves wrapt up in Flames, that they ſtood gaping one upon another in an Aſtoniſhment, without ſo much as attempting any Thing toward their Relief; or concerning themſelves, either for what was already conſum'd, or for the ſaving of the reſt. They had, in ſhort, neither Heart nor Strength left them, and the Fire got Ground all that Day, and the Night following, till by little and little it burnt down the Galleries.

The Jews *wrapt up in Flames.*

The Galleries burnt to the Ground.

Titus gave Order next Day for the quenching of the Fire, and the levelling of the Ways for the March of his Army. After this he call'd a Council of his General Officers: That is to ſay, *Tiberius Alexander*, his Lieutenant General; *Sextus Cerealis*, the Commander of the fifth Legion; *Lorgius Lepidus*, of the Tenth; *Titus Trigius*, of the fifteenth; and there were with theſe, [a] *Æternius Fronto*, the Captain of the two *Alexandrian* Legions; and *Marcus Antonius Julianus*, the Governour of *Judæa*: With Colonels, and other Officers, to adviſe withall what Meaſures to take in the Buſineſs of the Temple. Some were for keeping up to the Strictneſs of the Law of Arms; for ſo long as that Temple ſtood, and the numerous Meetings there continu'd, the *Jews* (they ſaid) would never be quiet: Others were for the ſaving of the Temple, upon Condition of the *Jews* quitting it; and that there might be no farther Quarrel about it: But if it ſhould be gotten by the Sword, by all Means to burn it; not as a Temple, but as a Caſtle; for in that Caſe, the Fault would be theirs that forced the burning of it; nor theirs that did it by Neceſſity. *But*, ſays *Titus* (interpoſing here) *if the* Jews *will be obſtinate, and turn a Temple into a Citadel, ſhall I revenge the Stubbornneſs of a rebellious People upon Stocks and Stones, and lay the moſt glorious Fabrick of the Univerſe in Aſhes for their Sakes? It would be an Affront to the Dignity of* Rome *it ſelf, to think of depriving the Empire of ſo illuſtrious an Ornament.* When *Fronto*, *Alexander*, and *Cerealis* found what *Titus* would be at, they came over to his Opinion, and ſo the Council was diſmiſs'd; with Orders to the Army to reſt and refreſh themſelves, to be the fitter for Action: Several choice Battalions being commanded out in the mean Time to look after the Fire, and cut out Ways over the Ruines. The *Jews* being now haraſs'd off their Legs and Courage, were quiet enough for this Day: But the Day following, when they had gather'd Strength, and taken Heart again, they made a deſperate Sally about the 2d Hour of the Day through the *Eaſtern Gate*, upon the Guards of the outward Temple. The *Romans* ſtood the firſt Shock, like a Wall againſt them under the Power of their Bucklers, with a mighty Reſolution: But that would not have laſted long againſt ſuch an Odds of Fierceneſs and Numbers, if *Cæſar*, with a ſelect Body of Horſe (who ſaw the Action from *Antonia*) had not come ſeaſonably up to their Relief, before they gave Ground. The *Jews* ſhrunk, upon this Charge; and the *Romans* breaking in upon the Front, the reſt betook themſelves to Flight: And then the *Romans* drawing off in their Courſe, the *Jews* rally'd

Titus *calls a Council of General Officers to adviſe about the Temple.*

Some of one Opinion, ſome of another.

But Titus *for ſaving it.*

The Jews *make a deſperate Sally upon the* Romans.

Titus *ſupports them, and brings them off.*

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[a] *Gr.* Φρόντων Λιτέρνιος

And forces the Jews *into the Temple.*

Jeruſalem *now burnt a ſecond Time on the ſame Day of the Month.*

rally'd and came on again. At this rate they took their turns interchangeably, one after another, for a better or a worſe, till about the fifth Hour of the Day; when the *Jews* were forc'd into the Temple, and ſhut up there. *Titus*, upon this withdrew to *Antonia*, with a Reſolution to attack the Temple with his whole Army the next Morning. But God in his Providence had from all Eternity doom'd it to the Fire; and in Courſe of Time, the fatal Day was now at Hand: The tenth of the Month *Lous*, and the very ſame Day whereupon it was formerly burnt by *Nebuchadnezer*, the King of *Babylon*. But this was a Conflagration which the *Jews* brought upon themſelves; for *Titus* had no ſooner left them in quiet, but the Rebels made a Sally upon *Cæſar*'s Guards as they were at Work, by his Order, to extinguiſh the Fire: Who put the *Jews* to the Rout upon it, and had the Purſuit of them to the Temple.

CHAP. X.

A Soldier pretends a divine Impulſe, and ſets Fire to the Temple. Titus *endeavours to ſtop it. A dreadful Maſſacre.*

A Soldier ſets Fire to the Temple, under Pretext of a divine Impulſe.

Titus does all he can to ſtop it, but to no Purpoſe.

A dreadful Maſſacre, and Confuſion.

There was at this Time a certain Soldier, that without any Pretence of Authority or Conſcience for ſo impious a Fact, took upon him to act by the Inſpiration of a divine Impulſe. He mounted the Shoulders of one of his Comerades; and then caſt a flaming Brand into the golden Window that looks toward the Apartments on the North-ſide of the Temple. The Place took Fire immediately, which raiſed ſuch a hideous Outcry among the *Jews*, that they haſten'd all that was poſſible to their Relief. For this was not a Time, by ſparing of their Lives, or their Perſons, when they had left the only Thing that had made Life precious to them. The News of this Conflagration being brought to *Titus*, juſt as he was laying himſelf down in his Tent to take a little Reſt after the Fatigue of the Combat, he leapt up; and immediately taking his Chariot, paſſed away with it to the Temple, to try what he could do toward the putting out of the Fire. His great Officers follow'd him; and the Legions after them, in ſuch a Confuſion, as is but natural to a prodigious Multitude without Diſcipline. *Cæſar* did all that was to be done with Words and Signs, towards the ſtopping of it; but it was all as good as nothing, for the greater Noiſe drown'd the leſs; and they were every jot as blind to the Signs and Motions of his Hand, as they were deaf to what he ſaid. Neither were the Soldiers govern'd by Menaces or Commands; but only follow'd the Dictates of Rage and Paſſion. Some were trampled upon, and ſqueez'd to Death in Crouds; others choak'd in the ſultry Ruines of the Galleries over the Porches; and the ſame Thing, whether they overcame, or were overcome. The common Soldiers in the Temple pretended, in Excuſe of their Diſobedience, that they could not hear their Emperour's Orders; and they that follow'd, gave the *Word* forward to *throw Fire*. The Rebels, in Fine, had no Way in the World to prevent it; and which Way ſoever they turn'd themſelves, they ſaw nothing but Blood and Deſtruction. As for the poor People, the ſickly, and the unarm'd, they put them to the Sword wherever they found them: Mountains of dead Bodies pil'd up about the Altar, and Streams of Blood flowing down the Stairs; with Numbers of miſerable Creatures weltering in their own Gore.

When *Titus* ſaw there was no reſtraining the Fury of his Soldiers, and that the Fire gain'd every Day more and more upon him, he took ſome of his chief Officers along with him into the Inward Temple; where, upon a Strict Examination of Matters, he found the Glory and Magnificence of the Place, even beyond the very Fame of it; or at leaſt equal to the Report of the *Jews* themſelves. But *Titus* obſerving, that the Fire had not as yet taken the *Sanctuary*, and making a true Judgment upon it, that it might not be yet too late to ſave the *holy Place*; he ſtarted up, and in his own Perſon earneſtly beſought his Soldiers to do their uttermoſt to put a Stop to the Fire; giving it in Charge alſo to *Liberalis*, a *Centurion* of his Guards, to preſs the doing of it, and to cudgel thoſe that refus'd. But what with an ungovernable Rage, and an impotent Fondneſs for War, neither Fear nor Reſpect was ſufficient to keep them within the Compaſs of their Duty. There were others again that had their Hearts ſet upon the Booty; not doubting, but where the Doors were plated with Gold, they ſhould find the Inſide all fill'd with hidden Treaſure. While *Cæſar* was ſo very intent upon the ſaving of the Temple, one of the Soldiers at the ſame Time ſet Fire to ſome of the Door-Poſts; whereupon *Titus* and his Captains were forced to withdraw out of Diſtance of preventing the Miſchief: So that the

the Temple was deſtroyed at laſt, in Deſpite of whatever *Titus* could do to hinder it.

This Deſolation was a Calamity to make a Body's Heart bleed; the Ruine of the moſt wonderful Fabrick that ever was ſeen or heard of, both for Structure, Bulk, State, Magnificence, the Honour of Religion, and of holy Things. But we have this for our Comfort and Inſtruction yet, that there is an uncontrolable Fatality attends all the Works of the Creation, whether animate, or inanimate; and that all Things muſt have their Period. It is a moſt remarkable Revolution alſo, that this *ſecond Conflagration* ſhould ſo exactly anſwer the very Day and Month of the *former*, under *Nebuchadnezer*, as is ſaid already. We reckon from the Beginning of the firſt Temple by *Solomon*, to the Deſtruction of this in the Second Year of *Veſpaſian*, eleven hundred and thirty Years, ſeven Months, and fifteen Days: And from that of *Haggai*, in the ſecond of *Cyrus*, we account ſix hundred thirty nine Years, and forty five Days.

CHAP. XI.

A Cruelty that ſpares neither Age, Sex, nor Quality. Nothing to be ſeen but Fire and Blood. Several Prieſts engaged in the Quarrel. The Temple conſum'd to Aſhes, and all that was in it. Six thouſand poor People deſtroy'd upon the Credit of Enthuſiaſts.

WHEN the Temple was now in a Flame, the Soldiers took all that came to Hand, and kill'd all they met, to the Degree of a moſt prodigious Slaughter and Pillage, without any Reſpect either to Age or Sex; but young and old, ſacred and prophane, Prieſts and Laicks, they all went together, and Men of all Sorts and Qualities were equally involv'd in the common Calamities of the War; and whether they reſiſted, or ſubmitted; whether they ſtood it out, or begg'd Qnarter, they far'd all alike. As the Fire advanced, the Crackling of the Flames was heard in Company with the dying Groans of People at their laſt Gaſp; and betwixt the Depth of the Hill, and the Extent of the Conflagration, the whole City ſeem'd to be but one continu'd Blaze. The Tumult and Uproar was ſo dreadful, that it is not poſſible to imagine any Thing more terrible: What with the raging Outcries of the *Roman* Legions, the Howling of the Rebels when they found themſelves at the Mercy of Fire and Sword; and the diſmal Lamentations of diſtreſſed Wretches in the Temple, betwixt the Enemy and the Fire. In fine, thoſe upon the Mountain, and thoſe in the City, anſwering one another by Turns; the Flames opening the Eyes of thoſe that the Famine had well-nigh cloſed, and inſpiring freſh Spirit and Ability to deplore their Misfortunes. The neighbouring Mountains and Places beyond *Jordan*, echoing the ſame Complaints and Grievances over and over again; and the Calamity, in Weight, and Subſtance, yet more than the Noiſe. The Flaſhes were ſo impetuous and violent, that the very Mountain the Temple ſtood upon, look'd as if it had been one Body of Fire from the Bottom; and the Blood, in Proportion, anſwerable to the Flame; for the Number of the Slain was ſuperior to that of thoſe that did the Execution. The Ground was cover'd all over with Carcaſſes, and the Soldiers purſu'd the Living over the Bodies of the Dead: But in the End, a Band of Ruffians beat back the *Romans*; and having forced their Way into the outward Temple, made their Eſcape into the City, and the reſt of the Multitude got into the outward Porch.

An outragious Cruelty, that ſpares neither Age, Sex, nor Quality.

Nothing to be ſeen but Fire and Blood.

There were a great many Prieſts engag'd in this Quarrel with the *Romans*, that made Uſe of their Temple-Spits inſtead of Darts, and of their Seats with Lead in them, that did them the Office of Stones: But when they ſaw that this would do no Good, and that the Fire found them out ſtill wherever they were, they cover'd themſelves for a while under a thick Wall of a matter of eight Cubits over. Two of the principal Men of this Number, (*Meirus* the Son of *Belgas*, and *Joſeph* the Son of *Dalæus*) that might have ſav'd themſelves by going over to the *Romans*, choſe rather to ſtand or fall with their Companions, and ſo plunging themſelves into the Flames, ran the ſame Fate with the Temple.

Several Prieſts engag'd in the Quarrel.

When the *Romans* found the Temple it ſelf laid in Aſhes, they did not think it worth their While to trouble their Heads about any of the reſt of the Buildings, and ſo put Fire to all at once; as the Gates, and the Galeries, *&c.* ſave only one on the *Eaſt-ſide*, and another on the *South:* And theſe likewiſe, not long after, follow'd the Fortune of the reſt. They burnt alſo the Treaſury, and the Wardrobe, with Jewels, Money, and Money's Worth in it, and rich Habits to an incredible Value.

The Temple, and all that was pretious in it, laid in Aſhes.

In one Word, this Place was the Repoſitory of all the *Jews* had that was precious.

6000 poor People deſtroy'd by the Advice of Enthuſiaſts.

There were now gotten together into one Gallery, without the Temple, that was yet ſtanding, in Women, Children, and a mix'd Multitude that fled from the Rabble, to the Number of near ſix thouſand Perſons. But before *Cæſar* could give any Order or Direction in the Caſe, the Soldiers, in an extravagant brutal Fury, ſet the Place on Fire, and ply'd it ſo cloſe, that betwixt thoſe that were burnt to Death, and others that caſt themſelves head-long down the Ruines to ſave themſelves, there was not one Soul came off alive.

The Occaſion of this Miſchief was a certain *Impoſtor*, who took upon him to deliver a Meſſage from Almighty God, that Day, to the People, and to this Effect. He commanded them in the Name of God to go immediately up to the Temple, with an Aſſurance, that they ſhould there receive an infallible Proof of his divine Favour and Protection. This was a common Practice of the Faction to pretend Revelations to keep the credulous Multitude firm againſt all Dangers, and to ſecure them from deſerting. But Men in Adverſity are apt to hope the beſt, eſpecially where they are promiſ'd Relief, though it be but upon the Credit of a falſe Prophet.

CHAP. XII.

More Credit given to falſe Oracles than to the Truth it ſelf. A Comet in the Figure of a Sword. A ſtrange Light about the Altar. A Cow brings forth a Lamb. A brazen Gate opens of it ſelf. Chariots and armed Men ſeen in the Air. Fore-boding Exclamations from a poor Country Creature. He is firſt puniſhed for it, and then diſcharged as a Madman. In the Concluſion, he foretells his own Deſtruction. A Prophecy of an Emperour to come out of Judæa *expounded of* Veſpaſian.

We give more Heed to falſe Oracles, than to Truth it ſelf.

HOW eaſily were theſe ſuperſtitious Wretches ſeduced into a Belief of falſe Oracles, Counterfeits, and Impoſtors! But when they were at any Time premoniſh'd from the Lips of Truth it ſelf, by Prodigies, and other monitory Prognoſticks of their approaching Ruine, they had neither Eyes, Ears, nor Underſtanding, to make a right Uſe or Application of them; but paſs'd them over without either heeding, or ſo much as thinking of them. As for Example now,

A prodigious Comet in the Figure of a Sword.

What ſhall we ſay to the Comet that hung over *Jeruſalem* for one whole Year together, in the Figure of a Sword?

A wonderful Light about the Altar.

What ſhall we think again of that wonderful Light that was ſeen about the Altar, a little before the Revolt, on the 8th of the Month *Xanthicus*, at the Ninth Hour of the Night, upon the Celebration of the *Paſchal Feaſt*, and continu'd for the Space of half an Hour as bright as Day. This Prodigy was look'd upon by the ignorant as a good Omen; but it was expounded by thoſe that knew better Things, as the Forerunner of a War, and the Myſtery unfolded before it came to paſs.

A Cow that brought forth a Lamb.

At the ſame Feſtival, there was another Prodigy of a Cow deliver'd of a Lamb in the Middle of the Temple, as they were leading her up to the Altar for a Sacrifice.

A brazen Gate opening of itſelf.

The *Eaſtern Gate* of the Inner Temple, was made of ſolid Braſs; and ſo very heavy, that it was as much as twenty Men could do every Night to ſhut it; beſides that it was faſt'ned with Iron-Bolts and Bars, mortiſ'd into a huge Threſhold of one entire Stone. This Gate, about the ſixth Hour of the Night, open'd of it ſelf; and upon early Notice given of it to the proper Officer, he came immediately up to look after it, and had much ado to make it faſt again. Some ignorant People there were that took this for another good Omen, deſcanting upon it, that it was a Gate of Bleſſings ſet open to them by Providence; but the wiſer Sort made a contrary Judgment of it; and that the Opening of the Gate was in Favour of the Enemy, and foretold Deſolation to the City.

Chariots, and armed Men ſeen in the Air.

Some ſhort Time after the Feſtival was over (on the 21ſt of the Month *Artemiſius*) there appeared a Prodigy of a Viſion ſo extraordinary, that I ſhould hardly venture to report it, if I could not produce ſeveral Eye-Witneſſes that are yet living to confirm the Truth of it; and if the Calamities that were foretold, had not come to paſs. There were ſeen up and down in the Air, before Sun-ſet, Chariots and armed Men, all over the Country, paſſing along with the Clouds round about the City.

Upon the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, as the Prieſts were a going to officiate in the inner-Temple according to Cuſtom, they heard at firſt a Kind of a confuſed Murmur; and after that, a Voice calling out earneſtly in articulate Words, *Let us be gone, let us be gone.*

A Voice crying in the Air, let us be gone.

But I come now to a Story that paſſes all the reſt. A Matter of four Years before the War, when the City was in a profound Peace, and flowing in Plenty, there was one *Jeſus* the Son of *Ananus*, a plain Country Fellow, who coming to the Feaſt of Tabernacles, (an annual Feaſt to the Honour of God) brake out on a ſudden into this Exclamation over and over. *A Voice from the* Eaſt; *a Voice from the* Weſt; *a Voice from the four Quarters of the World*; *a Voice to* Jeruſalem, *and a Voice to the Temple: A Voice to new marry'd Men and Women*, *and a Voice to this whole Nation.* This was his Cry Day and Night, from Place to Place, thorough every Street of the City. Some great Men in the Government took ſuch Offence at ſo ill boding a Liberty, that they order'd the Man to be taken up and ſeverely whipt. He took the Puniſhment without returning ſo much as one Word, either by the By, or in his own Defence, or to complain of hard Meaſure; but ſtill he went on and on with the ſame Things over again, calling and denouncing as before. The Magiſtrates began now to ſuſpect (as they had Reaſon for it) ſomewhat of a divine Impulſe in what he ſaid; and that he ſpake by an extraordinary Spirit. He was carry'd upon this, to *Albinus* the Governour of *Judæa*; who caus'd him to be laſh'd to the very Bones, which he took without either Tears or Supplication: Only in a mournful Voice, as well as he could, he follow'd every Stroke, with a *Woe, Woe to* Jeruſalem! *Albinus*, as his Judge, fell then to asking him what he was, whence he came, where he was born, and what he meant by that Way of Proceeding? But he gave him no Anſwer. This was his Way all along, till *Albinus* was fain to diſcharge him at laſt as a Mad-man. From that Time to the Beginning of the War, he was never known to viſit or ſpeak to any of the Citizens; or to make Uſe of any other than that doleful Form of Words *Woe, Woe to* Jeruſalem! He never gave an ill Word to thoſe that daily ſcourg'd him, or a good one even to thoſe that fed him: But his Anſwer was to all People alike, an ominous Preſage. He was obſerv'd to be ſtill more clamorous upon Feſtivals, than upon other Days; and at this Rate he went on for ſeven Years and five Months; and neither his Voice nor his Strength failing him, till the Siege of *Jeruſalem* verify'd his Predictions. After this, he took the Tour of the Wall once again, crying out (with a ſtronger Voice than ordinary) *Woe, Woe to this City, this Temple, and this People!* Concluding at laſt with a *Woe, Woe be to me my ſelf!* And in this Inſtant he was taken off with a Stone from an Engine in the Middle of all his Forebodings.

A ſtrange Exclamation of one Jeſus *a poor Country Creature.*

The Man puniſh'd, but ſtill continues his Out-cry.

He is diſcharged at laſt as a Mad-Man.

Fore-boding alſo in the End his own Deſtruction.

Here is enough ſaid to convince and ſatisfy Mankind that our Deſtruction is from our ſelves, and that Providence is wanting in nothing to us, that may conduce to the common Good and Benefit of reaſonable Nature: As well by the Means of Foreſight and Revelation, as by the Aid and Faculty of Reaſon. But when we are precaution'd of future Events, and will take no Warning, our Ruine lies at our own Door. How came the *Jews*, after the taking of *Antonia*, to make the Temple ſquare, when they were conſcious to themſelves of a Prediction in holy Writ, that Temple and City ſhould be both taken, whenever it ſhould be reduc'd to that Figure? But the chief Motive to this unfortunate War, was the Ambiguity of another Text, importing that in thoſe Days there ſhould one come out of *Judæa* that ſhould have the command of the whole World. Now they apply'd this to their own Nation, and many great Men fell into the ſame Error: But this Prophecy, in Truth, was intended of *Veſpaſian*; who was created *Emperour* in *Judæa*. But Interpretations go by Fancy; ſome one Way, ſome another: And ſo it far'd with the *Jews*, till they came in the End to pay for their Miſtakes, with the irreparable Deſtruction of themſelves, and of their Country.

The Prophecy of an Emperour to come out of Judæa, *expounded of* Veſpaſian.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Titus *proclaim'd* Emperour. *The Force of Hunger and Drought in Extremity. Certain Prieſts order'd to be put to Death. The Faction deſires a Treaty, and* Titus *agrees to it. A pertinent Diſcourſe upon the Subject.* Titus *offers them Terms, which they refuſe, under Pretence of an Oath to the contrary.* Titus *orders upon this that no* Jew *ſhall have either Protection or Quarter. The* Romans *fall on with Fire and Sword; but* Titus *continues tender and good Natur'd to the laſt.*

Titus *proclaim'd* Emperour *by the Army.*
Gold ſunk to half the Value.
The Force of Drought and Famine.

THE Rebels being now fled into the City; the Temple and every Thing about it ſtill in a Blaze, the *Romans* lodg'd their Enſigns againſt the *Eaſtern Gate*, where they offer'd Sacrifice, and with great Shouts and Acclamations, proclaim'd *Titus Emperour*. They got ſo prodigious a Booty, that Gold in *Syria* was brought down upon it to Half the Price.

There was a Child among the Prieſts upon the Wall, that begg'd of the *Roman* Guards only a Soup of Drink to quench his Thirſt: Which they freely gave him, out of a Tenderneſs both to his Age and to his Neceſſity, upon Promiſes of good Faith on both Sides. The Child went down and drank, and then fill'd a Flagon that he carry'd along with him, and made ſuch Haſte back with it to his Friends, that the Guards could not overtake him. The *Romans* charg'd the Boy with Breach of Articles; but he pleaded for himſelf, that he covenanted only for Liberty to fetch the Water, not to continue with them when he had it, and conſequently had broken no Conditions. They found the Fraud ſo innocent, that they were well enough content to be ſo couzen'd.

When the Prieſts had ſtay'd five Days longer upon the Wall, they were forc'd to come down, and deliver up themſelves by the extreme Neceſſity of an outragious Hunger. The Guards took them to *Titus*, where they caſt themſelves at his Feet for Mercy. But his Anſwer was, they ſhould have thought of that ſooner: For now the Temple was gone, it was but reaſonable the Prieſts ſhould go too, and that they and their Temple ſhould be inſeparable. Upon this, *Titus* order'd the Prieſts to be put to Death.

Titus *orders certain Prieſts to be put to Death.*
The Faction deſperate, and deſire a Treaty.

The Heads of the Faction finding themſelves preſs'd at all Hands, and ſo ſurrounded that it was impoſſible to come off, they propos'd a Conference with *Cæſar*; who, out of his natural Generoſity and Goodneſs, inclin'd to entertain it, partly out of a Deſire to ſave the Town, and partly at the Inſtance of his Friends, in Hope that the Rebels might be brought to better Terms for the Future. *Titus* made a Stand at the *Weſt-ſide* of the inner Temple near the Gates that lead into the Gallery; and there was a Bridge of Communication betwixt the Temple and the upper Town; which at this Time parted the *Romans* and the *Jews*. The Soldiers gather'd together on both Sides about their Generals: The *Jews* on the one Hand, to learn what Hope of Pardon; and the *Romans* on the other, out of Curioſity to ſee how *Titus* would receive them: Who in the firſt Place commanded Peace and Silence, and that his Men ſhould forbear Shouting; after which he deliver'd his Mind to them by an Interpreter; giving thereby to underſtand that he had a Right to ſpeak firſt.

Titus *entertains the Motion:*

And treats the Soldiers with a pertinent Diſcourſe upon the Subject.

And is not your Country miſerable enough yet, do ye think, good People? (ſays he) *Will you never be brought to a Senſe either of your own Weakneſs, or of the* Roman *Power; but like ſo many Beaſts and Madmen, ruine your People, City and Temple all in one; and your ſelves too moſt deſervedly in the Concluſion? When were you ever out of Broils and Tumults, ſince* Pompey *laid your City in Rubbiſh? And nothing will ſerve you now but open War againſt the* Romans. *Is it your Numbers you depend upon? Why you have ſeen,* ſays he, *that one Half of our Army have been able to deal with you. Or do you value your ſelves upon the Faith of your Auxiliaries and Allies? Where is that People under the Sun that is not more or leſs in our Allegiance? Or that would not rather have the* Romans *to Friend, than the* Jews? *If you reckon upon the Strength of your Bodies, take Notice that the* Germans *are our Subjects. And ſo for the Firmneſs of your Walls: Are they ſtronger than the* Britains *Wall, the Ocean? And yet thoſe People, with that Fence, have not been able to withſtand us. Or if you rely upon the Addreſs and Reſolution of your Leaders, we have been too hard you know for the* Carthaginians *themſelves. But it is the Humanity of the* Romans, *that hath rais'd up Enemies to themſelves: Firſt, in giving you Lands in Poſſeſſion; and then in erecting Kings out of your own Tribes to govern them. We have alſo granted you the Freedom and Exerciſe of your Country's Laws, and permitted you to live both at Home and Abroad according to your own Liking. And, which is more than all the reſt, we have allow'd you the Privileges of collecting, receiving, and employing*

ploying Contributions and Tributes for the Maintenance of your Religion and God's holy Worſhip, with all Freedom to your ſelves and your Friends. And what's the Uſe you have made of all theſe Graces and Benefits, but to enrich your ſelves into a Capacity of doing us the more Miſchief in the employing of our own Money againſt our ſelves? You do, in Truth, behave your ſelves like the worſt of Serpents, that Practice upon the Lives of thoſe that take them into their Boſoms.

It is agreed that the Contempt you had for the ſpiritleſs Heavineſs of Nero, *made you forget the Quiet that at the ſame Time you enjoy'd, and put you upon ambitious and extravagant Deſigns.*

My Father, you muſt know, did not come into Judæa *to call you to an Account for your Defection from* Ceſtius; *but rather to reform you by Admonition and good Advice. If the depopulating of this Nation had been his Buſineſs, he would have ſtruck at the Root, and begun with* Jeruſalem, *rather than* Galilee, *and thoſe Parts thereabouts; which he did on Purpoſe to give you Room and Leaſure to repent. But this good Nature of his paſs'd for Weakneſs, and our Lenity hath given you a Boldneſs that you take for Courage.*

After the Death of Nero, *according to the Cuſtom of other wicked Men, you made Advantage of our Diviſions; and my Father and my ſelf were no ſooner gone to* Ægypt, *but you took the Opportunity of our being out of the Way, to lay the Foundation of a War againſt us: And notwithſtanding all the Proofs we have given you of our Tenderneſs and Humanity in the Government of thoſe Provinces, you had yet the Face to enter into Practices againſt us, even when my Father was already declar'd* Emperour, *and my ſelf* Cæſar. *Nay, and it went further yet: For after the very Eſtabliſhment of us by common Conſent, in the quiet and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Empire; and the gratulatory Complements that were pay'd us by foreign Miniſters, upon our Acceſſion to the Government, who but the* Jews *to be ſtill our Enemies! As appeared by their Diſpatches of Embaſſies and Deputations as far as beyond* Euphrates, *for Aſſiſtance in their Revolt. To ſay nothing of your new Fortifications, Factions and Competitions, till it came in the End to a civil War: An Ingratitude that none but the wickedeſt of Men could have been guilty of.*

When my Father ſent me (though with great Difficulty and Reluctance) to call this ſtubborn rebellious City to an Account, how did I pleaſe my ſelf to hear that the People were well diſpoſed towards a Peace! How did I beg of you to prevent a War before a Blow was ſtruck! Can you ſay that I did not make it as eaſie to you afterwards as I could? Did I ever refuſe any Man of you that offer'd himſelf? Did I ever break Faith with any Man that came over to me? How tender was I of your Priſoners! Or was I ever hard upon any Man that did not inflame the Quarrel? With what Unwillingneſs did I come to the battering of your Walls! And ſo I kept off all bloody Executions from you, as much as poſſible. When did I ever get the better of you, and not ſue for Peace, as if you your ſelves had been the Conquerours? Whenever I came near your Temple, I took no Advantage of the Right I had by the Law of Arms to the deſtroying of it: But only made it my Requeſt to you to ſpare your ſelves, and all that was holy that belong'd to you. Did I not offer you free Leave to depart, and upon Terms of Security too? Or if nothing but Fighting would ſerve your Turn, I gave you the Choice of your own Time and Place: And what's the Fruit now of all this Tenderneſs, but the burning of the Temple with your own Hands, that I would ſo fain have preſerv'd? And have you the Impudence now at laſt to invite me to a Party, as if you had any Thing left you to attone for what you have deſtroy'd? How can you expect a Pardon for your ſelves, that would not ſo much as pardon your own Temple? And here you preſent your ſelves in Arms too, without ſo much as pretending to be Supplicants. But to come now to the Ground of this miſerable Confidence. Your People have neither Heart nor Soul left them; your Temple's gone, the City mine, and your ſelves all at my Mercy: And yet you would be thought to inſiſt upon Terms of Honour now at laſt. But not to ſtand expoſtulating any longer with your pertinacious Follies, lay down your Arms, and render your ſelves, and I am yet content to give you your Lives: And when I have once done neceſſary Juſtice upon the main, you ſhall find me a gentle Maſter as to the reſt. The Faction return'd him this Anſwer, *that they could not deliver themſelves up, upon any Promiſe or Aſſurance he could give them, becauſe they were under an Oath to the contrary: But that they were ready to be gone, if he pleas'd with their Wives and Children into the Deſart, and leave the Town to the* Romans. *Titus* took it ſo very heinouſly to ſee Priſoners giving Law, and impoſing Conditions upon the Conquerours, that he preſently cauſed Proclamation to be made, *That no* Jew *ſhould preſume for the Future to make any further Application to* Titus, *or expect either Protection, or Quarter: But that they might now defend themſelves by Arms as well as they could; for* Cæſar *was reſolv'd to govern himſelf by the Rules of War:* So the Soldiers had Leave given them to fall on with Fire and Sword, and make their beſt of the Spoil of the City. There

Titus *offers them Terms.*

Which they refuſe, under Pretence of an Oath to the contrary.

Order'd upon this, that no Jew *ſhall be allow'd either Protection, or Quarter.*

The Romans *fall on with Fire and Sword, and take the Spoil to themſelves.*

was nothing done that Day; but the next Morning they ſet Fire to the *Regiſter Office*, the *Caſtle*, the *Council Chamber*, and a Place call'd *Ophlas:* And ſo the Fire went on to Queen *Helen*'s *Palace* in the Middle of the *Mount*, carrying all before it, together with the dead Bodies, whereof the Houſes and Streets were crouding full.

Titus tender and good natur'd to the laſt.

On the ſame Day, the Sons and Brethren of King *Izates*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Honour, join'd in a Petition to *Cæſar* for their Lives; who, according to his uſual Practice, granted the Petition, though very much incens'd againſt the Party. But they were all order'd to Priſon, and the Sons and near Relations of *Izates* carry'd afterwards bound to *Rome* for Hoſtages.

CHAP. XIV.

The Faction moves to the Palace Royal, where they cut off 8400 *Perſons, and ſeize all the Treaſure. A nice Point of* Roman *Honour.* Joſeph *gives good Advice, but it is loſt upon them. Sinks and Vaults are ſearched for Deſerters, and they kill all they take. No Death ſo ghaſtly as that of a Famine. The laſt Hope of the Faction is in their Hiding-holes.*

The Faction moves to the Palace Royal, a Place of great Strength. They cut off 8400 Perſons there, and ſeize all the Treaſure.

A Roman *Point of Honour.*

THE Rebels ſteer'd their Courſe next to the King's Houſe, a ſtrong and a ſafe Place, with a great Treaſure laid up in it. The *Jews* beat the *Romans* out of the Houſe; kill'd to the Number of eight thouſand four hundred Perſons there, and carry'd off all the Money. Upon this Encounter, there were two *Roman* Soldiers taken alive, a Horſe-man and a Foot-man: The latter was kill'd, and dragg'd along the Streets quite thorough the Town, as if it had been to revenge the whole Nation upon that ſingle Body. The Horſe-man, upon a Pretence that he had ſomewhat of Moment to communicate, was carry'd to *Simon:* And having nothing to ſay when he came there, order was given to *Ardalas*, one of *Simon*'s Officers to have him put to Death. So he was preſently taken out with his Hands bound behind him, and a ſwathing-band over his Eyes, to have his Head cut off within Sight of the *Romans*; but as the Executioner was drawing his Sword to do his Office, the Priſoner ſtarted away, and made his Eſcape over to the *Romans*. *Titus* would not ſuffer him to be put to Death, only for giving the Enemy the Slip; but look'd upon it as ſuch an Indignity to have a *Roman* Soldier taken alive, that he was diſarm'd and caſhier'd upon it; which to a Man of Honour is worſe than Death.

The Jews *obſtinate in their Wickedneſs.*

The Conflagration ſerves them but for a Spectacle.

It being the *Romans* Fortune the next Day to rout the *Jews* out of the lower City, they put all in a Blaze as far as *Siloah*; and had the Pleaſure of ſeeing what Havock the Conflagration made, but the Booty was gone: For the Ruffians had diſpos'd of that already into the upper Town. Now they were not a People to repent of any Miſchief they had ever done, and they kept up their Arrogance in the worſt of Fortunes. The burning of the City was to them a Spectacle of Joy; and they declar'd that, as Matters ſtood at that Time, they were ready to welcome Death it ſelf with Comfort: For now the People were waſted, and almoſt totally cut off; the Temple burnt to Aſhes, and the Town all in a Flame, there was nothing left for the *Romans* that were to come after them to joy in.

Joſeph *gives good Advice to little Purpoſe.*

But while Things were at this Paſs, *Joſeph* did all that was to be done to ſave the miſerable Remains of a ruin'd and a deſolated City; dividing himſelf in his Applications, betwixt Invectives againſt the impious Inhumanities of the one Side, and ſeaſonable Encouragements and good Counſels to the other: But it was all to no Purpoſe; for the *Jews* were both ty'd up by their Oath, and as good as beſieg'd by the overpow'ring Number of the *Romans*; beſide, that their Swords were wonted to Blood and Slaughter.

Sinks and Vaults are ſearched for Deſerters. And they kill all they take. No Death ſo ghaſtly as that of Famine.

In this Diſtraction, they ſcatter'd themſelves all over the City; hunting, and watching up and down in the Ruines, Vaults, and elſewhere for Deſerters. They took a great many of them, and they kill'd all they took; for they were too weak to run for't, and their Dead they caſt to the Dogs: But of all Deaths, Famine was the moſt frightful and ghaſtly. There were ſeveral that went over to the *Romans*, without either the Hope, or the Deſire of any other Mercy from them, than what they promis'd themſelves in the Exchange of one Death for another: And this was the Caſe with the Seditious alſo upon the ſame Account. The Streets were cover'd with dead Bodies from one End of the City to the other; which were either murder'd, or ſtarv'd.

The laſt Hope of the tyrannical Faction, was in the Receſſes of Sinks and Privies, upon a vain Fancy that they might lie conceal'd there till all ſhould be over, and the *Romans* gone; and that then they might make their Eſcape; not conſidering that Holes and Hiding-Places are no Proof againſt the all-ſeeing Eye of Juſtice. The *Jews* that were poſſeſs'd of theſe ſubterranean Retreats, did more Miſchief than the *Romans* by the Fire; killing and robbing all they could meet that came for Sanctuary to thoſe Caverns: And let their Food be never ſo coarſe or foul, ſuch was their Neceſſity, that it became a Cauſe of Quarrel; inſomuch that I verily believe, if the Siege had continu'd, the Living would have been inhumane enough to eat the Fleſh of the Dead.

The laſt Hope of the Faction is in their hiding Holes.

CHAP. XV.

The Upper Town not to be taken without new Mounts. Titus *ſets the Project afoot. The* Idumæans *offer him their Service by their Deputies; and beg his Pardon.* Titus *grants them their Requeſt, but* Simon *immediately puts the Deputies to Death. Whole Families ſold like Herds of Beaſts in a Market.* Titus *ſets* 40000 *Men at Liberty that came over to him.* Jeſus, *a Prieſt, articles with* Cæſar *for his Life.* Phineas *the Treaſurer makes a farther Diſcovery.*

THE Upper Town was ſeated upon ſuch Crags and Precipices, that *Titus* found it utterly impoſſible to gain it without new Mounts; ſo that upon the twentieth of the Month *Lōus*, he went in Hand with the Project. Carriage was extremely dear and troubleſome, (as I have ſaid elſewhere;) for the Materials were all cut down for the former Works, within a hundred Furlongs of the Town. The four Legions threw up a Mount on the Weſt Side of the Town over againſt the Palace Royal: The Auxiliaries and the reſt caſt up another toward the Gallery and the Bridge; and a Fort that *Simon* built in his War with *John*, known by the Name of *Simon*'s *Tower*. At the ſame Time the *Idumæan* Officers laid their Heads together among themſelves how to deſert, and get over to the *Romans*, and ſent five Deputies with a Tender of their Service to *Titus*, and a ſubmiſſive Petition for Mercy in the Name of the reſt. This was ſomewhat with the lateſt; but *Titus* however, upon an Opinion that *Simon* and *John* would never ſtand it out, after ſuch a Deſertion, ſent the Deputies back with a Promiſe of their Lives; for he look'd upon the *Idumæans* as the moſt conſiderable Part of their Army. This Plot, it ſeems, had taken Air, and *Simon* cauſed the five Deputies immediately to be put to Death, and their Leaders impriſon'd; reckoning *James* the Son of *Soſas* for the Chief. And though much could not be expected from the common Soldiers, now the Officers were gone; the reſt of the *Idumæans* were kept yet under a ſtricter Guard; and all too little to hinder them from running over. There were many cut off, 'tis true; but more that eſcap'd; and they were all receiv'd, for *Titus* had too much Generoſity and good Nature to preſs his former Prohibition to the uttermoſt Rigour; and the very Soldiers themſelves, betwixt the Hope of Booty, and a Glut of Blood, began to betake themſelves to a Courſe of Humanity and Moderation. As for the common People, (which were all that were now left) they were ſold with their Wives and Children, like Beaſts, in a Market; and at very eaſy Rates too, and but few Purchaſers. *Titus* reflecting upon this, and upon his own Proclamation, forbidding any more *Jews* to come over to him ſingle; out of a Deſire to ſave as many of them as he could: He was now pleaſed to diſpenſe with his own Order, and to receive as many of them, one by one, as preſented themſelves: But with Superviſors over them, to diſtinguiſh the good from the bad, and to deal with them according to their Merits. There were vaſt Numbers of them ſold, and upward of forty thouſand ſet at Liberty by *Titus*, to go whither they would.

The Upper Town not to be taken without new Mounts.

Titus *ſets the Project a-foot.*

The Idumæans *offer their Service to* Titus *by their Deputy, and beg his Pardon.*

Titus *grants their Requeſt.*

But Simon *immediately puts the Deputies to Death.*

Whole Families ſold like Herds of Beaſts in a Market.

Titus *ſets upward of forty thouſand Men at Liberty that came over to him.*

There was at the ſame Time one *Jeſus*, a Prieſt, and the Son of *Thebuth*; who compounded with *Cæſar* for his Life, upon Condition to deliver up to him ſome of the Veſſels, Donatives and other Ornaments belonging to the holy Temple. So he went out, and gave him over the Wall two Candleſticks like thoſe in the Temple; ſome Tables, Cups and Goblets; all ſubſtantial and pure Gold: He gave him alſo ſeveral Veils, ſacerdotal Habits, precious Stones and a great Number of ſacrificing Veſſels.

Jeſus, *a Prieſt, the Son of* Thebuth, *articles with* Cæſar *for his Life: Upon Diſcovery of holy Plate and Veſſels belonging to the Temple.*

There was alſo taken, one *Phineas*, the Keeper of the holy Treaſure; who produced a great many Prieſts Habits and Girdles; purple and ſcarlet Stuffs, that were orderly folded up for Uſe. There was alſo a Proportion of Cinnamon, Caſſia,

Phineas, *the Treaſurer makes alſo a farther Diſcovery.*

Gumms and Perfumes for daily Incenſe: Beſides ſeveral Sorts of holy Ornaments and private Goods. But for the Sake of this Service, though the Man was a fair Priſoner of War, and taken by Force, he was treated yet as if all he did had been out of pure good Will.

CHAP. XVI.

The Mounts are finiſh'd: And the Romans *advance with their Machines. Some ſhift for themſelves: And others ſtand their Ground.* Simon *and* John *in Horrour and Deſperation with frightful Stories and falſe Alarums. They give up three Forts that could never have been taken but by ſtarving, which did the whole Work. The Romans carry all before them; and the* Jews *like Vipers eat out the Belly of their Mother. A pious Ejaculation of* Titus's. *He erects a Monument to his good Fortune.* Titus *gives Orders about his Priſoners.*

The Mounts are now finiſhed: And the Romans *advance with their Machines. The timorous Part of the Faction withdraws; ſome to* Acra: *Others into the City Vaults: But the reſolute ſtand their Ground. The Enemy the ſtronger Party of the two.* Simon *and* John *in a Fit of Deſperation and Horrour; and abandon'd by all their Friends.*

THE Works being now finiſh'd, on the 7th of the Month *Gorpiæus*, or *September*, (having been eighteen Days a doing) the *Romans* advanced their Machines; and that Part of the Faction that deſpair'd of holding out quitted the Walls, and withdrew to the Caſtle; others into privy Houſes and Vaults: But the more Reſolute ſtopp'd, and made Head againſt thoſe that were to manage the Battery: The Enemy all this while being Superiour to them, both in Strength and Number; over and above the Advantage of Men in Heart, and puffed up with Succeſs againſt a ſad, a deſpairing and an unfortunate People. So ſoon as ever they took Notice of any Flaw in the Wall, or that any of the Turrets gave Way to the Engines, the Defendents ſhifted immediately away as faſt as they could: Inſomuch that *Simon* and *John* themſelves were ſeized with a *panick Terrour*; and fled, even before the *Romans* were come within Diſtance of doing them any Hurt: And yet at the ſame Time they had their Fits of Aſtoniſhment upon them. It would have griev'd a Body's Heart, though for the vileſt of Miſcreants, to ſee thoſe Men trembling and knocking their Knees as if they were ſinking into the Ground, that had been but juſt before, in the Ruffe of their Arrogance and Preſumption, both in Words and Actions. Never ſo wonderful a Change! They made an Attempt indeed upon the Wall of Circumvallation that the *Romans* rais'd about the Town. In Short, they attack'd it, and made a Breach in it; with a Reſolution to fall upon the Guards and make an Eſcape: But perceiving, when they look'd to be ſeconded, that their Friends had all forſaken them, they hurried away in a Confuſion, as their Fears and their Neceſſities mov'd them. In this phantaſtical Variety of frightful Things and Thoughts, every Man framed a Story according to his Imagination. One brings News that the whole Wall to the *Weſtward*, was overthrown; others, that the *Romans* were juſt at the Foot of it: Some, that they were entered, and ſuch and ſuch of them ſeen in Poſſeſſion of the Towers. Whatever they fear'd, they ſaw; falling proſtrate upon their Faces, and bemoaning their Follies in a Paſſion, as if they had been Thunder-ſtruck, not knowing which Way to turn themſelves.

Miſlead by frightful Stories and falſe Alarums.

And infatuated into the giving up of three Forts that could never have been taken but by Starving. The quitting of theſe three Towers did the whole Work.

The Power of God on the one Hand, and his Goodneſs on the other, was very remarkable upon this Occaſion; for the Tyrants ruined themſelves, by quitting thoſe Holds of their own Accord, that could never have been taken but by Famine; and this, after the *Jews* had ſpent ſo much Time to no Purpoſe upon other Pieces of leſs Value. By this Means, the *Romans* became Maſters of three impregnable Forts, by Fortune, that could never have been taken any other Way: For the three famous Towers formerly mentioned, were Proof againſt all Battery.

Upon *Simon* and *John*'s quitting theſe Towers; or rather, upon their being driven out of them by the Impulſe of a judicial Infatuation, they haſten'd away to the Vale of *Siloa*, where they took Breath a while; and after ſome Recollection and Refreſhment, they gave an Aſſault to the new Wall there: But ſo faint and weak, that the Guards beat them off; for betwixt Fatigue, Deſpondency, Dread and Miſery their Strength fail'd them, and they were then ſcattered ſeveral Ways into Sinks and Gutters.

The *Romans* being now poſſeſs'd of the Walls, planted their Colours upon the Towers with Outcries and Shouts of Joy, to find the End of the War ſo much eaſier than the Beginning: If at leaſt the War was now at an End, which they could not well doubt of without diſtruſting their own Eyes.

The Romans *carry all before them, to the Extremities of Fire and Blood.*

The Soldiers were now broke looſe all over the Town, up and down, in the Streets, with their Swords drawn; killing all that fell in their Way without Diſtinction; and burning entire Houſes, and whatever was in them, in one common Flame. In ſeveral Places, where they enter'd to ſearch for Pillage, they found whole Families dead, and the Houſes cramm'd with Hunger-ſtarv'd Carcaſſes: So that upon the Horror of ſo hideous a Spectacle, they came out again empty-handed; but the Compaſſion they had for the Dead, made them not one Jot tenderer to the Living; for they ſtabb'd every Man they met, till the narrow Paſſages and Alleys were choak'd up with Carcaſſes: So that the Chanels of the City ran Blood, as if it had been to quench the Fire. In the Evening, they gave over killing, and at Night fell afreſh to burning.

The Jews, *like Vipers, eat out the Belly of their Mother.*

The eighth of the Month *Gorpiæus* put an End to the Conflagration of *Jeruſalem*, and if all the Bleſſings it ever enjoy'd from the Foundation of it, had but been comparable in Proportion to the Calamities it ſuffer'd in this Siege, that City had been undoubtedly the Envy of the World. But the greateſt Plague of all came out of its own Bowels; in that infernal Race of Vipers that it brought forth, to eat out the Belly of the Mother.

A pious Ejaculation of Titus's *to the Honour of Providence.*

A Monument erected to his good Fortune.

While *Titus* was now taking a View of the Ruines of this glorious City; the Works, the Fortifications, and eſpecially the Turrets, which the Tyrants had ſo ſottiſhly abandon'd: While *Cæſar*, I ſay, was entertaining himſelf in the Contemplation of the Height, Dimenſions, and Situation of theſe Towers; the Deſign, Workmanſhip, and Curioſity of the Fabrick; with the wonderful Contrivance of the whole: He let fall this Expreſſion: *Well!* ſays he, *if God had not fought both for us, and with us, we could never have been Maſters of theſe Forts. It was God, in Fine, that aſſiſted us, and God that fought againſt the* Jews; *for this was not an Undertaking to be compaſs'd with Hands or Machines.* When *Titus* had ſaid this and a great Deal more upon the ſame Subject, it was his next Care to ſet all the Priſoners at Liberty that the Tyrants had left in the Towers: And afterwards, upon the raſing and demoliſhing of the City, to preſerve thoſe Turrets as a Monument to the Honour of his good Fortune; without whoſe Aſſiſtance he could never have done what he did.

Titus *gives Order about the Priſoners.*

The Soldiers being now quite ſpent with doing Execution, and having a great Deal more of that Work yet to do, *Titus* order'd his Men to hold their Hands; ſaving only to thoſe that they found arm'd, or in a Poſture of Reſiſtance, and to give Quarter to all the reſt. But the Soldiers went beyond their Commiſſion, and put the aged and the ſickly to the Sword promiſcuouſly, with their Companions; and for thoſe that were ſtrong and ſerviceable, they ſhut them up in the Temple, in the Womens Quarter: *Cæſar* appointing *Fronto*, one of his Friends and Freemen, to inform himſelf of the People, and to do by them as they deſerv'd. As for the Ruffians, and the ſeditious, that peach'd one another, he had them all put to Death: But for Men of comely and graceful Perſons, and in the Prime of their Youth, he reſerv'd them for the Triumph; ſending away all of *above ſeventeen* of the Remainder of them, in Chains into *Ægypt*, to be employ'd in ſervile Offices and Drudgery: Beſide thoſe that were diſtributed up and down the Provinces for the Uſe of the Theatres in the Quality of *Swordmen*, or *Gladiators*; and all *under ſeventeen*, expoſed to Sale.

In the mean Time, while the Priſoners were under *Fronto*'s Charge, there were eleven thouſand of them ſtarv'd to Death, betwixt the Churliſhneſs of the Keepers that would give them no Meat; and the Squeamiſhneſs of their own Stomachs that would ſwallow none. But in Truth, the Mouths were too many for the Proviſion.

CHAP. XVII.

The Number of the Dead, and of the Priſoners in this War. John *and* Simon *taken: The one kept for the Triumph: The other a Priſoner for Life. The City a Heap of Aſhes, and the Walls thrown down.*

The Number of the Dead and of the Priſoners in this War.

THE Number of Priſoners in this War was ninety ſeven thouſand. The Number of the Dead was eleven hundred thouſand; the greater Part of them *Jews* by Nation, though not Natives of *Judæa*: For it was only a general Meeting of them at *Jeruſalem*, gather'd together from all Quarters to celebrate the Feaſt of the *Paſſover*; who were there ſurpriz'd into a War. There was ſo prodigious a Multitude; and they ſo ſtreighten'd for Lodgings, that the Crowd firſt brought the *Plague* into the Town; and then quickly made Way for a *Famine*. Not but that the City was abundantly capable yet of entertaining that vaſt Body of People, if the Calculation of *Ceſtius* at leaſt may paſs for any Thing; as follows.

Nero had ſo great a Contempt for the *Jews*, that *Ceſtius* made it his Suit to the High-Prieſt to bethink themſelves ſome Way of numbering their People: And this he did out of a Deſire to give *Nero* to underſtand, that the *Jewiſh* Nation was not ſo deſpicable as he imagin'd; ſo that they took their Time to enter upon the Computation, at the Celebration of their *paſchal Feaſt:* When offering up Sacrifices according to Cuſtom from the ninth Hour of the Day to the eleventh, and thoſe Sacrices to be eaten afterwards in their Families, by ten at leaſt, and ſometimes twenty to a Lamb: They reckon'd upon two hundred fifty ſix thouſand and five hundred Oblations; which, at the Rate of ten to a Lamb, amounted to two Millions and five hundred and fifty ſix thouſand Perſons, all pure and ſound; for neither *Lepers*, *Scorbuticks*, Men troubled with *Gonorrhœa's*, Women in their *monthly Sickneſs*, or People labouring under any *malignant Diſtempers*, were admitted to any Part in this Solemnity: No more were any Strangers, but what came thither for Religion. So that this mighty Concourſe of People from abroad before the Siege, was afterwards by the righteous Providence of God, coop'd up in the City as in a Priſon: And the Number of the ſlain in that Siege was the heavieſt Judgment of the Kind that ever was heard of. Some were kill'd openly; others kept in Cuſtody by the *Romans*, who ſearch'd the very Sepulchres and Vaults for them, and put all they found alive to the Sword. There were upward of two thouſand, that had either laid violent Hands on themſelves, or kill'd one another by Conſent; beſide thoſe that periſh'd by Famine. The putrid Corruption of the dead Bodies ſent out a Vapour to poyſon as many as came within the Reach of it. Some were not able to endure it, and went out of the Way; others had their Hearts ſo ſet upon Booty, that they rifled the very Carcaſſes, and trampled upon the dead Bodies as they lay ſoaking in their Corruption. But Avarice ſticks at nothing, They brought out ſeveral Priſoners alſo that the two Tyrants had laid in Chains there; for they kept up their Cruelty to the laſt: But God's Juſtice overtook them both in the End; for *John* and his Brethren in the Vaults, were now driven by the Diſtreſs of an inſupportable Hunger, to beg that Mercy of the *Romans*, that they had ſo often deſpis'd: And *Simon*, after a long Struggle with an inſuperable Neceſſity (as we ſhall ſhew hereafter) deliver'd up himſelf: The latter being reſerv'd for the Triumph, and *John* made a Priſoner for Life. The *Romans*, after this, burnt the Remainder of the City, and threw down the Walls.

John *and* Simon *taken Priſoners; the one kept for the Triumph; the other a Priſoner for Life. The Remainder of the City laid in Aſhes, and the Walls thrown down.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Jeruſalem *taken and deſtroy'd.* Melchizedeck *the firſt Founder of it; who gave it the Name of* Jeruſalem, *in Exchange for* Solyma. *The City laid all in Rubbiſh.*

Jeruſalem *taken, and deſtroy'd.*

THUS was *Jeruſalem* taken, and utterly deſtroy'd, in the ſecond Year of *Veſpaſian*, and on the eighth Day of the Month *Gorpiæus*; having been five Times taken before; *i. e.* by *Azochæus*, King of *Ægypt*; *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*; *Pompey*; and *Herod*, with *Soſius*; who did all preſerve the City after it was taken. But *Nebuchadnezzar*, the King of *Babylon*, laid it waſte, [a] thirteen hundred ſixty Years, eight Months and ſix Days after the Building of it.

Melchizedeck *the firſt Founder of it.*

Melchizedeck *changed* Solyma *into* Jeruſalem.

The firſt Founder of it was a *Chanaanitiſh* Prince, call'd *Melchizedeck*, which in the *Hebrew* Language ſignifies a *juſt King:* For ſuch he was in an eminent Manner. [b] He firſt dedicated this City to God; erected a Temple in it, and officiated in the Quality of a Prieſt; giving it the Name of *Jeruſalem*, which before was call'd *Solyma*.

When *David* the King of the *Jews* came afterwards to drive out the *Chanaanites*, he planted his own People there: And in four hundred [c] ſeventy ſeven Years and three Months, after this, it was laid waſte by the *Babylonians*.

From the Reign of *David* there, to the Deſtruction of the City by *Titus*, it was eleven hundred and ſeventy nine Years; and two thouſand one hundred ſeventy ſeven from the Foundation of it. But neither Antiquity, Wealth, Fame, nor the Honour of the Religion it ſelf, was any Security againſt the Appointments of Fate.

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[a] 1460 *Years*, &c. *in the* Lat. Verſion.

[b] *In the following Lines* you have almoſt as many Errors as Words, *ſays the Learned* Bochart *in his* Geogr. Sacr. *l.* 2. *c.* 4. *Part* 2. *Be pleas'd to conſult him, and* Maſius *upon* Joſhuah, *cap.* x. *and* Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. *l.* 3.

[c] Lat. *Sixty four*, &c.

This was, in Fine, the Iſſue of the Siege: And when the Soldiers had neither Rapine nor Bloodſhed for their Spleens to work upon, (as they would not have been idle, if they had had Matter) *Titus* order'd them to lay the City and Temple level with the Ground; and to leave nothing ſtanding, but the three famous Turrets, *Phaſael*, *Hippicos* and *Mariamne*, that over-top'd all the reſt; and a piece of a Wall to the Weſtward of the Town, where he deſign'd a Garriſon: The Towers to remain as ſo many Monuments to Poſterity of the *Romans* Power and Conduct in the taking of them. This Order was punctually executed; and all the reſt laid ſo Flat, that the Place look'd as if it had never been inhabited. This was the End of the *Jeruſalem*-Faction; a mad and a ſeditious People: And this was alſo the End of the moſt glorious City of the Univerſe.

The City laid level with the Ground.

CHAP. XIX.

Titus *provides for the Honour and Reward of thoſe that behaved themſelves bravely in the War. A generous Speech of his to his Soldiers, accompany'd with Bounties and Preſents.* Titus *offers a thanksgiving Sacrifice for his Victory.*

CÆſar having now taken up a Reſolution to leave the Tenth Legion in Garriſon in *Jeruſalem*, with ſome Squadrons and Battalions of Horſe and Foot; and having diſcharg'd all the Parts of a vigilant and a careful General, he came now to bethink himſelf of encouraging and rewarding thoſe that had ſignaliz'd themſelves in his Service. Now to this End, he mounted a Tribunal, with the Choice of his great Officers about him, in the Head of his Camp, and upon an Eminence where he might beſt be heard; and from thence deliver'd himſelf to his Army in Terms to this Effect.

Titus *provides, now the War is over, for the Honour and Reward of thoſe that ſerved him in it.*

It is impoſſible, (ſays he) *my brave fellow-Soldiers, to expreſs how kindly I take the generous Faith and Reſpects you have been pleas'd to pay me all along this War*; “ and ſo
“ he enter'd upon the Topicks of their orderly Diſcipline and Obedience; their in-
“ vincible Firmneſs and Reſolution upon all Occaſions, and in the moſt preſſing of
“ Dangers; the Reputation they acquir'd in advancing the Honour, and enlarging
“ the Territory of their Country: And finally in giving all Men to underſtand,
“ that neither Odds of Numbers, Advantages of Forts, Strength of Places, Power of
“ populous Cities, the Hair-brain'd Madneſs, or the outragious Fury of brutal Ad-
“ verſaries, can ever diſcompoſe the *Roman* Conduct and Courage. Not but that
“ now and then by Fits, the *Jews* have had ſome favourable Turns of Fortune too:
“ But it is a great Thing, however, (ſays he) to put a happy End to a War that
“ has been ſo long a Foot; which is as much as they could wiſh for themſelves
“ when they firſt embark'd in't. And it is a greater yet, (ſays he) to ſee your
“ Choice of the *Roman* Emperours and Generals, not only admitted; but univer-
“ ſally and thankfully approv'd. He could not, (he ſaid) but love and admire them
“ all for what they had worthily done: But for thoſe that made themſelves exem-
“ plary in their Adventures and Hazzards, and in doing Honour to their Charac-
“ ter and Profeſſion, it ſhould be his Care (he ſaid) to do them all Manner of Right
“ in Return: And whoever ſhew'd an Emulation to outdo his Fellows, ſhould be
“ ſure of an Acknowledgment in Proportion; for he took much more Delight in
“ preferring and advancing the virtuous, than in puniſhing Offenders.

Titus *to his Soldiers.*

Titus, immediately, upon this, call'd for an Account from ſome of the Officers that had the Commiſſion in Charge, to know which of the Soldiers had done any Thing extraordinary in the War. They were produced one and one by Name; highly commended; and *Titus* as much concern'd for their Goods as for his own. From fair and obliging Words, he proceeded to Matter of Liberality and Bounty. He crown'd them with Coronets of Gold; dreſs'd them up with Gold-Chains; gave them Lances pointed with Gold; Silver Medals; and advanced every Man in his Quality and Station. He gave them minted Money in Gold and Silver out of the Booty; with Robes and other Things of Value. So ſoon as this Diſtribution was over, to every Man according to his Merit; *Cæſar* accompany'd with the Vows, Prayers, and Acclamations of the whole Army, deſcended from his Tribunal to offer Sacrifices and give Thanks for his Victory. There was a vaſt Multitude of Oxen there at Hand about the Altars, which were ſacrificed and diſtributed to the Army; *Cæſar* himſelf feaſting his Officers for three Days. The Troops, after this, were ſent away to their reſpective Quarters: And *Jeruſalem* committed to the Guard of the Tenth Legion; without ſending it back to *Euphrates*, whence it came.

Titus *treats his Officers with Bounties and Preſents, according to their Deſerts;*

And offers a Thanksgiving Sacrifice for his Victory.

Titus

2

Titus had not as yet forgotten the Affront the *Jews* put upon the *Romans* under *Ceſtius*; and ſo he ſent away the twelfth Legion that had been formerly at *Raphanæa*, to *Melitene*, that lies along the *Euphrates* upon the Borders of *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*; keeping the fifth and fifteenth Legions to himſelf as a competent Guard to convoy him into *Ægypt*. From hence he took his Paſſage to *Cæſarea* upon the Coaſt; but being Winter, he durſt not venture into *Italy*: So that he laid up his Booty and Treaſure there for the preſent, and took Care for the ſecuring of his Priſoners.

CHAP. XX.

While Titus *lay before* Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian *viſits ſeveral Sea-Ports.* Simon *the Son of* Gioras *taken Priſoner. The Manner of taking him. He propounds to himſelf to make his Eſcape thorough a Vault, but the Project would not do.* Terentius Rufus *ſeizes him, and puts him in Chains.* Simon *gives Light to farther Diſcoveries. The Birth-Days of* Domitian *and* Veſpaſian *celebrated with great Pomp.*

While Titus *lay before* Jeruſalem, Veſpaſian *viſits ſeveral of the Sea-Coaſts.*

DUring the Siege of *Jeruſalem* by *Titus*, *Veſpaſian* embarqu'd upon a Merchant-man for *Rhodes*, where he took a Galley, and ſo paſs'd out of *Ionia* into *Greece*; viſiting all the Towns in his Way, where he was moſt magnificently receiv'd: From thence to *Corcyra*, and ſo to *Japygia*; and thence he continu'd his Journey by Land. *Titus* was now come back from *Cæſarea* upon the Sea-Coaſt, to that called *Cæſarea Philippi*; where he made a conſiderable Stay, entertaining himſelf with all manner of Spectacles: As Combats betwixt Men and Beaſts, Man and Man, Troop and Troop; which coſt him the Lives of a great many of his Slaves.

Simon *the Son of* Gioras, *taken Priſoner; and the Manner of it. He contrives his Eſcape thorough a Vault.*

In this Juncture *Simon* the Son of *Gioras* happen'd to be taken, and the Manner of it was this; *Simon* upon the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, was forced into the *Upper Town* and the *Romans* breaking into the City, put him to his Wits End how to ſhift for himſelf: And his Contrivance was this. He call'd a Council of Miners, Stone-Cutters, Smiths, and Men well-skill'd in Iron-Works; got a Proviſion of Tools and Materials for his Purpoſe, ſo many Weeks Proviſions; and ſo let themſelves down all together into a dark and a ſecret Vault. When they had made their Way as far as they could, and found the Paſſage too narrow to receive them, they fell to digging and mining, in Hope to work a Thorough-Fare, and ſo make an Eſcape. But before they could advance any Thing to ſpeak of, their Victuals fell ſhort, and the Plot fail'd; though they manag'd their Stores the beſt they could too. *Simon* had no Way now left him, but to try if he could fright the *Romans* out of their Senſes; and ſo dreſſed himſelf up in a white Garment buckled about him, and a purple Cloak thrown over it. In this Figure he preſented himſelf out of the Ground from under the Ruines of the late Temple, to the Amazement of the Soldiers and others that firſt ſaw the Apparition; but upon coming nearer and nearer, they took the Heart to ask him his Name, and who he was; and *Simon* refuſing to tell them, call'd to ſpeak with the Captain of the Guard. So *Terentius Rufus*, who had the Command, was immediately fetch'd; who ſifting the Truth out of him, clapt him preſently in Chains and gave *Cæſar* afterwards an Account of the whole Story. Thus was this bloody Tyrant, who had taken away ſo many of his Countrymen's Lives by Subornation and falſe Evidence, upon Pretence of their going over to the *Romans*, brought to Juſtice himſelf, and deliver'd into the Hands of his Enemies, without any Force upon him, by his own Act. But there is no avoiding the Stroke of divine Vengeance; no contending with the Power of Innocence and Juſtice: And the Puniſhment is yet the more grievous many Times for being deferr'd; and when People reckon themſelves ſecure, and the Danger over. This was *Simon*'s Caſe in the Hands of the *Romans*; and his phantaſtical riſing out of the Ground prov'd an Occaſion of diſcovering divers of his Companions in their Hiding-Places.

But his Project fails him.

Terentius Rufus *ſeizes him, and puts him in Chains.*

There is no A-voiding of divine Vengeance. Simon *gives Occaſion to farther Diſcoveries. And is himſelf reſerv'd for a Triumph at* Rome. *The Birth-Days of* Domitian *and* Veſpaſian *celebrated with great Pomp.*

Upon *Cæſar*'s coming back to *Cæſarea* by the Sea-Side, and the preſenting of *Simon* to him in Chains, *Titus* order'd *Simon* to be kept for his Triumph at *Rome*. When he had been there a while, he ſet a Day apart for the Celebration of his Brother *Domitian*'s Birth-Day with a very ſplendid Pomp; and a great Number of his condemn'd Priſoners dedicated to the Honour of the Solemnity: Reckoning upon thoſe that were deſtroy'd by Beaſts, Fire, and in Combat one with another, to be at leaſt two thouſand and five hundred in Number: And all too little in the Opinion of the *Romans*, who hated them mortally. *Titus* went afterward to *Berytus*, a City of *Phœnicia*, and a *Roman Colony*; where he alſo continu'd for ſome Time, and kept his Father's Birth-Day with more Splendour and Magnificence than the former, both for Spectacles and other expenſive Entertainments.

CHAP. XXI.

The Jews *diſperſed every where, eſpecially in* Syria *and* Antioch. *The latter are numerous and wealthy.* Antiochus, *the Son of a* Jew, *the Ruine of the Place. A raging Uproar.* Antiochus *ſets up the Pagan Worſhip, and ſuppreſſes the Obſervance of the Sabbath. The City takes Fire; and* Antiochus *charges it falſly upon the* Jews.

THE *Jews* in *Antioch* had now a very hard Time of it; the City being ſpitefully bent againſt them, as well upon the Account of new Matter, as for Miſdemeanours of former Date. But it will be requiſite to ſpeak a Word or two of this now by the Way, in Order to the better underſtanding of what is to come.

The *Jews* are a People diſpers'd over the Face of the whole Earth: Particularly among the *Syrians*, as they are near Neighbours; and more eſpecially in *Antioch*, where there are great Numbers of them, not only upon the Account of its being a large and a populous City; but alſo by Reaſon of the Privileges and Immunities they have enjoy'd there by the Favour of the Government ever ſince the Days of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (as they call'd him) who laid waſte the City of *Jeruſalem*, and rifled the Temple. The Succeſſors of this *Antiochus* cauſed Reſtitution to be made to the *Jews*, of all the brazen Veſſels that had been taken away, and to be dedicated to the Service of their *Synagogue* at *Antioch*, allowing them the ſame Freedom of the City with the *Greeks*; and they were likewiſe treated by the following Kings after the ſame Manner; their Numbers encreaſing, and their Temple rich and flouriſhing: Inſomuch that ſeveral Pagan Proſelytes came over to them, and incorporated with the Nation.

The Jews *diſpers'd over the Face of the Earth, in* Syria *eſpecially, and more particularly in* Antioch.

The Antiochian Jews *are numerous and wealthy.*

Now upon the breaking up of the War, and *Veſpaſian*'s paſſing by Sea into *Syria*, the *Jews* made themſelves extremely odious. As for Inſtance. There was one *Antiochus* the Son of one of the moſt eminent *Jews* they had in *Antioch*, both for Quality and Power. This *Antiochus*, coming into the Theatre upon a publick Meeting, openly charg'd his Father, and certain other foreign *Jews*, by Name, in the Face of the Aſſembly, with a Deſign to fire the City in the Night. This tranſported the Multitude into ſo outragious an Uproar, that they call'd immediately for Fire, and burnt the pretended Conſpirators in the Middle of the *Theatre*. The Rabble were preſently for doing the ſame Execution upon all the reſt, and ſecuring their Country before it was too late. *Antiochus* kept up the croſs Humour all he could; and as an Argument of the Affection he had for the Pagan Worſhip, and his Averſion to that of the *Jews*, he did not only ſacrifice after the Pagan Manner himſelf; but forc'd others to do ſo too, upon Pain of Death to the Refuſers. Upon this Difficulty, the *Antiochians* comply'd; but the *Jews* moſt of them ſtood out, and were put to Death. *Antiochus* being by this Time in a better Condition to wreak his Spite upon the *Jews*; having a Command given him by the Governour, he began upon the Subject of the *Sabbath*, with preſſing People upon that Point, and forcing them to work indifferently upon that Day, as well as upon others; and carrying Things on to that Extremity, that the Feſtival was not only laid aſide in *Antioch*, but in Danger to be quite abrogated likewiſe every where elſe.

Antiochus *the Son of a* Jew, *the Ruine of* Antioch.

An execrable Uproar.

Antiochus *ſets up the Pagan Worſhip.*

He ſuppreſſes the Obſervation of the Sabbath.

This Perſecution of the *Jews* at *Antioch*, was follow'd upon the Heel with another; which was this. The ſquare Market, with ſeveral Offices for publick Regiſtries and Records, and other ſtately Buildings, happening all to take Fire: The Flame was ſo fierce, that it was Odds the whole City had been burnt to the Ground. *Antiochus* laid it upon the *Jews*; and the *Antiochians* were apt enough to believe it, for the very Sake of the late Story; even if they had not been prepoſſeſs'd againſt them before-hand. For the Impreſſion upon them was ſo ſtrong, that they could amoſt have ſworn they had ſeen the *Jews* with their own Eyes, in the very Act of Firing it. Now taking it for granted upon this Preſumption, they fell upon the Perſons accus'd, with ſo outragious a Fury, that *Collega*, the Vice-Governour to *Ceſennius Pætus*, had the moſt to do in the World to keep the People quiet, only till *Cæſar* might be duly inform'd of the whole Affair. *Ceſennius* had his Commiſſion of Governour already; but was not as yet come to his Command. Now *Collega*, upon a ſtrict Examination of the Matter, made it out as clear as the Sun, that *Antiochus*'s Incendiaries were every Man of them innocent. And this Villany, in Fine, was found to be the Work of a few profligate Spendthrifts, and Men of deſperate Fortunes, that had no better Way to ſecure themſelves from their Creditors, than by deſtroying the Evidences. But the *Jews* were not yet without aking Hearts for Fear of what might be the Iſſue even of a falſe Accuſation.

The City takes Fire; and Antiochus *laid it falſely upon the* Jews.

CHAP. XXII.

Titus *overjoy'd at his Father's Arrival in* Italy. Veſpaſian *treated with infinite Veneration and Reſpect.*

Titus *overjoy'd at his Father's ſafe Arrival in* Italy.

Veſpaſian *treated every where with infinite Veneration and Reſpect.*

TITUS was at this Time overjoy'd with the welcome News he receiv'd from his Father, of his happy Arrival in *Italy*; and how glorioufly the *Italian* Cities had entertain'd him all the Way as he paſs'd: But the Thing that tranſported him beyond all the reſt, was the Tenderneſs and the Magnificence of his Reception at *Rome*; which deliver'd the Son from any farther Anxiety for the proſperous Succeſſes of his Father. The People pay'd *Veſpaſian* at all Diſtances, the ſame Veneration as if he had been upon the Place; and the paſſionate Deſire they had to ſee him, did in ſome Meaſure ſupply for his Abſence in that Interval. The *Senate* that had it freſh in their Memories what miſerable Revolutions they had ſeen, upon the tranſferring of Governments from one Prince to another, reckon'd themſelves happy in the Bleſſing of an Emperour that brought Reputation, Conduct and Experience along with him into the Adminiſtration: And the common People were no leſs pleas'd with the Change; eſpecially being at that Time embroil'd in civil Wars, and likewiſe in a further Truſt and Confidence of being reſtor'd, by his Means, to their ancient Freedom and Plenty. And ſo for the military Part, the Soldiers Hearts were ſet upon him above all others, for the Proofs he had given them, upon ſeveral Occaſions, of his martial Skill and Courage; beſide the Senſe of the Shame and the Scandal they had ſuffer'd under other Commanders; concluding that no Man was ſo fit or likely to ſet them right as *Veſpaſian*.

All People charm'd with Titus's *Affability and Addreſs.*

This Prince was ſo univerſally belov'd, that the great Men had not the Patience to wait any longer for his coming at a Diſtance, and ſo went out and met him a good Way off from the City: And ſuch Numbers of People after them, that more came out than ſtay'd behind. When *Veſpaſian* was advanc'd near the Town, and Word brought how all People were charm'd with the good Graces of his Affability and Addreſs, the Ways were all throng'd up with their Wives and Children out of a longing Curioſity to ſee him; breaking out into Raptures of Admiration all the Way they went, at the Gentleneſs of his Faſhion and Perſon; calling him alſo a thouſand Benefactors, Deliverers and Protectors, and crying him up as the only Prince under the Sun, that deſerv'd an imperial Crown. The whole City, in Fine, was ſo dreſs'd up and ſet out with Garlands and Perfumes, that it look'd like a Temple; and the Streets ſo crouded, that there was hardly any paſſing to the Palace: *Veſpaſian*, in the mean Time, offering up to his Houſhold-Gods gratulatory Sacrifices of Thankſgiving for his ſafe Return; while the Multitude gave themſelves up to feaſting with their Tribes, Families and Neighbours, wiſhing a long and a happy Reign to *Veſpaſian*, and a Continuance of the imperial Sovereignty to his Son, and thoſe of the Line, that ſhould come after him. This was the Manner of *Veſpaſian*'s Entrance into *Rome*; and it was follow'd with all Sorts of Felicity and good Fortune.

CHAP. XXIII.

Germany *revolts. The Occaſion of it.* Caſſius *and* Civilis *the Ringleaders of a Faction.* Petilius Cerealis *breaks the Neck of the Sedition.* Domitian *puts an End to it without Blood. The* German *Rebellion follow'd with an Incurſion of* Scythians. Rubrius Gallus *puts them all to the Rout.*

Germany *revolts, and what mov'd them to it.*

A Little before *Veſpaſian*'s coming to *Alexandria*, *Titus* being at that Time before *Jeruſalem*, there happen'd a great Revolt among the *Germans*; which was animated and encourag'd by their Neighbours the *Gauls*, in Hope to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoak. Now the *Germans* being naturally hot-headed, forward and inconſiderate, were apt enough of themſelves to engage in raſh Undertakings: Over and above that they were puſh'd on by a mortal Hatred they had for the *Romans*, as the only Power they fear'd: To which may be added a favourable Conjuncture of the Times, in Regard of the preſent Factions and Diviſions of the Empire, upon ſo many Turns and Changes of Government.

Caſſius *and* Civilis *the Heads of a Faction.*

Caſſius and *Civilis*, two Perſons of eminent Credit among the *Germans*, took Advantage of theſe Diſtractions, to advance a Sedition; which was in Effect but what they had in their Hearts long before. Upon ſounding the People how they ſtood affected, they found the greater Part of them ready for Miſchief; and in all Probability the reſt would have follow'd their Example, if it had not been for a divine Providence that prevented it. Now the Fact was this. *Petilius Cerealis*, formerly Governour of *Germany*, received Letters from *Veſpaſian* declaring him *Conſul*; and with Orders likewiſe to march forthwith into *Italy*, and take upon him that Command. While *Cerealis* was upon the Way, he got Notice of this Inſurrection; march'd againſt the Rebels as they were in a Body; charg'd, and put them to the Rout with a very great Slaughter, and ſo brought the reſt to their Wits again and their Duty.

Petilius Cerealis *by Providence breaks the Neck of the Sedition*;

But if this had not been done when it was, by *Cerealis*, the ſame Thing would have been done very ſuddenly by another Hand: For no ſooner was the Noiſe of this Rebellion come to *Rome*, but *Domitian* the Son of *Veſpaſian*, a pregnant young Prince that inherited the heroical Spirit of his valiant Father, put himſelf in the Head of an Army againſt theſe *Barbarians*: Who took ſuch a Fright upon the very Rumour of his March, that they rendered themſelves immediately, without ſtriking a Blow; reaping this Advantage by it, that they reconcil'd themſelves to their old Maſters without Blood. When *Gaul* was ſettled, and out of Danger of a Relapſe, *Domitian* went back again to *Rome*, laden with Vows and Acclamations for the Miracles he had wrought (even above his Age) to the Honour both of himſelf and his Country.

And Domitian *puts a final End to it without Blood.*

This Rebellion of the *Germans* was follow'd with a furious Incurſion of the *Scythians* (or *Sarmatians*;) who ſlipping over the *Danube* by Stealth, with a vaſt Body of Men, brake into *Myſia*, ſurprized ſeveral *Roman* Garriſons; and with a mercileſs Cruelty put them all to the Sword. They killed alſo the Lieutenant General *Fonteius Agrippa*, a Man of conſular Authority, in the Head of his Troops; and ſo ran up and down, burning, waſting and ravaging the whole Province. So ſoon as this came to *Veſpaſian*'s Ear, and what Havock had been made in *Myſia*, he diſpatch'd away *Rubrius Gallus* to call them to an Account; who did very great Execution upon them; and for thoſe that ſcap'd, they made a hard Shift to get Home: So that this War was quickly over, and the General took Care to ſecure the Paſſages thereabouts from any ſuch Incurſions and Attempts for the Time to come.

The German *Rebellion is follow'd with an Incurſion of* Scythians;

Rubrius Gallus *puts them all to the Rout.*

CHAP. XIV.

Titus *marches in Triumph. The* Sabbatical *River; the Courſe of it; and why ſo call'd.* Antioch *tranſported with Joy at the coming of* Titus. *The People preſs to have the* Jews *baniſh'd out of that City, but* Titus *did not much heed it: The Senate preſſes it over again, when* Titus *gives them a final Refuſal, and goes his Way for* Ægypt. Titus *griev'd at Heart to ſee the ſad Condition of* Jeruſalem. *A vaſt Treaſure bury'd in the Ruines of it.* Simon *and* John, *and 700 graceful Perſons more, ſet apart for the Honour of the Triumph. The Order, the Curioſity, and the Magnificence of it. The Solemnity ended in the Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. *The Death of* Simon Gioras. Veſpaſian *dedicates a Temple to Peace*

TItus, in his Return from *Berytus*, after ſome ſhort Stay there, (as we have ſaid before) treated all the Towns, as he paſſed through *Syria*, with moſt magnificent Spectacles; carrying his Captives along with him for the Honour of his Arms, and the Ornament of his Triumph.

Titus *marches in Triumph with his Priſoners and his Spectacles.*

This Prince took Notice of a certain River in his Journey, betwixt *Arce* and *Raphane*, two Cities in the Kingdom of *Agrippa*, that had ſomewhat in it very remarkable. [a] While this River flows, it has a full Stream and a ſtrong Current: But on a ſudden the Springs fail, and for ſix Days it leaves the Channel dry to the very Bottom. On the ſeventh Day, as if there had been no Change, it fills again, and obſerves the ſame Courſe as before. Hence it hath taken the Name of the *Sabbatical* River, alluding to the *Seventh-Day*'s *Feſtival* of the *Jews*.

The Sabbatical *River; which is dry ſix Days, and runs the ſeventh. And why ſo call'd.*

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[a] Pliny *in his* natural Hiſtory, *l.* 31. *c.* 2. *aſſures us, that this River is dried up every Sabbath-Day, and the* Jewiſh Rabbines *are of the ſame Opinion. So that* Caſaubon *fanſying the Text of* Joſephus *to be corrupted, corrects it by tranſpoſing ſome Words, and omitting others; according to his Conjecture the Tranſlation ſhould run thus:* Nam quum ſit Magnus quando fluit, feraturque Impetu non leni per ſpatium Sex Dierum, poſtea totus ab ipſis Fontibus deficit, & Die ſeptima ceſſat, præbetque alvei Locum Oculis ſpectandum, qui eſt ſiccus: Deinde quaſi nulla facta eſſet Mutatio, poſt Diem ſeptimum erumpit. atque hunc Ordinem exacte ſemper ab eo ſervari obſervatum eſt. Gisb. Cuperus, *without omitting any Words, reads the Text otherwiſe by a Tranſpoſition. According to his Emendation, the Tranſlation is as follows:* Feraturque Impetu non leni per ſpatium Sex Dierum: Inde totus ab ipſis Fontibus deficiens, ſiccum præbet ſpectandum Alveum; & hinc, quaſi nulla facta eſſet Mutatio, ſimilis poſt ſeptimum Diem erumpit. *See* Cuneus de Rep. Hebr. *l.* 2. *c.* 24. Caſaubon's Exercitat. contra Baron. Colomeſius's Opuſc. *&* Gisb. Cuperus in Lactantium.

Antioch *over-joy'd at the coming of* Titus.

The People preſs the baniſhing of the Jews *out of that* City.

Titus *goes his Way without minding them.*

The Senate plies him afreſh againſt them.

Titus *gives them a final Refuſal, and ſo away he goes for* Ægypt.

When the People of *Antioch* underſtood that *Titus* was coming that Way, they were ſo tranſported with the Tidings, that Men, Women and Children, poſted away a Matter of thirty Furlongs out of the Town to meet him, out of an Impatience to wiſh him Joy, and bid him welcome upon the Way. As he drew near, they made him a Lane to receive him, and ſo with all poſſible Demonſtration of Affection and Reſpect they conducted him to the City; ſtill intermingling, with their Shouts and Acclamations, earneſt Prayers and Importunities, to baniſh all the *Jews* out of the City. *Titus* gave them the hearing, in ſuch a Manner as if he had not much minded what they ſaid: Inſomuch, that the *Jews* were in great Pain and Trouble to think what might come of it. *Titus* made no Stay in *Antioch*, but went immediately to *Teugma*, toward *Euphrates*; where he was attended with an Embaſſy from *Vologeſus* the King of *Parthia*, and the Complement of a golden Crown, to joy him of his Victory over the *Jews*. *Titus* accepted the Preſent; treated the Embaſſadors, and ſo went back again to *Antioch*. He was no ſooner upon the Place, but the Senate and the Magiſtracy invited him with great Earneſtneſs to the *Theatre*; which he very graciouſly comply'd with, and there found a mighty Concourſe of the Citizens waiting for his Coming. The firſt Thing they did was to ply him over and over with freſh Inſtances for the expelling of the *Jews*; to which *Titus*, with his ordinary Preſence of Mind, gave them this Anſwer: *That their own Country was deſtroy'd, and that no other would receive them.* When they ſaw this would not do, they try'd him with another Requeſt: That is to ſay; that the Pillars of Braſs, with the Inſcriptions upon them of the *Jews* Privileges, might be either removed or defaced. *Titus* would not intereſt himſelf in this neither; but left the *Jews* at *Antioch* in the ſame State as he found them, and ſo went his Way for *Ægypt*.

The ſad State of Jeruſalem *goes to the Heart of* Titus.

As he was upon his Journey, and ſaw the miſerable deſolated Condition of *Jeruſalem*, and the Country all about it, he could not but compare within himſelf the Difference betwixt what he had known it formerly, and what he now found it: That is to ſay; the Difference betwixt a Deſert and a Paradiſe, a Heap of Rubbiſh, and the moſt glorious Pile of Buildings under the Heavens. Upon theſe Thoughts, he could not but paſſionately deplore the Deſtruction of ſo famous a City, and curſe the Authors of the Sedition that were the Cauſe of it. And ſo far was he from pretending to raiſe his Reputation upon a publick Calamity, that he could not forbear execrating the Inſtruments that forced him upon this Extremity.

A vaſt Treaſure bury'd in the Ruines of that City. Simon *and* John, *and* 700 *choice Men more, reſerved for the Grace of the Triumph.*

The City was infinitely rich, and a vaſt Treaſure bury'd in the Ruines of it, as Gold and Silver and other precious Goods to an ineſtimable Value, that the Owners had hid out of the Way for Fear of the Enemy: Some the *Romans* found out; but the greateſt Diſcovery was made by the Priſoners. *Titus*, being all this while upon his Journey into *Ægypt*, made what Haſte he could over that forlorn waſted Country to *Alexandria*, and ſo to embark from thence to *Italy*; ſending back the two Legions that came along with him to their old Quarters: That is to ſay; the fifth to *Myſia*, and the tenth into *Hungary*. But for *Simon* and *John*, the Heads of the Priſoners, and a Matter of ſeven hundred more of them, all proper handſom Men; theſe were to be tranſported into *Italy* for the Grace and Glory of his Triumph.

His Paſſage to *Rome* was as fair and proſperous as he could wiſh, and the People treated him with the ſame Offices of Honour and Reſpect, as they had done his Father: Beſide that *Veſpaſian* himſelf had the Goodneſs to go out with the reſt in Perſon, and receive his Son upon the Way; which the People look'd upon as an Earneſt of greater Bleſſings to ſee the Father and his two Sons brought together by ſo auſpicious a Providence.

Two Triumphs contracted into one.

The Order, the Curioſity, and the Magnificence of the Triumph.

Some few Days after this, the Senate having reſolved upon two ſeveral Triumphs a-part; one for the Father, the other for the Son, in Honour of their illuſtrious Atchievements; *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, this Decree notwithſtanding, declar'd themſelves for contracting both Triumphs into one. Upon the Day of the Solemnity, there was not a Creature in that populous City that did not put in for a Spectator: Inſomuch that when they were all plac'd, there was hardly Paſſage for the Emperours. The Soldiers, with their Officers in the Head of them; march'd in very good Order, before Day, up to the Gates to wait the coming of the Princes; not the Upper Palace Gates, but thoſe near the Temple of *Iſis*; where theſe *Heroes* took up their Lodging that Night. At Break of Day, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus* ſtood forth, and advanced, with Laurel Crowns upon their Heads, and purple Robes, after the Manner of their Country, to the *Octavian Walks*, where the Senate, the Nobility and the *Roman* Knights waited for them. There was a Tribunal erected before the Portal, with Ivory Seats upon it, which they mounted; and ſitting down, were there ſaluted with the *Harangues* and Acclamations of the whole Field. They were unarm'd, and as I ſaid, crown'd with Laurels, and cloath'd with Purple. As they were going on, and amplifying upon the Emperor's Praiſes, *Veſpaſian* made them a Sign of Silence; and then when all Things were huſh and quiet, *Cæſar* ſtood up, and covering Part of his Head with his Garment, paſs'd certain ejaculatory Vows and Prayers according to Cuſtom; and *Titus* did the like. *Veſpaſian*, after this, gave the whole Auditory a ſhort Speech, and ſo ſent away the Soldiers to Dinner, who were in Courſe to be entertain'd at the Emperour's Charge. He went next to the triumphal Gate, (together with *Titus*) ſo call'd from the triumphal Pomp paſſing that Way; and then taking their Repaſts, and putting on their triumphal Habits, they ſacrific'd to their Gods in the Gate, and ſo led on the Triumph through the Middle of the Spectacles for the better View of the People, and the greater Glory of the Solemnity.

The Magnificence and the Variety of theſe Shews is not ſo much as to be imagin'd, and much leſs expreſs'd, whether for the Nicety of Workmanſhip, Value, or Novelty; for the whole Stock of precious and agreeable Rarities, that the happieſt of Nations had been ſo many Ages a gathering, met all together in this one Day's Triumph, to the Honour of the tranſcendent Dignity of the *Roman* Empire. As for the choiceſt Works that ever were ſeen or heard of, in Gold, Silver, or Ivory; for Price, or Excellency; they were here ſo common and frequent, that they look'd liker a natural Confuſion of Things, than any Part of a regulated Pomp. And then for the admirable Variety of Purples, and *Babylonian* Embroideries, Jewels, and precious Stones; ſome enchaſed into golden Crowns, and ſome ſet out with other Fancies, they were here ſo familiar, that they ſeem'd to be no longer a Curioſity. They had the Images of their Gods alſo that were every Way wonderful, both for Size, Art, and Matter; and likewiſe the Figures of ſeveral Sorts of living Creatures dreſs'd up ſuitably to their Kind. They had alſo a vaſt Number of People to carry all this, in Cloth of Gold and Purple; and all thoſe that were ſet apart for the Service of the Pomp, had their diſtinguiſhing Ornaments of Splendour and State. Nay, the common Sort of the very Priſoners themſelves, were not without ſomewhat that was graceful in their Habit to diſguiſe the Miſery of their Condition, and the Marks of Slavery that they wore in their Faces. But nothing was more to be admir'd than the ordering of their Machines, and how the Bearers were able to ſupport them, being many of them three or four Stories high: And the Coſt was anſwerable to the Artifice, for the Hangings and the Furniture were all wrought with Gold, Ivory, and the like. There were alſo ſuch Repreſentations of War, and the Circumſtances that attend it, that nothing was ever more to the Life. Here was in one Place the Figure of a fruitful Country laid waſte; in another, whole Armies cut to Pieces; ſome flying, others purſuing, or taken Priſoners; ſtrong Walls batter'd to the Ground, Forts demoliſh'd, Breaches made in fortify'd Cities, Towns taken by Aſſault, the Streets running Blood, and the Conquer'd begging Quarter; Temples burning, Houſes beaten down upon the Heads of their Maſters, Rivers lamenting their Miſfortunes, that inſtead of watering and refreſhing Fields and Meadows, and ſupplying Drink to Man and Beaſt, they find themſelves forc'd to take their Courſe through Publick Conflagrations. What was all this now, but a lively Image of the Sufferings of the *Jews*; and ſo put together by Art and Fancy, that it may paſs for an inſtructive Hiſtory of the Ruine of that famous City, to thoſe that never knew more of it?

Upon every one of the Pageants was repreſented the Governour of the Place that was taken, and the Manner of taking it. The Shipping came next; and then the Spoils that were diſpers'd up and down in ſeveral Places. But the moſt conſiderable Pieces, were the *Golden Table*, and the *Golden Candleſtick* that were taken out of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; the former weighing ſeveral Talents, and the other not applied to the Uſe it was intended for. There was a Kind of a Pillar that came out of the Foot of it; and out of that Pillar, as from the Stem of a Tree, ſeven Branches, and every Branch having at the Top the Reſemblance of a Lamp; the Number of *Seven* intimating the Veneration the *Jews* have for their *Seventh Day*. After this, came the *Jews* Law, which was the laſt *Trophy* of their Conqueſts that the *Romans* expos'd. This was follow'd by certain Images of Victory wrought out of Ivory and Gold. And laſt of all, to bring up the Rear, came *Veſpaſian* himſelf, with *Titus* in the next Place, and *Domitian* along with them on Horſeback, well mounted, and well becoming the Dignity of his Station. So they march'd together into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and there finiſh'd the Triumph.

The Triumph concluded in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

The Death of Simon Gioras.

Being now come to *Jupiter's Temple*, they made ſome little Stay there; it being according to ancient Practice ſo to do upon the like Occaſion; till News ſhould be brought them that their Enemies General was dead. This General was *Simon Gioras* (one of the Priſoners that was led in Triumph) who was drawn through the Market-Place with a Rope about his Neck, and put to Death by thoſe that drew him, according to the *Roman* Law and Practice in the Caſe of ſuch Malefactors. Word being brought that *Gioras* was now dead, the whole Field rang with Shouts and Acclamations, and ſo they betook themſelves to their Vows and Sacrifices; and when the ſolemn Part was over, the Princes return'd to the Palace, where they made a mighty Treat; and there was nothing elſe all over the Town but Feaſting, Rejoicing, and giving Thanks for the final Victory they had obtain'd over their Enemies, to the Glory of their Generals, and the moral Aſſurance of a publick Repoſe.

Veſpaſian *erects a Temple to Peace.*

When theſe Triumphs were over, and the Empire ſettled, *Veſpaſian* erected a Temple that he dedicated to Peace. It was as rich as Hands and Expence could make it, and the Diſpatch of it, in ſo ſhort a Time, was little leſs than a Miracle. He ſpar'd for no Coſt, over and above a Collection of the choiceſt Curioſities in Painting and Sculpture to adorn it, inſomuch that People flock'd from all Quarters of the World to ſee the Glory and the Order of this admirable Structure. In this Temple he depoſited the *Golden Table* and the *Candleſtick*, as the Rarities he valued moſt. And for the *Jews Law*, and the *Purples* belonging to the *Sanctuary*, they were lodg'd with great Care and Reverence in the Palace.

CHAP. XXV.

The Situation of Machærus. Herod *the Great runs up a Wall and Turrets about it. Of the Plants* Rue *and* Baazas. *A ſtrange Variety of Springs and Fountains.* Baſſus *beſieges* Machærus. *The* Jews *divide. The Natives defend the Caſtle; and the Strangers the lower Town. Daily Skirmiſhes. A bold and memorable Adventure of* Eleazar's. Baſſus *ſtript and unmercifully whipt.* Baſſus *diſcharges the Caſtle, and ſets* Eleazar *at Liberty.*

WHen *Lucilius Baſſus* had his Commiſſion from *Cæſar* for Lieutenant-General of *Judæa*, he took upon him the Command of the Army from *Cerealis Petilianus*, and made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Herodion* by Compoſition. After this, he drew his Troops together that lay ſcatter'd up and down, propounding, with the Help of the tenth Legion, to reduce *Machærus*, as a Thing abſolutely neceſſary to be done; for the Strength of that Place would be a dangerous Encouragement to a Rebellion; and as the Situation of it gave Confidence to the Town, ſo it ſtruck an Awe, on the other Hand, upon him that ſhould attempt it.

The Situation of Machærus.

The Mountain that *Machærus* ſtands upon, is prodigiouſly high and rocky, to the Degree of being almoſt impregnable. But Nature hath made it well nigh inacceſſible too, by encloſing it with Vallies, that are neither to be paſſed, nor to be fill'd up; and ſo deep likewiſe, that it turns a Body's Brain to look down at them. It reaches to the *Weſtward* ſixty Furlongs in Length, and borders upon the Lake *Aſphaltitis*; and the Caſtle hath an unbounded Proſpect over all that Quarter. On the *South* and *North*, it is encompaſs'd with Vallies of the ſame Dimenſions, and as ſecure from any Attempt as the other. The Depth upon the *Eaſt* is at leaſt a hundred Cubits, and reaches to the Mountain that is over-againſt *Machærus*.

Herod *the Great run up a ſtrong Wall, and Turrets about it.*

Alexander, the King of the *Jews*, was the firſt that fortify'd this Place, and rais'd a Caſtle upon it, which *Gabinius* afterwards demoliſh'd in his War with *Ariſtobulus*; and then *Herod the Great* found it ſo well worth his Care too, eſpecially againſt his Neighbours the *Arabians*, who lay ſo conveniently to do him Miſchief, that he ran a ſubſtantial Wall about it with ſtrong Turrets, erecting alſo a fair City there, which he cauſed to be peopled, and from thence carry'd a Paſſage up to the Caſtle it ſelf. This Caſtle he encompaſs'd at the Top with another Wall, and Turrets at the Corners, of ſixty Cubits in Height; and in the Middle of all, he rais'd a large beautiful Palace, which was abundantly ſupply'd with Water from ſeveral Ciſterns, wherever there was Occaſion for it, as if Nature and Art had been at Strife, which of the two ſhould outdo the other; the one by Situation, the other by Improvement. He likewiſe furniſh'd this Caſtle with ſo plentiful a Magazine of Arms, Arrows, Machines, and all Sorts of Proviſions, both for War and Mouth, that the Garriſon ſhould never need to fear either Force, or Famine.

There

Of the Plants Rue *and* Baaras.

There was in this Palace a Plant they call *Rue*; of ſo wonderful a Growth, that it was as tall and as well-ſpread as any Fig-Tree. It had been there, they ſay, ever ſince the Days of *Herod*, and might have continu'd longer, if the *Jews* had not rooted it up upon taking the Place.

In the Valley, on the *North-ſide* of *Machærus* call'd *Baaras*, there grows alſo a Plant of the ſame Name[a]. It is in Appearance of a Flame-Colour; and toward the Evening it caſts a Light like the Beams of the Sun. The Root is not eaſily pluck'd up; but it draws back if any Body offers at it; and the only Way to fix it, is to ſprinkle it with the Urine of a Woman, or a little menſtruous Blood. And when all this is done, it is yet certain Death to touch it, without a Piece of the Root in your Hand, though they talk of another Way alſo of doing it without Danger; and it is this. They dig round about the Root till it is laid almoſt bare, and then tie a Dog to the remaining Part of it. The Dog's Maſter that tied him there, goes his Way, and the Dog following him, draweth the Root after, and dies immediately, as if it were to redeem his Maſter. When it has been once deliver'd, this Root may be handled as ſecurely as any other Plant; but it has one Quality after all, that does more than countervail this Difficulty. For the Spirits that we call Devils, are only the Souls of wicked Men, that have gotten Poſſeſſion of living Bodies, and would undoubtedly deſtroy them if they were not prevented: Now this Plant is a ſure Remedy againſt theſe Obſeſſions, and the very touching of the Patient with it, cures him

A ſtrange Variety of Springs and Fountains.

In the ſame Place there is a wonderful Diverſity of Springs and Fountains of very differing Qualities and Taſtes, as hot, bitter, ſweet, *&c.* And there are alſo cold Springs intermingled one with another in the lower Ground: But that which is moſt wonderful, is a ſhallow Cave there at Hand with a rocky Stone over it, and the Figure of two Breaſts, like two Fountains, coming out of it; the one diſcharging hot Waters, and the other cold; and they make both together a moſt agreeable Bath, which cures many Diſeaſes, and eſpecially thoſe of the Nerves. There are Mines alſo of *Sulphur* and *Alume*.

Baſſus *beſieges* Machærus.

Baſſus, upon a full View of *Machærus*, came to a Reſolution of laying Siege to a the Place, propoſing to himſelf the filling up of the Valley to the *Eaſt* of the Town, and the advancing of his Approaches that Way. The firſt Thing he did, was to run up a Mount againſt the Caſtle, with all poſſible Speed, as the moſt likely Way to facilitate the Attempt: The *Jews* of the Place divided themſelves from the *Stranger-Jews*, and turn'd them off as a pitiful Sort of People, into the lower City, to ſtand the firſt Shock; while they themſelves took Charge of the Caſtle, not only as the ſtronger and more defenſible of the two, but as a Place where they might make better, Terms with the *Romans* in Caſe of the worſt. They had a Mind to try however what might be done to divert the Siege; and there paſs'd not a Day without reſolute Sallies and Skirmiſhes, and a conſiderable Loſs of Men on both Sides; ſometimes one getting the better of it, and ſometimes the other: The *Jews*, when they fell upon the *Romans* by Surprize; and the *Romans*, when they were aware of the *Jews* coming, and providing for them. But the Siege was not to go off ſo, for their happen'd a ſurprizing Accident that put the *Jews* upon an abſolute Neceſſity of giving up the Caſtle.

The Jews *of the Place defend the Caſtle, and the Strangers the lower Town.*

Daily Skirmiſhes.

There was in the Place a bold, and enterprizing, and a daring young Man, whoſe Name was *Eleazar*. This *Eleazar* made ſeveral vigorous Sallies, and did all that was poſſible, both by his Council and Example, to obſtruct the Progreſs of the *Romans*, and to put a Check to their Undertakings; inſomuch, that he made himſelf a Terror to his Enemies, as well as a Comfort and Support to his Friends: Being the firſt Man ſtill upon all Encounters to come on, and the laſt, in Caſe of a Retreat, that came off. There paſs'd a Skirmiſh one Day, and when the Action was over, and both Parties withdrawn, *Eleazar*, in a vain-glorious Contempt of Danger, or of any Man that ſhould dare to attack him, made a Stop without the Gate, and fell into a careleſs Diſcourſe with ſome of the Defendants upon the Walls, without heeding any thing elſe. This being within View of the *Roman* Camp; and one *Rufus*, an *Ægyptian*, and a Soldier, ſpying the Opportunity, ran in upon him at unawares, ſeiz'd him, and carry'd him off, Arms and all, into the Enemy's Quarter. *Baſſus* preſently order'd him to be ſtrip'd, and publickly whip'd at his Length upon the Ground in Sight of the City. The *Jews* were ſo confounded at the Calamity of this young Man, that the whole Multitude brake out into Tears and Exclamations in Pity of his Diſtreſs. When *Baſſus* found the Generality of the People ſo paſſionately concern'd for the Misfortune of one Man, he computed with himſelf, that, if he could but enflame their Compaſſion, he might gain his Point,

A bold and memorable Action of Eleazar's.

Eleazar *ſtript, and cruelly whipt.*

A notable Thought.

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[a] *This does a little reſemble the* Moly *of* Homer, *and the* Circea *of* Dioſcorides.

and work them to a Compoſition of giving up the Place to ſave *Eleazar*'s Life. This Fancy ſucceeded to his Wiſh; for upon the ſetting up of a Croſs, as if *Eleazar* were to be forthwith crucify'd, the Timber was no ſooner planted, but the Garriſon brake out into an Outcry with one Voice, That *their Affliction was altogether intolerable*. *Eleazar* begg'd of them, upon this, to conſider both his Caſe, who was now to die a wretched Death, and their own; and not to contend any longer with the Courage and Fortune of the *Romans*, ſince the whole World had already ſubmitted it ſelf to their Empire.

This Submiſſion and Supplication of *Eleazar*'s, together with the powerful Interceſſions of his Friends and Relations in the Caſtle (for his Family and Intereſt was very conſiderable) ſoften'd the Defendents into ſuch a Tenderneſs, upon ſecond Thoughts, that they ſent Deputies immediately to the *Romans*, with Propoſals to deliver up the Caſtle, upon Condition of diſcharging *Eleazar*, and leaving the Garriſon at Liberty to go whither they would. *Baſſus* made no Difficulty of the Terms: but the People of the lower Town taking it ill, that an Agreement ſhould be made without their Privity, reſolved among themſelves to ſlip away that Night by Stealth. Upon the Opening of the Gates, *Baſſus* had Notice of it from the Caſtle, partly out of Envy to their Companions, and partly out of Fear for themſelves, leſt they ſhould be thought of the Party. But the braveſt however of thoſe that went firſt, got off; and the reſt to the Number of ſeventeen hundred Men, were put to the Sword; the Women and the Children made Slaves. Not but that *Baſſus* yet made good his Articles in the diſmiſſing of the Garriſon, and ſetting *Eleazar* free.

Baſſus *diſcharges the Garriſon, and ſets* Eleazar *at Liberty.*

CHAP. XXVI.

Baſſus *ſurprizes the* Jews *in the Foreſt of* Jardes. *Three thouſand of them cut off. A Poll Tax upon the* Jews.

Baſſus *beſets the* Jews *in the Foreſt of* Jardes.

SO ſoon as this was over, *Baſſus* made all the Haſte he could with his Army to the Foreſt of *Jardes*, upon Intelligence, that great Numbers of *Jews*, who had made their Eſcape from the Siege of *Jeruſalem* and *Machærus*, were gather'd together there; and when he came upon the Place, he found it to be true; ſo that the firſt Thing he did was to beſet the whole Wood with his Horſe; where he kept his Guard ſo ſtrict, that not a *Jew* could break thorough. He employ'd his Foot at the ſame Time to cut down the Trees and Buſhes of the Thickets where the *Jews* had taken Sanctuary; inſomuch, that they had now no Poſſibility left them to ſave themſelves, unleſs they could cut out their Way through the Enemy's Troops, and ſo get off. This being the laſt Experiment they had to truſt to, they drew all into a Body, and with an impetuous Clamour, made one deſperate Puſh upon thoſe that ſurrounded them, and were as bravely receiv'd. The Combat, in fine, betwixt the fearleſs Temerity of the one Side, and the firm Courage of the other, was hot and obſtinate: But in the Concluſion the *Romans* carry'd the Day, with the Loſs only of twelve kill'd, and not many wounded; whereas, of three thouſand *Jews*, (for there were ſo many in this Action) not ſo much as one Man came off. There was *Judas* alſo among the reſt, their Leader, and the [a] Son of *Jair*, (of whom we have ſpoken heretofore.) He had formerly a Command at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, and made his Eſcape at laſt out of a Vault.

3000 Jews *cut off to a Man*

The Emperour at the ſame Time wrote to his Officer *Liberius Maximus*, to make Sale of all the *Jews* Lands; for he would not trouble himſelf with rebuilding any other Cities, but take them all to his own Uſe; leaving only eight hundred Soldiers in *Emmaus*, ſome [b] ſixty Furlongs from *Jeruſalem*; and impoſing a Tax upon every *Jew* by the Poll, of two *Drachma*'s a Year, to be pay'd in to the *Capitol*, as formerly to the *Temple*. This was the miſerable State of Things at that Time with the *Jews*.

A Poll *Tax upon the* Jews.

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[a] Gr. ὁ τȣ̃ Αρεὶ παῖς.

[b] *See* Bochart's *Geogr. Sacr. l.* 2. *c.* 16. *part* 2.

CHAP. XXVII.

Antiochus *an unfortunate Prince.* Ceſennius *charges him as an Enemy to* Cæſar. *He makes an Incurſion into* Comagene. Antiochus *returns no Act of Hoſtility. His two Sons* Epiphanes *and* Callinicus *give the* Romans *Battle.* Antiochus *retires into* Cilicia; *and the Brothers ſhift for themſelves.* Vologeſes *treats them like Princes.* Ceſennius *orders* Antiochus *to be ſent Priſoner to* Rome. Veſpaſian *ſets him at Liberty with all Manner of Reſpect. The Father and the two Sons are conducted to* Rome, *and highly entertain'd. The* Scythians *break into* Media, *and carry off a vaſt Booty. The narrow Eſcape of* Tiridates.

Antiochus *an unfortunate Prince.*
Ceſennius *repreſents him as an Enemy to* Cæſar.

IT ſo fell out in the fourth Year of *Veſpaſian*, that *Antiochus* the King of *Comagene*, with his whole Family, fell into a moſt deplorable Diſtreſs: And this was the Occaſion of it. *Ceſennius Petus*, being Governour of *Syria*, wrote *Cæſar* Word, that *Antiochus* and his Son *Epiphanes* were reſolved to go off from the *Romans*; and that they had already treated about it with the King of *Parthia*: Inſiſting alſo upon the Neceſſity of preventing the Miſchief by ſtriking the firſt Blow. For it might be enough elſe to ſet the whole Empire in a Flame. Now whether this was Truth, or Malice, may be another Queſtion: But whatever it was, *Cæſar* could not in Prudence neglect the Advice; either in Reſpect of the Neighbourhood of thoſe two Kings, which made the Caſe ſtill more dangerous, or in Regard that *Samoſata* being the Capital City of *Comagene*, and bordering upon the *Euphrates*, the *Parthians* might paſs and repaſs at Pleaſure, and ſecure themſelves of a ſafe Retreat at Hand.

Ceſennius *makes an Incurſion into* Comagene.

Antiochus *reſolves to withdraw without returning any Act of Hoſtility.*

Veſpaſian was ſo poſſeſs'd with the Credit of the Story, that he left *Ceſennius* to his own Diſcretion, and with a Commiſſion to do in it what he thought fit. *Ceſennius* loſt no Time, in making the beſt of his Deputation; for he fell immediately into *Comagene*, with the ſixth Legion, and ſome Companies and Squadrons of Foot and Horſe, with *Ariſtobulus* the King of *Chalcis*, and *Sohemus* the King of *Emeſa*, to ſecond him; *Antiochus* and his Companions never ſo much as dreaming of the Matter. His Entrance was without any Oppoſition at all; for the Natives were not in Condition to encounter him: And then for *Antiochus*, the News of this Incurſion was a moſt unaccountable Surprize to him, who never had ſo much as the leaſt Thought of a Miſunderſtanding with the *Romans*. The Reſolution he took in this Difficulty, was to leave the Kingdom juſt at it ſtood at that Inſtant, and to take his Wife and Children along with him as an Inſtance of his good Faith to the Empire, and likewiſe as a pregnant Proof of his Innocence. Hereupon he withdrew about a hundred and thirty Furlongs from the City, and encamped upon a Plain. *Ceſennius*, in the mean Time, ſends Soldiers to take Poſſeſſion of *Samoſata*, and to keep Garriſon there; while he himſelf, with other Troops, marches away after *Antiochus*. But all this Violence and Injuſtice was not ſufficient yet to provoke the King to any unfriendly Act againſt the *Romans*: Or to do any Thing more than to lament his hard Fortune, and to bear all Things with Patience.

His two Sons, Epiphanes *and* Callinicus *gave the* Romans *Battle.*

But for his Sons, *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, that were youthful, martial, and brave; they could not in Honour but betake themſelves to their Arms: So that drawing out what Strength they were able to make, they gave the *Romans* Battle; fought it out all Day, and in the End ſhew'd a Conduct anſwerable to their Valour; for they came off with very little Loſs.

Antiochus *retires into* Cilicia.
And the Brothers ſhift for themſelves.
Vologeſes *receives them according to their Birth and Quality.*

The Fortune of this Day was favourable to *Antiochus*; but all too little to put a Stop to the Retreat he had reſolv'd upon; for he took his Wife and Daughters away with him into *Cilicia*: And this ſcrupulous Integrity of his went ſo far, that it had like to have broken the Hearts of his Soldiers. For what could they hope for, they ſaid, when the King himſelf deſpair'd; deſerting their Prince in that Diſtraction, and going over to the *Romans*. All that *Epiphanes* and his Brother had now to do, was to ſave themſelves before it was too late. And ſo with eight Horſemen more, (ten in all) they paſs'd the *Euphrates*, (where they were now ſecure) in their Way to *Vologeſes* the King of *Parthia*. This generous Prince, upon their Arrival, did not treat them like Fugitives, but with that royal State and Reſpect that became their Birth and Quality.

Ceſennius *orders* Antiochus *to be ſent Priſoner to* Rome.
Veſpaſian *cauſes his Chains to be taken off: And treats him with all Manner of Reſpect.*

Antiochus being now come to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, *Ceſennius* ſent an Officer to take him into Cuſtody, and carry him bound to *Rome*. But *Veſpaſian* was too generous to treat a crowned Head at that Rate, and choſe rather to ſhew a Reſpect to the Memory of an ancient Friendſhip, than to revenge himſelf for a ſuppoſed Injury: Wherefore he order'd his Chains to be taken off upon the Way; his Journey to *Rome* reſpited, and himſelf to make ſome Stay at *Lacedæmon*; where *Veſpaſian* furniſh'd him with Proviſions of Money, ſuitable to the Dignity of a royal Expence.

The Father and the two Sons conducted to Rome, *and highly entertain'd.*

This frank and honourable Way of Proceeding toward *Antiochus* did not only deliver the Brothers from the Dread and Anxiety they were in for Fear of their Father; but put them in Hopes even of a Reconciliation to *Cæſar* himſelf; eſpecially upon the Interceſſion of *Vologeſes*, that they might be permitted to go to *Rome*, and *Cæſar* to give Way to it: For though they were very eaſy as it was, they had no Patience yet to live out of the Pale of the Empire. They came on, in Fine, to *Rome*, and their Father was brought thither ſoon after, where they were all three entertain'd with high Demonſtrations of Affection and Eſteem.

The Scythians *and their Confederates break into* Media.

And carry off a vaſt Booty.

A narrow Eſcape of Tiridates.

The People now known by the Name of *Alanes*, formerly call'd *Scythians*; having their Habitations, as we have ſaid elſewhere, near the River *Tanais*, and the Lake of *Mæotis*; joyn'd in a Confederacy with the King of *Hyrcania*, to break into *Media*, and lay the Land waſte: This King being the Maſter of the only Paſſage into that Country; which, they ſay, *Alexander* ſo order'd, as to have it ſhut up with Iron Gates. This Paſs being now laid open, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Place, without either Suſpicion or Reſiſtance, and carry'd off a Booty, in Goods and Cattel, to a mighty Value. This Inroad put *Pacorus* (then King of the Place) into ſuch a Fright, that he left his Eſtate at Mercy, and flying for his own Safety into Crags and ſtrong Holds, he made a Shift at laſt to redeem his Wife and Concubines for a hundred Talents. At this Rate they preſs'd forward, ſpoiling and making Havock all the Way they went, without the leaſt Reſiſtance, up to the Borders of *Armenia*; *Tiridates* being at that Time King there. This *Tiridates* puſh'd up to them, and fought them, and was within a very little of being taken alive in the Battle; by the Nooſe of a Halter that was thrown over his Head in the Action; but in the very Moment while they were drawing him off, he cut the Rope with his Sword, and got away. The Succeſs of this Combat made theſe *Barbarians* more bloody and inſolent than before; inſomuch that they depopulated all, wherever they came, and carry'd off a World of Men and Cattel along with them to their own Homes.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Eleazar *the Governour of* Maſſada. *The lewdeſt Age ſince the Creation. The* Sicarii *lead the Way; but* John *of* Giſchala *out-did them all. The brutal Barbarities of* Simon. *The* Idumæans *inhumane and bloody. The* Zelotes *the wickedeſt and the moſt wretched of Mortals. A Garriſon of the* Sicarii *in* Maſſada. Silva *beſieges it. The Situation, Deſcription, and Strength of it both by Art and Nature.* Silva *advances his Batteries, and gains the Rock* Leuce, *but his Batteries failing, he ſets all in a Flame. A Diſcourſe upon the Contempt of Death; and the Immortality of the Soul. Reflexions upon the* Indian *Philoſophers and the* Brachmans. *Several Inſtances of the Sufferings of the* Jews. *The Queſtion of Life and Death debated. The* Jews *ſo poſſeſſed with it, that they reſolve not to out-live their Laws and Liberties: They agree upon a Method for the executing of that Reſolution. The* Romans *advance the next Morning to the Aſſault, and find only a Pile of dead Bodies to receive them.*

The Caſtle of Maſſada: *And* Eleazar *the Governour of it*

BASSUS was now dead in *Judæa*, and *Flavius Silva* his Succeſſor in the Government; who, finding the whole Country to be reduc'd, ſaving only one rebellious Caſtle, drew out all the Force he was able to make, with a Reſolution to attack it. The Caſtle's Name was *Maſſada*; and one *Eleazar* commanded it, the Ring-leader of the *Sicarii*, or *Cut-Throats*; who had got in Poſſeſſion of it. This *Eleazar* was deſcended from one *Judas*, who, as we have ſaid already, was the Man that moſt violently oppos'd the *Jews* entring their Names upon the Roll, when *Cyrenius* executed the Office of *Cenſor* in *Judæa*. This Faction of the *Sicarii* were profeſs'd Enemies to all that ſhew'd any Manner of Reſpect to the *Romans*: And they treated them alſo like Enemies, even to the Degree of pillaging their Goods; driving away their Cattle, and burning their Houſes. *For what are theſe Men better than Strangers*, ſaid they, *that betray the Liberty of their Country for Want of fighting for it, and had rather live Slaves than Freemen*; *notwithſtanding that Freedom is a Bleſſing can never be bought too dear? Were it not better for ſuch Men as theſe*, they cry'd, *to join barefac'd with the* Romans? But theſe were only Words of Courſe, for a Blind to their Inhumanity and Avarice; as moſt evidently appear'd in the Concluſion. For when thoſe very Men whom they branded with Perfidy and Cowardice came to join in the Revolt, and in the common Cauſe againſt the

Romans, they were worſe us'd than before: Eſpecially theſe that laid open the Hypocriſy of their Pretenſions and the Iniquity of their Practice.

There was never ſuch an Age certainly ſince the Creation for all Manner of Impiety, as this Juncture among the *Jews*. They left no new Wickedneſs to be either done or thought of, or for Invention it ſelf to work upon. Never ſuch an Agreement publick and private, in all Sorts of Corruptions: Never ſuch an Emulation in all Things that were ill, who ſhould outdo the other: Men in Power oppreſs'd the common People, and the common People were as ſharp again upon Men in Power, the one for Dominion, the other for Pillage.

The lewdeſt Age ſince the Creation.

The *Sicarii* were the firſt that led the Way to this licentious Courſe of Blood and Violence, without ſlipping any Opportunity, either by Word or Deed, of doing Miſchief where they were ſet upon it. But all this was not a Flea-biting to the extravagant Cruelties of *John*: Who did not only put particular Men to Death, as common Enemies (Citizens eſpecially) for preſuming to adviſe Things neceſſary and profitable for the Publick; but multiply'd all Manner of Outrages alſo upon his Country. And who could expect better from a Man that made no Conſcience of affronting God himſelf? As in the Uſe of forbidden Meats; renouncing the Purity of his Profeſſion, and departing from the Laws and Cuſtoms of our Forefathers. What Wonder now, to ſee a Man inhumane to his Neighbour, that has no more Reverence for his Maker!

The Sicarii *led the Way.*

But John *of* Giſchala *out-did them all.*

And ſo for *Simon* the Son of *Gioras*, what Villany was not that Man guilty of? What Barbarities did he not inflict upon the very Men that rais'd him? Thoſe, that of Freemen born, made themſelves his Slaves! The natural Ties of Blood and Friendſhip had no other Effect upon this Sort of People, than to enflame them to the Execution of more horrid Butcheries. They look'd upon it as a mean, and a Kind of ſcandalous Inſolence to tyrannize over Strangers, compar'd with the more generous and heroical Bravery of trampling upon their own Fleſh and Blood.

The barbarous Cruelties of Simon.

And the *Idumæans* came not much behind them neither; thoſe bloody Miſcreants, that after the aſſaſſinating of the High-Prieſts, to cut off, as much as in them lay, the whole Frame and Order of Religion at a Blow, confounded likewiſe the Polity of the City, without leaving ſo much as the Face of Juſtice or civil Government; and ſetting up Tyranny and Oppreſſion in the Stead of it. This was the Province of thoſe they call *Zelotes*, and they had given themſelves a Title to the Name by their Works; as the moſt paſſionate Patrons and Promoters of Vice and Lewdneſs upon the Face of the Earth; though under the Colour of Piety and Virtue; but ſeducing thoſe they would impoſe upon by Fallacies and falſe Lights, and at the ſame Time turning Evil into Good, and Good into Evil.

The Idumæans *inhumane and bloody.*

The Zelotes *the wickedeſt:*

They had at laſt, however, the End they deſerv'd, in the Manifeſtation of God's juſt Vengeance upon them: For they ſuffer'd all the Calamities and Torments that it is poſſible for Fleſh and Blood to undergo, and this throughout the whole Courſe of their Lives.

And the moſt miſerable of Mortals.

It will be ſaid perhaps that the Puniſhment fell ſhort of the Offence. And it may be anſwer'd, that no Puniſhment could come up to't. But this is not a Time or Place to enter upon the Hiſtory of thoſe unhappy Creatures that fell into the Hands of theſe Monſters: So that I ſhall rather return to my Relation, and go on where I left.

Silva the *Roman* General was now upon his March to beſiege *Maſſada*, where there was a Garriſon of the *Sicarii* under the Command of *Eleazar*; who was the Head of that Party. He made ſure of the Country about it, without much Difficulty; ſettled his Garriſons, as he ſaw convenient; and ran up a Wall about the Caſtle to prevent Excurſions or Eſcapes, and to ſecure his Guards. He made Choice of a Quarter for his Camp, that he found moſt commodious for his Purpoſe: That is to ſay, upon the joyning of the Caſtle-Rock to the next Mountain: Only Proviſions were extremely ſcarce, for they were brought a great Way, and with much Trouble to the *Jews*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſupply them; beſide the bringing of Water another Way too, for there was no Fountain near the Place.

A Garriſon of the Sicarii *in* Maſſada, *under* Eleazar.

Matters being thus order'd, *Silva* diſpos'd himſelf to the Siege, which was like to be a Work of Time and Labour, as will appear by the Situation of the Caſtle. It ſtands upon a large high Rock, with deep and craggy Precipices round about it: And there is no diſcerning the Bottom from above by Reaſon of other Rocks that interpoſe and cover it. The Acceſs is ſo difficult, that even the Beaſts themſelves cannot climb it, ſaving only by two Paſſages: One to the *Eaſtward* from the Lake *Aſphaltitis*, which is very nice and dangerous; the other from the *Weſt*, which is the more practicable of the two. They call one of them by the Name

Silva *beſieges it.*

The Situation of Maſſada.

The Deſcription of it.

The Fortification.

The State and Condition of Maſſada, *both by Art and Nature.*

of the *Snake*, from the ſeveral Windings and Turnings in the Aſcent: For the Rocks in many Places double upon themſelves, and run in and out ſo, that People are fain to go back and forward to paſs them. And the Paſſages are ſo narrow likewiſe, that there's no walking upon them but by ſtanding upon one Foot while you advance the other: Beſide that one Slip, or a falſe Step is certain Death; for it drops you into a Precipice that gives a Man a Horrour but to think of it. They reckon thirty Furlongs of this Way from the Bottom to the Top of the Mountain, which brings you into a Plain, where *Jonathan* the High-Prieſt erected a Caſtle, and called it *Maſſada*; he himſelf being the firſt Founder of it. *Herod the Great* ſpared afterwards for no Coſt or Care to adorn and fortify it. He carry'd a Wall about it, of ſeven *Stadia* in Compaſs; all of curious white Stone, twelve Cubits high, and eight over. He built likewiſe twenty ſeven Turrets; each of fifty Cubits in Height: And theſe Towers entertain'd a Communication with all the Buildings on the Inſide of the Wall. The Plain above was ſo well condition'd, and ſo fruitful a Soil, that *Herod* order'd it to be ſet apart for Tillage; to the End that whoever ſhould take Sanctuary in that Caſtle, he might be ſure not to want Neceſſaries. He cauſed alſo a royal and a ſtately Palace to be built for himſelf within the Compaſs of the Caſtle: The Entrance fronting *Weſtward*, and bending a little to the *North*. The Walls of it were very high and ſtrong, with four Towers in the four Corners, each of ſixty Cubits High. The Apartments, Galleries and Baths, were for Variety, Ornament and Contrivance, very rich and glorious: And all ſupported with Pillars, each of one entire Stone; and ſo maſterly put together, that nothing could be more Subſtantial. The Walls and the Pavement were all checker'd with Party-colour'd Stone. To every Quarter about this Palace, the Plain above, and before the Turrets, there were a great many large Ciſterns hew'd out of the Rock for the preſerving of Water; ſo that theſe Veſſels abundantly ſupply the Want of Fountains. There was a Way alſo cut under Ground, from the Palace up to the Caſtle, which was not to be diſcover'd from without; and the other was effectually impaſſable, as we have ſaid already. But for the *Weſtern Paſs*, there was a Tower ſet up in the narroweſt Part of it, a Matter of a thouſand Cubits from the Caſtle, that quite block'd it up. Not but that the Attempt would have been difficult enough, even without any Oppoſition: But this is to ſhew the State and Condition of the Place, both by Art and Nature.

Stored with all Manner of Proviſions.

Now this Caſtle was not only provided againſt Force and Stratagem, but againſt the very Dint of Famine too: For there was Corn in it, Wine, Oyl, all Sorts of Pulſe, Dates, *&c.* for many Years; which was all found in it, when *Eleazar* with his *Sicarii* ſurpriz'd it: And it was all as freſh and ſound too, (though a hundred Years depoſited) as if it had been but newly laid up. And perhaps the Purity of the Air at that Height, abſtracted from groſs and feculent Vapours might be the Reaſon of it.

There was alſo a *Magazine* of all Sorts of Arms for ten thouſand Men, ſtor'd there by the King's Order; a great Quantity of unwrought Iron, Braſs, Lead, and the like; which we may preſume was prepar'd for ſome great Deſign.

Herod *intended it for a Retreat in Caſe of Need.*

There goes a Tradition, that *Herod* finding himſelf upon a Pinch under two Difficulties, provided this Caſtle for his Retreat in Caſe of Need: The one was for Fear the People ſhould depoſe him, and ſet the *Aſmonæan* Family upon the Throne again; the other was a Matter of a more dangerous Conſequence. *Cleopatra* the Queen of *Ægypt* had a Deſign, it ſeems, upon the Life of *Herod*: And ſhe made no Secret of it neither; but own'd the Thing, and had ſeveral Diſcourſes with *Antony* about it; preſſing him that *Herod* might be diſpatch'd out of the Way, and ſhe her ſelf made Queen of the *Jews* in his Stead. It was a Wonder that the Paſſion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra* could deny her any Thing; but *Herod* however, upon this Apprehenſion, put *Maſſada* into ſuch a Condition, that there was hardly any Thought of taking it; and the *Romans* could never be abſolute Maſters of the *Jews* without it.

Silva *advances with his Battery.*

He gains the Rock Leuce.

The *Jews* being now ſo cloſe wall'd up in *Maſſada*, that there was no Poſſibility, as I ſaid before, of their eſcaping, *Silva* advanc'd with his Machines; there being but one Place that he could fill up to raiſe a Mount upon. For beyond that Tower that blocks up the Way upon the *Weſt*, to the Palace and Caſtle, there was a large long Rock call'd *Leuce*: Larger than that the Caſtle ſtood upon; but not ſo high by three hundred Cubits as *Maſſada*. The General had no ſooner gain'd this Rock, but he ſet his Soldiers at Work to advance a Mount upon it; and they wrought ſo hard, that they carry'd it up to the Height of two hundred Cubits: Which not being as yet ſtrong enough to ſupport the Engines, they rais'd a Kind of Platform upon it, wrought with great Stones, fifty Cubits High, and as much over. But beſide theſe ordinary Machines, they had others alſo of the Invention of *Veſpaſian*, but improv'd afterwards by *Titus*. They erected farther upon this Platform, a Tower of ſixty Cubits, all fortify'd with Iron.

The *Romans* from this Turret, gall'd the Defendants with their Stones and Arrows to ſuch a Degree, that they durſt not ſhew their Heads upon the Walls. *Silva*, in the mean Time, kept battering the Wall with a moſt prodigious Ram; which by little and little made ſome ſmall Impreſſion upon it. But the *Sicarii* quickly ſupply'd that Defect by clapping up another Wall behind it that feared no Machines; for the Matter of it being ſoft and yielding, it deaded the Stroke: And the Manner of the Structure was this. They took two Rows of large Timbers, and mortiſſed them one into another. They were both of a Size, and together with a Space left betwixt them, juſt anſwered the Thickneſs of the Wall. This Space they filled with a Kind of clayiſh Earth, and nail'd up Boards a-croſs the Frame to keep the Earth from falling down: So that it ſtood as firm as the Wall of a Houſe, and the more it was battered the ſtronger it was, as if it had been ram'd and conſolidated into a better State of Defence.

Silva's *Batteries being defeated, he tries Fire, and ſets all in a Flame.*

When *Silva* found his Engines defeated, he reſolved to attempt that by Fire, which he could not compaſs by Battery; and ſo ordered his Soldiers to try what might be done by Brands-Ends and Fire-Works, towards the deſtroying of their Defences. Their new Wall being moſt of it Timber-Work and hollow, took Fire immediately and burſt out into a mighty Flame; which began with the Wind on the *North*, and beat ſo terribly upon the *Romans*, that they almoſt deſpair'd of ſaving their Machines. But the Wind luckily chopping about all on a Sudden into the *South*, drove ſo furiouſly upon the Wall, that it ſet all in a Flame from Top to Bottom. The *Romans* were ſo ſenſible of God's appearing in their Favour, that they return'd chearfully to their Camp, with a full Reſolution to make an Attack upon the Enemy the next Morning by Peep of Day; and to keep ſtrong Watches in the mean while that they might not get off in the Night.

But *Eleazar* had no Thought of ſtarting himſelf, or of ſuffering any of his People ſo to do. The Wall however being conſum'd to the Ground, and no Hope or Poſſibility left of Safety or Relief, the only brave Thing they had before them was to conſider how they might deliver their Wives and Children from the ignominious Outrages they might expect from the *Romans*, whenever they came to be Maſters of the Place. *Eleazar* concluded, upon the ballancing of this Queſtion, that a glorious Death was infinitely to be preferr'd to a Life of Infamy; and that the moſt generous Reſolution they could take in the World, would be not to out-live their Liberties. This being his own Opinion, he call'd together the moſt courageous of his Friends and Companions; and did what he could, by Reaſon and Exhortation, to diſcourſe them into the ſame Mind.

Eleazar's *Diſcourſe upon the Contempt of Death.*

It is no new Thing, ſays he, *my generous Friends, for our People to diſclaim any other Lord and Maſter, than the true and ſovereign Lord and Maſter of the Univerſe, God himſelf; and this without Exception to the* Romans, *or to any other Nation whatſoever. The Time is now at Hand to make good our Words by our Deeds: Wherefore let us act like our ſelves now. We have hitherto run all Hazards to preſerve our Freedoms; but we are at Preſent threaten'd with Chains, and the worſt of Torments together, if we fall alive into our Enemies Hands: As the firſt that fell off from them, and the laſt that ſtood out againſt them. The Matter duly conſider'd, we are to look upon it as a ſingular Grace and Favour from above, to be left ſtill at Liberty to chuſe our Death: A Bleſſing deny'd to many that are gone before us. We are certain to be all Slaves to morrow, if we do not prevent it by ſetting our ſelves free this very Night: And it is not in the Power of our Enemies to hinder it. Neither is there any Thing they deſire more, than to take us alive; and it is now too late to think of contending any farther. Something might have been done at firſt perhaps, if the Aſſertors of our Liberties had but duly conſider'd Things. For they would have found that if God had not caſt us off, though formerly his choſen People, he would never have expos'd us to what we have ſuffer'd, both by our own Diviſions, and from our Enemies; the Deſtruction of ſo many of our principal Men, and the holy City it ſelf laid waſte with Fire and Sword. But how comes it at laſt that we alone are the Men of the whole Nation to ſtand up for our Liberties, as if we our ſelves were innocent of thoſe Iniquities that we have taught to others? You ſee by this Time the Vanity of your extravagant Hopes, and the Miſery of your Diſappointments. And what are we the better here for an impregnable Caſtle, with an ample Proviſion of Arms, and all Neceſſaries for our Support, when God hath manifeſtly doom'd us to Deſtruction? What do you think of that judicial Wind and Fire, that left the* Romans *to conſume us and our new Wall? Did it do this of its own Accord, do ye think; or was it not rather an Infliction upon us for the crying Sins we had been guil-*

A judicial Wind and Fire.

ty of one towards another? Now ſince our Puniſhment is juſt, and that there is no avoiding of it, will it not be much more reaſonable for us to do Juſtice upon our ſelves, than to leave it to the victorious Romans, *as the Executors of divine Vengeance? By this Means, we ſecure the Honour of our Wives and the Freedom of our Children? And next to them, let us honourably take our own Turns, and dye free; leaving that Memorial behind us as the beſt of Monuments. But in the firſt Place, let the Caſtle be ſet on Fire, and our own Gold and Silver melted down; for the* Romans *will be ſick of their Purchaſe, without the Poſſeſſion, either of our Treaſure, or of our Perſons. Let the Proviſions for the Mouth and Belly be left behind, as a Teſtimony that we were not ſtarved into this Condition; but kept to our firſt Reſolution of chuſing Death rather than Bondage.*

This was *Eleazar*'s Speech; but it did not relliſh with all alike: Some were very much pleaſed with the Propoſal, and as forward to put it in Execution; reckoning upon Death as a deſirable State upon thoſe Terms. Thoſe that were good-natur'd, or tender-hearted, had a Horrour upon them to think of taking away the Lives of their Friends, and no leſs at the Thought of laying violent Hands upon themſelves: And then looking mournfully one upon another with Tears in their Eyes, they betray'd the Softneſſes of their Hearts. *Eleazar* was not a little troubled at theſe effeminate Weakneſſes, for Fear of ſtaggering others that ſeem'd well enough reſolv'd, and calling in Queſtion the Dignity of his Propoſition. He follow'd his Point however, and went on with his Exhortation; but with another Sort of Air and Spirit, advancing his Diſcourſe upon the Subject of *the Immortality of the Soul:* And fixing his Eye upon thoſe that he ſaw in Tears, he addreſs'd himſelf that Way, in a vehement Earneſtneſs of Exclamation, and in theſe or the like Words.

Of the Immortality of the Soul.

I am, ſays he, *wonderfully miſtaken, I perceive, in my Opinion, that brave Men in a Conteſt for Liberty, had rather loſe their Lives than their Cauſe. But it is otherwiſe with you, I find, that are afraid to dye, though to deliver your ſelves from Calamities worſe than Death it ſelf: And in a Caſe too, that neither needs Counſel, nor will bear Delay. We have it from Antiquity, the holy Scriptures, the Laws and Cuſtoms of our Country, the Doctrine and Practice of our Fore-fathers: And it is all by Conſent, that it is not Life, but Death that makes a Man happy. For what is it but Death that ſets the Soul at Liberty, and tranſmits it into thoſe pure and bleſſed Regions where it ſhall never know Corruption? But ſo long as it communicates with the mortal Body, it partakes alſo with the Evils of that Body; and it is in a Manner dead; for what Affinity is there betwixt divine and mortal? Soul and Body in Conjunction, 'tis true, may do much; for the Body is but the Soul's Inſtrument, and their ſecret Offices and Operations are unaccountable. But when the Soul comes once to be diſcharged of its Clog and Weight that keeps it down, and to recover its proper Station, it enjoys a vigorous and a perfect Liberty; not viſible to humane Eyes, but inviſible, as God himſelf is; and it is inviſible alſo in our Bodies. It comes into us unſeen, and ſo it goes out again; incorruptible in it ſelf, but cauſing Variety of Changes in the Body: For whatever the Soul influences, it puts Life and Vigour into it: And whenever it withdraws it ſelf, the Separation is certain Death. But this does not hinder the Soul yet from being immortal. As in Sleep, for Inſtance; how quietly does the Soul repoſe it ſelf in that Reſpite from the Diſtractions of the Body! Which ſhews the Happineſs of the Soul is wrapt up within it ſelf, and likewiſe that it holds ſome Sort of Communication with the Almighty, in foretelling Things to come. But how can any Man pretend to fear Death that loves Reſt! Or who but a Mad-man, for the Sake of a ſhort Life, will grudge himſelf a Life eternal? Beſide that we are trained up by the Laws and Inſtitution of our Profeſſion, not only to the Contempt of Death our ſelves; but alſo to preach and practiſe it for an Example to others.*

Of the Indian *Philoſophers and* Brachmans.

Or if there needed any Recourſe to Strangers for Argument or Authority, upon this Subject, what ſhall we ſay to the Indian *Philoſophers and* Brachmans? *A wiſe and a virtuous Sort of People. They look upon Life only as a neceſſary Function of Nature: An Office which they diſcharge uneaſily enough, and not without ſome Impatience to be quit of the Trouble. And they are not weary of Life neither, upon the Account of Pain or Inconvenience; but for the Love of Immortality, and a bleſſed Converſation that ſhall never have an End. Nay, they take ſolemn Leave of their Friends too, as if it were but for a Journey, and tell them when they are a going: Neither does any Body offer to hinder them; but on the Contrary, wiſh them happy, and ſend formal Meſſages by them to their Acquaintance, in a full and certain Confidence that they underſtand one another. And ſo when they have receiv'd all their Orders and Inſtructions, they commit their Bodies to the Fire, as a preparatory Purification, and go off with Acclamations, and to the Satisfaction of all the Spectators. For among them, Friends follow one another more chearfully to Death, than they would do to a long Journey; joying thoſe that are now entring into a State of Immortality, and only lamenting the reſt that ſtay behind. What a Shame will* *it be for us now to fall ſhort of the* Indians, *in a Matter of this Importance, and to bring a Scandal upon the excellent Laws and Religion of our Forefathers by an inglorious Abjection of Mind! Or put the Caſe now, that we had been otherwiſe inſtructed, and brought up in the contrary Principles from our very Cradle; as if Life were the ſovereign Good of Mankind, and Death the moſt diſmal of Calamities: The very Occaſion ſhould make us reſolute methinks, in our Caſe, ſince Neceſſity and the Will of God will have it ſo: And we are now to be puniſh'd with the Loſs of Life, for our former Abuſes of it, by the ordering of a divine Providence. Neither are we to aſcribe it to our own Arms, or to the Generoſity of the* Romans, *that we were not every Man of us cut off in this War. And it was not ſimply a Conqueſt neither; but the Mediation of a more powerful Cauſe, that made it look like one however. What had the* Romans *to do in that bloody Maſſacre of the* Jews *at* Cæſarea *by the People of the Place, where Man, Woman and Child were cut off upon their* ſeventh Day's Feſtival, *without one Word of a Conſpiracy, or the leaſt Reſiſtance: Whereas the* Romans *never look'd upon the* Jews *as their Enemies, but only when they revolted. Now it will be ſaid perhaps, that there was an old Grudge betwixt the* Jews *of* Cæſarea *and the Citizens; and that the latter took this Opportunity for a Revenge. What ſhall we ſay then of the* Scythopolitans *that joyn'd with the* Greeks *againſt us, and not with our Friends againſt the* Romans? *And what did they get at laſt for their good Will, but the utter Deſtruction of themſelves and their Families? This was the Thank, in Fine, that we had for our Aſſiſtance; they brought us into the ſame Extremity, out of which we reſcu'd them.*

Several Inſtances of the Sufferings of the Jews.

It would be too tedious to run over particular Inſtances: For you know very well that there is not ſo much as one City in Syria *that has treated us better, and that is not incomparably worſe to us than the* Romans. *What do you think of* Damaſcus *now, that without any Colour, or Pretence of a Diſguſt, butcher'd ten thouſand* Jews, *with their Wives and Children, in that ſingle City? And then they reckon upon at leaſt ſixty thouſand kill'd in* Ægypt. *Now that's no Wonder, you'll ſay, in a ſtrange Land, where they had no Seconds to ſtand by them. But to come now to our own Caſe at Home, that had the Courage to aſſert our Liberties againſt the* Romans *in our own Country, and wanted neither Men nor Arms, fearleſs Spirits, impregnable Cities, ſtrong Holds, or any other Manner of Proviſions that might encourage or ſtrengthen a Revolt, and entitle us to a reaſonable Hope of a victorious Iſſue. But how long did this laſt, and to what End did this pompous Preparation ſerve us; ſave only to our greater Confuſion! For all is loſt you ſee, and only to the Honour of the Enemy; without any Advantage to our ſelves, for, and by whom theſe Stores were provided.*

How happy are they now that fell with their Swords in their Hands, contending for their Liberty, and in the ſame Act preſerving it! compar'd with the ſurviving Remainder of us that are reſerv'd in Chains: Some for Torture; ſome for the Fire; others for Spectacles; ſome for Combat, and others to be torn to Pieces with Whips; ſome half eaten by Beaſts, and ſet aſide for a ſecond Meal! Who would not ſuffer a thouſand Deaths rather than lead ſuch a Life? But the moſt deplorable of all the reſt are thoſe that are yet living, and calling upon Death, and yet have not the Heart to give it themſelves.

The Queſtion of Life and Death debated in Favour of the Latter as the more deſirable of the Two.

Pray ſummon up your Thoughts, and conſider what is become of your glorious Metropolis; your mighty Walls and Fortifications; your impregnable Towers and Caſtles; your vaſt Treaſuries and Magazines (though too little for your Stores;) your prodigious Multitudes of Men: And what's become of your holy Place too, known by the Name of God's Houſe? Is it not all torn up by the Roots, and nothing to be ſeen of it, but the Ruines that ſerve only for a Camp to the Conquerour; a few unfortunate old Men mourning over the Aſhes of the Temple, and a Proviſion of unhappy Women ſet apart for the Uſe and Service of the Soldiers?

Can any Thing that hath but the Soul of a Man ever ſubmit to look another Sun in the Face again after this? Nay, though he might live without either Fear or Danger, can any Man, I ſay be ſo unnatural to his Country; ſo mean and narrow-hearted, as not to be griev'd that ever he liv'd to ſee this Day? And it would have been well, if we had been all in our Graves before ever we beheld theſe ſacrilegious Ruines, and this glorious Pile of Jeruſalem *laid in Rubbiſh. But ſo long as we had Hopes and Courage, we flatter'd our ſelves with the Poſſibility of a Redemption. The Conceit however of that Fancy being now over, and nothing left us to truſt to, but the Conſideration of an inſuperable Neceſſity; we have nothing more to do than to take Pity of our ſelves, our Wives, and our Children; and to make all the Haſte we can to do it, while we have the Means in our own Hands. We are all born to dye, the brave and the coward alike; and all ſubjected to the ſame Fate. Now for Matter of Indignity and Slavery, the ſeeing of our Wives diſhonour'd, and our Children led in Triumph; theſe are not Evils ariſing from the Neceſſity of our Nature, but the Reſults of Cowardice, when a Man might have dy'd and would not. But for us that had the Hearts to abandon the* Romans, *and fly in the*

Face of our Maſters; and afterwards to refuſe Quarter and Pardon, when it was offer'd us, and not ſo much as to accept of an Indemnity, though they themſelves begg'd it of us: Can any Body think, I ſay, that if ever they take us alive, this will be forgotten?

It makes a Body's Heart ake to think of the miſerable Condition both of young and old, betwixt the Strength of Body, on the one Hand, to lie languiſhing under a lingring Torment; and the Weakneſs of Age, on the other, that is not able to ſupport it. The Huſband muſt expect to ſee his Wife diſhonour'd before his Face; and the Father, to hear his Children begging in Chains for Relief. But while we are free, and Maſters of our Swords, let us make a glorious Uſe of them, and preſerve our Liberties. Let us dye Freemen, with the Comfort and Company of our Wives and Children about us. It is but what they themſelves deſire, what our Laws require at our Hands, and what Providence it ſelf hath made neceſſary for us. Only the Romans *are againſt it, for Fear we ſhould do their Work for them. Let us diſpatch then, for it will be to our immortal Honour to take the Prize they long for out of their Hands, in leaving them only the poor Satiſfaction of dead Bodies for their Triumph.*

The whole Body is of the ſame Opinion with Eleazar, *and joins in a Reſolution not to outlive their Laws and Liberties.*

Eleazar would have gone on, if the Company had not broken in upon him one and all, in this very Inſtant; violently preſſing him to go thorough with his Work, and every Man contending with a phantaſtical Emulation who ſhould be foremoſt, as a Mark of the braveſt and the wiſeſt Man. Such was the Paſſion theſe People had for the Deſtruction of themſelves and their Families. And, which was yet more wonderful, they did not one Man of them ſhrink when they came to the Execution; but kept up their dear and natural Affection to the laſt, upon an Opinion that they could not do their Friends a better Office. They took their laſt Leave of their Wives and Children in their Arms, with a Kiſs, and a Stab; weeping over them at the ſame Time, and no more concerned than if the Work had been done by other People's Hands. The Neceſſity of the Action, (as they underſtood it) was their Comfort, and their Excuſe; for conſidering what they ſhould have ſuffer'd otherwiſe by the *Romans*, they thought they could not do leſs toward their Deliverance. In ſhort, there was not one Man's Heart fail'd him; but they kill'd their beloved Friends and Relations without Diſtinction. This was a miſerable Neceſſity, but they were driven upon it by a miſerable Choice: For the deſtroying of their Wives and Children, (as it appear'd to them) was the leaſt Evil they had before them.

The Execution and the Method of it.

When they had gone thus far, they found the Grief for what they had done already intolerable; and being conſcious to themſelves, that they could not ſurvive thoſe they had kill'd, (though never ſo little) without a manifeſt Injury to the Dead, they immediately pil'd up all their Goods together on a Heap and burnt them; and then chuſing ten Men, by Lot, out of their Number, to do Execution upon all the reſt, they ranged themſelves as near as they could to the Dead Bodies of their Friends; gave them a parting Embrace, and chearfully preſented their Throats to thoſe that were to do the inhumane Office. So ſoon as the ten had with a mighty Reſolution diſcharg'd their Part, they caſt Lots among themſelves which of the remaining ten ſhould diſpatch the other nine, with a Condition that the ſurviving tenth Man ſhould kill himſelf upon the Bodies of the reſt: Such a Confidence had theſe People one in another. The nine dy'd with the ſame Conſtancy as the reſt. The laſt Man overlooking the Bodies, and finding that they were all ſtark dead, ſet Fire to the Palace, and ſo caſt himſelf upon his Sword among his Friends.

The Tragedy being now over; and upon a Preſumption, that there was not ſo much as one *Jew* fall'n into the Hands of the *Romans*, it appear'd afterwards that there was one ancient Woman; and another, a Kinſwoman of *Eleazar*'s (a Perſon of admirable Qualities) with five ſmall Children, that lay cloſe all this while in an *Aquæduct*, and ſcap'd the Maſſacre. The Number of the ſlain was nine hundred and ſixty, reckoning Women and Children into the Account. This Action fell out upon the fifteenth of the Month *Xanthicus*.

The Romans *advance next Morning to the Aſſault, and find only a Pile of dead Bodies to receive them.*

The *Romans* by Break of Day next Morning, with their Ladders and Bridges, made ready for an Aſſault; but no Enemy appearing, nor any Noiſe to be heard, but the crackling of Flames, the *Romans* could not tell what to make of theſe Circumſtances, and of ſo dead a Silence: So that they preſently gave a Yell, like a Shout upon the playing of a Battery, to try if they could be anſwer'd. The Clamour alarum'd the Women in their Hiding-Holes; ſo that out they came upon it, and told the *Romans* the Truth of the whole Story; which was ſo incredible however, that they could not believe it: But betaking themſelves to the quenching of the Fire, and ſo following their Way up to the Palace, they found ſuch a Carnage of dead Bodies, that without inſulting and rejoycing as Enemies, they brake out into Admiration at the generous Greatneſs of the *Jews* Minds; the Steadineſs of their Councels, and the obſtinate Agreement of ſuch a Number of Men in the Contempt of Death.

CHAP. XXIX.

The turbulent and ſeditious Humour of the Sicarii. *The* Jews *impute all their Misfortunes to that Sort of People. They will rather ſuffer Death than own* Cæſar *for their Maſter.*

AFter the taking of *Maſſada*, *Silva* the *Roman* General ſettled a Garriſon there, and ſo march'd away with his Army to *Cæſarea*, leaving the Country in perfect Peace and Quiet behind him. Now the *Jews* of *Judæa* were ſo abſolutely broken and ſubdu'd by the Burden and Continuance of the War, that there was not an Enemy to be heard of in all that Quarter; but there were thoſe alſo that felt of it as far as *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, where ſeveral of them were put to Death. But a Word or two upon this Occaſion will not be amiſs.

There were divers of the Faction of the *Sicarii* that fled to *Alexandria* for Sanctuary; and it was not enough for theſe People to live eaſy and quiet there, but they muſt be tampering the Citizens into a Hankering after Innovations, and ſtarting invidious Queſtions about Liberty and Paſſive Obedience. *They look'd upon the* Romans, they ſaid, *to be no better than themſelves, and no other Lord would they own, than the Lord of Heaven and Earth.* And ſtill as they met with any Contradiction, though from the beſt of their own Profeſſion, it was as much as their Lives were worth. Some they murder'd, others they debauch'd from their Allegiance, or at leaſt endeavour'd to do it; and, in Fine, theſe Practices of theirs became ſo bold and dangerous, that the leading Men amongſt them did not think it ſafe to call them to any publick Account. But the Courſe they took, was to ſummon a general Meeting of the *Jews*, and there to arraign the Folly and Temerity of the *Sicarii*, and to expoſe them to the People as the Root and Cauſe of all our Misfortunes. *Now what would be the End on't*, ſaid they, *if we ſhould force them to fly for their Security? They'd be never the better for it, and we the worſe. For ſo ſoon as ever the* Romans *ſhall be well inform'd of the Deſign, their Way will be to fall upon all promiſcuouſly, and ſo deſtroy the Innocent with the Guilty.* Wherefore they caution'd the *Jews* not to involve themſelves with the *Sicarii*, but rather to provide for their own Safety, by delivering up thoſe Cut-Throats to the *Romans*.

The turbulent and ſeditious Humour of the Sicarii.

Violent and impatient of Contradiction.

The Jews *arraign them in a publick Aſſembly, as the Authors of all their Misfortunes.*

This gave them ſuch a Proſpect of the Hazzard they were in, that they fell violently upon the *Sicarii*, and took ſix hundred of them immediately. The reſt fled to *Ægypt*, *Thebes*, and thereabouts; where they were retaken ſoon after, and brought back again, behaving themſelves to Admiration, for the inſuperable Hardineſs of their Reſolution. What a Variety of exquiſite Torments did they endure, rather than acknowledge *Cæſar* for their Maſter; and not one Soul that would ſo much as deliberate upon the doing of it. But they ſtood all as firm, as if their Souls had not been concerned in what their Bodies endur'd. And the tranſcendent Miracle of all is yet behind; which is, that the Boys, and the Children ſtood the ſame Streſs with the reſt; and when they had ſuffer'd all that Malice or Invention could inflict upon them, not ſo much as one Soul of them would own *Cæſar* to ſave his Life; ſo much was their Contempt of Torments above the Senſe of them.

Not a Man of them would own Cæſar *for his Maſter, to ſave his Life.*

CHAP. XXX.

Onias *moves* Ptolemy *to give the* Jews *Leave to build a Temple, and to enjoy the Exerciſe of their Worſhip.* Ptolemy *gives Leave accordingly, and aſſigns them a Spot of Ground for it. This Temple was erected, and afterwards ſhut up.*

L*Upus* being at that Time Governour of *Alexandria*, gave *Cæſar* early Advice of this Commotion, who was ſo well acquainted with the turbulent Humour of the *Jews*, that he thought he could not be too cautious of their Meetings and Cabals, for Fear of making Factions and Parties; and therefore order'd *Lupus* to demoliſh the *Jews* Temple in the City *Onion* in *Ægypt*; of which Temple I ſhall ſay ſomething, both as to the Name, and the Founder.

Onias *moves* Ptolemy *to give the* Jews *Leave to build a Temple, and enjoy the Exerciſe of their Worſhip.*

Onias the Son of *Simon*, one of the High-Prieſts, being driven out of *Jeruſalem* in the Time of the War betwixt *Antiochus* the King of *Syria*, and the *Jews*, withdrew to *Alexandria*, where he was very kindly receiv'd by *Ptolemy* the King of *Ægypt*; partly, as an Enemy to *Antiochus*, and partly upon a Condition agreed upon betwixt them; which was this. *Onias* undertook to bring the *Jews* over into *Ptolemy*'s Intereſt, if he would but grant him one Requeſt. The King promis'd him that he would, if it lay in his Power; and ſo the other begg'd his Leave only for the *Jews* to erect a Temple ſomewhere or other in *Ægypt*, where they might meet and worſhip God according to the Laws and Religion of their Country. By this Means, ſays he, *Antiochus* will become ſtill more and more odious to the *Jews*, and the *Jews* better affected to your Service; beſide the vaſt Multitudes that will put themſelves under your Protection for the free Exerciſe of their Worſhip.

Ptolemy *grants the Requeſt, and aſſigns a Spot of Ground for it.*

Ptolemy was well enough pleas'd with the Propoſal, and ſo aſſign'd the *Jews* a Spot of Ground for their Purpoſe, a Matter of *nineſcore Furlongs* from *Memphis*, in the Tract of *Heliopolis*: *Onias* built a Caſtle there, and after that a Temple, though not comparable, 'tis true, to that at *Jeruſalem*; but it had juſt ſuch another Tower, made of vaſt Stones, and ſixty Cubits in Height. There was an Altar alſo, after the Model of *Jeruſalem*, and ſet out with Donatives and Preſents, much like the other, ſaving only that there was no *Candleſtick*, but a *Golden Lamp* as bright as the Sun, inſtead of it, which hung upon a Gold Chain before the Altar. This Temple was encompaſs'd with a Brick Wall, the Gates of Stone, and it was likewiſe endow'd with a conſiderable Revenue, both in Land and Monies, that there might be nothing wanting to the Solemnity and Celebration of the Service. Now *Onias* did not do all this, as we ſay, for God's-Sake, and out of the pure Simplicity of his Heart, but out of a Spleen he bare to the *Jeruſalem-Jews* that forc'd him away: And he propounded to himſelf by the erecting of this Temple, to draw the *Jews* back to him again, that had forſaken him; eſpecially reflecting upon an old Prophecy of nine hundred and ſeventy Years ſtanding, which ſeems to look that Way; beſide another Prediction of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, of a Temple in Time to come to be erected in *Ægypt*, by a *Jew*.

The Temple was erected, and after that rifled and ſhut up.

This Temple was built accordingly, and *Lupus*, in Purſuance of the Emperour's Orders, went directly thither, took away with him ſeveral Preſents and Oblations that he found there, and ſo ſhut it up. But *Paulinus*, who ſucceeded to the Government after the Death of *Lupus*, not only ſtript the Temple of what he found there, without leaving ſo much as one Piece behind him, but threaten'd the Prieſts bloodily too in Caſe of any Concealment; nor would he receive any Man whatſoever into the Temple upon the Account of Religion, but ſhut the Doors againſt them, without leaving ſo much as the leaſt Appearance of Divine Worſhip there. It was now three hundred thirty and three Years from the Building of this Temple to the ſhutting of it up.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Jonathan *an* Enthuſiaſt Weaver, *draws a Party after him. They are taken and brought Priſoners to* Catullus, *only* Jonathan *ſhifts out of the Way: But being afterwards taken he comes to a better Underſtanding with* Catullus. *His Maſter-Piece was Subornation and Corruption.* 3000 Jews *put to Death at a Time.* Jonathan *ſets up for a falſe Witneſs.* Joſeph *the Author of this Hiſtory is made a Priſoner.* Veſpaſian *pronounces* Joſeph *innocent, and ſentences* Jonathan *to be whipt and burnt alive.* Catullus *ends his Days in torments of Body and Mind not to be expreſſed.*

The Inſolence of the Sicarii. Jonathan *a Weaver and an* Enthuſiaſt, *puts himſelf in the Head of a Faction.*

THE audacious Inſolence of the *Sicarii* ſpread like a Contagion every where about *Cyrene.* As for Example: There was one *Jonathan*, a Weaver, that made his Eſcape thither. He was a Kind of an *Enthuſiaſt*, and a wicked Man, that drew a World of ſimple People after him into Woods and Deſarts, under a Pretext of ſhewing them Prodigies and Viſions: And the Impoſture paſs'd for Current with the common Sort. But the Story coming to the Ears of ſome eminent *Jews* at *Cyrene*, they preſently traced it out, and gave timely Notice of it to *Catullus* the Governour of the *Pentapolitan Libya*, how the Buſineſs ſtood, and which Way they march'd. The Governour Way-laid them with Horſe and Foot, and eaſily maſter'd them, for they were but ſo many unarm'd Men: A great Part of them were kill'd, and the reſt taken alive, and carry'd Priſoners to *Catullus*.

The whole Party is routed, and ſent Priſoners to Catullus: *Only* Jonathan *makes his Eſcape, but being taken at laſt and carried to* Catullus, *he found a Way to divert the Storm from himſelf.*

Jonathan the Ring-leader of this wretched Multitude made his Eſcape; but after a long and a ſtrict Search, he was at laſt found out and taken, and ſo carry'd to *Catullus*; where he found out a Way to divert the Storm from himſelf, and to furniſh the Governour with an acceptable Occaſion of turning it another Way: Which was, by bringing the wealthieſt *Jews* of the Place into the Plot, as the Heads and Promoters of the Conſpiracy. Theſe Accuſations, how falſe ſoever, were welcome to *Catullus*; who fell preſently to deſcant and amplify upon Things with ſuch Aggravations, that a War againſt the *Jews* was as good as declar'd already. And to make the Villany yet more execrable, he had not only the Faculty of believing againſt Truth and Reaſon; but inſtructed the very *Sicarii* themſelves in the Art of Calumny: Inſomuch that he expreſly directed the falſe Witneſſes to accuſe one *Alexander* a *Jew*, by Name; to whom he had a long Time declar'd himſelf a profeſs'd Enemy, and his Wife *Berenice* was alſo enſnar'd upon the ſame Evidence. Theſe were the firſt that ſuffer'd, and after them, a Train of three thouſand more put to Death at once; whoſe only Crime was, that they were Men of Wealth and Credit. And this, he thought, he might ſafely do, though he took their Money to himſelf, ſo long as their Eſtates were confiſcate to the Empire.

His Maſter-Piece was Subornation and Corruption.

3000 Jews *put to Death at a Time, purely upon the Score of their Wealth and Credit.*

Jonathan *ſets up for a falſe Witneſs.*

Joſeph *the Author of this Hiſtory is a Priſoner.*

And then for Fear of being detected by *Jews* of Credit elſewhere, he carry'd the Impoſture further yet, and dealt with *Jonathan* and ſome other Priſoners, to make a Cull of the moſt eminent Men they had, for Honour and Integrity in *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and to exhibit new Matter againſt them. *Joſeph* himſelf, the Author of this Hiſtory, was one of the Number. Now *Catullus* coming to *Rome*, and bringing *Jonathan* and the reſt of the Priſoners in Chains along with him, he made no Doubt but the Scrutiny was all over, and the Fact given for granted, as he had repreſented and concerted it. But the Event of this Contrivance did not anſwer his Expectation; for *Veſpaſian* being a little ſuſpicious upon the Main, reſolved to ſift it out; and finding upon Examination the Iniquity of the Proceeding, he pronounced at the Inſtance of *Titus*, *Joſeph* and his Companions innocent, and thereupon they were diſcharg'd: But at the ſame Time, he ſentenc'd *Jonathan* to be whipt, and burnt alive; which was accordingly executed.

Veſpaſian *ſuſpects foul Dealing, and upon Examination pronounces* Joſeph *innocent; and ſentences* Jonathan *to be whipt, and burnt alive.*

Catullus *ended his Days in Tortures of Body and Mind, not to be expreſs'd.*

As for *Catullus*, ſuch was the Lenity of the two Princes, that they proceeded no further againſt him at preſent: But, in a ſhort Time after this, he was ſeiz'd with an incurable Complication of Diſeaſes; horrid Gripes, and Pains all over his Body; and the Anguiſh of his Mind yet more inſupportable; Torments of Conſcience; ghaſtly Apparitions and Outcries, upon his being haunted with the Ghoſts of thoſe he had murder'd; ſtarting out of his Bed, and roaring out, as if he were upon the Torture, or in the Flames. His Affliction, in Fine, encreas'd upon him, till his Guts putrify'd, rotted and came out; this was his End, being effectually no other than a divine Vengeance upon a wicked Man.

We are now come to the End of our Hiſtory; wherein we have proceeded with all Faith and Candour, according to our Promiſe, for the Satisfaction of thoſe that deſire to be truly inform'd in the Particulars of the War betwixt the *Romans* and the *Jews*. How I have acquitted my ſelf in the Manner of Writing this Relation, let the Reader judge: But as to the Sincerity of it upon the whole, I do here declare to the World, that I have kept my ſelf ſtrictly to the Truth of Things from one End of the Book to the other.

THE END.

THE LIFE OF *FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS*:

Written by his own Hand.

SEVERAL Nations value the Honour and Dignity of Birth and Extraction upon ſeveral Accounts; but with us, nothing more illuſtrates a Family than a lineal Succeſſion of holy Men in the *ſacerdotal* Dignity: And, in that Reſpect, I may aſſume to my ſelf the Advantage of ſomewhat better Blood in my Veins than Ordinary, as I derive my Original through a long Train of religious Anceſtors; and not only in a regular Deſcent from Men in ſacred Orders, but from Prieſts of the firſt Rank of the four and twenty, which is yet a higher Advancement by ſo many Degrees. I might write my ſelf alſo by my Mother's Side, of the Stock of Kings; for the Kingdom, and the Prieſthood went a long Time together in the [a] *Aſmonæan Family*, from which ſhe was deſcended. But now to take the Succeſſion in Order; *Simon*, otherwiſe called *Pſellus*, was my *great great Grand-father*, who lived when *Hyrcanus* the Son of *Simon* the *High-Priſt*, and the firſt of the Name, had the *Pontificate*. This *Pſellus* had *nine Sons*; *Matthias* for one, ſurnamed *Aphlias*, who in the firſt Year of King *Hyrcanus* marry'd the Daughter of *Jonathan* the *High-Prieſt*, and had by her, *Matthias*, ſurnamed *Curtus*, who, in the ninth Year of the Reign of *Alexander*, had a Son *Joſeph*, from whom came *Matthias*, in the tenth of *Archelaus*; and from him, in the firſt Year of *Caius Cæſar*, came *I my ſelf*; who have likewiſe *three Sons*; *Hyrcanus* the *eldeſt*, was born in the *fourth Year* of *Veſpaſian*; *Juſtus*, the *ſecond*, in the *ſeventh*; and *Agrippa*, the *youngeſt*, in the *ninth*. This is a ſhort and a true Account of my Extraction as it ſtands upon Record, beyond all Contradiction, and in Defiance of Envy and Detraction.

Joſeph's *Extraction.*

Joſephus *the Son of* Matthias.

Joſeph *had three Sons:* Hycanus, Juſtus *and* Agrippa.

My Father *Matthias* was greatly eſteemed in *Jeruſalem*, from the higheſt to the loweſt, not only for the Honour of his Deſcent, but much more ſtill for his Probity and Juſtice. I had a Brother of my Father's Name, and we two were trained up at School together from Children. Now having a tolerable Senſe of Things, and an excellent Memory, I made ſo early a Progreſs in my Studies, that at fourteen Years of Age the *High-Prieſt* and *Elders* would do me the Honour now and then to adviſe with me, even upon ſome intricate Caſes of Law. At my Entrance into *ſixteen*, I began to inform my ſelf in the Doctrines, and Opinions of the *three Sects* I have ſpoken of elſewhere; the *Phariſees*, the *Sadduces* and the *Eſſenes*; propounding to my ſelf to take a Taſte of them all, and ſtick to what I lik'd beſt. So I paſs'd thorough all three, one after another, with much Labour and Mortification. And I did not reſt there neither; but hearing of one *Banus* that led the Life of a *Hermite*, in Caves, and Solitudes, I made a Tryal of his Way alſo. He wore no Covering but of the Bark of Trees: His Food was only what the Earth and the Woods brought forth of their own Accord; and bathing himſelf Night and Day in cold Water, to allay the Heat of unruly Appetites. When I had kept him Company in theſe Auſterities for a Matter of three Years, and ſatisfy'd my Curioſity in the Experiment, I returned to the City, and being now *nineteen Years of Age*, apply'd my ſelf to the Buſineſs of a civil Life, in the Way of the *Phariſees*, which is much after the Humour of the *Stoicks* among the *Greeks*.

He applies himſelf to the Study of the three Sects.

A Diſciple of one Banus, *a Man of great Authority, and a Hermite.*

Joſeph *inclines to the Way of the* Phariſees.

There fell out a very particular Occaſion, in the ſix and twentieth Year of my Age, that carry'd me to *Rome*; and this was it. *Felix*, being at that Time Governour of *Judæa*, had ſent ſeveral Prieſts, many of them worthy Men, and my Particular Friends, Priſoners thither, upon a very frivolous Pretence, to clear themſelves of what ſhould be objected againſt them before *Cæſar*. They behaved themſelves with ſo generous a Conſtancy, chuſing rather to ſuffer any Thing than to depart from

Felix *ſends ſeveral Prieſts Priſoners to* Rome.

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[a] *Gr.* Aſamonæan.

Joſeph *takes a Voyage to relieve them. The Ship miſcarries, and* Joſephus *is wonderfully preſerv'd.*

He is made known at Rome *to* Poppæa, *who gets the Priſoners their Liberty.*

The People in a deſperate Uproar. Joſephus *gives them good Counſel, and they are the worſe for it.*

Manahem, and ſome of the Ring-Leaders cut off.

Geſſius Florus *defeated.*

their Duty, that upon this Conſideration I reſolved to run any Riſk in the World to relieve them: So I embark'd for *Rome*, and falling into a deſperate Storm with a Matter of 600 Perſons in Company, we were caſt away, and the Veſſel loſt in the *Adriatick Gulph*; only *eighty* Perſons of the whole Number by a wonderful Providence preſerv'd, being taken up early the next Morning by a Ship of *Cyrene*, when we had kept our ſelves above Water a whole Night by ſwimming. After this Deliverance, I came acquainted at *Dicæarchia*, (or *Puteoli*, as the *Italians* chuſe rather to call it) with one *Alityrus*, a *mimical Comœdian*, and a *Jew* born; for whom *Nero* had a great Kindneſs. This *Alityrus* brought me to the Knowledge of the Empreſs [a] *Poppæa*, who immediately upon my Requeſt, got the Prieſts ſet at Liberty: And ſo I went back again into my Country, not without conſiderable Preſents over and above. Upon my Return I found Miſchief a brewing, and the People dangerouſly diſpos'd to a Revolt; whereupon I did what I could to bring the Mutineers to better Reaſon. I bad them conſider well what they were about, and the Circumſtances of the Enemy they had to do withal; a martial, a politick, a well diſciplin'd and a fortunate People, and ſo much an Over-Match for them to all Purpoſes, that they muſt be worſe than Mad-men to venture Life, Limb, Liberty and Eſtate; Wives, Children and all that could be dear to them, upon ſo unequal Terms. At this Rate I plyed them with Arguments, Counſels and Importunities, to divert them from an Outrage that was likely to be attended with ſo many mortal Conſequences. But this was only ſo many Words caſt away; which, in Truth, did more Hurt than Good; and inſtead of compoſing them one Way, hazarded the enraging of them another. For my preſſing the ſame Thing over and over again, ſo often to them, look'd all this while like a ſiding with the Enemy, which upon the leaſt Freak of Jealouſy, (that I had Reaſon enough to apprehend) would in all Probability have coſt me my Life. The Faction being already poſſeſſed of the Fort *Antonia*, I had nothing to do but to take Sanctuary in the *Inner-Temple*. From thence, upon the Fall of *Manahem*, and the Ring-Leaders of the Conſpiracy, I betook my ſelf to the *High-Prieſt*, and the eminent Men of the *Phariſees*: Whom I found directly at their Wits End what Courſe to ſteer; for the People were all in Arms, and what to do with themſelves they knew not. When we ſaw that thwarting and diſſwading would do no Good, we went a Middle-Way to work, betwixt cloſing with them and diſſenting; pretending, upon the Main, to be of their Opinion; but yet under ſuch Cautions, that we adviſ'd them not to be too haſty; but let the Enemy draw off a little; for *Geſſius* had a conſiderable Force, and would be with us Time enough to put an End to that Tumult. *Geſſius* came back indeed, to his Coſt, for he was totally defeated; moſt of his Troops cut to Pieces: And this Blow, in Fine, prov'd the utter Ruine of our Nation. For the Faction had the Vanity, after this Defeat, to flatter themſelves, that they ſhould with as much Eaſe run down the whole Power of *Rome*. But there happen'd at this Time a terrible Outrage, which was as follows.

A Maſſacre of the Jews.

The barbarous Ingratitude of the Scythopolitans.

A War of Neceſſity.

The *Syrians* and the *Jews* living promiſcuouſly together in ſeveral great Towns bordering upon *Judæa*, the *Syrian* Inhabitants took their Opportunity, and cut the Throats of all the *Jews*, Man, Woman and Child, that lived with them in thoſe neighbouring Cities; and all this, without any Sort of Provocation or Offence: For there was nothing of a Conſpiracy, or ſo much as a Diſaffection to the *Romans*, charg'd upon them. But above all the reſt, the Barbarity of the *Scythopolitans* was the moſt inhumane and impious. For they not only forced the *Jews* of the Place that were their *Fellow-Citizens*, to bear Arms againſt thoſe of their own Tribe that came before it, (a Thing expreſly forbidden by our Laws) but when they had worſted the Enemy by their Aſſiſtance, without any Regard to Gratitude, Juſtice or common Faith, they put them all to the Sword, without Mercy, or Diſtinction, to the Number of ſeveral thouſands. The *Jews* of *Damaſcus* were treated much at the ſame Rate too; but in our Hiſtory of *the Wars of the Jews* we have diſcours'd this Matter more at large. Neither would it be worth the while to mention it over again, if it were not to give the Reader to underſtand, that we did not undertake this War upon Choice, but that we were driven upon it by the Force of an extreme Neceſſity.

Commiſſioners ſent to quiet the Common-People.

After this Overthrow of *Geſſius*, the leading Men of the *Jews*, finding themſelves weak and unarmed, and in Danger of a powerful, turbulent Faction, they thought it high Time now to look about them, and provide for their own Security. So that conſidering how *Galilee* was divided, and Part of it for the *Romans*, Part againſt them, they were pleaſed to make Choice of *my ſelf* for *one*, and two other Prieſts, *Joazar* and *Judas*, (very good honeſt Men) to ſend as Commiſſioners thither to try if we could prevail with the ſeditious People there to lay down their Arms; not ſo as to part with them quite; but only to depoſite them for the preſent in the Hands of their Governours, till they ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them; but not to do any Act of Violence till they ſhould be better inform'd what the *Romans* intended to do.

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[a] *Gr.* Πομπηΐα.

With theſe Inſtructions, I went my Way into *Galilee*, where I found the *Galilæans*, and the *Sepphorites* at *hard Words*, and ready to come to *Blows* upon this Point. The *Galilæans* preſs'd upon the *Sepphorites* to make an Inroad into their Country; and the Ground of the Quarrel was, their ſtanding up for the *Romans*, and their Adherence to *Senius Gallus*, then Governour of *Syria*. The *Sepphorites*, on the other Hand oppoſed them, in Defence both of their Country, and of their League and Duty: But I found a Way to ſet the *Sepphorites* Hearts at Reſt, and to quiet the *Galilæans*, by getting them a Licence to ſend as often as they pleas'd to *Dora*, a City of *Phœnicia*, to their Hoſtages there that they had given to *Geſſius*.

A Quarrel betwixt the Galileans and the Sepphorites.

As for the People of *Tiberias*, I found them all in Arms, and this was the Quarrel. There were *three Parties* in the City: The one conſiſted of Men of Honour and Integrity; and *Julius Capella* was the Head of them; who was joyn'd by *Herod*, the Son of *Miarus*, *Herod* the Son of *Gamalus*, and *Compſus* the Son of *Compſus*: But as for his Brother *Criſpus*, that *Agrippa* the Great had made Governour of the Town long ſince, he liv'd at this Time upon his own Eſtate beyond *Jordan*. Theſe were all for the *King*, and the People of *Rome*: *Piſtus* being the only Man of the Nobility that went the other Way, in a Compliance with the popular Humour of his Son *Juſtus*. The *ſecond* Faction was a Kind of a *Rabble* of *mean People*: And the Head of the *third* was *Juſtus*, the Son of *Piſtus*; who, though he would not give his Opinion Point Blank for a War, did moſt undoubtedly wiſh for one in his Heart, upon the Proſpect of advancing his own Fortune by the Confuſion. In Order to this End he prepar'd the People for his Purpoſe, by a skewing Diſcourſe upon the Matter then in Queſtion, giving them to underſtand, "That their City was always reckoned to belong to *Galilee*; and in the Days of *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, who was the Founder of it, reputed the *Capital* of the *Province*; and by him kept in Subjection. This Right of Precedency was never ſo much as queſtion'd from the Time of *Agrippa* the Father till the Government of *Felix*; when *Nero* gave it away to the younger *Agrippa*. The People of *Sepphoris*, in Fine, never claim'd any Privilege above their Neighbours till the ſubjecting of themſelves to the *Roman Yoak*, and the removing of the Records and Treaſury, upon *that Revolution*." *Juſtus* went on at this Rate, tampering and inflaming the People againſt the King, till he found them at laſt in Tune for Miſchief, and then he told them in plain Terms, that ſince the *Sepphorites* were ſo obſtinately devoted to the Intereſt of the *Romans*, that there was no taking them off, they had no other Way in the World to vindicate their Rights and Liberties, once for all, but immediately to take up Arms, and joyn with the reſt of their Companions to oppoſe the *Sepphorites*, wherein they needed not doubt to be well ſeconded againſt ſo hateful a Sort of People. With this popular and plauſible Way of *paradoxing* ſoberer Men than himſelf out of their Senſes, he did his Buſineſs. Beſide that he was ſo far Maſter of the *Greek* Tongue as to write the Hiſtory of thoſe Times; palliating and diſguiſing the Truth of Things, as he found it moſt for his Purpoſe. But I ſhall now give a more particular Account of the Malice and Wickedneſs of this Man; and how near he and his Brother went to the total and irrecoverable Deſtruction of their Country, in the following Diſcourſe. When *Juſtus* had gain'd over ſome of the Citizens by Perſwaſion, and others by Force, to take up Arms, he marched out with them in a Body, and ſet Fire to the Habitations of the *Hippenians* and *Gadarenes*, about *Tiberias* and *Scythopolis*.

Tiberias *in Arms.*
Three Factions.

Juſtus *inflames the People againſt the* Romans.

Juſtus *burnt the* Hippenians *and* Gadarenes, *out of their Houſes.*

To paſs over now from the State of *Tiberias* to that of *Giſchala*; *John* the Son of *Levi*, finding ſeveral of his Fellow-Citizens ſo violently impatient of the *Roman Yoak*, did all that in him lay to keep them within the Compaſs of good Faith and Duty: But his Endeavours were to no Manner of Purpoſe, for the People bordering thereabouts; as the *Gadarenes*, the *Gabaraganæans*, and the *Tyrians*, joyning their Forces together, attack'd the Town, and took it by Force; burnt and deſtroy'd all before them, and ſo went their Way back again. *John* was ſo exaſperated with this Outrage, that he drew his Troops together, march'd againſt him, fought, and defeated him; and after that, rebuilt the Place, and for better Security encompaſs'd it with a ſtrong Wall.

Giſchala *laid in Aſhes.*
John *the Son of* Levi *gives the Rebels a Defeat.*

But the People of *Gamala* ſtood firm all this while to the *Romans*, as will be ſeen in what follows. *Philip* the Son of *Jacimus*, King *Agrippa*'s Lieutenant, having made a wonderful Eſcape out of *Jeruſalem*, while the Enemy was before the Palace, fell into another Hazzard of being deſtroy'd by *Manahem*, and his Cut-Throat Companions; but was yet preſerv'd by ſome of his *Babylonian* Relations, which were then at *Jeruſalem*; and upon the fifth Day after his coming off, he put himſelf

Gamala *firm to the* Romans.
Philip's *wonderful Eſcape and Deliverance.*

into

Philip writes to Agrippa and Berenice.

Varus puts a Meſſenger to Death as an Impoſtor.

He puts a ſecond Meſſenger to Death upon the ſame Pretence.

The Jews treacherouſly inveigled and cut to Pieces. Varus advances againſt Ecbatana.

The Inhabitants withdraw upon it into Gamala.

Philip goes to them there. The People offer him their Lives and Fortunes againſt Varus.

Philip reaſons them into their Wits again. Varus removed, and Equus Modius ſucceeds him.

into a Diſguiſe by a Cap of falſe Hair, and ſo ſhifted away till he came to a certain Village of his own, near the Caſtle of *Gamala*, where he ſent for a conſiderable Number of his Subjects to come to him. In this Place he was ſeized with a ſudden Fever, which by a wonderful Providence prov'd the Occaſion of ſaving his Life. For upon falling into this Diſtemper, he wrote to *Agrippa* and *Berenice* by a certain Freeman of Truſt and Credit; with Order to deliver his Letters to *Varus*, to whom the King and the Queen had at that Time committed the Care of the Palace; they themſelves being upon a Journey at that Time to *Berytus*, to meet *Geſſius*. When *Varus* came to underſtand, upon the Receit of the ſaid Letters, that *Philip* had made his Eſcape, he took it exceedingly to Heart to find that he was at Liberty, for Fear the King and the Queen ſhould diſcharge him of their Service upon the other's Return: So that *Varus* expos'd the Meſſenger to the People as an *Impoſtor*, and one that had brought him a ſham Story: For *Philip*, he ſaid, to his Knowledge, was at that Time at *Jeruſalem* with the *Jews*, making War againſt the *Romans*; and upon this Calumny he caus'd him to be put to Death. When *Philip* had waited a good while, and no News either of the Freeman, or of the Letters, he diſpatch'd away a ſecond Meſſenger with another Packet, to enquire what was become of the former; and the ſame Pretence did his Buſineſs too as well as the others. Now the *Syrians* of *Cæſarea* had put a Conceit into *Varus*'s Head, that the *Romans* would certainly revenge themſelves upon *Agrippa* for this Rebellion of the *Jews*, and that upon his Death, the Crown would naturally come to him, as a Branch of the royal Line from *Sohemus* the *Tetrarch* of *Libanus*. *Varus* was ſo puff'd up with this Perſuaſion, that he intercepted the King's Letters; Way-laid all the Paſſes, that no Body ſhould get at him with Intelligence, and did all that was to be done, in Fine, to keep him a Stranger to the whole Matter. He put great Numbers of the *Jews* to Death, to make an Intereſt with the *Syrians* of *Cæſarea*; and ſo likewiſe for the *Jews* in *Ecbatana*, which they call *Babylonians*, he propoſed the engaging of the *Trachonites* of *Batanæa* with him in a War againſt them too. In Order to the Proſecution of this Deſign, he ſent for twelve of the principal *Jews* in *Cæſarea*; and diſpatch'd them away in his Name with this Meſſage to their Friends at *Ecbatana*; that *Varus* had been told of a Conſpiracy a-foot among them againſt their King, which he was not willing to believe, but however required of them to lay down their Arms, as the moſt demonſtrative Proof they could give him of their Innocence, and that the Report was falſe; adding to this, that they ſhould ſend him ſeventy of the moſt eminent Men of their Party, that might be ready to anſwer all Objections on the Behalf of the reſt. The *twelve Deputies* went accordingly, and acquitted themſelves of their Commiſſion; but upon a ſtrict Enquiry at *Ecbatana* among the People of their own Tribe, not finding the leaſt Colour for any ſuch Rumour, they took, according to their Inſtructions, ſeventy of the beſt Men of the Place along with them, and ſo went their Way all in Company together toward *Cæſarea*: *Varus* in the mean Time having planted himſelf in the Paſſage with a Guard of the King's Troops about him; who fell upon them on the Way, and cut off every Soul of them to one ſingle Man; after which, he advanced upon his Deſign againſt the *Jews* at *Ecbatana*. But by a ſtrange Providence, the Perſon that eſcap'd the Maſſacre got thither before him, with the News of this abominable Treachery; whereupon the Inhabitants immediately put themſelves in Arms, and with their Wives and Children withdrew into the Caſtle of *Gamala*, leaving their Goods and Cattle behind them, to a mighty Value. So ſoon as ever *Philip* heard of this Adventure, he went thither to them; where he was welcom'd with the univerſal Acclamations of the People, and with the Tender of their Lives and Fortunes at his Service, in a War againſt *Varus*, and his *Cæſarean* Abettors, if he would but do them the Honour to command them: For it was now bruited about, that the King was ſlain. But *Philip* did all he could to compoſe them, by putting them in Mind of the generous Obligations the King had laid upon them; the formidable Power of the *Romans*, with the deſperate Hazards of a Rebellion: Inſomuch, that they were brought in the Concluſion to better Reaſon. When the King came to underſtand what had paſs'd, and that *Varus* had taken up a Reſolution of putting to Death all the *Jews* in *Cæſarea*, with their Wives and Children, to the Number of a great many Thouſands, he removed *Varus* from his Government, and made [a] *Equus Modius* his Succeſſor; as we have ſaid elſewhere: *Philip* keeping *Gamala*, and the Country bordering upon it firm to the *Romans*.

Upon my coming to *Galilee*, being given to underſtand by certain Intelligence, the Condition of this Affair, I wrote to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, to receive the Honour of their Commands; and the Anſwer they ſent me was an Order to ſtay in *Galilee*, and to provide the beſt I could for the Security and Defence of the Place, and to keep my Collegues ſtill about me, if they thought fit. Now having by this

[a] Ἔκουος Μονόδιος, & Ἔκουος Μόδιος,

Time gather'd up a conſiderable Sum of Money that was in Arrear for the *Prieſts Tenths*, they were bethinking themſelves of going Home again; but upon my Requeſt to ſtay a little longer with me, till Things might be put in ſome Sort of Order, they agreed without any Difficulty. So we went all together from *Sepphoris* to *Bethmaus*, a Place within ſome four Furlongs of *Tiberias*; from whence I ſent a Meſſenger to ſummon the Senate of *Tiberias*, and ſome of the Principals of the People to come over to me. Upon their Arrival, and *Juſtus* among the reſt, I told them that I was order'd by the Council of *Jeruſalem*, together with my Companions, to confer with them about the demoliſhing of the Palace which *Herod* the Tetrarch had erected there, and adorned with ſeveral curious Images and Figures of living Creatures, being a Thing abſolutely forbidden by our Laws; earneſtly deſiring that it might be done out of Hand. *Capella*, and the People of his Faction, oppos'd it a long Time; but at laſt, after a hard Conteſt, we carried the Point: Now while this Controverſy was a-foot, *Jeſus* the [a] Son of *Saphia*, at the Head of a ſcandalous Crew of *Tarpaulins*, and other beggarly Fellows, with the Help of a Band of ſeditious *Galilæans*, ſet Fire to the *Palace Royal*, in Expectation of a conſiderable Booty; for every Thing they ſaw, was rich and gilded: And in Effect, they ſpoil'd and carry'd away a great many good Things, in Deſpite of all could be done to hinder it. So ſoon as this Conference with *Capella*, and the Governours of *Tiberias* was over, we betook our ſelves from *Bethmaus* into the *Upper Galilee*; at which Time the Faction of *Jeſus* put all the *Greeks* in *Tiberias* to the Sword, and all others likewiſe that had been Enemies to them before the War. Upon the News of this Outrage, I went in a great Paſſion to *Tiberias*, to try what I could ſave or preſerve, of the King's Goods upon this Pillage; as there were ſeveral rich *Candleſticks* of *Corinthian* Work; precious *Tables*; a great Deal of *Silver* in the *Maſs*: And in Fine, reſolving all this while to depoſite what Goods ſoever I ſeiz'd, for the King's Uſe: So that ſending for ten of the chief *Senators*, and *Capella* the Son of *Antyllus*, I deliver'd all the rich Veſſels and other Things of Value into their Cuſtody, with a Charge expreſs not to part with them to any Body but my ſelf. I went from thence with my Companions to *Giſchala*, to inform my ſelf what *John* intended to do; whom I found manifeſtly engag'd in the making of a Party, and ſetting up for himſelf. The Emperour had ſeveral Magazines of Corn up and down in the *Upper Galilee*, and *John* would fain have had the exporting and the vending of it, with an Intent, he ſaid, to employ the Profit upon the Building of Walls and Fortifications. I found what he would be at, and told him plainly, that it was a Thing I could not give Way to. For being obliged by Virtue of my Commiſſion from *Jeruſalem* to take Care of all Things within that Juriſdiction, I could not diſpoſe of thoſe Stores any other Way than either to the Service of the Emperour, or the Good of the Province. When he found I was not to be wrought upon, he apply'd himſelf to my Collegues, who, betwixt Want of Foreſight and the Love of Money, were brought over by Bribes and fair Words to comply with his Demands; and being two to one, they muſt needs carry it. *John* had no ſooner gained this Point, but he bethought himſelf of another Invention. The Inhabitants of *Cæſarea Philippi* were complaining to him, he ſaid, for Want of pure *Virgin Oyl*, and deſired him to ſupply them; the *Greek* Oyl being forbidden them, and the King's Prohibition barring them from going out of Town to fetch it. Now this was not ſo much *Religion* in him, as *Intereſt*; for he knew that this Oyl bore forty Times the Price at *Giſchala* that it did at *Cæſarea*; ſo that he ſent away all the Oyl from one Place to the other, under a Colour of my Licence. Now the Truth of it is, I did ſo far licence the tranſporting of it, that I durſt not pretend to hinder it, for Fear the People ſhould ſtone me; and ſo far only I yielded to it. This, in Short, was an Advice that *John* made a great Advantage of.

Joſeph *adviſes with the Senate and great Men of* Tiberias *about demoliſhing* Herod's *Palace.*

The Rabble ſets Fire to't, and rifles it.

The Faction puts all the Greeks *in* Tiberias *to the Sword.*

Joſeph *depoſits the King's Goods for the King's Uſe.*

From this Place I ſent my Collegues back again to *Jeruſalem*; and after that, made it my whole Buſineſs to arm, fortify, and in Short, to provide the beſt I could for the Defence of my Province. The *Free-Booters* I found, were not to be reduced by Force; and ſo I put the People upon trying what might be done by Compoſition; whereupon we enter'd into a Treaty with ſeveral leading Men among them to take them into Pay; being all convinced, that the Charge of the Penſion would not be comparable to the Spoil they'd make by Rapine and Pillage. We came, in Fine, to an Agreement; and I took their Oaths for Performance of Articles, and ſo diſmiſs'd them. The Conditions were theſe; that they ſhould not offer any Violence; either to *Romans* or *Natives*, nor ever ſet Foot into our Country, but when they were call'd; or elſe behind Hand in their Pay. But above all other Things, it was my Care in the firſt Place, to keep *Galilee* quiet; and in Order to that End, I made Choice of *ſeventy* of their beſt Men to go along with me, whom I

Joſeph *comes to an Agreement with the Free-booters.*

The Conditions of the Treaty.

Joſeph *takes ſeventy* Galilæans *to his Aſſiſtance and Council.*

[a] *Gr.* Τȣ͂ Αφία παῖς.

made Uſe of, both as Companions, Councellors, and Aſſiſtants: Nay, and I govern'd my ſelf in a great Meaſure too, by their Advice, ſaving an inviolable Reſpect all the while to Integrity and Juſtice: So that under the Appearance of *Friends*, they ſerv'd me likewiſe in the Quality of *Hoſtages.*

The Modeſty and Juſtice of Joſeph's *Adminiſtration.*

I was now in the *thirtieth Year* of my Life; an Age wherein all the Virtue and Precaution in Nature is not able to ſecure a Man from the Laſh of Envy and Detraction; eſpecially in a Poſt of Honour and Power. But I can ſay this for my ſelf however, that I was never charg'd with any Miſdemeanour, either in Matter of Women, or Corruption. I wanted nothing, and I coveted nothing: Nay, I was ſo far from taking any Thing that did not belong to me, that I refuſed my very Tenths, though properly due to me as a Prieſt, even when they were offer'd me. As for the Spoils upon the Defeat I gave the *Syrians*, it is very true that I ſent Part of that Booty to my Kindred at *Jeruſalem*; and ſo after *two Overthrows* given to the *Sepphorites*; *four* to the People of *Tiberias*; the *Gadarenes* once at my Mercy, and *John himſelf*, after ſeveral treacherous Practices, made my Priſoner, I paſs'd it all over without taking any Revenge, either of the one or the other; and God that ſaw the Innocence of my Heart in this whole Matter, was ſo gracious as to deliver me from the Snares of my perfidious Enemies; and not upon that Occaſion only, but divers Times afterwards, as will be ſeen in its proper Place.

The Galilæans *have a great Veneration for* Joſeph.

John's *malitious Envy.*

John *tampers with the People of* Tiberias *againſt* Joſeph.

Juſtus *and* Piſtus *joyn Intereſts with* John.

Silas *gives* Joſeph *Notice of the Plot upon him.*

Joſeph *poſts away for* Tiberias.

Joſeph's *Diſcourſe upon the Subject of good Faith and Treachery.*

Joſeph *eſcapes very narrowly. He ſhips himſelf off for* Taricheæ.

The People of *Galilee* had all of them ſuch a Reſpect and Tenderneſs for me, that though they ſaw their Towns deſtroy'd, and their Wives and Children hurry'd away into Captivity before their Faces, they had much a greater Concern yet for my Hazards and Sufferings than their own. *John* was ready to burſt all this while with *Envy* at the Thought of my being ſo popular; and under the Pretext of a preſent Indiſpoſition, he wrote to me for Leave to go to the *hot Baths* of *Tiberias* for his Health; which I not only granted him at firſt Word, without ſo much as dreaming of any Trick in the Bottom of it, but gave him recommendatory Letters alſo to provide for the Entertainment of himſelf and his Train, with Meat, Drink, Lodging, and all other Conveniencies, and to take Care that they wanted nothing. I was at this Time in a Village of *Galilee* call'd *Cana*. *John* was no ſooner come to *Tiberias*, but he fell preſently to work upon debauching the Inhabitants into a Sedition, and inveigling them over into his Party. There were a great many among them forward and factious enough, to hearken to any Thing that might lead to a Change; and glad at Heart too, of ſuch an Occaſion: As among others, *Juſtus*, and his Father *Piſtus*, who immediately cloſed with the Propoſition, and joyn'd Intereſts with *John* againſt me. But by God's Providence the Plot was ſeaſonably diſappointed; for *Silas*, my *Deputy Governour* of *Tiberias*, ſent me the whole Story of it from Point to Point, how the Caſe ſtood at that Time, and what they intended: Adviſing me by all Means to haſten thither all I could, and prevent the Miſchief before it was too late; for the Government would be quickly in other Hands elſe. Upon reading this Intelligence, I poſted away for *Tiberias* with 200 Men; ſent a Meſſenger before, to let my Friends know I was a coming, and ſo travelled the whole Night. The People, early in the Morning, came out of the Town to meet me upon the Way, and *John* himſelf among the reſt; but ſo out of Countenance and confounded, that he betray'd his Guilt in his Face. Being now conſcious to himſelf that his Neck was at Stake if he was diſcover'd, he made a haſty Reverence, and that Inſtant withdrew to his Lodging. In the mean Time away went I to the publick Place of Exerciſes, where I diſcharg'd my own Train all but one Man, and ten Soldiers that I kept about me. After this, I mounted a high Standing that I took up there, from whence I made a Diſcourſe to the *Tiberians*, upon the Subject of good Faith and Allegiance; the Honour of a generous Conſtancy; and the dangerous Conſequences, as well as the actual Baſeneſs, of betraying a Truſt; for one Treachery, I told them, would moſt certainly be avenged upon the Head of the Traytor by another, and that after one Act of Perfidy, their Credit would be loſt for ever. The Words were hardly out of my Mouth, but I heard ſome Body call fiercely and earneſtly to me immediately to *come down, and provide for my own Security, for my Enemies were juſt upon me; and that this was no Time for Speeches.* Now the Truth of it was, that having me at an Advantage in a Place where I was little better than alone, *John* drew a ſelect Number of Men out of the thouſand that he commanded, with Orders to fall upon me there by Surprize: And they were already advanc'd within a very little of executing their Deſign; which they had certainly done, if I had not leap'd down that very Moment by the Help of one of my own Guards whoſe Name was *Jacob*, and one *Herod* of *Tiberias*, who led me off to the Lake; where, by great Providence, I found a Veſſel ready that carried me off to *Taricheæ*, beyond all Expectation, and out of the Reach and Power of my Enemies. The People of the Place were ſo enrag'd at the *Tiberians* upon this Story of their barbarous Treachery, that they betook themſelves to their Arms, and begg'd of me in a Body, only to march in the Head of them againſt thoſe perfidious Wretches, that they might do me Right upon them for ſo horrid a Villany. The Report of this Outrage was quickly ſpread all over *Galilee*, with an Invitation to come in and joyn with them againſt *Tiberias*, and to remit themſelves to the Direction and Conduct of their Governour, to do whatever he ſhould think fit. The *Galilæans* gather'd together preſently in great Numbers; and with great Earneſtneſs entreated me to aſſault *Tiberias*, and upon the taking of it, utterly to demoliſh it; and to expoſe the Inhabitants with their whole Families to Sale for Slaves at a publick Outcry. And this was not the Senſe of the *Galilæans* alone, but my very Friends that came to me out of *Tiberias* were of the ſame Opinion too. But I was ſo tender of making my ſelf the Author and Beginner of a civil War, that I could not bring my ſelf to reſolve upon thoſe Extremities: And, in Truth, I was very deſirous to put a Stop to the Diſpute before it came to Blows: Beſide that I preſs'd it as their own Intereſt alſo, not to fall to cutting one anothers Throats for a Spectacle to the *Romans*, that were to ſtand looking on. By this Means I took off the Edge of the *Galilæans*, in the Concluſion; though not without much a-do. When *John* found that all his juggling Practices againſt me ſtill fail'd him, it was high Time now, he thought, to look to himſelf: So that taking along what Men he had about him, he quitted *Tiberias* and went to *Giſchala*, and from thence he wrote me a Kind of an excuſatory, acknowledging Letter: Setting forth, that it was indeed a very ill Thing done, but without any Privity of his, as he call'd God to Witneſs. He begg'd of me that I would believe him, with moſt hideous Oaths and Imprecations in his Letter, to the Truth of what he told me, to a Syllable. But this did not ſatisfie the *Galilæans* at all; for they knew him too well, for a perjur'd Wretch, to believe one Word he ſaid, ever the more for his ſwearing it: So that they preſs'd me ſtill, (being a mighty Body of Men got together) to lead them on to the Aſſault, that they might deſtroy him, and *Giſchala*, the Place of his Nativity both at once. I gave them a thouſand Thanks for the Reſpect and good Will they had ſhew'd me; and aſſured them of all the beſt Offices I could do them in Requital: But at the ſame Time, I adviſ'd them by all Means to be temperate, and patient, and to give me Leave to try a little if the Quarrel might not be taken up without Blood, and to their Liking too, before it came to farther Miſchief. The *Galilæans* yielded, and they came ſoon after to *Sepphoris*. The Inhabitants, being reſolved to keep Faith with the *Romans*, were not without ſome Apprehenſion upon my Advance, and ſo contrived for their own Security, how they might give me a Diverſion ſome other Way. *Jeſus*, the Head of the *Outlaws*, was at that Time upon the Borders of *Ptolemais*, with a Body of 800 *Men* under his Command; and they could not do better, they thought, than preſently to diſpatch a Meſſenger to him with the Promiſe of a conſiderable Sum of Money to make War upon us. The Temptation prevail'd; and the Way he pitch'd upon was to take us at unawares, and unprovided; and ſo to do the Work by Surprize. Upon this, he ſent Word to me by a Meſſenger, that he ſhould be glad if I would give him Leave to make me a Viſit. I made no Difficulty of doing it; for I had no Jealouſie in the World of foul Play: So that he took a Troop of his Robbers, and haſten'd his Journey all he could. But the Deſign miſcarry'd: For upon his Approach within a little of the Town, I had Intelligence brought me by a Deſerter from him that came over to me, of the whole Contrivance. Upon this Information, I went directly into the Market Place, as if I had known nothing of the Plot upon me; and I was there attended with a numerous Train of *Galilæans* in Arms, and ſeveral *Tiberians* among them. I gave Order then for the Guard of the Paſſes, and to the Porters of the Gates, to let in only *Jeſus* himſelf, with ſome few of his Followers, and then ſhut the Gates upon the Reſt: Or if they ſhould attempt to break in by Violence, they ſhould repell them with Blows too. They did as they were ordered, and admitted *Jeſus* with ſome few of his Train, and then ſhut the Gates upon the Reſt. So ſoon as he was in, I bad him throw down his Arms, or expect to die, which he did, finding himſelf ſurrounded with a Guard of Soldiers. Upon this, thoſe of his Men that were ſhut out, hearing how it was with their Leader, betook themſelves immediately to Flight. So calling *Jeſus* apart, I told him ſomewhat to this Purpoſe: *I have you now in my Hands, you ſee; I knew all your Contrivances, your Councels and your Adviſers; and yet after all theſe Provocations, if you will paſs your Word now to be an honeſt Man, and a good Subject, for the Time to come, all that you have hitherto done ſhall be forgiven, and forgotten.* He promis'd he would, and ſo I gave him his Liberty, and his Men again, leaving him as I found him. And for the *Sepphorites*, I only charg'd them to be quiet and peaceable for the Future, at their Peril.

The People in a Rage at the Treachery.

The Moderation of Joſeph.

John *leaves* Tiberias *and goes to* Giſchala.

John *excuſes himſelf to* Joſeph *with dreadful Oaths and Imprecations.*

The People were for deſtroying John *and* Giſchala *both at once.*

Joſeph *pacifies the Multitude.*

Jeſus *the Head of the Out-laws makes War upon* Joſeph.

Jeſus *ſets a Trap for* Joſeph; *and is taken in it himſelf.*

Joſeph's *Generoſity to* John, *and to the* Sepphorites.

There came to me, at the ſame Time, two Noblemen, and Subjects of the King of *Trachonitis*, with Horſes, Money, and Arms. The *Jews* were abſolutely againſt the receiving of them, unleſs they would be *Circumcis'd*; but I told them that every Man was to worſhip God according to the Rules of his own Conſcience, not of another Man's; and therefore I was utterly againſt the giving of them any Trouble upon that Account: Beſide that it would be an inhoſpitable Rigour, to make People that came to them for Sanctuary in their Diſtreſs, repent the good Opinion they had of their Charity. Upon diſcourſing the Matter, the Multitude were all of the ſame Mind, and ſo I gave them an Entertainment ſuitable to the Circumſtances and Occaſion.

King *Agrippa*, in the mean Time, ſent [a] *Equus Modius* with a conſiderable Force to take in the Caſtle of *Magdala*. He was not in a Condition to lay Siege to it; but all that he could do was to poſt *Guards* upon the *Avenues*, and ſo to *block up Gamala*. *Æbutius*, the *Decadarch*, that had the Command of the great Plain, underſtanding that I was to come to *Simonias*, a Village upon the Skirts of *Galilee*; and a Matter of ſixty Furlongs off from the Place where he was; he drew out a hundred Horſe that he had then about him, near 200 Foot, and ſome auxiliary Troops from *Gaba*, and making one Night's Journey of it, came up to the Village; whereupon I fac'd him with a Body of the beſt Men I had. He was too ſtrong for me in Horſe, and would fain have drawn me into the open Field; but my Strength conſiſting principally in Foot, I found it would not be ſafe to venture my ſelf upon that Odds of Ground, and ſo kept to my Station. *Æbutius* did what he could to force me from my Poſt; but when he ſaw it was not to be done with Horſe he quitted his Deſign, and march'd off to *Gaba*, with the Loſs only of three Men in the Action. I follow'd him immediately upon the Heel, with a Body of 2000 Men, and when I came to *Beſara*, a Town upon the Border of *Ptolemais*, and ſome 20 Furlongs from *Gaba*, where *Æbutius* at that Time was, I took Poſſeſſion of all the Paſſes about it, to ſecure my Quarters, and in the mean Time carried off the Wheat, and other Grain, to a prodigious Quantity, that had been taken from the neighbouring Villages belonging to Queen *Berenice*, which was there laid up in Store. This Proviſion I cauſed to be tranſported to *Galilee* upon a Multitude of Camels and Aſſes that I brought thither on Purpoſe. So ſoon as this Work was over, I offer'd *Æbutius* Battle, but when we ſaw he durſt not venture upon an Engagement, I bent my Courſe toward *Neapolitanus*, who was then in Garriſon with a Body of Horſe at *Scythopolis*, and committing Ravage in the Country about *Tiberias*. By this Means I deliver'd *Tiberias* from any farther Vexation from this Enemy: And my whole Care was in the next Place how to provide for the ſettling of *Galilee*.

John *enrag'd at the Reputation and Succeſſes of* Joſeph.

The Gabarenes *ſide with* John.

The Wife of Ptolemy *robb'd by the* Dabarittenians.

They carry the Spoil to Tarichex.

Now *John* the Son of *Levi*, being, as you have heard, at *Giſchala*, was gall'd at the very Soul to ſee Matters go ſo well with me, and to find how much I was belov'd by my People, and fear'd by my Enemies: and in the Rancour of this Envy, propoſed to himſelf how he might turn the Hearts of my Subjects againſt me, ſoliciting the *Tiberians* and the *Sepphorites* to join againſt me, and flattering himſelf that he might get the *Gabarenes* to fall off too; theſe being the moſt conſiderable People in *Galilee*; inſinuating, how much eaſier their Condition would be under his Government than they found it in mine; and reckoning upon it all the while, that juſt ſo much Advantage, or Reputation as I got, he himſelf loſt. The *Sepphorites* were, in Truth, neither for *him*, nor for *me*, but for the *Romans*. The *Tiberians* would not be perſuaded to revolt, but promis'd however to entertain an amicable Correſpondence with him; only the *Gabarenes* clos'd with him to all Purpoſes, by the Means of *Simon* an eminent Citizen, and a peculiar Friend and Companion of *John*'s; and they were not altogether barefac'd neither in the new Alliance, for Fear of the *Galilæans*, of whoſe Friendſhip, and Reſpect to me they had ſeen ſo many Experiments, but they never fail'd however, of coming in for a Part in any underhand Practices againſt me; and it was very narrowly that I 'ſcap'd them upon one particular Inſtance. There was a Party of *Dabarittenians*, a Parcel of bold young Fellows, that upon Intelligence that the Wife of *Ptolemy*, the Kings *Intendant*, travelling with a pompous Train of Horſe and other Equipage over *the great Plain*, out of the Kings Juriſdiction into a Province of the *Romans*; Way-laid, and ſet upon the Company, forced the Lady to ſhift for herſelf, and made Prize of what ſhe had. This paſs'd while I was at *Tarichea*, and thither they brought four Mules Laden with rich Cloaths, and other precious Furniture, a great Number of Silver Veſſels, and 500 Pieces of Gold. Now theſe being the Goods of *Ptolemy*, a Man of my own Tribe; (and our Law not allowing us ſo much as to rob our very Enemies) I told the People that brought them, that they were by any Means to be preſerv'd, till they could be ſold to the beſt Advantage, and the Money then to be

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[b] *Gr.* Ἔκκος Μόδιος

laid out upon repairing the Walls of *Jeruſalem*. Theſe Ruffians laid it ſo to Heart to be diſappointed of a Booty, they thought themſelves as good as ſure of, that they gave it out up and down all about *Tiberias*, that I had a Deſign in my Head to betray the Province to the *Romans*. I pretended indeed, they ſaid, to employ the Profit of the Purchaſe upon rebuilding the Walls of *Jeruſalem*; but upon the whole Matter, that my Buſineſs was to reſtore it to the former Maſter; and they were not much wide of the Matter; for after the Departure of the young Men, I call'd two Citizens to me of the firſt Quality; that is to ſay, *Daſſion*, and *Jannæus* the Son of *Levi*, both in great Eſteem with the King; and order'd them to make Reſtitution of the Prize, and upon Pain of Death not to diſcover the Secret to any Mortal. The Rumour was by this Time ſpread all over *Galilee*, that I was in a Conſpiracy to deliver them up to the *Romans*; and all People were tamper'd againſt me to take a Revenge. The Men of *Tarichea* among others, gave ſo much Credit to the Story, that they dealt with ſeveral of my Guards, and other Soldiers, to ſteal away from me in my Sleep, and come into the *Circus* to confer there with other People concern'd, how to diſpoſe of the Government: When they came thither, they found a huge Concourſe of People gotten together beforehand, all with one Voice calling out for Juſtice upon the Traytor; but the Ringleader of the Tumult was *Jeſus*, the [a] Son of *Saphias*, who was at that Time the head Magiſtrate of *Tiberias*; and one of the falſeſt, and the moſt ſeditious Wretches under the Sun. He preſented himſelf with the *two Tables* of *Moſes* in his Hand, and preſſing into the Crowd, he ſpake to them after this Manner. *If ſo it be*, ſays he, *that you have no Regard at all to your own Good and Safety, let it be recommended to you however to preſerve a Reverence ſtill for theſe holy Laws, which that ſame* Joſeph, *your Governour, has made no Difficulty to betray, and conſequently to render himſelf ſo odious to all good Men, that no Puniſhment can be too exemplary and ſevere.* Theſe Words were entertain'd with Acclamations and Applauſes; ſo that the People gather'd together, and taking Soldiers along with them, hurry'd away immediately to my Lodging, with a full Determination to take away my Life. And there lay I, quite tir'd, and faſt aſleep, without ſo much as the leaſt Senſe or Thought of a Tumult. But at laſt, all on a ſudden, *Simon*, one of the Guards, and the only Man that ſtay'd with me, upon the Sight of a Crowd of People preſſing in upon me, rowz'd me up and wak'd me, ſhew'd me the Danger I was in, and adviſ'd me in one Word, rather to ſuffer a generous Death from my own Hand, than to be inſulted upon at the Will and Pleaſure of an inſolent Enemy. Upon this Advice I committed my ſelf to Providence, chang'd my Clothes, diſguis'd my ſelf in Black, put on my Sword, and out I went thorough the Middle of the Throng; and ſo by a By-way, where I was ſure to meet none of my Adverſaries, I ſhew'd my ſelf in the *Circus*, where I fell upon my Face, weeping and wailing in ſo moving a Manner, that the Generality of the Multitude themſelves could not but pity me. When I found the Humour of the People in ſome Meaſure wrought upon, and ſoften'd, I did what I could to divide them in their Opinions of me, and of my Condition, before the Return of the Soldiers from my Lodgings. I did not deny it, I told them, but that there was ſomewhat indeed of Truth in the Matter that was objected againſt me. I deſir'd only that they would firſt underſtand the Fact, and what Uſe I intended to make of that Booty; and then, if they thought me worthy of Death, let them take my Life in God's Name. The Multitude were for hearing me, and bad me ſpeak on, only the Soldiers being juſt now return'd, they were for cutting me to Pieces out of Hand: But upon the Clamour of the common People, and ſecond Thoughts, they were prevail'd upon to reſpite the Execution, taking for granted, that after the Diſcovery, and Confeſſion of the Treaſon, and that I did really intend to reſerve that Money for the King, they ſhould have a better Excuſe and Pretence for going thorough with the Work at laſt; and ſo do the ſame Thing that Way as well as the other. Upon this, they gave me the Hearing, and Silence being proclaim'd, that which I ſaid was ſhort, and to this Effect.

Joſeph *cauſes the Booty to be reſtored.*

Joſeph *charg'd with Treachery.*

A Plot upon Joſeph *to depoſe him.*

Jeſus *the Son of* Saphias, *Head of the Faction.*

Joſeph *beſet in his Houſe with Soldiers.*

Joſeph *ſlips away in a Diſguiſe.*

He goes to the Circus, *and addreſſes himſelf to the People.*

The Multitude are for hearing him; the Soldiers for cutting him to Pieces.

Men and Brethren, if it ſhall be your Opinion that I have deſerved to die, ſo let it be; provided I may but give you a true State of the Caſe I ſuffer for, before I go. I have ever look'd upon this City as a Sanctuary to Strangers; and indeed ſo great, and general a Comfort to Mankind, that betwixt the Conveniences of the Place, and the agreeable Manners and Converſation of the Inhabitants, Multitudes of People have been prevail'd upon to quit their native Soil, and tranſplanting themſelves hither, to take their Fortunes, good or bad, with the Country: And what's my Crime now, but the dedicating of a Sum of Money, out of a Zeal to the Publick Service, toward the repairing of your Walls? This is, in ſhort, the Ground of your Diſpleaſure. The *Taricheans* and *Foreigners*, with infinite Thanks and Encouragement, bad me *go on*, and fear nothing; but the *Galilæans* and *Tiberians*, on the other Hand, were as untractable and outragious; ſo that it came to a

Joſeph's *Appeal.*

direct

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[a] Σαπίθα παῖς. *Gr.*

The Multitude are divided; Part for him, Part againſt him.

direct Feud betwixt them; the one Side plying me with Menaces and hard Words; and the other undertaking for my Security and Protection. But upon promiſing the *Tiberians* to do as much for them too, and ſo likewiſe for other Towns, where the Situation would bear it, they let fall the Conteſt, took my Word for the Performance, and ſlipt every Man away, one after another, to his own Home; after which unexpected and wonderful Deliverance, I return'd with ſome Friends, and a Matter of twenty Soldiers, to my own Quarter.

Another Deſign upon Joſeph *in his Lodgings.*

The Ruffians, and the Heads of this ſeditious Tumult, finding themſelves now in ſome Danger to be call'd to an Account for what they had done, gather'd together a Matter of 600 of them, and march'd right out to the Houſe where I lodg'd, with a Reſolution to ſet Fire to it. Having Notice of their coming, and of their Purpoſe, it would have look'd ſcandalouſly, methought, to fly before them: So that I rather choſe to ſhut the Doors againſt them, and make the beſt of a bad Game. Upon this, I call'd to them out of my Window, that if Money was their Buſineſs, they had no more to do then, but to appoint any Body they thought fit to receive it, and never trouble their Heads with any further Squabble for the Matter. So they ſent over a Party to fetch the Money, and upon their entring the Houſe, finding one particular Perſon to be more inſolent and troubleſome than the reſt of his Companions, I order'd him to be ſeiz'd, whipt, one Hand cut off, and hang'd about his Neck, and ſo turn'd out again, to tell his Tale to thoſe that employ'd him upon this Errand.

Joſeph *brings himſelf off by a Stratagem.*

The whole Company was ſo ſurpriz'd at this Treatment, that taking for granted I had a ſtrong Guard in my Houſe, they all ſcour'd away immediately for Fear of being ſerv'd with the ſame Sawce; and by this Stratagem, I brought my ſelf off for this Bout. After this Diſappointment, they had Recourſe to another Invention (as they would never be without ſome Pretext or other to move the Multitude). They pick'd a Quarrel with the two Noblemen that apply'd themſelves in their Diſtreſs to me for Sanctuary. They were Spies and Poiſoners, they ſaid, and not to be protected in any Place where they would not conform to the Faſhions of the Country.

The Levity of the Common People.

Joſeph *reaſons the Matter with them.*

This popular Way of Hint and Inſinuation, put the Multitude into their Freaks again; but upon hearing which Way it wrought, I told them plainly that it was not either generous or diſcreet, to provoke, and to inſult upon People that caſt themſelves upon us for Succour; for we did not know how ſoon their Caſe might come to be our own. And then to fanſy their coming hither to poiſon us, nothing could be more ridiculous; for what ſhould the *Romans* be at the Charge for, of maintaining ſo many Legions in Arms, and in Pay, when there would need no more, if they were that Way given, than a *Spell*, or a *Bolus*, to do the Work? This pacify'd them a little for the preſent; but their Choler was up again immediately; inſomuch that away they went with a Band of deſperate Ruffians together to *Tarichcæ*, to beſet the Lodgings of theſe Strangers, and fall upon their Perſons. In the very Inſtant of hearing what they were about, I got what Men I could together, and ſo poſted away with all poſſible Speed to prevent the Miſchief; for the Sufferance of ſo barbarous an Inhumanity, would have made me odious to Mankind. Briefly, I made a Shift to get up time enough to ſhut the Door, and make good the Houſe, till I could run a Trench from the Backſide into the Lake there at Hand, where I took a Boat, and ſo croſs'd over to the Borders of the *Hippenians*, with my two noble Gueſts aboard, where I allow'd them the Value of their Horſes, which in ſuch a Hurry they could not take along with them; and for a Farewell, earneſtly beſought them to bear their preſent Lot with Conſtancy and Honour. It went to the very Heart of me to do a Thing ſo like Treachery, as to deliver up any Man to the Mercy of an Enemy's Country, that had thrown himſelf into my Arms, in Confidence of good Faith and Protection, but of the two, I rather choſe, how hazardous ſoever, to leave them to Providence one Way, than to a certain Deſtruction by the Perfidy of my own People, the other. But after all this, they were preſerv'd at laſt; *Agrippa* pardon'd them; and this was the End of theſe Broils.

The People of Tiberias *offer their Service to* Agrippa.

The *Tiberians* having it now in their Heads to go over to King *Agrippa*, offer'd him their Service by Letter, provided he would furniſh them with Troops ſufficient to protect them. Upon the firſt Notice of this Overture, I went to look after them, and upon my Arrival, they minded me of my Promiſe for the rebuilding of their Walls, being informed, it ſeems, that I had been as good as my Word at *Taricheæ* already. I told them it ſhould be done, and gave Orders for the providing of Materials and Workmen to go in Hand with it immediately. After three Days Stay there, I made a Journey to *Taricheæ* ſome *thirty Furlongs off:* In which Time it ſo happen'd that certain *Roman* Troops being upon their March within Sight of *Tiberias*, the Inhabitants took them to be of *Agrippa*'s Party, falling preſently into the higheſt Admiration of the King in the World; and at the ſame Time reflecting upon me as bitterly and contemptuouſly as was poſſible. The next News I heard, was brought me by a Meſſenger in great Haſte, that the People were upon the very Point of a Revolt, which put me to my Wits End what to do. For the *Sabbath* being now at Hand, I had diſmiſs'd the Soldiers from *Tarichea* for the quieter Celebration of the *Feſtival*: Beſide that I ſeldom kept a Guard about me in that Place, in Confidence of the try'd Loyalty and good Affection of the People: So that having only ſeven Soldiers, and ſome few Friends about me, I found my ſelf in a great Perplexity what Courſe to take. It would have been to no Purpoſe to recall my Troops now in the Evening, which I could have no Uſe at all of the next Day: And then for the People of *Tarichea*, Strangers and all, if I could have engaged them to my Aſſiſtance, as perhaps I might, by the Hope and Promiſe of Pillage and Booty, they would not have been ſufficient yet at laſt to have done my Buſineſs: And there was no Room for Conſideration, or Delay; for Fear of the Enemies prepoſſeſſing the City in the *Interim*, and ſhutting me out; ſo that I bethought my ſelf of this Invention: I gave it in Charge to ſome of my very particular and truſty Friends, to keep a ſtrict Eye upon the Gates, and not ſuffer any Creature to paſs out of the Town. They were likewiſe to appoint the Heads of the chief Families in the City, every Man to mount his Boat, and put out into the Lake, with only one Mariner to every Bark, and ſo to follow me, while I my ſelf with ſeven Soldiers and ſome few of my Friends, in another Boat ſtood away to Rights for *Tiberias*; where the People were by this Time informed of their Miſtake; and that there were no Troops of the Kings at Hand, as they imagin'd. The Inhabitants ſeeing the Lake however cover'd over with Veſſels, and ſurmiſing nothing leſs than an Army aboard ready to break in upon the City; betook themſelves upon this Fright, and ſecond Thoughts to other Meaſures. For they laid down their Arms, and coming out with their Wives and Children, and with all the Submiſſion in the World, they joy'd me of my Arrival; wiſh'd me Succeſs in my Undertakings, and invited me into their City: Little dreaming all this while that the Plot was diſcover'd. Upon drawing near the Shore; I gave Order for all my Followers to come to an Anchor ſo far from Land, that the People might not diſcern this formidable Fleet at ſuch a Diſtance to be only an Amuſement of empty Boats. In the mean Time I came up my ſelf to the very Key, and after a Rebuke ſevere enough, for the Wickedneſs and Folly of their Breach of Faith; I was content yet in the End to paſs it all over, upon Condition that they ſhould ſend me aboard ten of the beſt Men they had for a Caution; which they did at firſt Word, and by this Trick I got the whole *Senate*, and a great Part of their principal Citizens, one after another by little and little into my Hand. The Remainder of the Multitude reflecting upon the Condition they now were in, caſt the Fault wholly upon one *Clitus*, a bold hot headed Fellow among them, as the chief Incendiary, and deſir'd me that I would command Juſtice to be done upon him. I could not in Conſcience put a Man of my own Tribe to death, and yet lying under an abſolute Neceſſity of making him exemplary ſome Way or other, I commanded one *Levi*, a Soldier in my Guards, to cut off one of his Hands. The Fellow durſt not venture upon it alone for Fear of the People; and I was as much afraid on the other Side, leaſt the People ſhould take Notice of his Boggling at the Execution. So that without any more ado, I called out to *Clitus* my ſelf. *Come*, ſaid I, *Thou baſeſt of Men, I do here condemn thee to the Loſs of both thy Hands for thy Ingratitude and Treachery, and as much as in thee lyes, to be thine own Executioner, wherefore be quick and diſpatch, or thou ſhalt not come off ſo.* The Man begg'd hard to be excus'd for one of them, and after ſome ſeeming Difficulty having obtain'd it, he forthwith cut off his left Hand with his Right to ſave the other, and this put an End to the Tumult. From hence I return'd to *Tarichea*; leaving the *Tiberians* in great Admiration at the putting of a Stop to ſo furious an Uproar, without Blood-ſhed: Matters being now quiet, I ſent for the *Tiberian* Priſoners, to eat with me; *Juſtus* and his Father *Piſtus* among the reſt. I was ſaying in the Freedom of Table Diſcourſe, that I look'd upon the *Romans* as the greateſt People under the Sun; but yet in Regard of the preſent Faction I had to do withal, I reckon'd it good Diſcretion to keep my Thoughts to my ſelf, and it would be well if they did ſo too, I thought till Times ſhould be better; and in the mean while to live quiet under my Adminiſtration; for they ſhould never find any Governour eaſier to them than my ſelf. So I minded *Juſtus* of the *Galilæans* cutting off the Hands of his Brother upon a Pretence of Forgery, and before my coming from *Jeruſalem*; and likewiſe how the *Gamalites* upon a Diſpute they had with the *Babylonians* after *Philip*'s Departure, put his Kinſman *Chares* to Death: Whereas I had not treated his Brother in Law *Jeſus*, I told him, at that barbarous Rate. This was the Subſtance of what paſs'd at Supper, and the next Morning early, *Juſtus* and his Companions were all diſcharg'd.

The Inhabitants are ready to revolt.

Joſeph's *Invention to bring the People to their Wits again.*

Joſeph *gets the Senate and the chief Citizens of* Tiberias *for his Security.*

Clitus *the principal Incendiary.*

The People call for Juſtice upon him.

Joſeph *adjudges* Clitus *to cut off his left Hand with his right.*

Joſeph *invites* Juſtus *and* Piſtus, *and other Priſoners to eat with him.*

Joſephus's *Diſcourſe at the Table.*

Juſtus *and his Companions diſcharg'd.*

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Agrippa *ſends for* Philip *to Court:*

And gives him honourable Commiſſions.

One Joſeph *a* Mountebank *ſtirs up the People to a Rebellion.*

The Faction in a Tumult, and divers kill'd in the Riot.

It was a little before this, that *Philip* the Son of *Jacimus*, went away from *Gamala*, upon this Account. News being brought him of the Revolt of *Varus* from *Agrippa*, and *Modius Equus*, his very good Friend put in his Place, he gave *Modius* to underſtand by Letter, how it was with him, and the preſent State of his Affairs, with a Packet alſo for the King and the Queen, who were then at *Berytus*. *Modius* was overjoy'd to find him in Health, and in ſo good a Condition, and ſent away the other Packet according to the Addreſs. So ſoon as the King perceived by theſe Letters, that the Story of *Philip*'s putting himſelf in the Head of the *Jews* againſt the *Romans*, was a falſe Report, he ſent for him to Court by a Party of Horſe; and taking him into his Arms upon his Arrival with great Honour and Kindneſs, told the Commanders about him, that this was the Perſon they heard was gone off from the *Romans*. He ſent him ſoon after this, with ſome Troops of Horſe to the Fort of *Gamala*; with Inſtructions to bring away all his Family; re-ſettle the *Babylonians* in *Batanæa*, and to take all poſſible Care to keep the People quiet. *Philip* had no ſooner receiv'd his Orders, but away he went immediately upon his Commiſſion. About this Time, up ſtarted a Kind of a *Quack Doctor*, whoſe Name was *Joſeph*, with a Crew of mad young Rogues at his Heels, and not without ſome conſiderable Citizens in the Medly, for the better countenancing of the Tumult. The Buſineſs of this *Mountebank* was to debauch the People from their Allegiance, by encouraging them to take up Arms, and with Sword in Hand to aſſert their ancient Rights and Liberties. The Faction grew quickly to ſuch a Head, that it was certain Death to oppoſe them; as in this Riot they killed *Chares*, and his Kinſman *Jeſus* with the Siſter of *Juſtus* of *Tiberias*, of whom we have ſpoken already. They wrote to me after this, to ſend them Troops for a Garriſon, and Workmen to run up a Wall about the Town, which I agreed to, both the one, and the other.

The Gaulanites *fall off from* Agrippa.

Joſeph *wars, and fortifies ſeveral Places.*

At the ſame Time the Countrey of the *Gaulanites* fell off from *Agrippa*, as far as the Village *Solyma*. I wall'd in *Sogannis* and *Seleucia*, two very ſtrong Places by Situation; and I fortify'd ſeveral Towns in the *upper Galilee*, as *Jamnia*, *Amerytha* and *Charabe* among the rocky Mountains. In *Galilee* I fortify'd the Towns alſo of *Taricheæ*, *Tiberias* and *Sepphoris*, and the Villages of the Cave of *Arbela*, *Berſobe*, *Selame*, *Jotapata*, *Capharath*, *Comoſogana*, *Næpapha* and the Mount *Itabyr*. In theſe Places I had my Magazines of Corn and Arms.

John *deals with* Simon *to get* Joſeph *remov'd from his Government.*

Simon *an eminent Citizen, and by Sect, a* Phariſee.

Ananus *the High-Prieſt, and* Jeſus *the Son of* Gamala *tamper againſt* Joſeph.

Simon *gains his Point with Money and Preſents.*

The Manner of the Contrivance and the Agents employ'd.

This proſperous Courſe of my Affairs was ſuch an Eye-ſore to *John* the Son of *Levi*, that he took up a Reſolution ſome Way or other, at what Rate ſoever to deſtroy me: So that after the walling in of *Giſchala*, he ſent away his Brother *Simon* with a hundred Men to *Simon* the Son of *Gamaliel* at *Jeruſalem*, to try if he could get the Council of the City to remove me from my Government, and to ſubſtitute *John* in my Place. Now this *Simon* was a Citizen of the firſt Rank; by *Sect*, a *Phariſee*, and conſequently a ſtrict Obſerver of the Laws of *Moſes*; a Perſon of extraordinary Prudence, and no Man better qualify'd for the obviating of any Difficulty at a Pinch: Over and above that he was *John*'s ancient and particular Friend, and at that Time known to be my Enemy. He was, in Short, ſo far wrought upon by Solicitation and Entreaty, that he put it in the Head of the *High-Prieſt*, *Ananus*, and *Jeſus* the Son of *Gamala*, with others of the Party, to have a Care of me betimes, before I got up to be too ſtrong for them; for they were highly concern'd, he ſaid, to have me turn'd out of the Command of *Galilee*, and to ſee it done without Delay too, before the Deſign could take Air; for Fear of my preventing the Execution of it, by falling in upon them with a powerful Army. *Ananus* the *High-Prieſt* told him on the other Hand, that I had ſo many of the *High-Prieſts* and Heads of the People, that could bear Witneſs to the Conduct and Juſtice of my Adminiſtration, that it would be a hard Matter to obtain a Vote againſt me: Neither would it appear reaſonable to proceed to a Judgment upon any Man without aſſigning his Crime. So *Simon* deſir'd them to make no Words at all of what had paſs'd, but leave it to him to take Care for the diſplacing of me ſome other Way. Upon this he apply'd himſelf to the Brother of *John*, and propos'd the Diſtribution of Money and Preſents among the Friends of *Ananus*, as the moſt likely Courſe he could take for the gaining of his Point. By this Method, in Fine, *Simon* compaſſed his End; for *Ananus* and his Companions, upon the receiving of theſe Bribes, laid their Heads together immediately how they might depoſe me from my Government, and without making ſo much as any one Man beſide, privy to the Counſel, the Way they pitch'd upon was to employ *four Agents* upon the Commiſſion; *two* of them *noble*, and the *other two*, *private* Perſons; but all four equally qualify'd for their Learning, and Skill in the *Law*, as there was [a] *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, both *Phariſees*, for *two* of them: [b] *Joazar*, a Man of a *ſacerdotal* Family, and a *Phariſee* alſo, for a *third*; and then the *fourth* was *Simon*, of the *pontifical Line* too, and the *youngeſt* of the *four*. Theſe Men had their Inſtructions

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[a] *Gr.* Ἰωνάθης.

[b] Γόζορος.

ctions given them to reaſon the Matter at the next Meeting of the *Galilæans*, with the Members of the Aſſembly, and to expoſtulate, why they ſhould chuſe me before another. If they ſhould ſay becauſe I am a *Native* of *Jeruſalem*; it might be anſwer'd, *ſo were they:* And then for my Knowledge of the *Laws*, the ſame Thing might be ſaid for them too; or if they ſhould ſay they did it out of a Reſpect to the *Prieſthood*, they might make Anſwer that *two of their Number had the very ſame Pretence.* With this Leſſon, and 40000 Pieces of Silver out of the publick Treaſury, *Jonathan*, and his Companions, went away about their Buſineſs. There came at this Time one *Jeſus* a *Galilæan*, with a Band of 600 Soldiers to *Jeruſalem*; with whom theſe Commiſſioners agreed for three Months Pay Advance to follow *Jonathan*, and his *Collegues*, and to obey them, and their Orders; joining to theſe Soldiers 300 *Mercenaries* more out of the City. With this Train the Deputies went their Way; and the Brother of *John* with his Company of 100 Men along with them. Their Order was this; in Caſe I ſhould voluntarily lay down my Arms, to take me Priſoner, and ſend me alive to *Jeruſalem*; but upon any Oppoſition, they were to kill me out of Hand; and their Order ſhould bear them out in it. There were Letters diſpatch'd away to *John* alſo to be in Readineſs to make War upon me. And the *Sepphorites*, the *Gabarenes*, and the *Tiberians*, were likewiſe engaged to fall in with the Party. Now *Jeſus* the Son of *Gamala*, that wiſh'd me well, and was privy to the whole Contrivance, ſent my Father Word, it ſeems, from Time to Time, of every Thing that paſs'd; and from him I received a particular Account of the whole Matter. It went to the Heart of me to conſider the Ingratitude and malicious Practices of a Faction in the City againſt me; and my Affliction was not much leſs neither to find the Trouble my Father was in for my Sake, and with what Earneſtneſs he preſs'd me to come over to him, upon a Suggeſtion that it was only to ſee me yet once again before he dy'd. I took my Friends into Counſel with me upon this whole Affair, and told them that I had reſolved within the Compaſs of three Days, to lay down my Command and go back again into my Country. They all fell into Tears and Lamentations upon the hearing of it; begging of me, not upon any Terms to leave them to the Certainty of periſhing when I was gone. But my Life being at Stake on the one Hand, againſt their Prayers and Importunities on the other, I ſtill perſiſted in my Purpoſe. The *Galilæans* had ſuch an Apprehenſion of being over-run and deſtroy'd by the Thieves and Out-Laws, after my Departure, that they preſently ſent Notice up and down thorough the whole Province that was upon the Point of leaving them. This News brought a World of People together, with their Wives and Children into the great Plain of [a] *Aſoch*, where I then was, to try if they could get me to ſtay; not ſo much out of an Affection to me perhaps, as for Fear of the Danger they were in themſelves; for they reckon'd all to be ſafe ſo long as I was among them.

A Plot upon Joſeph.

Joſeph'*s Father ſends him Intelligence of it.*

Joſeph *would have quitted* Galilee, *but the People would not part with him.*

It was a wonderful *Dream* I had that very Night. As I was in my Bed, my Heart ſad, and my Head extremely troubled. Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters from my Father, I had the *Viſion* of a Man at my Bed Side, and a Voice ſpeaking to me after this Manner. *Comfort thy Heart good Man, and fear nothing; for all theſe Calamities will blow over, and only lead to thy greater Advantage and Satisfaction; not only for the preſent, but likewiſe for the Time to come; wherefore ſtand firm and remember that I told you beforehand, that you were to have a War with the* Romans. Upon waking out of this *Dream*, I got up with an Intent to go out into the Air, and I had no ſooner ſhew'd my ſelf at the Door toward the Plain, but a World of the *Galilæans*, Men, Women and Children, caſt themſelves down upon their Faces at the very Sight of me, and with Tears and Supplications beſought me not to leave them in this Extremity, at the Mercy of their Enemies. When they found Prayers and Importunities would do no good, they preſs'd me with Adjurations not to forſake them, and with many a heavy Curſe upon the People of *Jeruſalem*, that would never let them be quiet. This to me was ſo ſad a Hearing, and ſo rueful a Spectacle, that it made my very Heart bleed to conſider the Diſtreſs of ſo many thouſands of miſerable Creatures, and brought me over, in the End, to a Reſolution of running any Hazard whatſoever for the Service of ſo vaſt a Multitude of forlorn, harmleſs People: So that in the Concluſion, I was over-perſuaded to ſtay. Upon this, I bad them draw me *five thouſand Men* out of their whole Number, and furniſh them with Arms and Victuals for a March, the reſt immediately to depart every Man to his own Home. So ſoon as *this five thouſand* was ready, I join'd them with *three thouſand more* that I had of my own, and *eighty Horſe*; and ſo advanc'd with them to *Chabolo*, a Village upon the Borders of *Ptomemais*, where I took up my Station, as if my Deſign had been to fall upon *Placidus* whom *Ceſtius Gallus* had ſent into thoſe Parts with a Troop of Horſe and two

A prophetical Dream of Joſeph's.

The Galilæans *prevail upon* Joſeph *not to leave them.*

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[a] *Gr.* 'Ασωχεῖς.

Companies of Foot, to burn all the Villages of the *Galilæans* thereabouts. *Placidus* intrench'd himſelf not far from the Walls of *Ptolemais*, while I lay at the ſame Time a Matter of ſixty Furlongs toward *Chabolo*. We drew out ſeveral Times on both Sides, with a Countenance of puſhing it immediately to a Battle; but there paſs'd only ſome few Skirmiſhes, and that was all: For the more I preſs'd the bringing of it to a Combat, the more the other declin'd it; not daring to ſhew his Head out of Protection of the Town.

While Matters were in this Poſture, *John* and his Companions came into thoſe Parts, the Perſons who as I told you, were ſent to *Jeruſalem* by the Faction of *Simon* and *Ananus* the *High-Prieſt*: And the Plot was now how to compaſs their Ends by Treachery, which they durſt not attempt by downright Force. To this Purpoſe they laid their Heads together, and ſent me this following Letter.

Jonathan *and his* Deputy-Collegues *from the* Council *at* Jeruſalem, *to* Joſeph, *greeting.*

Jonathan's *Letter to* Joſeph.

WHereas our Principals are given to underſtand that John *of* Giſchala *hath been engaged in ſeveral perfidious Practices againſt your Perſon, they have ſent me in their Name to give him a ſevere Reproof for ſo doing, and to require him for the future to pay all Reſpect and Obedience to your Commands. And to the End that we may agree upon ſome better Proviſion for the Regulation of Things hereafter; we make it our Requeſt that you will come hither to us with all Speed; the Village is but ſmall; and therefore we deſire you will not bring any great Train along with you, for Fear of being ſcanted for Room.*

This Letter was a dangerous *Dilemma* upon me: For if I truſted my ſelf without a ſtrong Guard, they might take me up, and uſe me as they pleas'd: And on the other Hand, if I marched with the Formality of military Troops, I might be liable to be proſecuted as a Rebel. This Letter was brought me by a *Horſeman*; a daring young Man, that had been formerly in the King's Service. It was now pretty late in the Night, and being at Supper with ſome of my Friends, and ſeveral *Galilæans* of Quality about me, Word was brought me at the Table, of a certain *Jew* on *Horſeback*, that deſired to ſpeak with me, I bad he ſhould be call'd in; and accordingly he came, and without any Manner of Reſpect to the Company, he deliver'd me the Letter, which he brought, he ſaid, from the *Jeruſalem Deputies*, and it requir'd an immediate Anſwer: For he was to be back again preſently. The Company were all amaz'd at the Confidence of the Soldier; but however I ſpake to him to ſit down, and take Part of a Collation with us; but he excus'd himſelf, and ſo keeping the Letter in my Hand, without opening it, I took Occaſion to while away Time with my Company upon Diſcourſes by the by, and paſſing now and then out of the Door, as in Civility to ſome of my Gueſts that were going to Bed, I took the Opportunity, when I was out of Sight, to break up the Letter, and run it over with my Eye ſo as to gueſs at the Contents of it; and then inſtantly folding it up again, I held it ſtill in my Hand, as before; without diſcovering that I had read it. The Company was now all gone but four intimate Friends, and a Boy to fill the Wine. I gave the Soldier *twenty Drachma*'s for a Gratuity, and he was ſo wonderfully thankful for it, that I found the Love of Money was his weak Side, and ſo I reſolv'd to attack him on that Quarter. Come, ſaid I, if you will drink with us, and do as we do, you ſhall have a *Drachma* for every Cup you take. The Fellow was very well content to drink upon the Terms, of the more Drink the more Money, and ſwill'd himſelf ſo brutiſhly drunk, that out came the whole Myſtery of the Villany, without ſo much as pumping; for he told me of his own Accord, that there was a Snare laid for me, and a Sentence of Death pronounced againſt me: Upon which Diſcovery, I gave him this following Anſwer to his Letter.

The Meſſenger diſcovers the Treachery.

Joſeph *to* Jonathan, *and his* Fellow-Deputies, *greeting.*

Joſeph's *Anſwer to* Jonathan.

I Am very glad to hear that you are in Heath, and that you are come into Galilee: *And the rather, becauſe I am diſpoſing my ſelf for a Journey into my own Country, which I have been thinking of a long Time; and this will be a fair Opportunity for my Delivering up the Care of the publick Adminiſtration into your Hands. I ſhould think my ſelf happy to wait upon you, and not only at* Xallo, *but a great Deal farther, even without any other Motive to invite me to it. But alas! I am not now at Liberty for ſuch a Journey, being forced to ſtay at* Chabolo *to obſerve the Motions of* Placidus *and keep him*

him from breaking into Galilee; *and therefore I think it more adviſable, upon the Receipt of this Letter, for you to come hither: And ſo I bid you farewel.*

This Letter I deliver'd to the Soldier, and order'd thirty Perſons of the beſt Quality among the *Galilæans* to go along with him, giving them Orders only to do their Reverence to the *Deputies*, without mentioning one Word of Buſineſs: And I ſet one of my own Soldiers that I could beſt confide in, for a *Spy* upon each of the other, to watch them narrowly if they entertained any private Converſation with *Jonathan*. After the Departure of theſe People; the *Deputies* finding that their Plot did not take, wrote a ſecond Letter to me to this following Effect.

The Meſſenger diſmiſs'd, and thirty Perſons of Quality along with him. Joſeph *makes one of them a Spy upon all the reſt.*

Jonathan, *and his* Collegues *to* Joſeph, *greeting.*

THIS is to require you to appear within three Days from the Date hereof, before us at [a] Gabara, *without any Guard of Soldiers to attend you, to make good the Charge that you have exhibited againſt* John *of* Giſchala.

A peremptory Summons to Joſeph *to appear at* Gabara.

After the Reception of the *Galilæans*, and the writing of *this Letter*, they went to *Japha*, one of the largeſt, ſtrongeſt and moſt populous Villages of *Galilee*. They were no ſooner enter'd the Place, but the People were all up with open Mouth, Men, Women and Children, crying out to bid them be gone again, and to let them alone, while they were well; for they would never own any other Governour than *Joſeph*. This was the Voice of the whole Multitude, one and all. So that the *Deputies* finding that was not a Place for their Turn, went their Way to *Sepphoris*, the faireſt City of all *Galilee*, and a People well affected to the *Romans*. Many of the Citizens went out of the Town indeed to receive them; but without one Word ſpeaking of me, either good or bad: And from thence they went [b] to *Aſoch*, where they had the ſame Entertainment as before at *Japha*. Theſe Contempts made them ſo outragious, that they order'd the Souldiers to quiet them, with Clubs and Cudgells: They went forward to *Gabara*, where they were joyn'd with *John* with a Body of 3000 Men to ſecond them. Now being forewarn'd of the Practices that were a Foot againſt me, I drew out 3000 Soldiers, and took them along with me to *Jotapata*, ſome *forty Stadia* from the Place, to be within Diſtance of communicating upon any Occaſion with the reſt, which I left behind me in the Camp, under the Command of a truſty Friend; And from thence I wrote the *Deputies* this following Letter.

The People one and all, for Joſeph, *and no other Governour.*

If you find it ſo abſolutely Neceſſary for me to come to you; there are four hundred Cities and Villages in *Galilee*, name any one of the four hundred, and I will meet you there, *ſaving only* Gabara, *and* Giſchala; *the one of them is the Place of* John's Nativity; *and the other of his* Alliance. The *Deputies* gave over writing, upon the Receipt of this Letter, and conferr'd Notes with their Friends, *John himſelf* being one of the Council, how to do my Buſineſs ſome other Way. *John* was for ſending circulatory Letters to all the Towns and Villages of *Galilee*, upon a Preſumption of finding ſome one or more in every Place that would be forward enough to do me any ill Office, and eaſily ſuborn'd to joyn in an Information againſt me as a publick Enemy: Now there would need no more toward the gaining of the Citizens of *Jeruſalem* over to the Opinion of my being an Enemy to the *Galilæans*, than to ſend them theſe Atteſtations well certify'd, which would undoubtedly have put me out of Credit with that People. The Reſolution being taken, *Sacchæus*, a *Deſerter* brought me a particular Account late at Night of the whole Tranſaction.

Joſeph *to the* Deputies.

The Deputies *plot the Deſtruction of* Joſeph.

Sacchæus *acquaints* Joſeph *with the whole Contrivance.*

I found I had now no Time to ſpare; ſo that I call'd for *Jacob* immediately (a brave Man and my true Friend) and ſent him away with 200 Men upon the Scout, betwixt *Galilee* and *Gabara*, with Inſtructions to take up what Paſſengers he thought fit and ſend them to me in Cuſtody: Eſpecially if they had any Letters about them: And at the ſame Time I diſpatch'd *Jeremy* (my very particular Friend too) with 600 Soldiers another Way, to watch the Paſſes from *Jeruſalem* into *Galilee*, and with Orders to ſeize all *Letter Carriers*, committing the Men to Priſon, and bringing me their Papers. I ſent abroad my *Mandates* alſo through the whole Province of *Galilee*, requiring all Perſons to attend me at *Gabara* the next Morning, with their Arms and three Days Proviſions. The Soldiers I had about me I diſtributed into four Bodies under the choiceſt Officers I had to command them, with a ſtrict Order not ſo much as to admit a ſtrange Face into their Company. About eleven next Day, coming to *Gabara*, I found the whole Plain before the Town, cover'd with armed Troops out of *Galilee*, to my Aſſiſtance; beſide a confuſed Multitude of Country People. Juſt as I was beginning to ſay ſomewhat to them, my Mouth was ſtopt with ſuch Outcries of

Joſeph *ſummons the People to attend him at* Gabara *with their Arms.*

The whole Field cover'd with armed Troops, to Joſeph's *Aſſiſtance.*

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[a] *Gr.* Γαβαρὰθ.

[b] *Gr.* Εἰς Ἀσωχιν.

rejoicing that there was nothing to be heard but Shouts and Acclamations at the Sight of their Benefactor and Preſerver, as they thought fit to call me: And this was the unanimous Voice of the whole Company. I gave them my Acknowledgements for this Inſtance of their good Will and Reſpect, but deſired them at the ſame Time to make an innocent and a temperate Uſe of their Power, without wronging any Creature, either in their Perſons, or their Goods. They had Proviſion enough I told them for the preſent Occaſion; and there was nothing my Heart was ſo much ſet upon, as to put an End to the Tumult without Blood.

Joſeph *way lays the Roads for Paſſengers and Letters.*

The Men made Priſoners, and the Letters carry'd to Joſeph.

A Deſign upon Joſeph, *by great Providence diſappointed.*

The People ſtand up for their Governour, and will hear of no other.

Joſeph *goes into the Field, and addreſſes himſelf to the* Deputies.

Joſeph *appeals from the* Deputies *to the Multitude.*

Who with one Voice acquit him.

Joſeph *reads* Jonathan*'s two ſcandalous Letters.*

The People I had employ'd to way-lay the Roads, had the good Fortune, the very firſt Day they went out, to intercept *Jonathan's Meſſengers* in their Way toward *Jeruſalem*; together with their *Packets*. They made the Men Priſoners, according to my Order, and brought me the Letters; which I found upon the Peruſal to be ſtuff'd with calumnious and ſcurrilous Invectives againſt my ſelf. I took no Notice at all of the Matter, but kept on my Journey directly toward them as if nothing had been done. So ſoon as ever they underſtood I was upon my March that Way, they retir'd every Man of them, *John* and all, into the Houſe of *Jeſus*; a large and a ſtrong Place, and built much after the Manner of a *Citadel*. They kept a Party of Soldiers privately in the Houſe; all the Gates ſhut but one, and the Guards order'd, that upon my coming thither (as they expected a Viſit from me) to take me in alone, and not one Man of my Train to follow me: By which Means they made no Doubt of getting me abſolutely into their Power. But by great Providence, having ſome Light and Jealouſy of the Treachery, I went immediately upon my Arrival, to a Lodging over againſt the Houſe, and ſo the Plot was diſappointed. I pretended to be very weary and ſleepy, and the Deputies depending upon it that I had laid my ſelf to Reſt, went out into the Plain to debauch the Multitude, and to poſſeſs them with both an Envy and a Hatred of me and my Adminiſtration. But Matters wrought quite another Way than they imagined; for the *Galilæans* had no ſooner got Sight of the *Deputies*, but they fell foul upon them with Clamours and Reproaches. *They had* done *no Wrong*, they ſaid, *and they would* take *none*; and ſo bad them be gone about their Buſineſs, and meddle with what they had to do withal. *As for their Governour; they had a very good one already*, they ſaid, *and him they were reſolv'd to ſtick to.* Upon this Encouragement, I took the People in the good Humour, and went out into the Field to underſtand what *Jonathan* and his Complices had to ſay. The Multitude had no ſooner ſet Eye on me, but they came thronging about me with all the Demonſtrations of Joy, Satisfaction and Acknowledgments, in their Looks, Words, and Actions, imaginable, amplifying upon the Obligations I had laid upon them, to ſuch a Degree, that *Jonathan* and his *Fellows* could not think themſelves ſafe under ſo voilent a Prejudice. They would fain have ſlipt away, I perceiv'd; but upon my Entreaty they ſtay'd; (that is to ſay in Truth, there was no getting off:) So that there they ſtood in an Amazement, like ſo many Stocks, without Senſe or Reaſon. Upon this, I quieted the Noiſe, ſet *Guards* of the beſt Men I had upon all the *Avenues* for Fear of any Incurſion or Surprize; and ſo with my People about me in Arms, I addreſs'd my ſelf to the Deputies. I minded them in the firſt Place of a Letter they had ſent me; pretending a Commiſſion from *Jeruſalem* to hear and determine upon certain Matters in Controverſy betwixt *John*, and *my ſelf*, producing the Letter at the ſame Time in Proof of my Suggeſtion. Now put the Caſe, ſaid I to *Jonathan*, that you and your Companions had any Pretence to call me to an Account for the Management of my Government, upon *John's* Information or Complaint, would not you your ſelves pronounce me innocent, upon the clear Teſtimony of two or three Witneſſes of unqueſtionable Probity, in my Juſtification? But what will you ſay now if I appeal, not only to two or three competent Vouchers; but to every Soul that is here preſent, whether I have behav'd my ſelf or not, both in my private Converſation, and in the Exerciſe of my Function, as became a Perſon of Honour and Juſtice? *As for you, good People of* Galilee, *ſpeak the Truth and the whole Truth I adjure you, as if you were ſworn* Evidences *in the Cauſe, and theſe Men the* Judges. *Pray tell them and ſpare not, the worſt you know of me.* The Words were hardly out of my Mouth; but the whole Multitude with one Voice and Conſent made a frank open Declaration of the Comforts and Benefits they had enjoy'd under my Care and Protection, as their Benefactor and Defender; and that they were ſo well ſatisfy'd with me for what was paſt, that they wiſh'd no more than the Continuance of the ſame Goodneſs for the Time to come: Affirming alſo with Oaths, that I had been likewiſe as tender, of either offering, or ſuffering any Violence, upon the Perſons of their Wives and Daughters, as I had been of invading the common Freedom and Propriety of the Subject. I read, after this, in the hearing of a great many *Galilæans*, the *two intercepted Letters* of *Jonathan*, that were brought me by my Scouts. They were falſe, ſcandalous,

ſcandalous and impudent, to the higheſt Degree, and giving me the Character of a Tyrant rather than a Governour, with a great Deal of ſhameleſs Ribaldry over and above. I was not willing to let my Enemies know that I had their Meſſengers in Cuſtody, for Fear it ſhould hinder them from ſending that Way ſome other Time: So that I pretended they were brought over to me voluntarily by the Meſſengers themſelves. The Inſolence and Villainy of theſe two Letters put the People into ſuch a Heat and Outrage, againſt *Jonathan*, and his *Fellows*, that they were ready to tear them to Pieces; and they had undoubtedly done Execution upon them, if I had not in the very Height of their Rage prevented it. So I gave the Deputies their Liberty, and their Pardon, both together; upon Condition that they would repent and mend; which they promiſ'd to do, and ſo I diſmiſs'd them to their own Homes again; bidding them ſpeak no otherwiſe of my Government, than as they found it. With theſe Words, I gave them their Diſcharge: But taking for granted before-hand, that they would never do as they ſaid. The People were ſo implacably bent upon the Ruine of theſe Men, that all the Skill and Intereſt I had was little enough to prevent it. How did they beg of me, only to be turn'd looſe upon them! But when a Sedition is once a Foot, no Body knows where it will ſtop: So that I did what I could to divert them; but in the Rage of this Impatience, they took up a Reſolution, one and all, to fall upon *Jonathan* in his Quarters.

The People in ſuch a Rage at them, that they were ready to tear Jonathan *and his Fellows to Pieces.*

Joſeph *after this gives them their Liberty, and their Pardon.*

When I ſaw there was no reſtraining them I took Horſe immediately, and bad them follow me to *Sogane*, a Village of *Arabia*, ſome *forty Stadia* Diſtance, and by this Artifice I 'ſcap'd the Scandal of making my ſelf the Author of a civil War. When we were advanc'd within a little of the Place, I order'd my Troops to make an Halt; and after a few Words of neceſſary Precaution to them, not to be intemperate and vindictive, I made a Cull of a hundred of the beſt Men for Quality and Underſtanding that I could pick out of the whole Number, and bad them prepare themſelves for a Journey to *Jeruſalem*, with a Complaint againſt the ſeditious Heads, and Ring-leaders of theſe Broils. I gave them moreover in Charge, that if they found the People well inclin'd and eaſy to me, they ſhould endeavour to procure me a new Commiſſion for my Continuance in the Command of *Galilee*, and to get *John* recall'd. With theſe Orders I diſpatch'd them away on the third Day after this Meeting, and gave them 500 Soldiers for their Convoy. I wrote alſo to my Friends at *Samaria* to grant my Commiſſioners a ſafe and a free Paſſage thorough their Countrey; for the City was at that Time under the Power of the *Romans*; and this was the ſhorteſt Cut to make a *three Days Journey* of it to *Jeruſalem*. I conducted them my ſelf to the *Frontiers* of *Galilee*, and ſet ſuch Watches upon the Way, that there was little Notice of this Expedition: After which I made a ſhort Stay at *Japha*.

Joſeph *ſends Commiſſioners to* Jeruſalem *with a Complaint againſt the Rioters,*

Jonathan and his *Companions*, finding themſelves wholly diſappointed, ſent back *John* to *Giſchala*, and they themſelves went in the mean Time to *Tiberias*, in Hope to prepoſſeſs themſelves of that Place: *Jeſus* being the *chief Magiſtrate* there, and having undertaken by Letters to bring the People over to their Intereſt: In Confidence of having this made good to them, they undertook the Journey. But *Silas*, my *Lieutenant* there, ſent me Word from Time to Time how every Thing proceeded, and preſs'd me back again by all Means with what Speed I could. I follow'd his Counſel, and by ſo doing fell into a Strait that had like to have coſt me my Life.

Jonathan *ſends* John *to* Giſchala, *and goes himſelf to* Tiberias.

Jonathan and his *Companions* having made a dangerous Faction againſt me in *Tiberias*, were not a little ſtartled upon my coming thither; but gave me the Complement however of a Viſit, joying me over and over of the Reputation I had gotten in the World by the Conduct and Juſtice of my Adminiſtration in *Galilee*; and not without aſſuming to themſelves ſome Share in the Honour of it, both as their Fellow Citizen, and in ſome Sort their Diſciple; profeſſing all along that they had much a greater Kindneſs for *me* than for *John*; adviſing me without any more ado, to go back again, and depend upon them for the delivering of *John* into my Hands very ſuddenly; and to this they bound themſelves with Oaths and Imprecations, ſo ſacred and dreadful, that I muſt have been a Villain not to believe them: After which, they deſir'd me by all Means to draw off to ſome other Place, ſuggeſting for the better Countenance of the Matter, that the *Sabbath* was coming on, and they ſhould be very ſorry to have the People fall into any Diſorder on that Day. Upon this Pretence, I went my Way to *Taricheæ*, not ſuſpecting any Thing; but yet for better Security Sake, I planted my *Spies* and *Informers* up and down in the Town to watch and hearken out what was ſaid and done concerning me: And I had my Agents all along the Road too from *Taricheæ*, to *Tiberias*, to bring me the Intelligence. On the Day following, the People met together in the *Oratory*, a Place of *publick Worſhip*, and large enough to hold a vaſt Number of Perſons; and thither came *Jonathan*

Jonathan *makes large Profeſſions to* Joſeph; *but with a Deſign to betray him.*

Joſeph *goes to* Taricheæ, *but keeps his Scouts and Spys abroad for Intelligence.*

A Meeting in the Oratory to ſupplant Joſeph.

nathan

The Debate adjourn'd till next Morning.

Joſeph, *upon Notice of this, ſets out next Morning for* Tiberias, *by Break of Day.*

The People in the Oratory again, and the Deputies ſurpriz'd at the Sight of Joſeph.

A falſe Report given out, of a Body of Roman Horſe *advancing toward the City.*

The Alarum of this Rumour improv'd into an Uproar.

Joſeph *marches out to look after them, and no ſuch Troops to be heard of.*

Joſeph *comes back immediately, and finds the* Deputies *in the Middle of an Invective againſt himſelf.*

Four counterfeit Letters of News produced from four ſeveral Places, and of as many Incurſions.

Joſeph *offers his Service, and propoſes a Diviſion of the Army into four Bodies; and every* Deputy *to command one.*

The Hypocriſy of Ananias.

nathan among the reſt. *It was a thouſand Pities,* he ſaid, *that this City had not better Governours:* And there he ſtopt; for he durſt not put them down right upon a Rebellion at firſt Daſh: But *Jeſus,* the *head Magiſtrate* came a little homer to the Point, and told them without any more Ceremony, that it was infinitely better for them to have *four Rulers* than *one;* eſpecially if they were Men of honourable Extraction and known Prudence, as thoſe Perſons were; pointing to *Jonathan* and his *Companions* that ſtood by. *Juſtus* was of the ſame Opinion too with *Jeſus;* and he brought over a great many more to be of the ſame Mind: But the common People were ſo violently bent another Way, that without all Diſpute, it would have come to a deſperate Tumult, if the Hour of the Day had not parted them; for it was now *twelve at Noon,* which is *the Sabbath Day Hour* for all our People to go to Dinner: So the *Deputies* put off the Debate till the Day following, without coming to any preſent Iſſue. Upon the firſt Notice of this Proceeding; which was as early as Hands could bring it, I took up a Reſolution to be going the next Morning by Break of Day toward *Tiberias;* and there did I find all the People gotten together in the foreſaid *Oratory,* without ſo much as underſtanding the true Reaſon or Intent of that Meeting. The *Deputies* did ſo little expect to ſee me there at that Time, that the Surprize put them to a Stand what to do next, till at laſt, it came into their Heads to raiſe a ſham Story of a Body of *Roman Horſe,* that were ſeen near *Homonœa* ſome *thirty Stadia* from the *City.* This Rumour was ſo improv'd, even by the Inventors of it themſelves, that the People were preſently in an Uproar, Bawling and Clamouring what an intolerable Scandal it was to have their Country burnt and deſtroy'd under their Noſes, and they to ſtand ſtill all the while looking on. Now the true Intent of this *Stratagem* was to draw me out of the Town to encounter the Enemy, and in the mean Time get Poſſeſſion of it themſelves by turning the Hearts of the Citizens againſt me. I ſaw well enough what it was they aim'd at, and yet for Fear of appearing leſs ſolicitous for the good of the *Tiberians* than I ought to be, in Caſe I ſhould have declin'd the Undertaking, I found my ſelf under ſome Kind of Neceſſity to comply with the very Deſign of my Enemies: So that I march'd away immediately to look after theſe Troops according to the Intelligence. But diſcovering upon the Place, that there was no ſuch Body to be ſeen or heard of, I made all the Haſte back again that was poſſible; and there did I find the *Senate* and the *People* cloſe at it in *Council;* and the *Deputies* in the Middle of a bitter tedious Invective againſt my ſelf; repreſenting me for a Man that minded his Pleaſure more than his Buſineſs, and taking no Care at all for the Defence of the Publick. Upon this Occaſion, they produced four Letters, which they pretended to receive from four of the moſt remote Parts of *Galilee;* ſetting forth the Danger they were in, and the Neceſſity of a preſent Succour. The credulous *Tiberians* ſwallow'd the whole Story for current, and brake out unanimouſly into Exclamations that it was high Time now to look about them and to ſend a ſeaſonable Relief to their Allies. Upon this Outcry, (underſtanding by this Time the Myſtery of the Cheat) I told them that I was ready to make one which Way ſoever the Neceſſity of the War ſhould call me, but in Regard (ſaid I) that your Advice comes from four ſeveral Places, and of four ſeveral Incurſions, I am of Opinion for dividing your Army into ſo many Bodies; and the *four Deputies,* to *command* every Man his *Party;* for it is the Duty of good Patriots and valiant Men, to ſerve their Country with their Hands, and in their Perſons, as well as with their Conduct and Counſel; and it is not for me to undertake upon this Diſtribution, the Command of any more than one Part of the Army. The People were all abundantly ſatisfy'd with the Reaſon of what I ſaid, and order'd the Matter ſo, that the *Deputies* were forced to take their Parts in the Adventure; but mightily enraged over and above, to find all their underhand perfidious Practices defeated and countermin'd. One of the four pretended *Deputies,* whoſe Name was *Ananias,* (a Man of a falſe, venomous Nature) propounded the indicting of a *publick Faſt* for the next Day, with a Command, that they ſhould all meet at the ſame Hour, and without Arms; amplifying upon it, that they depended upon the Aſſiſtance of the Almighty without any Need of humane Force. Now the Intent of this Propoſal was under this Pretext of Piety, to diſarm me and my Soldiers. And I was fain to comply again with this Propoſition, that I might not ſeem to undervalue ſo religious a Motion.

A Plot to be executed next Morning.

Joſeph *provides to encounter it.*

Immediately upon the Breaking up of the Aſſembly, *Jonathan* and his *Collegues* wrote in all Haſte to *John,* to be ſure to be early with him next Morning, with all the Force he could make; for if they could but get me into their Hands once, the Buſineſs were done. The Letter came ſafe, and *John* made no Difficulty at all of complying with his Orders. On the Day following, I call'd out two of the braveſt truſtieſt Fellows I had in the Guards; accoutred my ſelf with a Corſlet and a good Sword, as ſecretly as I could, and bad the Soldiers take each of them a ſhort Sword, privately too, and follow me. This I did that we might be in Condition to defend our ſelves, in Caſe of any Affront. And ſo to the *Oratory* we went together, where I my ſelf, and my Friends were admitted; but *Jeſus* having the Guard at the Door would not ſuffer ſo much as any one of the reſt of my People to enter with me. As we were juſt upon the Point of addreſſing our ſelves to our Devotions, after our Manner of Worſhip; *Jeſus* ſtood up, and ask'd me what was become of the rich Furniture, and the Maſs of Silver, that was taken away upon the firing of the royal Palace? Where it was to be found: And who had it in Poſſeſſion? Now theſe were only Words thrown out to while away Time, till *John* might come up with his Army: But I told him in ſhort, that it was all depoſited in the Hands of *Capella*, and *ten of the prime Citizens of* Tiberias: So that it was but asking them whether I ſpeak Truth or not. Whereupon, *Capella* and the reſt, own'd the having of it all in their Cuſtody. They put it to me then, what I had done with the *twenty pieces of Gold* that I receiv'd for the like Value in Silver that I diſpos'd of? My Anſwer was, that I had given them to my *Envoys* that I had ſent to *Jeruſalem*, for the Charge of their Journey. *Jonathan* and his *Companions* reply'd, that it was very ill done, to pay my *particular Agents* out of the *publick Treaſure*. This malicious Humour of wrangling and cavilling, tranſported the common People into ſuch an Impatience, that it fell little ſhort of a violent Sedition; and finding how it wrought, I could not do better, I thought than to help it forward. And ſo I went on telling him that if in Truth it was ill done, (as he ſaid it was) to gratifie my Meſſengers out of the publick Stock, I bad him never trouble his Head any farther about that Money, for I would ſee it repay'd. The fairer Matters appear'd on my Side, the more outragious was the Multitude upon it, when they found the whole Story from End to End, to have nothing more in it than Spite and Calumny. This fell out ſo contrary to Expectation, that *Jeſus* order'd the clearing of the Place of all but the *Senators*; for the Buſineſs they were about was not to be done, he ſaid, in ſuch a Hurry and Confuſion: The People crying out on the other Side, that they were reſolv'd whatever came of it not to leave *Joſeph* alone with them. While they were in the Heat of this Clamour, in came a Meſſenger, and whiſper'd *Jonathan* in the Ear, that *John* would be with him immediately with his Party: So that *Jonathan*, upon this Encouragement, breaking out into a moſt providential Impatience, (for I had certainly been loſt elſe,) good Men of *Tiberias, ſays he,* do not imagine *that I would have* Joſeyh *puniſh'd for the Buſineſs of the* Gold, *but for* oppreſſing, *and* impoſing *upon the* ſilly Multitude *in the* tyrannical *Affectation*, *and Exerciſe* of an arbitrary Power. At that Word, certain *Bravo*'s that were of the Plot ſet upon me, and had undoubtedly deſtroy'd me, if my Friends there upon the Place had not immediately drawn and kept them off. The common People at the ſame Time alſo threatning *Jonathan* to ſtone him: So that betwixt them both I was reſcu'd for that Bout out of the Hands of my Enemies. Upon my withdrawing to make my Eſcape, whom ſhould I meet upon the Way but *John* with his Troops upon their March to the Aſſiſtance of *Jonathan?* The Surprize ſtartled me, but I made a Shift however to give them the Slip, by a *By-Way*, and get to the *Lake*, where I preſently took Boat, and away to *Tarichea:* A Deliverance beyond all Expectation.

Joſeph *and his Friends go to the Oratory.*

Odious and captious Queſtions put to Joſeph.

Jeſus *clears the Place of all but Senators.*

Joſeph *ſet upon, and reſcu'd.*

Joſeph *meets* John *at the Head of his Troops, gives him the Slip, and ſo away to* Tarichea.

The firſt Thing I did after my Arrival, was, to call a Council of the chief Men of the Province, and give them the Hiſtory of the barbarous Treatment I had receiv'd from *Jonathan*, and the *Tiberians*, contrary to common Faith, Humanity, and Juſtice. This put the whole Multitude of the *Galilæans* into ſuch a Fury, that nothing would ſerve them, but immediately to declare War againſt *John*, *Jonathan*, and their *Companions*, and utterly to confound them: Which they themelves, they ſaid, would undertake for, if they might but have Leave to enter upon the Work. I did what I could by fair Means, towards the compoſing of this impetuous Humour; adviſing them for the Preſent, rather to reſpite the Matter a while, till we might ſee what our *Deputies* had done at *Jeruſalem*; for there was no Reſolution to be taken without their Approbation. With theſe Words they were pacify'd; and *John*, after another Baffle, went his Way back again to *Giſchala*.

The People enrag'd againſt John, Jonathan, *and their Fellows.*

Some few Days after this, our *Deputies* brought us this Account from *Jeruſalem*, that the Government there was mightily offended with *Ananus*, and *Simon* the Son of *Gamaliel*, for preſuming without any publick Authority, to ſend their Agents to remove me from my Government of *Galilee*; and that the Commons were ſo incens'd at this Proceeding, that they had much ado to keep them from ſetting Fire to their Houſes. They brought Letters alſo, by which the *head Men* of *Jeruſalem*, with the *Authority* and *Conſent* of the *People*, *confirm'd* me in my *Government*, and commanded *John* and his *Aſſociates* inſtantly upon the Notice of that Order,

The Deputies *bring Word from* Jeruſalem *that great Offence is taken at the Inſolencies of* Anaus *and* Simon.

Joſeph *confirm'd in his Government:* John *and his Aſſociates order'd to depart.*

The Deputies *make the ſame Report to the Aſſembly at* Arbela.

Joſeph *ſends the Order to the* Deputies.

Who immediately call a Cabinet.

Jonathan *and* Ananias *ſent Commiſſioners to* Jeruſalem *with a Complaint againſt* Joſeph.

Order, to depart the Place. Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters, I went to *Arbela*, where I had appointed an Aſſembly of the *Galilæans*; at which Meeting my Deputies made a Report of what paſs'd at *Jeruſalem*; how heinouſly they reſented the Inſolencies of *Jonathan*; and thereupon ſent me a Commiſſion, ratify'd, for the *Government* of that *Province*; with a Command to *Jonathan* and *his People* immediately to quit their *Pretences*. This Order was ſent them accordingly, with an expreſs Charge to the Bearer of it, to obſerve their Countenances upon the Delivery of the Meſſage. The Surprize of this Letter put them to ſuch a Plunge, that they preſently call'd a Cabinet to adviſe what was to be done: *John himſelf* and the *chief Men of Tiberias* and *Gabara*, being of the *Council*. The *Tiberians* were for their keeping the Power ſtill in their own Hands, and not to abandon a People that had deliver'd themſelves up to their Protection: Eſpecially againſt an Enemy that threaten'd them with an Invaſion, as they falſely and maliciouſly pretended I had done. *John* was of the ſame Opinion, with this Addition, that they ſhould ſend two of their *Deputies* to *Jeruſalem*, with a Charge of *Male-Adminiſtration* againſt me: Which, betwixt the Credit of the Accuſers, and the variable Humour of the Men they had to do withal, could not fail, he ſaid, of making an Impreſſion upon the common People. The Thing in Fine was agreed upon, and ſo they ſent *Jonathan* and *Ananias* ſoon after to *Jeruſalem*, upon the Commiſſion, with a Guard of a hundred Soldiers for their ſafe Paſſage; the other two ſtaying behind at *Tiberias*. The *Tiberians* fell to Work immediately upon repairing the Walls; betook themſelves to their Arms, and ſent for *John*'s Troops, which were then at *Giſchala* in a conſiderable Body, to be within Diſtance of aſſiſting them againſt me, if there ſhould be any Occaſion.

Joſeph's *Out-Guards intercept* Jonathan *upon the Way.*

The Tiberians *treat* Joſeph *with foul Language, and Contempt.*

Joſeph *ridicul'd with a Mock Funeral.*

Joſeph *gets* Simon *out of Town by a Wile.*

Joſeph *takes up* Simon *and carries him off.*

Joſeph *beats the* Tiberians *into the Town after a ſharp Encounter.*

Tiberias *taken upon a Miſtake and by a Surprize.*

Jonathan, and his People being now upon their March, and advanced as far as *Dabaritta*, (a large Plain upon the Borders of *Galilee*) fell about Midnight into a Party of my *Out-Guards*, who took away their Arms, and kept them Priſoners upon the Place, according to my Order. *Levi* that commanded the Party, gave me Notice of the Encounter, which for ſome two Days I made no Words of; but ſent Meſſengers to *Tiberias*, to adviſe the People to lay down their Arms; who ſent me only Ribaldry and foul Language back for Anſwer, in Confidence that *Jonathan* was by this Time gotten to *Jeruſalem*. This courſe Uſage did not at all diſcourage me from making a farther Attempt upon it, by Art and Stratagem: For I would not for the World have made my ſelf the *Ring-leader* of a *civil War*. It came into my Head to try if I could inveigle them out of the Town: And ſo I took to the Number of ſome 10000 choice Men, and divided them into three Bodies: Part of them I planted privately in *Dora*: A thouſand of them in *another Village* upon the *Mountains*, ſome *four Stadia*, from *Tiberias*, with Orders to be ready upon the firſt Signal to make a Sally. Upon this, I ſhew'd my ſelf out of the Village within Sight of the *Tiberians*, who preſently made toward me with the moſt Scoms and Reproaches imaginable. Nay, ſo extravagant was their inſolent Vanity, that they had provided a *Mock-Funeral* for me in Deriſion, and with a phantaſtical Pomp of Solemnity, expos'd my Body in the Field, with my Mourners about me. But it was my Buſineſs to ſee, and ſay nothing, and to leave them to the Fate of their own Folly. I had a great Mind all this while to get *Simon* and *Joazar* into my Hands; and the beſt Way I could think of for the gaining of my Point, was to try if I could decoy them and their Friends out of Town, with what Troops they themſelves thought fit for their own Security, under the Pretence of an Expedient I had thought of for the adjuſting of all Differences, by ſharing the Adminiſtration among us. *Joazar*, that was crafty and ſuſpicious, kept himſelf at a Diſtance for Fear of a Trick; but *Simon*, being weak and covetous, ſwallow'd the Bait, and came over to me at firſt Word with his Friends and his Guards about him. I receiv'd him with all becoming Reſpects and Acknowledgments, for the Honour he had done me; and upon walking and diſcourſing together a pretty while, I made it my Buſineſs to draw him off a little farther from his Company, as if it had been only to be a little more private, when all on a ſudden I took him up by the Middle, and ſending him away by ſafe Hands, to the next Village, I gave the Signal at the ſame Time for my Men to come out to me, and ſo marched away with them directly for *Tiberias*. We had a very ſharp Encounter by the Way, and the Enemy fought it ſo hard, that I had the moſt to do in the World to make my People ſtand their Ground. But in the End however, with extreme Difficulty and Hazzard, we forced the *Tiberians* into the Town. I had now ſent another Party by the Way of the *Lake*, with Order to ſet the firſt Houſe a Fire they could come at, which being done in this Nick of Time, the *Tiberians* giving it for granted that the City was taken by Force, threw down their Arms, and with their Wives and Children caſt themſelves at my Feet for Mercy, as to a conquer'd People. Upon this Submiſſion, I put a Stop to the Fury of the Soldiers, cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and being now toward Evening, I withdrew to refreſh myſelf, and ſent for *Simon* to Supper with me; with this comfortable Aſſurance, that I would ſee him ſent ſafe back again to *Jeruſalem* with all Neceſſaries and Conveniencies for his Journey.

Joſeph *treats* Simon *with great Humanity and Honour.*

Joſeph *enters* Tiberias. *Enquires into the Revolt, and ſends the Heads of it Priſoners to* Jotapata: Jonathan *only, and his Companions ſet at Liberty.*

On the Day following, I marched into *Tiberias* with ten thouſand Men; call'd the chief of the Town together into the publick Place, examin'd the Buſineſs of the Revolt, took the Ringleaders into Cuſtody, and ſent them all Priſoners to *Jotapata*; ſaving only *Jonathan* and his *Companions*, whom I ſet at Liberty, with a Convoy of 500 Soldiers to conduct them to *Jeruſalem*, and an Allowance for the Expence of the Journey. The People of *Tiberias* came to me now a ſecond Time to beg my Pardon, with the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances, that they would make Amends by their future Fidelity and Services, for what they had hitherto done amiſs; deſiring me withal, that the Pillage, which the Soldiers had taken, might be reſtored to the right Owners. Hereupon I gave Order for the whole Booty to be forthwith brought in, and laid before me. The Soldiers, I perceiv'd, were not ſo forward in it as I could have wiſh'd; inſomuch, that obſerving one of them finer than his Fellows, I put it to him how he came by that Habit? The Man could not deny it to be Part of the Plunder, and ſo I cauſed him to be ſoundly cudgel'd for detaining it, with the Menace of a greater Severity upon any Man that ſhould afterward preſume to with-hold any Part of what he had taken. Upon this, the whole Booty was brought in, and every Man as far as was poſſible had his own again.

The Pillage of the Town reſtor'd to the right Owners.

Joſeph *taxes* Juſtus, *and ſome other Writers for unfaithful Hiſtorians.*

I muſt not paſs over this Subject and Occaſion, without taking Notice of ſome notorious Falſities, impos'd upon the World, and tranſmitted to Poſterity, by [a] *Juſtus*, and certain other Writers that have had the handling of this Argument: Some out of Favour, others out of Ill-will, miſrepreſenting the Truth of Things, and thereby turning *Hiſtory* into the worſt of *Forgeries*, in Regard both of the Quality, and the Impunity of the Crime. Now *Juſtus* taking upon him to deliver an Hiſtorical Account of that War, hath laſh'd out into a great many extravagant Falſities, not only to my Diſhonour, but he has not ſpared his own Country neither, but values himſelf upon thoſe Inventions, as the Ornaments of his Story. So that I am now forced in my own Defence, to lay him open, by a Diſcovery of certain Privacies to the World, which I had hitherto conceal'd. And let it not be wonder'd at, after all, that I have put it off ſo long; for tho' I look upon Truth to be peculiarly the Province and the Duty of an Hiſtorian, there may be yet ſome bitter Truths themſelves, which a grave and a modeſt Author will make ſome Difficulty to mention, even in the Caſe of the worſt of Men; not for their Sakes, but for the Dignity of his Profeſſion and Office: But to come now to my Point. "Say, *Juſtus*, thou that art the greateſt Pretender " of all Men living, to the good Faith of a candid Author; How was it poſſible " for me and the *Galilæans* to be the Cauſe of the Revolt of thy Countrymen from " their Prince, and from the *Roman* Empire, when you your ſelf, *Juſtus*, and your " *Tiberians*, had already made War upon the *Decapolitans* in *Syria*, and burnt their " *Villages?* By the Token that one of your own Servants fell in the Action; and all " this before ever I receiv'd my Commiſſion from *Jeruſalem for the Government of* " Galilee? And I do not deliver this barely upon my own Credit neither, but refer " the Reader for his better Satisfaction, to the Memorials and Records of the Emperour *Veſpaſian*: Wherein it will appear, that while he was at *Ptolemais*, the " People of *Decapolis* were ſtill preſſing him with reſtleſs Importunities to do them " Juſtice upon you, as the principal Promoter of all their Troubles; which he had " undoubtedly done, if King *Agrippa*, to whom the Care of the Execution was committed, had not given you your Life upon the Mediation of his Siſter *Berenice*: " And this Pardon did not yet hinder, but that you were ſtill kept in Priſon a long " Time after. Beſide, that the whole Courſe of your Life was all of a Piece, as may " be ſeen in your following Practices; for I ſhall make it as clear as the Sun, that it " was upon your Tampering and Inſtigation, that your People brake out into a Rebellion againſt the *Romans*. *I muſt now give the Reader to underſtand, that* neither " you yourſelf, nor the reſt of the *Tiberians* were ever faithful, either to your *King*, " or to the *Emperour*.

Reflections upon Juſtus.

" The two faireſt Cities of *Galilee*, are *Sepphoris* and *Tiberias*; the latter, the " Place of your Birth, *Juſtus*; the former ſeated in the Middle of the Province, " with ſeveral Villages depending upon it; and the People ſo true to their Maſters, " that they did not only refuſe me Entrance into the Place; but by a publick Edict " prohibited all their Citizens from bearing Arms for the *Jews*. And for their better " Security, they trick'd me into a Promiſe to wall in their Town for them; which " I had no ſooner done, but they turn'd me off with Contempt for my Pains; ſubmitting alſo at the ſame Time without any Difficulty, to a *Roman Garriſon* under *Ce-*

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[a] *This* Juſtus *often quoted by* Steph. Byzant.

“ *ſtius Gallus*, who was then Governour of *Syria*; and this at a Seaſon too, when I had the whole Neighbourhood in Awe. Nay, ſo tender were they of giving the leaſt Colour for a Suſpicion of their breaking Faith with the *Romans*, that when the *Temple* of *Jeruſalem* was *beſieg'd*, and the common Cauſe, and Intereſt of our Nation at Stake upon that Action, they would not ſo much as contribute in any Sort to their Relief. But, *Juſtus*, for your Country, conſidering the Situation of it; as it ſtands upon the Border of the [h] Lake of *Genezareth*, ſome *thirty Stadia* from *Hippos*, *ſixty* from *Gadara*, and a *hundred and twenty* from *Scythopolis*; Places under the King's Allegiance, and none of the *Jews* Garriſons thereabouts; (over and above that they wanted neither Men nor Arms:) What ſhould hinder you now with all theſe Advantages on your Side, from diſcharging your Duty to the *Romans*, if you had a Mind to't? Or ſuppoſing the Matter to be as you ſay, and that in Truth I was at that Time in ſome Meaſure the Cauſe of the War; Who was to blame afterward, I beſeech you? For you know very well that the *Romans* had gotten me into their Power before the Siege was laid to *Jeruſalem*: *Jotapata*, and divers other *Caſtles*, taken by *Aſſault*, and great Numbers of the *Galilæans* cut off upon ſeveral Encounters. Now if it be true, as you ſuggeſt, that the War was altogether againſt your Will; and that you were driven upon it by Force, how came it to paſs, that you did not lay down your Arms, and caſt your ſelf at the Feet of your *Prince*, and of the *Romans*, when that pretended Neceſſity was over? For you were now out of Danger of any Hurt that I could do you. But you were ſtill upon the Humour of ſtanding it out, till *Veſpaſian* was advanced with his Army up to your very Walls; and it was then high Time for you to call for Quarter, when you found your ſelf certainly ruin'd without it. And that Submiſſion would not have ſerv'd your Turn neither, without the Interceſſion of the *King* to *Veſpaſian*, on your Behalf; for the City had been raz'd to the very Ground if he had not obtain'd the Emperour's Pardon for your Madneſs and Folly: So that your Enmity to the *Romans* was purely out of the Malice of your own Heart, without any Fault of mine. How many Times have I protected you, and had you at Mercy, without ſpilling ſo much as one Drop of your Blood? Whereas it is notoriouſly known, that in the Rage of you inteſtine Broils; not in the *King*'s Cauſe, nor in the *Romans*, but out of a Spirit of Animoſity and Rancour one againſt another, you put to Death no leſs than a hundred eighty five Citizens at a Time, when I was block'd up in *Jotapata*. Well! And were there not two thouſand *Tiberians* kill'd and taken at *Jeruſalem*? Were you no Enemy, d'ye think, becauſe you were at that Time with the *King*? Not out of *Love* or *Duty*; but becauſe I frighted you thither. If you will needs have me to be an ill Man, pray what was *Juſtus* then? A Wretch that *Veſpaſian* pronounced a Sentence of Death upon, tho' the Execution of it was afterwards remitted by King *Agrippa*; twice a *Priſoner*, as often an *Exile*; once redeem'd from the very *Gibbet*, upon the Mediation of *Berenice* the Emperour's Siſter; and finally, after all this, ſo falſe to the Truſt of a Secretary, which he had the Honour to have conferr'd upon him, that his Maſter baniſh'd him his Court, and his Preſence for ever. But *Juſtus*, without raking any further into your Miſdemeanours, I cannot ſufficiently admire the Impudence of your ſetting up for the moſt perfect and exact *Hiſtorian* of this War, to the Diſparagement of all others; when effectually, you are but a mere Stranger to the whole Matter, even to what has paſs'd in *Galilee* it ſelf; for in the Time of that Action, you were with the King at *Berytus*: And ſo for the Siege of *Jotapata*, how was it poſſible for you to make any Report of my Behaviour in that Adventure, when there was not one Man left alive but my ſelf to tell you the Story. Or you will ſay perhaps, that the Relation you have given of what paſs'd at *Jeruſalem*, may be more correct. But it is a Thing hardly to be imagin'd, that you, who were neither perſonally in the Action, nor ever ſo much as read *Veſpaſian*'s *Commentaries* upon that Part of the War, ſhould be ſo well informed in the Story. Now I take for granted that you never read *Veſpaſian*, for there are ſeveral Caſes wherein you do point-blank contradict him: But if you are really ſo vain, as to fanſy to your ſelf that you have in this Relation out-done all Mankind; how came it that we were not bleſs'd with the Sight of this admirable Piece, while *Veſpaſian* or *Titus*, the Generals themſelves, were yet *living*? Or in the Days of *Agrippa* and his Relations, who were all great Maſters and Criticks in the *Greek* Tongue? What was this Hiſtory of yours kept ſo long in the Dark for, (for it had been now finiſh'd a Matter of *twenty Years*) when you might have had ſo many *Living and Eye-witneſſes* of the Fact, to vouch for the good Faith and Credit of the Work? Why was it ſuppreſs'd thus long I ſay, and now publiſh'd at laſt? But that you durſt not ſtand the Teſt and Cenſure of the World while ſo many People were

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[h] *Gr.* Ἐν τῆ Γεννησαρίτιδι λίμνῃ.

“ yet alive that were able to diſprove you. Now I went quite another Way to work
“ with my Papers, and put them into the Hands of the *Emperours themſelves*, that
“ had the Government of the War; and this, while all the Particulars of it were
“ ſtill freſh in every Body's Memory: My Conſcience, in Fine, acquitting me, that
“ I deliver'd the Truth without adding or diminiſhing; upon which Account, my
“ Writings have received as favourable an Acceptance in the World as I could deſire:
“ Theſe Memorials I communicated to ſeveral Perſons one after another, that had
“ born a Part in the War; as King *Agrippa* for one, and ſome certain Relations of
“ his. Nay, *Titus himſelf* gave ſuch a Teſtimony in Approbation of this Hiſtory of
“ mine, that he recommended it to the World as an authentical Record; and by an
“ Order under his own Hand, aſſign'd it a Place in his *Library*. King *Agrippa* was ſo
“ pleaſed with the Integrity and Candour of it, that he wrote me *ſixty two Letters*
“ in Confirmation of the Credit of it; two of them I have here ſubjoin'd, to the
“ End, *Juſtus*, that the Matter may be allow'd to ſpeak for it ſelf.

King Agrippa, *to his deareſt Friend,* Joſeph, *Greeting.*

I Have read your Book with very great Delight, and look upon it to be the moſt pertinent and exact Account of any I have yet ſeen. Pray ſend me the Remainder, and ſo I bid you Farewell, my dear Friend.

Agrippa's *Teſtimonial in Favour of* Joſeph.

King Agrippa, *to* Joſeph, *his deareſt Friend, Health.*

UPON the Peruſal of your Writings, I perceive you have little Need of any Thing further that I can tell you; only when we meet next, I may perhaps ſuggeſt ſome certain Paſſages to your Conſideration that have 'ſcap'd your Knowledge.

Agrippa *to* Joſeph.

This was the Teſtimony that King *Agrippa* gave to the Truth of my Hiſtory; not out of Flattery, for that was below him; nor in a Way of Mockery or Merriment, for he was a Man of too much Honour, and good Faith, to be guilty of ſo ill-natur'd a Levity; but purely out of a Deſire to recommend the Candour and Authority of my Writings to Poſterity, upon the Credit of ſo authentick a Certificate.

This is all I have to ſay to *Juſtus*, and it is no more than what I found abſolutely neceſſary in my own Defence; ſo that I ſhall now return to my Text again; where I brake off.

After the quieting of *Tiberias*, I call'd a Council of my Friends, to adviſe with upon the Buſineſs of *John*, and what Courſe to be taken with him. They were all of Opinion for drawing the whole Strength of *Galilee* into a Body, and falling upon him, as the principal Head and Author of the whole Broil and Confuſion. But my Judgment was utterly againſt the taking of ſo barbarous a Revenge; and rather to make Tryal of ſome other Way for compoſing the Tumult without Blood. Upon bethinking myſelf, this Expedient came into my Head. I gave Order for an exact Liſt to be procur'd of the whole Faction; and having gotten the Names of the moſt conſiderable Men of *John*'s Party, I publiſh'd an Act of *Amneſty* to all that ſhould come in within twenty Days, and laying down their Arms, return to their Duty; with an Aſſurance of Indemnity for what was paſt, upon their Compliance with this Edict; but for thoſe that ſhould ſtand out beyond that Time, they were to expect all the Extremities of Fire, Sword, and Pillage. This was an Invitation as well as a Menace, and wrought ſo effectually upon *John*'s Followers, as well by Fear, as otherwiſe, that four thouſand of them threw down their Arms immediately, and came over to me; only his *fellow Citizens* of *Giſchala* ſtay'd behind, and *fifteen hundred Mercenaries* of *Tyre*. This Way of Proceeding kept *John* under ſuch an Awe, that he durſt not ſhew his Head after it out of his own Country.

4000 *of* John's *Followers brought over by an* Amneſty.

Sepphoris was a well wall'd Town, and the Inhabitants a ſturdy Sort of People: So that betwixt their Confidence in the Strength of the Place, and the Thought of my having my Hands full elſewhere, they laid hold of this Opportunity, to betake themſelves to their Arms, ſending to *Ceſtius Gallus*, who was then Governour of *Syria*, either to come preſently, and take Poſſeſſion of the City himſelf, or to put in a Garriſon ſufficient to protect them. *Gallus* ſent them Word back again, that he *would* come, but not *when*. Upon the Intelligence of what had paſs'd betwixt them, I march'd directly up to the Place, and attack'd, and carry'd it. The *Galilæans* were willing to improve this Advantage, and reckoning upon it that the Time was now come for the taking of a thorough Revenge upon the *Sepphorites*, whom they mortally hated, they took up an outragious Reſolution of deſtroying, both Men, and City, in one common Ruine. The People had quitted their Habitations, and

Sepphoris *a ſtrong Place, and a ſturdy People.*

The Sepphorites *ſend to* Ceſtius Gallus, *to take them into Protection.*

Joſeph, *upon this, takes the Place by Aſſault.*

The Galilæans *burn, kill, and pillage without Mercy.*

withdrawn into the Caſtle for Protection, while the Soldiers put Fire to the empty Houſes, pillaging and rifling whatever they could lay Hand on, without any Diſtinction, whether Friends, Kindred, or Strangers. It wounded me to the Heart to ſee theſe barbarous Violences; inſomuch that I call'd out to the Soldiers to give over for Shame, that inhuman unnatural Way of Proceeding againſt Men of *their own Tribe* and *Profeſſion*. At this Rate, I went on doing all I could, both by Intreaty, and by Authority, to reclaim them; but when I found their Fury ſo implacable, that neither the one, nor the other would work upon them, I betook my ſelf to this Stratagem. I gave it in Charge to ſome of my particular Friends, to get a Report put about, as if the *Romans* had enter'd the Town on the other Side with a mighty Army; for I fanſy'd to my ſelf that ſuch a Rumour might turn the Thoughts of the *Galilæans* another Way, and ſo preſerve the City. This Invention ſucceeded to my Wiſh; for the *Alarum* of an *Aſſault* frighted the *Galilæans* preſently from their Plunder, to ſhift for themſelves; and their Apprehenſion was ſo much the greater, when they ſaw that I my ſelf ran away too for Company.

Joſeph *diverts them by a* Stratagem.

Tiberias *'ſcapes as narrowly as* Sepphoris.

By this Means *Sepphoris* was deliver'd beyond all Expectation; and *Tiberias* afterward 'ſcap'd every Jot as narrowly as the other. Some of the chief Senators, and Citizens of the Place apply'd themſelves by Letter to the King, that he would do them the Honour to come thither in Perſon, and take them and the City into his Royal Protection; who ſent them Word in Writing, that he would be with them out of Hand, and ſo diſpatch'd away one *Criſpus*, a *Jew* by Extraction, and a Gentleman of his *Bed-Chamber*, with his Anſwer. The *Galilæans* had the Hap to meet *Criſpus* upon the Way, and knowing the Perſon of the Man, took him into Cuſtody, and brought him over to me to be examin'd. So ſoon as ever they came to underſtand the Contents of his Letters, and the Buſineſs he was going about, the whole Multitude immediately betook themſelves to their Arms. I was at that Time at *Aſoch*, where I was importun'd next Morning by a prodigious Rabble of People gather'd together from all Quarters, with Clamours and Outcries, that the *Tiberians* were all *Traytors*, and of the *King's Faction*. They were, in ſhort, ſo furious, that nothing leſs than the demoliſhing of the City, and my giving Way to't, would quiet them. The *Tiberians*, they ſaid, were as bad, if not worſe than the very *Sepphorites*. The Madneſs of the People I found was implacable; and as there was no Good to be done upon them by Reaſon, ſo they were too many to be dealt withal by Force. As for the Letters, and the Subject Matter of them, there was no denying, or palliating of any Thing; for the King's Anſwer clear'd all. After I had been a good while turning my Thoughts from one Thing to another, and contriving which Way the People might be fairly brought to their Wits again, and the Place preſerv'd; it came into my Head at laſt, to take a middle Courſe betwixt oppoſing and complying with them; and ſo I reaſon'd the Caſe with them after this Manner. *The Tiberians, ſaid I,* are mightily to blame, *and you ſhall have my Conſent with all my Heart, to make them ſmart for't, provided you do nothing Hand over Head; for upon a ſurther Scrutiny you will find a Faction among the noble* Galilæans *as deep in this Plot upon your* Liberties, *as the* Tiberians themſelves. *And therefore I am clearly for a little Patience, till you can get a thorough Diſcovery of your Enemies; and then when you have them all in the Toil together, you may deal with them according to their Deſerts.* The Multitude was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Fairneſs of the Propoſal, that they diſpers'd upon it, without any more Noiſe, and went their Way in Peace.

The King's Meſſenger being all this while in Priſon, I made a Pretence, ſome few Days after, of a little Buſineſs that call'd me out of Town; and in the mean while, I ſent privately for *Criſpus*, and put it in his Head to fuddle his Keeper, and to try if he could give him the Slip, and make his Eſcape away to the King. This was the ſecond Time that *Tiberias* was ſav'd from utter Ruine by my Means.

While Matters were in this State, *Juſtus*, the Son of *Piſtus* ſtole away to the King. I knew nothing of his going; and the true Reaſon of it was this. Upon the breaking out of the *Jewiſh War*, the *Tiberians* had reſolved with themſelves to ſtand firm to the *King* and the *Romans*. *Juſtus*, on the other Hand, debauch'd them into a Revolt, in the Hope and Proſpect of playing his own Game in the Hurry of thoſe Confuſions, and making himſelf Maſter of the *Government*: But the Project did not work his Way, for the *Galilæans* had contracted ſuch an Averſion to the *Tiberians* for the Affronts they had put upon them before the War, that they would never ſuffer *Juſtus* to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Pretenſions; and truly I my ſelf, when the People of *Jeruſalem* had put me into the Government of *Galilee*, was many Times provok'd to ſuch a Degree by the wicked Practices of this lewd Man, that I had very much ado to forbear putting him to Extremities. *Juſtus* was ſo well aware of the Danger he was in, that for Fear of the worſt, and not knowing how far Paſſion and Affronts might tranſport a Man under my Circumſtances, he thought it his beſt and ſafeſt Courſe to withdraw, and betake himſelf to the King.

The late Deliverance of the *Sepphorites* was little leſs than miraculous; and yet the Danger was no ſooner over, but they ſent once again to *Ceſtius Gallus*, either to come away immediately himſelf, and take Poſſeſſion of the Town, or elſe to furniſh them with a Force ſufficient to ſecure it againſt the Inroads of the Enemy. Upon their Importunities, *Gallus* order'd them a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot, which they received into the City by Night. The *Roman* Horſe made ſuch Havock up and down every where, that I was fain to draw my Men to a Rendezvous near [a] *Garizim*, and there I encamped, a Matter of twenty *Furlongs*, from *Sepphoris*. In the Dead of the Night I gave an Aſſault to the Walls of the Town, which my Men mounted, and took Poſſeſſion of them: So that we were for a while Maſters of a good Part of the City; but for Want of knowing the Streets and Paſſages, we were forc'd to quit what we had gotten, without purſuing the Advantage any farther, than the killing of twelve of the *Roman Foot*; two of their Horſe, and ſome few of the *Sepphorites*, with the Loſs only of one Man on our Side. Soon after this, we had a ſharp Encounter with the *Roman Horſe*, and fought it very bravely for a long Time, till coming in the End to be over-born with Numbers, and ſurrounded by the Enemy, and my ſelf in the Middle of them, my Men were forced to give Way in the Hurry of that Confuſion. In this Action I loſt *Juſtus*, one of my Guards, and formerly one of the King's.

The Sepphorites *ſend a ſecond Invitation to* Ceſtius Gallus.
Who puts a Body of Horſe and Foot into the Town by Night.

Joſeph *takes* Sepphoris, *and quits it again.*

There came at the ſame Time a Body of the King's Horſe and Foot, under the Command of *Silas*, the Captain of his Guards, who encamped within a Matter of five Furlongs of *Julias*, having poſted ſtrong Parties at all the *Avenues* that led to *Cana*, and the Caſtle of *Gamala*, to cut off all Relief. Upon this, I ſent out *Jeremiah* in the Head of 2000 Men to the Bank of the River *Jordan* about a Furlong from *Julias*, where there paſs'd only ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes, till I joyn'd them with 3000 more my ſelf. On the Day following, after planting a ſtrong Ambuſh in a Bottom, at a convenient Diſtance from the Enemy, I proffer'd the King's Troops Battle, with Orders to my Men to turn their Backs upon the firſt Charge, and ſo to fly before the Enemy till they had drawn them within Reach of the Ambuſcade. This was done accordingly; and *Silas* taking it for a Rout in Earneſt, follow'd us ſo far, that the Ambuſh fell upon his Rear, and put the King's Troops in ſo great a Diſorder, that upon my facing about, and charging them in the Front, they were ſo abſolutely broken; that if it had not been for one ſpiteful unlucky Accident, it had been the cleareſt Victory under the Sun; but my Horſe coming over with me in a Bogg, the Fall put my Wriſt out of Joynt: So that I was forc'd to be carry'd off to *Cepharnome*, a Village near at Hand there, for Relief. Upon this Diſaſter my People fearing the Matter might be worſe with me than in Truth it was, gave over the Purſuit, and apply'd themſelves wholly to provide Surgeons and Phyſicians for me. After one Day's Stay there, and falling into a Fever too, I was removed that Night by the Doctor's Advice to *Taricheæ*. Upon the Intelligence of this Misfortune, *Silas* and the King's Friends took Heart again, and hearing that our Out-Guards were looſe and careleſs, they ſent away a Troop of Horſe privately beyond *Jordan* to lie in Wait there for the Opportunity of a Surprize, daring us out early the next Morning to come to a Battle. My People accepted the Challenge; but upon drawing out to fight them, they fell into this Ambuſh of the Enemies Horſe, by whom they were charged, routed, and put to Flight with the Loſs only of ſix of our Men, who upon Information of ſome Troops we had that were paſſing by the Way of the Lake from *Taricheæ* to *Julias*, went preſently off again without daring to purſue the Victory any farther.

Joſeph *draws* Silas *into an Ambuſh, and gives him an abſolute Rout.*

Joſeph's *Horſe coming over with him puts a Stop to the Purſuit.*

Joſeph's *People fall into an Ambuſh of the Enemies Horſe.*

Veſpaſian came a while after this to *Tyre*, with King *Agrippa* in his Company; where he was entertain'd with the moſt virulent Outcries and Exclamations of the People againſt their King that could be imagin'd. He was an Enemy and a Traytor, they ſaid, both to the *Tyrians* and the *Romans*, and that it was by his treacherous Order and Command that his General *Philip* deliver'd up both the *Royal Palace* at *Jeruſalem*, and the *Roman Garriſon* there. *Veſpaſian* gave the *Tyrians* a ſevere Check for the Saucineſs of ſo audacious a Calumny upon a crowned Head, and a Friend to the *Romans*; but adviſed *Agrippa* however for Quietneſs Sake, to ſend **Philip** to *Rome* to clear himſelf to the *Emperour*, and he went accordingly upon that Deſign; but finding ***Nero*** in a miſerable Diſtreſs by Reaſon of his civil Wars, he went his Way back again to *Agrippa* without ſeeing the Face of the *Emperour*.

Veſpaſian *comes to* Tyre *with* Agrippa.
The People charge Agrippa *with Treachery in* Philip's *giving up the Royal Palace at* Jeruſalem, *and the* Roman *Garriſon there.*
Veſpaſian *chides them for their Inſolence, and adviſes* Agrippa *to ſend* Philip *to the Emperour to clear himſelf.*

Not long after this; upon *Veſpaſian*'s coming to **Ptolemais**, the Governours of ***Decapolis*** came thronging to him with grievous Complaints againſt ***Juſtus*** for burning their Country; who deliver'd him up to *Agrippa* to have him ſeverely puniſhed for the Injuries done his Subjects. The King upon this made him a Priſoner, without ever conſulting the Emperour in the Matter, as is ſaid heretofore.

Complaints are brought to Veſpaſian *at* Ptolemais *againſt* Juſtus.
Juſtus *deliver'd up to* Agrippa.

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[a] *Gr.* Εἰς Γαρεισίμην.

Veſpaſian *appoints the* Sepphorites *a Garriſon, and makes* Placidus *their Governour.*

The *Sepphorites* went out to attend *Veſpaſian* upon the Way, and received a *Garriſon* from him of his Appointment, and *Placidus* for their Governour, who was the Man I had to do withal, till the *Emperour* came into *Galilee* himſelf: But as to what concerns the Story, and the Manner of his coming; my Retreat to *Jotapata*, after the firſt Encounter I had at *Tarichеæ*; what I did in Defence of the Place; how I came after a long Siege to be taken Priſoner; how afterwards to be ſet at Liberty again; and how I behav'd my ſelf, in Fine, throughout the whole Courſe of the *Jewiſh War*; theſe are Points that I have handled ſo very particularly in that Story, that there remains little more to be added upon this Subject, than ſome few Privacies of my own Life.

Joſeph *made a Priſoner by the* Romans *at the taking of* Jotapata.
He takes a Wife upon Veſpaſian's *Recommendation.*
Joſeph *liſts himſelf in the Train of* Veſpaſian.
Joſeph *ſent from* Alexandria *with* Titus *to* Jeruſalem.
Joſeph *in Danger both from* Jews *and* Romans.
Titus *bids* Joſeph *ask him what he would out of the general Ruines, and he ſhould have it.*
Joſeph *begs the Liberty of his Countrymen and Friends, and the Poſſeſſion of the holy Bible; which is all granted him.*

Upon the *Romans* reducing *Jotapata*, in which Action I was taken Priſoner, under a ſtrict Guard, but not without great Reſpect from *Veſpaſian*; upon whoſe Perſuaſion I took to Wife a certain Virgin of *Cæſarea*, who was at that Time a Priſoner. She and I did not live long together; but upon my being ſet at Liberty, and entering my ſelf in the Train of *Veſpaſian*, who was then going to *Alexandria*, ſhe left me, and went her Way. I marry'd another Wife after this at *Alexandria*, from whence I was ſent with *Titus* to *Jeruſalem*, where my Life was ſeveral Ways, and upon ſeveral Occaſions, in Danger; the *Jews* lying in Wait to deſtroy me on the one Hand, and the *Romans* on the other: For when any Thing went amiſs with them, all Miſcarriages were ſtill laid at my Door, and the Emperour could never be quiet for the Clamours of the People to have the Traytor (meaning my ſelf) taken out of the Way. But *Titus* (who was now declared *Emperour)* was too well read in the Humours of Men, and in the Chances of War, to give any Heed to the clamorous Importunities of an impetuous Multitude: Inſomuch that after the very ſacking of the City, he was ſo generous, as many and many a Time to offer me my Choice of whatever I had a Mind to out of the general Ruines; and for a Word ſpeaking, I ſhould have it. But alaſs! in the Calamity of that inconſolable Loſs and Deſolation, I could find nothing worth my asking but the Liberty of my Countrymen and Friends, and the Poſſeſſion of the *holy Bible* in my Cuſtody, which was immediately granted me with all the Frankneſs imaginable: My Brother, with a Matter of fifty of my Acquaintance being pardon'd, and diſcharg'd ſoon after at my Requeſt. With the Emperour's Leave, I went after this into the Temple, where I found ſhut up a vaſt Multitude of Women and Children; and among the reſt to the Number of about a hundred and ninety Perſons of my Familiars and Friends, who upon my Mediation were all abſolutely ſet free, without ſo much as any Sort of Condition or Ranſom.

Titus *ſends* Joſeph *to* Thecoa *with* Cerealis.

I was then ſent by *Titus* with *Cerealis* and 1000 Horſe to a Village call'd *Thecoa*, to take a View of the Situation and Diſpoſition of the Place for the forming of a Camp there. At my coming back, there were a great many Priſoners crucified upon the Way, and among others, three Men with whom I had a Friendſhip of a long Standing. I was ſo ſurprized with this wounding Spectacle, that I went preſently with Tears in my Eyes to *Titus*, and told him the Story. He had no ſooner heard it, but at the ſame Inſtant he order'd the Bodies to be taken down, and all poſſible Means uſed for their Recovery. Two of them dy'd under the Surgeon's Hand, and the third ſurvived the Experiment.

Further Inſtances of Titus's *Generoſity toward* Joſeph.
Joſeph *highly in* Veſpaſian's *Favour.*

When *Titus* had ſettled the Affairs of *Judæa*, in a State of Order and Peace, he aſſigned me a Portion of Lands at a Diſtance, in Exchange for others I had in the Neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem*. This he did out of Kindneſs and Reſpect, for he knew it would be neither commodious nor profitable for me to have my Habitation in the Middle of the *Roman Troops* that were of Neceſſity to be quarter'd about *Jeruſalem*, for the Security of the Province. The Emperour *Veſpaſian* did me the Honour alſo upon his Return to *Rome*, to take me into the ſame Veſſel with him, and upon his Arrival there, he was pleas'd to treat me after the moſt favourable and gracious Manner that could be. In the firſt Place, he made me free of the City and then lodg'd me in the Palace, that he himſelf had liv'd in before he was *Emperour*. He ſettled upon me a yearly Penſion, and kept up his Bounty and Goodneſs to me at the ſame Rate, ſo long as he liv'd, which drew upon me the mortal Envy and Hatred of my own Nation. For there was a certain *Jew*, *Jonathan* by Name, that got together a Rabble of ſome 2000 Countrymen into an Uproar at *Cyrene*, but they were all deſtroy'd, and himſelf ſent to the Emperour in Chains, by the Governour of the Province. This *Jonathan* ſuggeſted that I had aſſiſted him toward this Tumult, with Money and Arms; but *Veſpaſian*, without giving any Credit to the Calumny, order'd his Head to be ſtruck off. After this, there were ſeveral other falſe Practices, and envious Subornations advanced againſt me; but by God's Providence I 'ſcap'd them all; and had a fair Eſtabliſhment allotted me in *Judæa*, by the Bounty of *Veſpaſian*. About this Time, my Wife and I could not agree. I did not like her Ways, and ſo we parted, having had three Children by her, two of them dead, and only *Hyrcanus* living. After this Divorce, I took another Wife, by Birth a *Candian*, and by Profeſſion a *Jew*, a Woman nobly born, and of a moſt exemplary Honour and Virtue. She brought me two Sons: *Juſtus* the *Elder*, and *Simonides*, ſurnamed *Agrippa*, the other. Thus it ſtood with me and my Family: Beſide that I was ſo happy as to be ſtill in Favour with the *Cæſars*. For after the Death of *Veſpaſian*, *Titus* had the ſame Kindneſs for me as his Father; and *Domitian* conferr'd upon me ſtill greater Honours. He put to Death ſeveral *Jews* that were my Accuſers, and order'd an *Eunuch Slave* that I made Uſe of for my Son's Tutor, to be ſeverely puniſh'd for a falſe Information againſt me. And which is yet a more honourable Mark of his ſingular Goodneſs toward me, he hath been pleaſed to grant me the Privilege of an Exemption from all Taxes and Duties for the Eſtate that I am poſſeſs'd of in *Judæa*. Neither have my Obligations been leſs in Proportion to *Domitia*, the *Wife* of *Cæſar*, than to the *Emperour himſelf*. This is in Short, the Hiſtory of my Life; and the World is at Liberty to judge of my Manners by this Abſtract.

Joſeph's *Wives and Children*.

Joſeph *a Favourite alſo of* Domitian, *and* Domitia.

But to ſatisfy you (moſt excellent *Epaphroditus*) I need ſay no more at preſent; having preſum'd to offer and dedicate unto you the whole Body of the Jewiſh Antiquities.

Joſeph *dedicates his Antiquities to* Epaphroditus.

8

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS
TO
EPAPHRODITUS:
In Answer to *APION* about the Antiquity of the *JEWS.*

BOOK I.

The Jewiſh Antiquities, *a Hiſtory of* 5000 *Years.*

What mov'd Joſephus *to write this Hiſtory.*

I have ſaid enough already in my *Jewiſh Antiquities* (moſt excellent *Epaphroditus*) to put it out of all Doubt, that the *Jews* are a very *ancient People*; and a Nation indebted only to themſelves for their *Original*; beſide that they have kept up their Claim from the Beginning to this very Day. This is no more than what I have made undeniably appear in a juſt Hiſtory of *five thouſand Years*, drawn from the Authority of *holy Writ it ſelf:* And all this too little yet, either to ſecure the *Author* of that Piece from *Calumny* and *Reproach*, or the whole Story at Length from the Vanity of a *Fable*. For, ſay they, if the Race of the *Jews* were ſo illuſtrious as *Joſephus* makes it, how comes it that none of the *Greek Hiſtorians* of the beſt Credit, ever took any Notice of it? *Now* this being the Caſe, I cannot do my ſelf a more neceſſary Right, than in the firſt Place, with all poſſible Brevity, to confute and correct my malicious Enemies: Secondly, to inform and inſtruct the Ignorant: And thirdly, to lay open indifferently to all Lovers of Truth the naked State of the Matter. As for my Authorities, I ſhall make Uſe of none but Men of an undeniable Reputation among the *Greek* Writers: And for thoſe, that have either ſpitefully, or ignorantly traduced me, or my Writings, I ſhall overthrow their Pretenſions out of their own Mouths. I ſhall likewiſe ſhew how it comes to paſs, that the *Greeks* in general, have made ſo little Mention of us: And then for the reſt in particular, that they either knew nothing at all in Reality, or at leaſt pretended to know nothing at all of the Matter in Queſtion.

The Græcians *are altogether for* Novelties.

The Ægyptians, *&c. a People of Antiquity and Credit.*

There are a Sort of People ſo ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the *Greeks*, that they make them the only Oracles to be conſulted for the Faith and Credit of Hiſtory, to the Contempt and Diſparagement of all other Men and Nations. Now I cannot but infinitely wonder at the Confidence of theſe Dablers in Antiquities in theſe Caſes, where both Reaſon and Fact are directly againſt them. Wherefore we are not to govern our ſelves by this, or that Man's Opinion, but by the Weight and the *intrinſick Value* of the Thing it ſelf. As for the *Greeks*, I ſee little or nothing among them that is not *Novel*, and of *Yeſterday*, as we ſay; either in their Buildings, Arts, or Laws; and, in Fine, the very Uſe of Hiſtory is but of late Date among them: Whereas by their own Confeſſion, the *Ægyptians*, *Chaldæans* and *Phœnicians* (to ſay nothing of our ſelves) have from Time to Time recorded and tranſmitted down to Poſterity the Memorials of paſt Ages; in monumental Pillars and Inſcriptions, according to the Advice and Direction of the wiſeſt Men they had, for the perpetual Memory of all publick Tranſactions of Moment, and to the End that nothing might be loſt: Beſide that theſe People living in a clear Air, the very Climate contributed to the preſerving of theſe Antiquities from Corruption and Decay; which was quite otherwiſe with the *Greeks* in both Reſpects, either of Duration, or of Order and Appointment.

It is natural enough for thoſe that ſet up new States or Societies, to fanſie themſelves the greateſt Maſters of that *Oeconomy* under the Sun. Now as to the *Greeks* Skill in Letters, they came not only late to the bare Pretence, but they are not at this very Hour come up to the perfect Underſtanding of the Matter.

The firſt Inventers of Letters.

No Greek *Manuſcript before* Homer.

Antiquity they boaſt of, looks no farther backward than to the *Phœnicians:* And they value themſelves upon the Reputation of having had *Cadmus* for their firſt Maſter: But ſo far are they from being able to produce, either in their Temples, or publick Regiſtries, any one authentick Memorial of theſe Times; that when it came afterward to be a Queſtion, whether the Uſe of theſe Letters were ſo much as known at the Time of the *Trojan War*; it was carry'd in the *Negative*, that there were no ſuch Characters then in being. It is moſt certain that there is no *Greek Manuſcript* Extant that dates before the Poem of *Homer:* And it is likewiſe as certain, that the *Trojan* War was over, before that *Poem* was written. Nay, and it will not be allow'd neither that *Homer* ever committed this Piece of his to writing at all; but it paſs'd up and down like a Bind of a *Ballad-Song* that the People had got by Rote; till in the End Copies were taken of it from Dictates by Word of Mouth; which was the true Reaſon of ſo many Contradictions and Miſtakes in the Tranſcripts.

As for *Cadmus* the *Mileſian*, *Acuſilaus*, and other *Greeks*, that afterwards put in for *Hiſtorians*; theſe were all but very little before the *Perſians* Inroad into *Greece*. And ſo for *Pherecydes* of *Syros*, *Pythagoras*, and *Thales*; who were the firſt among them, that ever philoſophiz'd upon divine and celeſtial Matters; they do all unanimouſly own the *Ægyptians* and the *Chaldæans* for their Maſters; and for the little that we find publiſh'd in writing upon that Point, however it may have the Reputation of ſome *Antiquity*; yet whether theſe Men were the Authors of it or not, remains to this Day a Queſtion.

How unreaſonable a Thing is it for the *Greeks* now, to appropriate to themſelves, not only the ſole Knowledge of Antiquity, but a Preference likewiſe before all others for Men of Hiſtorical Faith, Candor, and Credit! Nay, is it not evident, on the contrary, from their own Works, that the Hiſtory they deliver is not ſo much Matter of *Fact*, as *Conjecture* and *Opinion*; and that every Man writes according to his Fancy? Their Authors ſtill claſhing one with another, and impoſing upon the World inconſiſtent Reports, at the ſame Time, of one and the ſame Thing.

It would be tedious, and Time loſt, to run thorough all the Diſagreements betwixt *Hellanicus* and *Acuſilaus*, in the Matter of their *Genealogies*; the Differences betwixt *Heſiod* and *Acuſilaus*; to ſhew how many Times over and over *Ephorus* hath given the Lye to *Hellanicus*; *Timæus* to *Ephorus*; thoſe that came after *Timæus*, to *Timæus* himſelf; and, in Fine, all to *Herodotus*.

Thucidydes himſelf cenſur'd.

Neither does *Timæus* agree any better with *Philiſtus*, or *Callias*, in their *Sicilian Hiſtories:* Neither do the Hiſtorians of *Athens* and *Argos* accord any better than the reſt, but fall foul one upon another. Now in one Word, what hiſtorical Agreement are we to expect from the Reporters of private Actions and Adventures, when even in the Courſe and Narration of the *Perſian* War, the moſt celebrated Authors are at Variance among themſelves! Nay, the Truth and Credit of *Thucydides* himſelf is call'd in Queſtion upon ſeveral Occaſions, though the moſt cautious, candid, and untainted *Hiſtorian* of the Age he wrote in.

The Greeks *divided, and the Reaſons of it.*

There may be many Reaſons given for this claſhing among the *Greek* Authors, if a Man would but apply himſelf to the finding of them out. But the two Points that I lay the principal Streſs upon, are theſe. Firſt, the Failing of the *Greeks* in not laying a timely Foundation of Hiſtory in Records and Memorials, to conſerve the Memory of all great Actions: For without theſe monumental Traditions, Poſterity is left at Liberty to write at Random; and to write falſe too, without any Danger of being contradicted in the Hiſtory of former Times. Now this Way of keeping publick Regiſters hath been neglected, not only in other Parts of *Greece*; but it was never heard of, even in *Athens* it ſelf, where the People paſs by the Name of *Earth-born*, with a Reſpect to their Original; and value themſelves above all others, both for *Antiquity*, and *Letters*. *Draco's penal Laws* are univerſally allow'd an Antecedence to all other of their Writings, though bearing Date but a little before the Tyrant *Piſiſtratus*. And what ſhall we ſay now to the *Arcadians* that ſet up for a Priority of Pretenſion too, and yet came later to the Uſe of Letters than any of the reſt?

Now there being no Lights or Authorities extant, for a Guide to thoſe that were deſirous to learn, or to ſet others Right, that went either innocently or maliciouſly, out of their Way: How was it poſſible, but *Hiſtorians* muſt be divided and confounded among themſelves! Eſpecially when Truth is made the leaſt Part of their Buſineſs; how fairly ſoever they may profeſs and pretend to the Contrary. They write, in Effect, for popular Applauſe; and if they can but get the Reputation of good Orators, no Matter for diſcharging the Part of honeſt Men. Some write meanly for Fancy or Humour, without any Regard of Juſtice to the Story, others, upon the *Panegyrick*, and currying Favour with great Men; and there are ſome again that ſpend their Time in calumniating the Writings and the Perſons of thoſe that went before them; which is all contrary to the Rule and Office of an *Hiſtorian.*

The certain Marks of a true Hiſtory.

The Græcians *better* Orators, *than* Hiſtorians.

It is the infallible Mark of a true and genuine Hiſtory, when ſeveral Writers agree in the ſame Thing, Time and Place: But the *Greeks*, in croſſing one another, made that Diverſity an Argument of Truth. If the Queſtion betwixt them and us, were Choice of Words or Delicacy of Style, we ſhould never diſpute the Precedence with them; but for Matter of Fact and Antiquity it is quite another Caſe.

The Antiquity and Uſe of Records.

The Regiſters *under the Care of the* Prieſts.

The *Ægyptians* and the *Babylonians* are known to have been very diligent and exact of Old, in the marking of their Accounts and Annals. This Way of Regiſtring among the *Ægyptians*, was the *Prieſts* Province; who took a great Deal of Care and Pains, in the Diſcharge of that Duty. The *Chaldæans* did the ſame Thing with the *Babylonians*; and the *Phœnicians*, intermingling with the *Greeks*, inſtructed them alſo in the Uſe of Letters for the Government of Life, and the upholding of publick Traditions. But this being acknowledg'd on all Hands, more Diſcourſe upon it in this Place would be needleſs. So that I ſhall only content my ſelf to ſhew briefly, that our Forefathers provided at leaſt as well for the ſecuring of this Order and Regulation, if not better, than any that went before them; in charging the High-Prieſts, and the Prophets with this Commiſſion: And we have kept up the Practice with great Integrity, to this very Day: Nay if I might ſpeak a bold Word, I durſt almoſt pronounce that it ſhall never fail. For there was not only Care taken from the Beginning, to make Choice of Men of exemplary Piety and Virtue, for this Function, (over and above that they were ſet apart alſo for the Service of the Altar;) but a Proviſion was likewiſe made for preſerving the *Sacerdotal-Race* untainted with any prophane or adulterate Mixture; for no Man is qualify'd for the Office of a Prieſt whoſe Mother was not of a prieſtly Extraction: And therefore without any Regard to Wealth or Honour, whoever pretends to the Prieſthood muſt prove his Deſcent in a right Line by a Multitude of Witneſſes.

Cuſtoms about Marriages, and Pedigrees.

And this holds not only into *Judæa*, but wherever our People are diſpers'd over the Face of the whole Earth: As in *Ægypt*, and *Babylon*; and all over the World, in Fine; where our Prieſts make it a Point of Conſcience only to intermarry with their own Tribes. In this Caſe, they ſend from the Father to *Jeruſalem*, the Name of the Woman they have a Mind to marry; with a Draught of her Pedigree, well and ſufficiently atteſted. But in a Time of War, (which many Times falls out) as for Inſtance in the Days of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Pompey the Great*, and *Quintilius Varus*; and particularly within our own Memory: In this Caſe the *ſurviving Prieſts* reform and ſupply the old Regiſters; compoſe new ones, and put the Women that are left to the Scrutiny of a ſtrict Examination. The Prieſts marry no Captives for Fear of contracting a foreign Mixture: And there can be no clearer Proof of their Integrity than that the Names of all our Prieſts, in an uninterrupted Succeſſion, from Father to Son, have now ſtood upon Record throughout a Tract of two thouſand Years. If any one Man among them falſifies or prevaricates, he is preſently forbidden the holy Altar, and depoſed from the Exerciſe of his Function. In this Method, we are certainly, and neceſſarily in the Right. All Men are not allow'd to write; and we meet with no Contradictions in thoſe that do. As for thoſe *unaccountable Antiquities* among the *Prophets*, we look upon them as *divine Revelation* rather than *Hiſtory:* But for others that write the Story of their own Times, the Number of them is not very great, neither are they very repugnant one to another. But to come to my Buſineſs.

22 Books of Holy Writ.

I reckon only upon two and twenty Books that we are bound to believe; and thoſe two and twenty Books compriſe the Hiſtory of the World from the Beginning of it to this Day. Five Books of theſe two and twenty, treat of the Creation of the World and the Generation of Mankind; and ſo to the Death of *Moſes* in a *Series* of little leſs than three thouſand Years.

The Hiſtory of the Bible.

From the Death of *Moſes* to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, the Son of *Xerxes*, and the King of *Perſia*, every one of our Prophets wrote the Hiſtory of the Age he liv'd in, comprehending the whole in thirteen Books: The other four Books containing holy Hymns and moral Precepts. There is alſo a Courſe of Hiſtory from *Artaxerxes* to this Inſtant, which we look upon with great Veneration, but incomparably ſhort of what we aſcribe to the other, for Want of the ſucceſſional Line and Deſcent of the Prophets to make it ſtill more authentick and ſacred. As for the other Works, we give as much Credit to them, as we would do to our own Eyes: Having been thus long in the World without any Attempt upon them, either to add or to diminiſh; nay, or but ſo much as to transform, or to diſguiſe them. But we ſet a Value upon theſe writings, as divine; we call them ſo, and we are train'd up from the very

Cradle to meditate, to obſerve, and to maintain them as ſuch; and finally to ſuffer Death chearfully in their Defence rather than forſake them.

How many are there of our captive Countrymen at this Day, ſtruggling with all Manner of Deaths, and labouring under exquiſite Torments, contending in the *Theatres* with Beaſts and more brutal Men! And what's their Crime, but that they will not renounce their Countries Laws, and blaſpheme the God of their Fore-fathers? When did ever any of the *Greeks* ſtand ſuch a Tryal of their Honour and Courage! A People that would not venture that Shock to ſave all that can be dear to them in the World! But alas, they look upon all that is *ſacred* of that Kind, to be no more than Words of Courſe. And this is the Caſe even of the beſt of their *Hiſtorians*. For they take upon them to write Hiſtory without any Privity many Times to the Fact, or ſo much as either conſulting or believing thoſe that have been upon the Place, and Parties to the Action. What extravagant uncouth Hiſtories of our late Wars have we ſeen publiſh'd by Perſons that never came within Diſtance of underſtanding one Syllable of the Matter: But if they can patch up a Medley of Fancy and Hear-ſay, they have the Confidence to ſet up preſently for Hiſtorians of the firſt Rate.

The Bravery of the Jews above the Grecians.

Hiſtorians upon Gueſs *and* Hear-ſay.

But this is not yet the Caſe of my Hiſtory; for I have deliver'd nothing but upon ocular Teſtimony and certain Knowledge: And having the Means of informing my ſelf in every Thing that paſs'd. I have been likewiſe as faithful in the Report of Things, as I was juſt and accurate in the Scrutiny. I had a Command in *Galilee* ſo long as our People were able to hold up their Heads againſt the *Romans*; but it was my Fortune in the End to be made a Priſoner, and carry'd in Cuſtody to *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*. Who order'd me at firſt to be kept bound; with a Commiſſion at the ſame Time to obſerve and to inſpect what was done, but I was afterwards ſet at Liberty, and went abroad with *Titus* from *Alexandria*, upon Occaſion of the Siege of *Jeruſalem*.

There was nothing at that Time eſcap'd my Knowledge. The Motions of the Army were all open to me; and no Care wanting on my Part, to repreſent every Thing to the Life: And ſo for the State of the City, I had it from Priſoners and Deſerters, with the Emperour's expreſs Order to take them all into my particular Care and Manage. I made the beſt, in Fine, of my Notes; and out of thoſe Minutes, compil'd my Hiſtory.

Joſeph's *undeniable Authority for what he ſays.*

The Foundation being now laid, and my ſelf at *Rome*, and at Leiſure, I took ſome Friends to my Aſſiſtance in the *Greek* Tongue, and went on with my Work; wherein I have diſcharg'd my ſelf with that ſcrupulous Nicety of Candour and Juſtice, that I dare ſay the *Generals* themſelves, *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, will vouch for me. Now theſe were the Perſons to whom I made the firſt Preſent of my Book; and next after them, to certain noble *Romans* that commanded in the ſame War: Others I ſold to ſuch of our own Party as I found well ſkill'd in the *Greek* Language: As *Julius*, *Archelaus*, the incomparable *Herod*, and the moſt excellent King *Agrippa*; who do all acquit me with one Voice, that I have behav'd my ſelf like a faithful *Hiſtorian*, and would undoubtedly have expos'd the Abuſe, if I had either left out or put in any Thing thorough Ignorance or for Favour. And now ſome People treat me as a Cheat, as they would do a Boy at School, upon the Declamatory, betwixt Trifling and Detraction: But they never conſider, that whoever takes upon him to tell the Truth, he ſhould make ſure in the firſt Place, to know it himſelf, and that muſt be done either by himſelf or with the Help of another; and I have already gone both thoſe Ways to Work.

This Hiſtory was compil'd at Rome.

He appeals to the Generals themſelves, *and ſeveral great Officers for the Truth of it.*

Joſeph *treated as an* Impoſtor.

He reaſons the Caſe and clears himſelf.

As for my *Antiquities*, I have, in the Quality of a Prieſt, and in the Way of my Profeſſion, extracted them out of the holy Scripture, and digeſted them into a methodical Order. But in the Hiſtory of the War I was an Actor in ſome Caſes, a Spectator in others; and, upon the whole Matter, a Stranger to nothing that was either done or ſaid. How ſhameleſs an Impudence is it now for theſe People to contend with me for the Truth? Nay, putting the Caſe as they pretend, and that they have indeed had the Sight of *Titus*'s and *Veſpaſian*'s *Journals*: What does this ſignify to the invalidating of my Hiſtory, in a Point where the *Roman Generals* were abſolute Strangers to the Matter.

This Digreſſion was but neceſſary, to ſhew what a Sort of *Hiſtorians* we are like to have if this Liberty goes forward. But there is enough ſaid, I think, to ſatisfy any Man, that the very *Barbarians* themſelves ſtand fairer for the Dignity and Reputation of that Pretence than the *Greeks*.

I come now to a Sort of People that will have the *Jews* to be *Novel*, and no better than *Upſtarts*; becauſe the *Greeks*, they ſay, make no Mention of us: I ſhall then cite my Authorities out of our own Books, and lay open the unreaſonable Malice of all our ſpiteful Adverſaries.

The Greeks *will have the* Jews *to be Upſtarts.*

As to the Place of our Habitation or Abode, we live in a *Midland-Country*; and for the Matter of Trade and Ramble, we never trouble our Heads upon either of thoſe two Accounts. Our Cities lye remote from the Sea; the Soil fruitful, and well dreſs'd and cultivated. Our greateſt Care is for the Maintenance and Education of our Children, and to have them train'd up to Piety, and in Obedience to the Laws of our Country: And this is it we reckon upon as the main Buſineſs of our Lives. After all this, we have a peculiar Way of living to our ſelves, which gives us to underſtand that in Times paſt we had no Communication with the *Greeks*; as the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians* had: And ſo had others alſo, by a common Tye of Navigation, Trade and Commerce, for the advancing of their Fortunes. Neither did our Predeceſſors make Inroads upon their Neighbours, as other People have done, for the enlarging of their Eſtates; though they wanted neither Numbers nor Courage, to be dangerous and troubleſome, if they would have been croſs.

Thus it was that the *Phœnicians* became known to the *Greeks*; and by them, the *Ægyptians*, and other Traders into *Greece*. After theſe, the *Medes* and *Perſians*; who having gotten into the Command of *Aſia*, the *Perſians* carry'd the War into *Europe*. The *Thracians* became known by Neighbourhood; the *Scythians*, by holding a Correſpondence with thoſe that uſe the *Pontus*; and ſo all along the *Eaſtern* and the *Weſtern* Sea, the People could not fail of Hiſtorians. But for thoſe that live far into the Continent, it was a Kind of *Terra Incognita* to them for many Ages: And the ſame Thing in *Europe* too: When after an Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Power and Greatneſs, and ſo many Conqueſts and Triumphs without Controul; yet neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides*, or any other of their Contemporaries, ever made ſo much as the leaſt Mention of this mighty Empire; till the Rumour of it came at Length to the *Greeks*, and with very much ado.

A notorious Blunder of a famous Hiſtorian.

But what will become of common Writers, when *Ephorus* himſelf, the Flower of the whole Choice, ſhall be guilty of ſuch a Blunder: As this for Example, that I am about to tell you. He takes upon him to give an Acount of the *Gauls* and *Iberians*, and makes the Kingdom of *Spain* it ſelf, with the vaſt Continent it ſtands upon, to be no more than *one City*; and ſo impoſes upon us for the Hiſtory of the Place, Things that were never done, ſaid or heard of there. And whence comes this *Ignorance* of the Truth now, but from taking our Aim at it out of Diſtance? Or whence comes the other *Miſtake* of the Truth, but from an Affectation of overdoing the Truth it ſelf?

And where's the Wonder now, for People that live Strangers to the World, and in a Manner out of it; and under ſuch a Reſerve as we do, not to furniſh Matter for Hiſtory.

Joſeph *turns the* Greeks *reaſoning upon themſelves.*

But what if I ſhould turn the *Greeks* Way of Reaſoning upon themſelves now, and conclude againſt the Antiquity of their Race, becauſe our Books ſay nothing of it? Would not ſuch an Inference be exploded as ridiculous? And would not the *Greeks* appeal to the Neighbourhood to make out their Claim? Now if this be fair on the one Side, why may not I go the ſame Way to Work on the other? The *Ægyptians* and the *Phœnicians*, are the chief Witneſſes that I ſhall make Uſe of in this Caſe; and there will be no Ground neither of Exception to the Evidence: For the *Ægyptians*, are notoriouſly known to be our profeſſed Enemies; and ſo are the *Phœnicians*, particularly thoſe of *Tyre*. But the *Chaldæans* have a better Opinion of us; as having been in Time paſt, under their Command; and likewiſe for Blood, as well as for Countrey-ſake, they make honourable Mention of us in their Chronicles.

Joſeph *appeals to the* Greek Hiſtorians *themſelves.*

The Teſtimony of Manethon, *an* Ægyptian Writer.

When I ſhall have cleared my Countrymen from this Calumny of the *Greeks*, and diſcharg'd all the abominable Slanders they have caſt upon us, it will be then Time to ſee what the *Greek* Hiſtorians ſay of us themſelves, without leaving Room for any farther Cavil. To begin now with the *Ægyptians*, (who are not looked upon to be any great Friends of ours) there is one *Manetho*, an *Ægyptian* by Birth, and well skill'd in the *Greek*, as appears by a *Greek* Hiſtory he extracted out of the holy Scriptures about the *Jewiſh* Religion. This *Manetho*, falls foul upon *Herodotus*, in many Places, for belying the *Ægyptians* through the Ignorance of their Ways and Cuſtoms; and in the ſecond Bood of his Hiſtory, he delivers himſelf as follows. I make Uſe of his very Words, as if his Perſon were here preſent to make good his Teſtimony.

“ We had a King whoſe Name was *Timæus*; and in his Reign we fell, beyond all
“ Imagination, under God's heavy Diſpleaſure. There came flowing in upon us a
“ rugged robuſt People out of the *Eaſt*, that made an Inroad into the Province;
“ and there encamping, took it by Force, and carry'd all before them without ſo

" much as a Stroke, putting our Princes in Chains, cruelly laying our Cities in Aſhes, demoliſhing our Temples, and miſerably oppreſſing our Inhabitants; ſome cut to Pieces; and others, with their Wives and Children, ſent away into Bondage. After all this, they ſet up a *King* from among themſelves, whoſe Name was *Salatis*.

Salatis *breaks in upon, and over-rules the Ægyptians*

" This new King advanc'd to *Memphis*, and having ſubjected both the upper and the lower Provinces, and put Garriſons into all tenable Places, he fortify'd to the *Eaſtward* in a more eſpecial Manner, for Fear of an Invaſion from the *Aſſyrians*, whom he look'd upon as the ſtronger of the two. He found in the Country of *Saites*, a City formerly call'd [a] *Avaris*, which was ſituated very conveniently for his Purpoſe, to the *Eaſt* of the River [b] *Bubaſtis*. This City he improv'd and repair'd, and fortify'd it with ſtrong Works and Walls, and a Body of two hundred and forty thouſand Men to cover it. He made Choice of Harveſt-time for the Execution of his Deſign, with a Regard both to the Plenty of the Seaſon for Proviſions, and to the Means alſo of paying his Soldiers, and to the ſecuring of himſelf likewiſe againſt all Aſſaults, or Invaſions, by his excellent Diſcipline and Conduct.

The Succeſſors of Salatis.

" *Salatis* dy'd in the nineteenth Year of his Reign, and one *Bæon* ſucceeded him, who govern'd forty four Years. After him came *Apachnas*, and reigned ſix and thirty Years, and ſeven Months [c] *Apochis* came next, and ruled ſixty Years and and one Month; *Janias*, fifty Years and one Month; and laſt of all came *Aſſis*, who rul'd forty nine Years and two Months. Theſe ſix were the firſt Kings, and perpetually in War to exterminate the *Ægyptians*, Root and Branch. The People were called *HYCSOS*; that is to ſay, *King-Shepherds*; for *HYC*, in the holy Tongue, is as much as *King*; and *SOS*, according to the Vulgar, is a *Shepherd*. So that *HYCSOS* is taken as a Compound. Some will have it that theſe People were *Arabians*. According to ſome other Copies, *HYC* does not ſignify *King-Shepherd*; but *Shepherd-Captive*; for *HYC* and *HAC*, with an Aſpiration, ſounds in *Ægyptian*, as much as *Captive*; and it ſeems to me the more reaſonable Interpretation of the two, as it ſuits better with the ancient Hiſtory.

A People called HYCSOS, *or* King-Shepherds.

" *We have it upon the Credit of the ſame Author, that when theſe——(call them what you will)* Kings, or *Shepherds*, and their Train had kept the Government of *Ægypt* in their own Hands for the Space of five hundred and eleven Years, the King of *Thebes*, and the Remainder of *Ægypt*, that was not as yet ſubjected; made a violent and an obſtinate War upon the *Shepherds*, and routed them, under the Command of King [d] *Aliſfragmuthoſis*: And when the greateſt Part of them were driven out of *Ægypt*, the reſt withdrew into a Place called *Avaris*, of ten thouſand Acres in Content; and this the Shepherds, (according to *Manetho*) encloſed with a ſtrong ſubſtantial Wall, that ſecur'd them all Neceſſaries within themſelves. *He ſays further*, that [e] *Themoſis* the Son of *Aliſfragmuthoſis*, laid Siege to it with four hundred and eighty thouſand Men: But when he found that the Place was not to be carry'd by Aſſault, they came to Conditions, upon Articles to depart *Ægypt*, and a ſafe Convoy to go whither they would. Upon theſe Terms they march'd out with their Goods and Families, to the Number of two hundred and forty thouſand Souls, by the Way of the Wilderneſs into *Syria*; and for Fear of the *Aſſyrians* who were then Maſters of *Aſia*, they retir'd into a Country that is now known by the Name of *Judæa*; where they erected a City large enough to receive this vaſt Multitude, and call'd it *Jeruſalem*.

The Shepherds routed and driven out of Ægypt, into Judæa.

The Building of Jeruſalem.

The ſame *Manetho* tells us in another Book of his *Ægyptian* Hiſtory, "*that he finds* theſe People in Books of great Authority, diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Captive Shepherds*; our Anceſtors having been brought up to grazing, and from that Paſtoral Employment, taking the Name of *Shepherds*. They reckon that they had ſome Ground for calling them *Captives* too; for it was by that Name that our Father *Joſeph* made himſelf known to the King of *Ægypt*, when he obtain'd Permiſſion to ſend for his Brethren. But of this more particularly elſewhere": So that it will be ſufficient at preſent to conſult the Teſtimonies of the *Ægyptians*, upon this Subject, and to hear *Manetho* over again in his own Words, about the Time when this happened.

Why call'd Shepherds, *and* Captives.

Manethon *confirms the Teſtimony of* Joſephus.

The Succeſſors of Themoſis, *King of Ægypt*.

" King [f] *Themoſis* reign'd five and twenty Years and four Months, from the Departure of the *Shepherds* out of *Ægypt*, to the building of *Jeruſalem*. His Son *Chebron* took the Kingdom after him, and govern'd thirteen Years; and after him, *Amenophis*, twenty Years and ſeven Months; his Siſter *Ameſſes*, one and twenty Years and nine Months; her Son *Mephres*, twelve and nine Months; his Son

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[a] *Gr.* Ἄβαρις.
[b] *Gr.* Βυβαστίτης ποταμός.
[c] *Gr.* Ἄπαφις.
[d] *Gr.* Ἀλλισφραγμούθωσις. Al. *Miſphragmuthoſis*. See *Marſham's Chronicon*.
[e] *Gr.* Θούμμωσις.
[f] *Gr.* Τέθμωσις.

" *Mephramuthoſis*, five and twenty Years and ten Months; his Son *Thmoſis* nine Years " and eight Months; his Son *Amenophis* thirty Years and ten Months; his Son *Orus*, " thirty ſix and five Months; his Daughter *Acencheres*, twelve and one Month; *Rathotis* her Brother, nine Years; his Son *Acencheres*, twelve and five Months; another *Acencheres* his Son, twelve Years and three Months; his Son *Armais*, four and " one Month; [a] his Son *Armeſis*, one Year and four Months; his Son [b] *Armeſſes* " *Miamun*, ſixty ſix and two Months; *Amenophis*, nineteen and ſix Months. *Sethoſis*, " having rais'd a great Force both at Sea and Land, conſtituted his Brother *Armais* " *Lieutenant-General* of *Ægypt*, and veſted him with all ſovereign Powers and Privileges, the wearing of the Crown excepted; and with a Caution not to oppreſs the " Queen or her Family, nor to intermeddle with the King's Concubines.

Sethoſis *makes his Brother* Armais Lieutenant-General; *and over-runs the Country.*

" *Sethoſis*, upon this, march'd up to *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and ſo forward to the " *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*, conquering ſtill as he went; ſome by the Sword, others by " the very Terror and Reputation of his Arms. He was ſo elevated by his Succeſſes, " that he ſtopt at nothing; but laying all Waſte to the *Eaſtward*, he carry'd the " whole Country before him. While this was adoing, his Brother *Armais*, without " any Difficulty or Scruple, brake Faith with his Brother in *Ægypt*, and did juſt the " contrary to what he ſhould have done. He expell'd the *Queen*, abus'd the King's " Concubines; and at the Inſtance and Advice of his falſe Friends, aſſum'd the " Crown, and took up Arms againſt his Brother. The *Ægyptian* High-Prieſt gave " *Sethoſis* Notice of all theſe Indignities from Time to Time: Upon which Advice, " the King came immediately back again by the Way of *Peluſium*, and made good his " Government. From this Prince the Country took the Name of *Ægypt*; for *Sethoſis* was alſo call'd *Ægyptus*, and his Brother *Armais* nam'd likewiſe *Danaus*.

Armais *breaks his Articles.*

Thus far goes *Manetho*. And from hence it plainly appears upon a clear Computation, that our Predeceſſors, otherwiſe known by the Name of *Shepherds*, left *Ægypt* three hundred ninety three Years before ever *Danaus* went to *Argos*; tho' the *Greeks* value themſelves mightily upon the Antiquity of that Prince. Wherefore *Manetho* advances two great Points for us, out of the *Ægyptian* Writings; one, that our Forefathers came over to the *Ægyptians* from ſome other Place; the other, that they were gone again almoſt a thouſand Years before the Siege of *Troy*. As for ſome other Reports of *Manetho*, that he has ſuperadded, not out of the *Ægyptian* Memorials; but, by his own Confeſſion, from *Stories without Authors*; *I ſhall take my Time to ſhew that thoſe Fancies are nothing more than Fables and Fictions without any Ground.* But we ſhall ſee now what Account the *Phœnicians* have given the World of this Matter. There are among the *Tyrians* publick Records of great Antiquity; and they are ſo carefully preſerv'd too, that nothing 'ſcapes the Regiſtry that is worth the remembring. They make Mention, among ſeveral other conſiderable Paſſages concerning our ſelves, of King *Solomon*'s erecting a Temple at *Jeruſalem*, a hundred forty three Years and eight Months before their Predeceſſors built *Carthage*; deſcribing alſo the very Model of the Temple.

Manethon *clears two great Points.*

Tyrian *Records of great Antiquity.*

Solomon's *Temple built long before* Carthage.

Hiram the King of Tyre, *had ſo great a Friendſhip and Eſteem for* David, *that he lov'd his Son* Solomon *the better, even for the Father's Sake; and as an Inſtance of the Value he had for him, made him a Preſent of a hundred and twenty Talents of Gold, toward the Ornament of the Fabrick, and furniſh'd him with the choiceſt Wood from* Mount Libanus, *for the Roof and Wainſcot. Neither was* Solomon *wanting, on the other Hand, in a magnificent Return: As, among other Acknowledgments, he made him a Preſent of* Zabulon *in* Naphthali. But the Love of Wiſdom was the chief Inducement to that Tenderneſs of Friendſhip betwixt them. They exchang'd Problems and difficult Caſes, one with another, to be unriddled: And *Solomon* was the better qualify'd of the two for that Faculty. There are extant among the *Tyrians*, to this very Day, divers Copies of the Letters that paſs'd betwixt them; and for Confirmation of what I ſay, I ſhall appeal to *Dius* an Hiſtorian, among the *Phœnicians*, of an unqueſtionable Credit; and in his own Words.

The King of Tyre, *and* Solomon *near Friends.*

The Teſtimony of ſeveral famous Hiſtorians, as Dius, *a* Tyrian, *for one.*

" [c] *Hiram* the Son of *Abibal*, ſucceeded his Father in the Government. He repair'd and improv'd divers Cities in the *Eaſtern* Parts of his Dominion; enlarged " *Tyre*, and by the Help of a Dam, join'd it to the Temple of the *Olympian Jupiter*, " ſtanding in an *Iſland*, and beautify'd it with many rich Donatives. After this, he " went up to Mount *Libanus*, to cut down Wood for Temples.

Hiram, *the Son of* Abibal, *ſucceeds his Father.*

We have a Report that *Solomon* the King of *Jeruſalem*, and *Hiram*, interchang'd certain Riddles to be unfolded, upon Condition, that he that fail'd of the Solution, ſhould incur a Forfeiture; and that *Hiram*, finding the Queſtion too hard for him, paid the Penalty. But one *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, after this, reſolved the ſaid Queſtion; and propos'd new ones for *Solomon* to interpret, upon the Penalty of paying ſo much to *Hiram*. This is the Subſtance of what *Dius* ſays upon this Subject.

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[a] *Gr.* Ῥαμέσσης.
[b] Al. *Rameſſes-Miamum.*
[c] Εἴρωμος.

I ſhall

Menander *an* Epheſian.

I ſhall come now to *Menander*, the *Epheſian*; an Author that has made a Collecti-out of hiſtorical Memorials out of the Lives and Actions of Princes both *Greek* and *Barbarian:* Which for the better Authority of the Work, he hath extracted from the Records of the ſeveral Places of which he treats; and having paſs'd thorough the Succeſſion of the *Tyrian* Kings as far as *Hiram*, thus he goes on.

“ Upon the Death of *Abibal*, his Son *Hiram* came to the Crown, and liv'd to enjoy it thirty four Years. This Prince threw up a huge Mount that joyn'd *Eurychorus* to the City of *Tyre*, and dedicated a golden Pillar to *Jupiter*, which was there depoſited in his *Temple*. He went after this, into a Foreſt, to a Mountain call'd *Libanus*, where he cut down all the *Cedar* for Roofs for Temples; raſing the old Buildings, and advancing others. One he dedicated to *Hercules*, another to *Aſtartes*; the former in the Month *Peritius*, and the other when he march'd againſt the *Tityans*, for not paying their Taxes: But upon the reducing of them, he preſently return'd.

“ *Hiram* had at this Time a young Man, a Servant in his Houſe, whoſe Office it was to expound *Solomon*'s Riddles, and his Name was *Abdemonus* From this King's Time now to the Building of *Carthage*, the Computation lies thus.

The Pedigree of Hiram.

“ *Baleazar* the Son of *Hiram*, ſucceeded his Father, and dy'd in the forty third Year of his Age, and the ſeventh of his Reign. The next was *Abdaſtartus*, the Son of *Beleazar*; who dy'd in the twentieth of his Life, and the ninth of his Reign; this Prince was murder'd by his Nurſe's four Sons; and the eldeſt of them govern'd twelve Years in his Place: And after him, came *Aſtartus* the Son of [a] *Delæaſtartus*, who liv'd ſixty ſix Years, and reign'd twelve. After him came his Brother [b] *Aſerymus*, who liv'd fifty four Years, and reign'd nine, and was murder'd by his Brother *Phelles*; who took the Government upon him in the fiftieth Year of his Age: And after a Reign of eight Months, was ſlain by one [c] *Ithobalus* a Prieſt of the Goddeſs *Aſtarta*; who liv'd to the Age of ſixty eight Years, and rul'd thirty two. His Son *Badezor* ſucceeded him, who liv'd forty five Years, and reign'd ſix: And then his Son [d] *Matgenus* liv'd two and thirty Years and reign'd nine. The next was *Pygmalion*, who liv'd fifty ſix Years, and govern'd forty. It was in the ſeventh Year of his Reign, that his Siſter *Dido* built *Carthage* in *Africa*. So that from the Time of *Hiram* to the erecting of *Carthage*, we account a hundred fifty five Years and eight Months. Now taking for granted that the Temple of *Jeruſalem* was built in the twelfth of King *Hiram*, it makes a hundred forty three Years and eight Months from the raiſing of the Temple to the Building of *Carthage*.

Can any Thing be clearer now, or more pertinent to our Purpoſe than this Teſtimony of the *Phœnicians?* For our Anceſtors were undoubtedly come into *Judæa* before they built a *Temple* in it; and that *Temple* was not built neither, till they had made themſelves Maſters of the Country by the Sword; as I have made appear abundantly out of Holy Writ in my Hiſtory of the *Jews*.

The Chaldæan *Writers agree with the reſt.* Beroſus *the Hiſtorian.*

We ſhall ſee now how far the *Chaldæans* agree with the reſt, in the Juſtification of our Hiſtory; and begin with *Beroſus*, a *Chaldæan* by Extraction, and an Author of eminent Credit with all Lovers of Letters for the learned Pieces of *Aſtronomy*, and the *Chaldæan Philoſophy*, that he wrote in the *Greek* Tongue.

This *Beroſus*, after the Manner of the moſt ancient Hiſtorians treats of the Deluge, and the Deſtruction of Mankind, juſt as *Moſes* reports it: And of the *Ark* alſo; and how the firſt Father of our Race was preſerv'd in it a Float upon the Mountains of *Armenia*. He runs thorough the *Genealogy* likewiſe of the Sons of *Noah:* Their Names and their Ages, and ſo carries on the Train, from *Noah* himſelf to *Nabulaſſar*, the King of the *Babylonians* and *Chaldæans*, with an Account of this King's Exploits. He tells how he ſent his Son *Nebuchodonoſor* with a mighty Army into *Ægypt* and *Judæa*; where finding the People in Rebellion, he brake in upon them; and when he had conquer'd them, and ſet Fire to their Temple at *Jeruſalem*, he went his Way, and carry'd off our whole Nation in Captivity to *Babylon*. After this Confuſion, the City lay deſolate for ſeventy Years, till the Days of *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*. He ſays likewiſe that the *Babylonians* were in Poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*; and the King much a greater Prince than any of his Predeceſſors. But we muſt not forget *Beroſus* in his own Words. As for Example.

Beroſus's *Account of* Nabulaſſar *and* Nabuchodonoſor.

“ *Nabulaſſar* the Father, *ſays he*, underſtanding that his Deputy in *Ægypt*, the *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, was up in Arms; being old himſelf, and paſt the Fatigues of War, he ſent his Son *Nabuchodonoſor* (in the Vigour of his Youth) at the Head of a ſtrong Army to bring him to Reaſon. This Prince encounter'd the

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[a] *Al.* Beleaſtartus. [b] *Al.* Ἀθάρυμος, Aſtarimus. [c] *Al.* Ithobaius. [d] *Al.* Mettinus.

“ *Rebel*; defeated him, and recover'd all the Provinces that were engaged in the Revolt.

Nabuchodonoſor's *Kindneſs to the Captive* Jews.

“ It happened at the ſame Time that *Nabulaſſar* ſicken'd at *Babylon* and dy'd, after a Reign of nine and twenty Years. It was not long before the Son had Notice of his Father's Death; whereupon he immediately ſettled his Affairs in *Ægypt*; and the reſt of the Provinces; and committing the captive *Jews*, *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* that had been in *Ægypt*, to the Care of ſome particular Confidents to ſee them brought up to *Babylon*, together with the Army and the Baggage, he himſelf, and a ſmall Retinue along with him, took his Journey for *Babylon* by the Way of the *Deſert*. Upon his Arrival, he found all Things diſpos'd to his Wiſh: The *Chaldæans*, and all the great Men declaring themſelves for his Intereſt, and for the eſtabliſhing of him upon the Throne of his Father.

“ In this *Interim*, while the Priſoners were upon the Way, he order'd them the moſt commodious Lodgings of the City for their Quarters, and all Accommodations to be provided for them. The Spoils of the War were apply'd with wonderful Frankneſs and Munificence, to the enriching and adorning of the Temples: As that of *Bel*, and others. He cauſed to be erected a new Town for an Addition to the old one; and to prevent the turning of the River, the City ſtood upon, from the Place, in Caſe of a Siege, they ran up a triple Wall; Part of it *Brick*, and the reſt, of *Brick* and *Bitumen*, about the Whole. And after all theſe Fortifications, ſuch Gates as might have become the Dignity of a Temple. He built likewiſe a glorious Palace near that of his Father's, but incomparably beyond it, both for the vaſt Capacity of it, and the Expence. The Deſcription of it would be too tedious; but it muſt not be omitted however, that this curious admirable Piece was the Work of only *fifteen Days*.

“ There were in it alſo ſeveral artificial Rocks that had the Reſemblance of Mountains; with Nurſeries of all Sorts of Plants, and a Kind of hanging Garden ſuſpended in the Air by a moſt admirable Curioſity of Contrivance. This was to gratify his Wife; who being brought up in *Media*, among the Hills, and in the freſh Air, found a Relief in ſuch a Proſpect.

This is what *Beroſus* ſpeaks of this King; and there are ſeveral other Things worth taking Notice of in his *Chaldæan* Antiquities, where he blames the *Greeks* for making *Semiramis* the Queen of *Aſſyria*, to be the Foundreſs of *Babylon*. Now *Beroſus* is the more credible in what he ſays, for coming up ſo near to the *Phœnician Records* about the King of *Babylon*, and his ſubjecting all *Syria* and *Phœnicia* to his Command. *Philoſtratus* ſays effectually the ſame Thing in his Siege of *Tyre*; and *Megaſthenes*, in the fourth Book of his *Indian* Hiſtory, where he makes this King of *Babylon* to have been a greater and a braver *Hero*, than *Hercules* himſelf; adding withal, over and above, that he had the greater Part of *Libya* and *Iberia* at his Devotion.

Beroſus *concerning the Temple of* Jeruſalem:

As to what concerns the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, we have the Authority of *Beroſus* for it, that it was laid in Aſhes by the *Babylonians*; and that *Cyrus*, who had at that Time the abſolute Dominion of *Aſia*, began afterwards to rebuild it: As the ſame *Beroſus* has it, in his third Book, and in theſe Words.

And the Story of Nabuchodonoſor.

“ When *Nabuchodonoſor* was juſt enter'd upon the third Wall, in the forty third Year of his Reign, he fell ſick and dy'd. *Evil-Merodach* his Son ſucceeded him; but having made himſelf odious to the higheſt Degree by his exorbitant Luſts and Oppreſſions, he was cut off by the treacherous Practice of *Nirigliſſoror* his Siſter's Huſband, in the ſecond Year of his Reign. After his Death, the Traytor advanc'd himſelf to the Crown, and kept it four Years. His Son *Laboroſardochus* came very young to the Government, and continu'd in it only nine Months; being then deſtroy'd by the Treachery, even of his very Friends, who look'd upon him as a Youth of vicious and very dangerous Inclinations, and ſo took him out of the Way. He was no ſooner diſpatch'd, but the Conſpirators met; and ſo laying their Heads together, choſe one *Nabonidus* for their King, being both a *Babylonian*, and of the ſame Family. The Walls about the River of *Babylon*, were finiſh'd by this Prince.

Cyrus *over-runs all* Aſia.

“ In the ſeventeenth Year of this King's Reign, *Cyrus*, with a mighty Army out of *Perſia*, over-ran all *Aſia*; and ſo march'd directly away for *Babylon*. *Nabonidus* fairly met him in the Field; fought him, and loſt the Battle: Only himſelf, and ſome few of his People got into the Town of *Borſippe*. *Cyrus* was now before *Babylon*; making no Doubt, but upon forcing the firſt Wall, he might carry the Place. But, upon ſecond Thoughts, he quitted the Siege, and went Back to *Borſippe*, with a Deſign to attack the Place. But *Nabonidus* choſe rather to caſt himſelf upon *Cyrus*'s Mercy, than to ſtand the Shock; and ſo upon his Humiliation, *Cyrus*

“ baniſh'd him out of *Babylon*, and put him in the quiet Poſſeſſion of an Eſtate in *Caramania*; where he ended his Days in the Condition of a private Man.

Beroſus *agrees with our Books*.

Theſe Words of *Beroſus* agree exactly with our Books: That is to ſay; that *Nabuchodonozor* deſtroy'd our Temple in the eighteenth Year of his Reign; and in that Condition it lay deſolate for ſeven Years. In the ſecond Year of King *Cyrus*, the Foundations of it were laid anew; and in the ſecond of *Darius*, the whole was rebuilt. We ſhall now ſubjoin to the foregoing Authorities, ſomewhat out of the *Phœnician* Hiſtories; for Proofs can never be too many, provided they agree in *Chronology*; and the Computation ſtands thus.

And ſo do the Phœnicians.

Nabuchodonozor laid a Siege of thirteen Years to *Tyre* in the Reign of King *Ithobal*. *Baal* came after him, and reigned ten Years: And then they erected *Judges* in the Place of *Kings*; as there was *Ecnibalus* the Son of *Baſlech*, that govern'd two Months; *Chelbis* the Son of *Abdæus*, ten Months; the High-Prieſt *Abbar*, three Months; [a] *Mytgonus* and [b] *Geraſtus Batus* the Sons of *Abdelimus*, ſix Years; and *Balatorus* among the reſt, one Year: Upon whoſe Death they ſent for *Merbalus* from *Babylon*, who reigned four Years: And upon his Death they took his Brother *Irom*, who govern'd twenty Years: In whoſe Time it was that *Cyrus* made himſelf Maſter of the *Perſian Empire*. Now all this put together, amounts to fifty four Years and three Months. It was in the ſeventh Year of *Nabuchodonozor*'s Reign, that he began the Siege; and in the fourteenth of King *Iram*, that *Cyrus* had the Empire: So that what the *Chaldæans* and the *Tyrians* deliver concerning our *Temple*, does but farther verify our own Writings upon that Subject. Here is enough ſaid already to put the Queſtion of our Antiquity paſt any farther Diſpute, unleſs Men will be willfully blind.

But having to do with a People that will have all the World to be *Barbarians* but themſelves; and allow nothing for authentick, but upon the Credit of their own Authority; We have no other Way than to make Uſe of our very Adverſaries, for Witneſſes on our Behalf againſt themſelves, and to appeal to *Greek* Authors in our own Juſtification.

The Jews *appeal to their very Enemies.*

There was one *Pythagoras*, a *Samian*; an eminent Philoſopher, and the moſt celebrated Man of his Time for Piety and Wiſdom. This *Pythagoras* was not only well ſeen in our Laws, but in many Caſes a ſtrict Obſerver of them, as moſt manifeſtly appears: Not from any Thing that he ever wrote, but from what others knew, and reported concerning him. As *Hermippus*, for one; a very exact and careful *Hiſtorian*. He tells a Story in the firſt Book of his [c] *Pythagoras*, of one *Calliphon* of *Croton*, a particular Confident of *Pythagoras*. This *Calliphon* dy'd, he ſays, and his Soul would never let *Pythagoras* reſt Night nor Day, for Precepts and Inſtructions. It gave him in Charge not to paſs forward at any Time where his Aſs had ſtumbled to drink only clear Fountain-Water, and to ſpeak ill of no Man. And then he goes on, that this was in Imitation of the *Jews* and the *Thracians*; with an Application to himſelf. And it was truly ſaid; for this Man incorporated divers Cuſtoms of the *Jews* into his Philoſophy.

Pythagoras.

Hermippus.

Calliphon.

Our People were likewiſe ſo well known in Places of Note in Times long ſince paſt, that ſeveral Cities do, to this Day, retain our Rites and Faſhions; and others reckon them worth the Imitation: As appears by *Theophraſtus* in his Book of *Laws*; where he ſpeaks of the *Tyrian Laws* againſt ſwearing by any ſtrange God; naming the *Corban* among the prohibited Oaths; that is to ſay, in *Hebrew*, *the Gift of God*: And it is only to be found among the *Jews*.

Theophraſtus.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſeus was no Stranger to our Nation neither; for he makes ſome Mention of us in his ſecond Book: Where ſpeaking of the People of *Colchos*, he has this Paſſage. “As to the Matter of Circumciſion, I find only the *Colchians*, the *Ægyptians* and the *Æthiopians* to have us'd it of old: But the *Phœnicians* and the *Syrians* in *Palæſtin*, own the Uſe of it from the *Ægyptians*. The *Syrians*, that border upon the Rivers *Thermodon* and *Parthenius*, and their Neighbours the *Macronians*, are reputed to have taken it up of late from the *Colchians*. There are no others that are circumcis'd: And they proceed after the Manner of the *Ægyptians*. But for the *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*, I cannot ſay which had it of the other. Now this Author is poſitive that the *Syrians* of *Palæſtin* are circumcis'd: Whereas there are no People circumcis'd in *Palæſtin* but the *Jews*. Now ſpeaking this upon Knowledge, it muſt neceſſarily be intended of the other.

Herodotus Halicarnaſſeus.

And then there's [d] *Chœrilus*, an ancient Poet, in an Account he gives of the ſeveral Nations that fought under *Xerxes*, the King of *Perſia*, againſt the *Greeks*, he makes Mention of our People after all the reſt, in Words to this Effect.

Chœrilus.

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[a] *Al.* Myttonus. [b] *Al.* Geraſtus. [c] Origen, *who quotes the ſame Place makes it to be in* ά. Νομοθετῶν.

[d] *See* Wormius *de Corrupt. antiquitat. Hebr. apud* Tacitum *&* Martialem *veſtigiis.* c. 21.

Theſe People, with an admirable Grace,
brought up the Rear; *the Language* Tyrian *was;*
Themſelves unknown; the Mountains *their* Abode,
by Solymus; *that near a vaſt Lake ſtood.*
Their Hair cut round; and their Heads cover'd ore
with Head-Pieces *of* tann'd Horſe-Hides *they wore.*

From hence it is evident, that ſpeaking of the Mountains of *Solyma* or *Jeruſalem*, and of a huge Lake at Hand there, it can be underſtood of no other than of the *Jews* that inhabit among thoſe Mountains: And of the Lake, *Aſphaltites*, which is by much the largeſt in all *Syria*. And ſo much for *Chœrilus*. Neither were the *Jews* barely known to the *Greeks*, or only to the common Sort of them; but likewiſe to their wiſe Men and Philoſophers of the firſt Rank; and that with Marks too of a ſingular Friendſhip and Eſteem.

Clearchus, *a Diſciple of* Ariſtoteles.

Clearchus, a Diſciple of *Ariſtoteles*, a *Peripatetick*, and one of the greateſt Men of the Sect, perſonates his Maſter in the Way of a *Dialogue* with *Hyperochides*, in his firſt Book of Sleep, upon the Subject of a *Jew* of his Acquaintance.

“ It would be tedious, *ſays he*, to run thorough the whole Hiſtory of the People of the *Jews:* And therefore I ſhall only give you a Taſt of this particular Perſon's admirable Wiſdom. *Hyperochides* made Anſwer, that it would be the greateſt Favour he could do them. Why then, ſays *Ariſtotle*, I ſhall begin according to the Rules of Art and Method, with what Concerns his Original or Profeſſion. He was a *Jew* of the *Lower Syria*; of the Race of a Sort of Philoſophers that the *Indians* call *Calani*; and the *Syrians* call them *Jews*, from their Country of *Judæa*, where they live. Their capital City has a hard Name, and they call it *Jeruſalem*. He was a Perſon of great Hoſpitality to Travellers and Strangers; and no leſs conſiderable for his Diſcourſes and good Manners. It was my Fortune to be in *Aſia*, with ſome Diſciples of mine; and this heavenly Man gave us ſeveral Viſits there, to the high Satisfaction and Improvement of thoſe that underſtood the Bleſſing of ſuch a Converſation”. This is the Teſtimony of *Clearchus*, in Favour of the *Jews*, though but by Way of Digreſſion.

This is the Character, according to *Clearchus*, that *Ariſtotle* gave this *Jew:* Over and above his wonderful Temperance and Moderation, in the Government of his Appetites and Paſſions. They that have a Mind to know more of him may read it in the Original, without running out into Superfluities.

Hecatæus *the* Abderite.

Hecatæus the *Abderite*, a great Man both for Learning and Buſineſs, being trained up with *Alexander the great*, and living with *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*, the Son of *Lagus*, wrote an entire Tract expreſly upon the Subject of the *Jews*; from whence I ſhall briefly extract ſome Paſſages that I find for my Purpoſe, and begin with the timing of them.

He gives an Account of a Battle fought betwixt *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*, near *Gaza*, eleven Years after the Death of *Alexander*, and in the hundred and ſeventeenth *Olympiad*, according to *Caſtor*. “ It was in this *Olympiad*, ſaid he, that *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus* defeated *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus*, otherwiſe called *Poliorcetes*, in a Battle not far from *Gaza*”. Now it is agreed at all Hands, that *Alexander* dy'd in the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, and it follows conſequently that the *Jews* were a flouriſhing People in the Days of that great Prince.

Hecatæus's *Character of* Hezekias, *to the Honour of the* Jews.

Hecatæus ſays farther, that after the Battle at *Gaza*, “ *Ptolemy* made himſelf Maſter of *Syria*, and all thereabouts; and that People were ſo charm'd with *Ptolemy*'s Humanity and good Nature, that a great many follow'd him into *Ægypt*, for the Affability of his Converſation. There was among the reſt, one *Hezekias*, a High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, and a Perſon of the firſt Quality among his Country-Men: Sixty ſix Years of Age; a wiſe Man, and a powerful Speaker; and one that underſtood the World, no Man better. The ſame Author ſays likewiſe that the Number of Prieſts that received Tenths, and liv'd all in common, were a Matter of fifteen hundred or thereabouts.

“ And afterwards ſpeaking again of the ſame *Hezekias*; we had ſeveral Meetings and Conferences, ſays he, with this great Man and others about him; concerning our differing Cuſtoms, Practices and Opinions: Inſomuch that he carry'd us to his Habitation, and inſtructed us in the Manner of his People's Government and Diſcipline, which he ſhewed us in Writing.

Hecatæus proceeds next to the Zeal and Veneration we have for our Laws; even to the Degree of chuſing Death, Torments and all Extremities; nay, and ſuffering chearfully too, rather than be guilty of the leaſt Violation. And then he goes on upon the Subject of our Patience under ill Uſage and Reproach. “ What Indignities “ have theſe People endur'd, *ſays he*, from their Neighbours? How have they been “ perſecuted by the *Perſian* Kings and their Officers, and yet ſtood firm to the laſt “ Extremity againſt all Tryals? As for Inſtance. The Temple of *Bel* was fall'n down “ at *Babylon*; and *Alexander*, being at that Time upon the Place, had a Mind to repair it, and accordingly order'd all the Soldiers to aſſiſt in carrying Timber and Materials towards the advancing of the Work. The *Jews* were the only People that “ refus'd, and were ſeverely puniſh'd for their Diſobedience: But when the King ſaw “ nothing would work upon them, out of a generous Tenderneſs for ſo brave a Conſtancy, he order'd them to be diſcharg'd. Upon their Return, (*ſays the Author*) “ into their own Country they demoliſh'd all the Temples and the Altars that they “ found erected to ſtrange Gods: For which ſome of them were fin'd and puniſh'd, “ and others pardon'd.” This Hiſtorian enlarges then upon the wonderful Steadineſs of our Reſolutions; the vaſt Multitudes of our People; the prodigious Numbers that were carry'd away Captives by the *Perſians* into *Babylon*; and others again, after the Death of *Alexander*, tranſported into *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, upon Occaſion of a Sedition in *Syria*. He ſpeaks likewiſe of the Extent, the Beauty and the Fruitfulneſs of our Country: (That is to ſay of *Judæa*) which he computes at near three Millions of Acres, and a moſt excellent Soil. And as to the City of *Jeruſalem*, the Spaciouſneſs of it, the People, and the Temple, he ſpeaks to this Effect.

A Deſcription of Jeruſalem.

“ The *Jews* have in their Poſſeſſion a great many Towns, Villages and ſtrong “ Holds; but one City above all the reſt for Largeneſs and Strength. It is accounted fifty Stadia in Compaſs; a hundred and fifty thouſand Inhabitants, and the Name “ of it *Jeruſalem*. In the Middle of this City ſtands an Incloſure of Stone a hundred “ Cubits about; and two mighty Gates to it. Within this Incloſure, is a *Quadrangular Altar*, made of unwrought Stones that never any Tool touch'd; the Superficies of it twenty Cubits over, and the Depth ten. Near about it there ſtands a ſpacious Building, with a *golden Altar* and *Candleſtick* in it, of two Talents Weight; “ and *Lamps* burning continually Night and Day. But for Images, Plants, Groves, *&c.* “ as in other Temples, there was nothing of it. But there are Prieſts that paſs their “ Time there Day and Night in great Purity, and they drink no Wine at all.” The ſame Author again tells us an odd Story of a *Jew*, upon an Expedition, that ſerv'd under one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, and theſe are his Words.

The Power of Imagination.

“ As I was travelling one Time, *ſays he*, toward the *Red Sea*, there was one *Moſollam* in the Company a *Jew*, and one of our Horſe Guard, that was look'd upon “ to be very brave and a famous Markſman with a Bow and Arrow. As they were “ huddling on together, a *Southſayer* that took upon him to foretell the Fortune of “ their Voyage, bad them all ſtand, and they did ſo. This *Jew* ask'd them what “ they ſtood for? *Look ye*, ſays the cunning Man, and ſhew'd him a Bird, *If that* “ *Bird ſtands*, ſays he, *you are to ſtand: If it riſes and flies on, you are to go forward too*; “ *but if the Bird takes its Flight the contrary Way, you muſt all go back again.* The “ *Jew* without any more Words, lets fly an Arrow and kills the Bird. The Diviner “ and his Companions fell preſently upon the *Jew* in moſt outragious Terms. *Why* “ *certainly*, ſays the other, *you are all mad, to make ſuch a Buſtle about a fooliſh Bird.* “ *How ſhould that poor Wretch pretend to tell us our Fortune, that knew nothing of its* “ *own? If this Bird could have foreſeen Good or Evil to come, it would have kept it* “ *ſelf out of the Way of this Arrow.*” But here's enough of *Hecatæus*; and they that deſire more of him, may fetch it out of the Book it ſelf.

Only one Word now out of *Agatharchides*, not as any Friend of ours; but I take him in Charity to be no malicious Enemy. “ He tells a Story how *Stratonice* caſt off “ her Husband *Demetrius*, and paſs'd out of *Macedonia* into *Syria* with a Deſign to “ marry the King *Seleucus*. But *Seleucus* not anſwering her Expectation, ſhe ſtirr'd “ up a commotion in *Antioch*, while he was with his Army in *Babylon*. At his Return, “ he took *Antioch*, and *Stratonice*; making away for *Seleucia* ſhe was taken, and it “ coſt her her Life.” Now her only Courſe had been to have taken her Paſſage by Sea: But ſhe was diverted from it by a Dream. *Agatharchides* reflecting upon *Stratonice*'s Superſtition, takes an Occaſion to treat more at large upon that Topick; and ſo enters upon an Invective againſt the *Jews*.

The Strictneſs of the Jewiſh Sabbath.

“ The People, *ſays he*, they call *Jews*, are poſſeſs'd of a City by the Name of *Jeruſalem*, a Place of an impregnable Strength. They have a Cuſtom there of reſting the “ *ſeventh Day*, without either bearing of Arms or tilling the Ground, or attending “ any common Buſineſs whatſoever: But they employ it wholly in their Temples and “ upon their Devotions, from the Morning to the Evening.”

Agatharchides reflects upon it.

“ *Ptolemæus* the Son of *Lagus* made his Advantage of this Cuſtom, and enter'd the City with an Army upon that Day. And what came of it? But when the *Jews* ſhould have been defending their Lives and Liberties, their Heads were altogether taken up with the ſuperſtitious Foolery of not violating their *Sabbath*: And ſo they deliver'd themſelves up to an inſupportable Tyranny; which taught them by Experience, the unwarrantable Foundation of ſo pernicious a Law: From hence it is that Men fly to Dreams and Opinions; never conſidering that Things neceſſary are not to be controul'd by humane Reaſon.” This is *Agatharchides*'s Way of ridiculing our Conduct: But whoſoever paſſes a ſober Judgment upon the whole Matter, will find the Proceeding grounded upon the moſt glorious Foundation of Honour and Virtue; for what can be more *Heroical* than to poſtpone Life and Country to the Duty we owe to God's holy Laws and Religion?

There are many Hiſtorians, 'tis true, that liv'd in the ſame Age with us, and yet ſay nothing of us; not out of Ignorance, but Envy rather, or ſome other ſpiteful Paſſion, as will be made appear. *Jerome* was a Co-temporary with *Hecatæus*, and wrote a Book entituled, *Of the Succeſſors of* Alexander. He was the Favourite of King *Antigonus*, and had the Government of *Syria*. Now *Hecatæus* wrote a complete Volume of our Affairs, and *Jerome* has not ſo much as one Word of us: Though we did in a Manner draw the ſame Air together. But Men act according to their differing Inclinations: Some are for tranſmitting the Memory of the good Things that are in us to Poſterity; and others for ſuppreſſing them to the Scandal, even of Truth it ſelf.

The Jews juſtify'd.

But we are not yet without Evidence ſufficient to juſtifie our Claim; as the *Ægyptians*, *Chaldæans* and *Phœnicians*; the *Greeks* over and above: For beſides thoſe before mention'd, there's *Theophilus*, *Theodotus*, *Mnaſeas*, [a] *Ariſtophanes*, *Hermogenes*, *Euemerus*, *Conon*, *Zopyrion*; and many others, perhaps more than I am aware of, that have particularly made Mention of us. Now the greater Part of theſe Authors muſt undoubtedly be in the Dark, as to the Hiſtory of the firſt Ages of the World for Want of the holy Scriptures for their Guide: But they all agree however in a common Acknowledgment of our Antiquity; and that's as much as we deſire. As for *Demetrius Phalereus*, the *elder Philon* and *Eupolemus*; they are not much out of the Way, and deſerve to be born withal for Want of the Means of being better inform'd.

There is yet one Article behind that I have oblig'd my ſelf to clear: That is to ſay, I am to diſprove all the Reproaches and Scandals that have been caſt upon us, and to expoſe the Authors of them upon the Credit of their own Witneſſes; for they have ſpoken as much againſt themſelves as againſt us. But the Spite and Partiality of paſſionate Writers is no new Thing to Men that are converſant in Hiſtory: Some exerciſe their Malignity upon whole Nations, Cities, Manners, *&c.* Some, in Short, upon one Thing, ſome upon another; as *Theopompus* did by the *Athenians*; *Polycrates*, by the *Lacedæmonians*; and the Author of *Tripoliticus* (not *Theopompus*, as ſome imagine) did by the *Thebans*. *Timæus* hath been very foul alſo both upon theſe People and others: And it is ſtill their Way to derogate from what is moſt excellent. Some out of Malevolence and Envy; others to get themſelves a Name by ſetting up for the Authors of extravagant Stories. By which Means they paſs with Fools for wiſe Men; and with wiſe Men for Fools. This is their Way of defaming the *Jews*; and to gratify the *Ægyptians* they endeavour to blaſt the Truth it ſelf.

The Ægyptians partial and prepoſſeſs'd.

The *Ægyptians* being known to be our Enemies, there was no better Way to gratify thoſe People, than to diſguiſe and falſify the Story, both of our Forefathers coming into *Ægypt*, and that of their going out again: For they hated and envy'd us for many Reaſons. Firſt, for growing ſo powerful and conſiderable while we were among them; and afterwards ſo happy when we were from them. The Diverſity of Religions was another Cauſe of Feud; there being the ſame Difference in Proportion, betwixt their Religion and ours, that we find betwixt the Divine Purity and created Nature; for they made Gods of their Beaſts, and worſhipped brute Animals, one with another indifferently. This was the Doctrine they drew in with their Mother's Milk: And that Prepoſſeſſion, render'd theſe fooliſh People incapable of better Things. They had a mortal Hatred for the Proſelytes that came over to us; and they are ſunk to ſuch a ſottiſh Abjection of Mind, that they made no Difficulty of contradicting themſelves, and giving the Lye to their own Records. This ſhall be made good out of the Authority of a great Man of their own, whom I have already made Uſe of in Proof of our Antiquity.

Manethon's Ægyptian Hiſtory.

When *Manethon* was upon his *Ægyptian Hiſtory*, he paſs'd a ſolemn Proteſtation that he would faithfully extract it out of the *Holy Scriptures*; “and ſo he prefaces his Diſcourſe with a Story of our Anceſtors carrying an Army into *Ægypt*, and ſub-

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[a] *Lat.* Ariphanes.

“ duing the Country; but that being driven out again ſoon after, they ſettled themſelves in a Province that is now call'd *Judæa*, built a City by the Name of *Jeruſalem*, and erected a Temple.” Thus far he follows Antiquity. But when he comes afterward to give himſelf a Looſe, and to deliver vulgar Rumours and Traditions, (as he calls them) the Fables he raiſes of us are altogether incredible; for he makes no more of us than a Rabble of *Ægyptian Lepers*, and other infected Perſons promiſcuouſly jumbled together, that were driven out of *Ægypt* for their Uncleanneſs. He fanſies them a King too, by the fictitious Name of *Amenophis*; but was ſo conſcious of the Impoſture, that he durſt not venture upon calculating the preciſe Time of his Reign, as he does in other Caſes; for the Connexion would betray him. Under this Cover he tacks ſeveral idle Tales to his Hiſtory; wherein he had almoſt forgotten his own Reckoning; that is to ſay, that it was now five hundred and eighteen Years ſince the Shepherds went out of *Ægypt* toward *Jeruſalem*; for it was in the Reign of [a] *Themoſis* that they departed. From *Themoſis* to the two Brothers *Sethon* and *Hermæus*, the Government continued in a Succeſſion for three hundred ninety three Years. “ *Sethon*, he ſays, was otherwiſe called *Ægyptus*, and *Hermæus* was call'd *Danaus*, whom *Sethon* ſupplanted, and then kept the Government fifty nine Years. His eldeſt Son [b] *Rhampſes* ſucceeded him, and reigned ſixty ſix Years.” Now after owning the Departure of our Predeceſſors out of *Ægypt* ſo ſo many Years before, he caſts the mock King *Amenophis* into the Royal Liſt, and makes him a Prince of divine Speculations; like *Orus*, he ſays, one of his Predeceſſors; and ſays further, “ That he had a Mind to ſee the Gods, wherein one *Amenophis* the Son of *Papius*, and a Prieſt of their Way, ſo far gratify'd him, that he told him his Deſire ſhould be granted, upon Condition that the Kingdom might be clear'd of all *Lepers* and other unclean Perſons. This *Amenophis*, ſays *Manetho*, was a Perſon of ſuch a Reputation for a holy Man and a Prophet, that the King was overjoy'd at the Promiſe, and preſently gather'd together out of *Ægypt* a Multitude of infirm, foul, and ſickly People, to the Number of fourſcore thouſand, and ſent them away to the *Eaſtward* of the *Nile*, to work in Quarries there, with a Mixture of other *Ægyptians* to whom that Service was allotted. There were, *ſays he*, leprous Prieſts alſo, and learned Men intermingled with the reſt.

A fooliſh Story of one Amenophis.

Manetho carries it on; that “ this wiſe heavenly Man, in a Horror of Conſcience for what he had done, and in the Dread of a judicial Vengeance from Heaven upon himſelf, for giving that violent Councel, and upon the King for taking it, finding by a Revelation that Divine Juſtice, to balance the tyrannical Oppreſſion of their Sufferings, had in Providence appointed them the Government of *Ægypt* for thirteen Years: The Prieſt durſt not ſpeak one Word of this to the King, but committed the Inſpiration to Writing, and ſo laid violent Hands upon himſelf. This frighted the King; and the Author goes on as follows, Word for Word.

“ The King being now ply'd with Petitions on the Behalf of theſe miſerable People, and particularly for ſome Place of Retreat where they might live ſafe and eaſy, they pitch'd upon [c] *Avaris*, formerly known by the Name of *Typhon*, and the Seat of the Shepherds. The Prince granted them this Boon; and they were no ſooner ſettled in it, but finding it a commodious Poſt for a Rebellion, they liſted themſelves under *Oſarſiph*, a Prieſt of *Heliopolis*, and took an Oath of Fidelity to him in whatever he ſhould command them Upon theſe preliminary Conditions, that they ſhould neither worſhip any of the *Ægyptian* Gods, nor abſtain from any of the Meats that they account holy, nor intermarry but with People of their own Opinion. When they had gone thus far in Oppoſition to the *Ægyptians* Intereſt and Cuſtoms, the Commander preſently order'd the fortifying and the walling in of the City, and the levying of War againſt *Amenophis*; who taking other Prieſts along with him, ſent an Embaſſy to the Shepherds at *Jeruſalem*, whom King *Themoſis* had forced away out of *Ægypt*; with Inſtructions to the Deputies to adviſe upon the common Cauſe, and to invite them into a League againſt *Ægypt*, with a Promiſe to join in the Confederacy, and receive them into *Avaris* the Seat of their Anceſtors, where they were ſure they could want nothing; but they might fight when they found it convenient, and with all the Eaſe in the World make themſelves Maſters of the Province. They were tranſported with Joy at this Propoſal, and immediately drew out to the Number of two hundred thouſand Men, and ſo marched away outright to *Avaris*.

“ *Amenophis*, upon the News of this Invaſion, was at his Wit's End what to think of the prophetical Paper the Prieſt left behind him; and ſo immediately

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[a] *Gr.* Τέθμωσις.

[b] *Gr.* Ῥάμψης.

[c] *Gr.* Ἄβαρις.

“ call'd a great Council of his Princes and People together, and ſent away all the “ Beaſts that paſs'd for ſacred among the *Ægyptians*, with a ſtrict Order to the Prieſts “ to keep all their Idols as cloſe as poſſible. He committed his Son *Sethon*, other- “ wiſe called *Romaſſes*, [a] after his Father's Name, *Rhampſes*, a Child of five Years “ of Age, to the Care of a particular Friend; and ſo marched away himſelf in the “ Head of three hundred thouſand fighting Men to encounter the Enemy. But upon “ ſecond Thoughts, and a Check of Conſcience, he turn'd ſhort without fighting, “ and went his Way to *Memphis*; where he and his People took Shipping, and with “ *Apis*, and the reſt of their Gods, fled into *Æthiopia*. The King of the Country “ gave him and his People ſo generous a Reception, that they wanted for nothing the “ Place afforded; either Proviſions, or Habitations, for their Entertainment and “ Convenience, to ſerve them the whole Courſe of that fatal thirteen Years Baniſh- “ ment. Thus it far'd with the *Ægyptians* in *Æthiopia*; beſide that they had a Guard “ allow'd them upon the Frontier, for the Safety of their King's Perſon.

“ But in the mean Time the *Jeruſalem Auxiliaries* made infinitely more Ravage “ in *Ægypt*, than they that call'd them in: For there was nothing they ſtuck at that “ was either inhumane or wicked; and the very Spectacle of their Impiety was a “ Calamity not to be expreſs'd. The raſing, burning, and rifling of Towns and “ Villages was nothing to them, without Sacrilege, and breaking the Images of their “ Gods to Pieces over and above; moſt barbarouſly tearing the conſecrated Creatures “ that the *Ægyptians* ador'd, Limb from Limb; forcing the Prieſts and Prophets to “ be the Executioners of them themſelves, and then turning them off naked.

The Author ſays yet further, “ That the Founder of that Polity was one *Oſarſiph*, “ a Prieſt of *Heliopolis*, ſo called from *Oſiris* a God that was worſhip'd there; and *he* “ *ſays*, that this Prieſt changing his Religion, chang'd his Name too, and called him- “ ſelf *Moſes*.” This is an *Ægyptian* Story of the *Jews*, but contracted for Brevity-ſake.

Manetho ſays yet again, that “ *Amenophis* and his Son *Rhampſes* marched afterward “ out of *Æthiopia* with two great Armies, encountred the Shepherds and the *Le-* “ *pers*, routed, and had the Chaſe of them with a very great Slaughter, to the Bor- “ ders of *Syria*.” This is the Account we have from *Manetho*, which is moſt ridiculouſly trivial and childiſh, as will evidently appear.

Joſeph's Reflections upon the Abſurdities of the whole.

He gives it for granted, in the firſt Place, that our Forefathers were not originally of *Ægypt*, but came thither from Abroad, reduced the Country; and after that, quitted it. But as to our mingling afterwards with the *Ægyptian Lepers*, and *Moſes*, that led us out of the Land of *Ægypt*, being one of them: This is ſo palpable a Falſhood, that it will be prov'd out of his own Mouth to have been many Ages before. Now this is not only a Fiction, but the Foundation of it as ridiculous, as it is falſe.

King Amenophis, *he ſays, had a Mind to ſee the Gods.* What Gods I beſeech you? For the *Ox*, the *Goat*, the *Crocodile*, and the *Baboon*, may be ſeen at any Time; and theſe are the Gods that they worſhip. But if he means celeſtial Gods, they are altogether inviſible. And what was it that put this Conceit in his Head now? Why, another King, it ſeems, had ſeen them before. And why might not he as well have been told what they were, and how they look'd, without any further Trouble? Very good! But the Prophet, they ſay, that ſet him agog upon this Fancy, was a good and a wiſe Man, and one that the King did very much confide in: That is to ſay, that he would do a Thing impoſſible to be done. But he fail'd of his End however. In one Word more; Why muſt the Gods be ever the more inviſible at laſt, becauſe Men are *Criples*, or *Lepers?* They are offended at us for Ill-manners, not for corporal Defects. And how ſhall it enter into any Man's Head to imagine, that ſo many thouſand diſeaſed and impotent Perſons ſhould be brought together at ſo ſhort a Warning? Or how came it that the King did not follow the Direction of his Prophets; and rather baniſh them according to his Order, than condemn them to the Mines and the Quarries? As if his Buſineſs had been rather to get Workmen than to purge the Province. And then he makes the Prophet kill himſelf in the Dread of a divine Vengeance, and leave the King in a Writing the Fate of *Ægypt*. But how came the Prophet not to foreſee his own Deſtruction as well as the reſt? Why did he not diſſuade the King from the Vanity of his fantaſtical Longing? Or to what End did he trouble himſelf about a Calamity, that was not to take Place till he ſhould be dead and gone? Or was the Miſery he fear'd worſe than Death it ſelf? But the moſt ſottiſh Part of the Story is yet behind.

“ The King heard of this, he ſays; and mightily troubled he was to think what “ might come of it. And what did he do, I beſeech you? Why, inſtead of purging

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[a] *Gr.* ἀπὸ Ῥαψῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὠνομασμένον.

Ægypt as he ſhould have done of the ſick and unclean, he reſtor'd them upon their firſt asking to *Avaris*, the Habitation of their Forefathers: And there they made Choice of the *High-Prieſt* of *Heliopolis* for their Prince and Governour; and to him they ſwore Allegiance; in Particular, that they would neither worſhip any of their Gods, nor forbear eating any of their privileg'd Meats, but deſtroy all as much as in them lay, that the *Ægyptians* eſteemed ſacred, and contract no Marriages but with their Confederates. Theſe were the Meaſures that the Multitude bound themſelves by Oath to live and die by. In Fine, they fortify'd *Avaris*, he ſays, and took up Arms againſt the King; ſending to *Jeruſalem* for Aſſiſtance with a Promiſe of putting it into their Hands, (as their Station of old) not doubting but from thence, upon a Conjunction, they might eaſily make themſelves Maſters of all *Ægypt*. *He follows the Story* that they advanced with two hundred thouſand Men; but that *Amenophis* the *Ægyptian* King, becauſe he would not fight againſt God, took his Flight into *Æthiopia*, and took *Apis* and all his deify'd Animals along with him; and that afterwards, the *Jews* breaking in upon *Ægypt*, laid their Towns waſte, and then ſet Fire both to their Cities and Temples; put their Nobility to the Sword, and ſo committed all Manner of Out-rages without Diſtinction or Mercy. The Prieſt, *he ſays*, that had the Adminiſtration of the Government, was a Native of *Hierapolis*; his Name was *Oſarſiph*, ſo called from their God *Oſiris*: And then aſſuming the Name of *Moſes*. He ſays that *Amenophis* fell into *Ægypt* out of *Æthiopia* with a mighty Power in the thirteenth Year after his Expulſion; and in a Battle with the Shepherds and the *Lepers*, gain'd a notable Victory; cut off great Numbers, and had the Purſuit up to the Skirts of *Syria*.

Notes upon Manetho.

Manetho was not aware here again how unmaſterly he tacks his Stories together. For though the Lepers and the Impotents might think it hard Meaſure at firſt to be ſo treated by the King, at the Inſtigation of the Prophet; yet when they came afterward to be eas'd of the Slavery of the Mines, and to be allow'd the Comfort of a commodious Habitation, this fair Uſage one would think ſhould have ſweeten'd them again: Or, if the Averſion they had to the King was implacable; Why did they not rather contrive ſome Practice upon his Perſon, than imbroil the Publick, where they were all ſo much concern'd for the Sake of their Relations? But the Conteſt was with Men, not with the Gods; neither would they act contrary to the Laws they were brought up in. So that we are now to con our Thanks to *Manetho*, for declaring that the Ring-leaders of this Uproar, were none of thoſe that came out of *Jeruſalem*; but the very *Ægyptians* themſelves, and their Prieſts eſpecially that had ty'd them up by Oath to what they did. What can be more nonſenſical than to ſay, that when they ſaw none of the Lepers Friends or Allies would joyn with them in the Rebellion, or bear any Part in the Risk of the War, they were forced to ſend ſome of their ſick People to *Jeruſalem* for Succour! Well! And upon what Score of Friendſhip, or Intereſt betwixt them? For they were rather to be look'd upon as Enemies, in the Contradictions of their Lives and Manners. But they came, he ſays, at the firſt Call upon the Promiſe, Hope and Expectation of being put into the Poſſeſſion of *Ægypt*; as if they that had been beaten out of *Ægypt*, had not underſtood the Condition of the Place. 'Tis true, if they had been in a neceſſitous ſtarving Condition, it might have been worth their while, but for People at Eaſe, and in a much more fruitful and agreeable Country than *Ægypt*, to run ſuch a Hazzard in Favour of their own Enemies; and thoſe ſo ſcandalouſly diſeaſed too, that they would never have been ſuffer'd in a private Family: Theſe are Extravagances for none but Madmen to be guilty of. And who could foreſee the King's running away after all this, in the Head of three hundred thouſand Men? For that was the Number, ſays *Manetho*, that he brought to *Peluſium* to encounter the Rebels. He charges it alſo upon the *Jeruſalem Army*, that they ſeized the *Ægyptians* Corn and Proviſions, and brought the poor People into great Diſteeſs by embezeling their Stores. And what could they expect leſs now from an open and a declar'd Enemy? Eſpecially when the *Ægyptians* had already done the very ſame Thing, and bound themſelves by Oath to continue the ſame Courſe.

What ſhall we ſay then to his Story of the Rout *Amenophis* gave the Enemy; with the Slaughter and Purſuit of them to the Borders of *Syria*? Does *Ægypt* lie ſo open on all Hands, and would not they that had the Management of the War, when they knew *Amenophis* was upon the March, ſecure the Paſſes out of *Æthiopia*; and draw an Army together to oppoſe him? Which might ſo eaſily have been done. *But he follows them upon the Heel*, ſays Manetho, *over all the dry barren Sands as far as* Syria; *and doing Execution upon them all the Way he went.* A likely Matter! To purſue an Enemy with an Army over a Deſert that is hardly paſſable, even without any interruption.

Here is enough out of *Manetho*, to ſhew that we neither had our Original from the *Ægyptians*, nor any Mixture with them. As for the leprous, tainted Part of them, we may reckon that there dy'd many of them in the Quarries; more in the War, and great Numbers in this laſt Action and Flight. We ſhall proceed now to examine what *Manetho* ſays concerning *Moſes*.

Moſes *vindicated from the Scandals of* Manetho.

The Ægyptians *themſelves are all agreed upon it, that* Moſes *was a Man of ſingular Integrity and Wiſdom; and they ſtood out at nothing, tho' never ſo falſe and infamous, to make an* Ægyptian *of him:* (That is to ſay, their Countrey-man;) *and one of the Prieſts of* Heliopolis, *who was expell'd, with ſeveral* others for a *Leper*. Now we find in the *Chronology*, that *Moſes* liv'd five hundred and eighteen Years before this Conjuncture, and conducted our Fore-fathers out of *Ægypt* into the Countrey where we now inhabit: So that there needs no further Proof that he was no *Leper*, than what ariſes from his own Words; *i. e.* That no *Lepers* ſhould be admitted into any Towns or Villages, but live apart in a diſtinct Habit by themſelves; and that whoever touch'd a *Leper*, or lodg'd under the ſame Roof with him, ſhould be reputed unclean: And whoever ſhould come to be cur'd of that Diſeaſe, and reſtor'd to his former State, he ſhould paſs ſome certain Purifications; waſh himſelf with fountain Water; ſhave all his Hair off, and offer ſuch and ſuch Sacrifices, before he ſhould be receiv'd into the holy City. Now if *Moſes* had been afflicted with this Diſtemper himſelf, he would never have been ſo ſevere upon others for it.

And this Strictneſs of his was not only in the Caſe of *Lepers*; but no Man was qualify'd for the Prieſthood, that had the leaſt *Maim* upon him, on any other corporal Defect: As it was *Deprivation* alſo when it happen'd to be the Caſe of a Prieſt. Can any Man think now that if *Moſes* had been a *Leper*, he would have made ſuch Laws againſt himſelf, and ſo much to his own Shame and Loſs? As to the Change of the Name at laſt, from *Oſarſiph* to *Moſes:* What Affinity does there appear betwixt the one and the other? Where's the Agreement betwixt them? *Moy*, in *Ægyptian*, is *Water*; and *Moyſes* is as much as *preſerv'd out of the Water:* And that's the whole Myſtery. It is now manifeſt, that ſo long as *Manetho* kept himſelf to the Records of Antiquity, he was not much wide of the Truth: But when he gives himſelf up to Fiction and Fable, there is no longer any Connection in his Story.

Chæremon, *another* Ægyptian *Hiſtorian.*

I ſhall advance now to *Chæremon*, another *Ægyptian* Hiſtorian; who ſuppoſes the ſame Names and Perſons of *Amenophis* and his Son *Rameſſes*, with *Manetho*. “He ſays, *that the Goddeſs Iſis* appear'd to *Amenophis* in a Viſion, and chid him ſeverely for ſuffering her Temple to be ruin'd in the War. And *he ſays* that *Phritiphantes* a holy Scribe, ſuggeſted it to the King, that if he would clear *Ægypt* of all People labouring under foul and malignant Diſtempers, he ſhould never be troubled again with thoſe nightly Apparitions. Upon this, there was a Call made of impotent and infirm Wretches, and two hundred and fifty thouſand of them baniſh'd the Place under the Command of *Moſes* and *Joſeph*, two of the Number, and holy Men; *Moſes* in *Ægyptian*, being called *Tiſithes*, and *Joſeph*, *Peteſeph*. *He ſays* that they found at *Peluſium* three hundred and eighty thouſand Men, that *Amenophis* had left there, refuſing them a Paſſage into *Ægypt*. They ſtruck a League, and joyn'd in an Expedition againſt the *Ægyptians:* But *Amenophis* would not ſtand it, and ſo withdrew into *Æthiopia*, leaving his Wife big behind him. She ſhifted up and down in Caves and Holes, till at length ſhe was deliver'd of a Male-Child that ſhe called *Meſſenes*; who growing up to Man's Eſtate, drove about two hundred thouſand of the *Jews* into *Syria*, and brought back his Father *Amenophis* out of *Æthiopia*.” *Thus far Chæremon.*

Theſe Writers contradict one another.

There needs no more now to overthrow the Credit of theſe Writers, than to confront them. There is no reconciling of Truth and Error, and no dividing of Truth againſt it ſelf. But when Men fly to Fables and Impoſtures, they write Fancy rather than Hiſtory. *Manetho* imputes the Baniſhment of the *Lepers* to *Amenophis*'s Curioſity to ſee the Gods: *Chæremon* to the Viſion of *Iſis*. The former makes the Prieſt *Amenophis* the Adviſer to the purging of the King's Dominions of the ſick People. The other ſays it was *Phritiphantes*. And they agree every Jot as well in their Numbers, as in their Stories. One makes them eighty thouſand Men: The other two hundred and fifty thouſand. *Manetho* again ſends the *Lepers* firſt to the Quarries; and after that, tranſports them to *Avaris*; where they call to *Jeruſalem* for Help, and make that the Riſe of the War. *Chæremon* will have it on the contrary, that being driven out of *Ægypt*, they made Uſe of three hundred and eighty thouſand Men at *Peluſium*, that *Amenophis* had left there; and with that Body of Men invaded *Ægypt*, and frighted *Amenophis* away into *Æthiopia*. This he tells us; but, (which is wonderful) not one Word who theſe Men were; whence this vaſt Army came;

Whether *Ægyptians* or *Foreigners*; or why *Amenophis* would not receive them. And then there's *Chæremon*'s Dream of *Iſis* and the *Lepers*. He ſays again, that *Moſes* and *Joſeph* were expell'd together; whereas *Joſeph* was dead four Ages before *Moſes*'s Time; computing the whole at about a hundred and ſeventy Years. *Manetho* makes *Rameſſes* the Son of *Amenophis* a baniſh'd Man with his Father; a Party in the War with him, and Father and Son fellow Exiles in *Æthiopia*. But *Chæremon* makes him a poſthumous Child, and born in a Cave after the Death of his Father. In Time he grows up to be a Conquerour, and drives away ſome two hundred thouſand *Jews* into *Syria*. What a ſottiſh Credulity is this! Without telling us what theſe three hundred and eighty thouſand were: Or how t'other eighty thouſand Men periſh'd; whether they fell in Battle, or went over to *Rameſſes*. But which is the greateſt Wonder of all he does not ſo much as tell us who they are that he calls *Jews*; or to which of the two Parties he gives that Appellation; whether to the two hundred and fifty thouſand *Lepers*, or to the three hundred and eighty thouſand at *Peluſium*. But it would be Time loſt to confute thoſe that confute themſelves: And there is no Conviction ſo ſtrong as that which comes out of their own Mouths.

Lyſimachus, *a ſhameleſs and a profeſs'd Falſifier.*

I come now to *Lyſimachus*, a profeſs'd Falſifier, as well as the reſt; but for the Faculty of an extravagant Invention, ſo much beyond them all, that he out-does them all with the Malice of the Fiction. He ſays that “ In the Reign of *Bocchoris* King
“ of *Ægypt* the *Jews* were ſo leprous, ſcabby and over-run with foul Diſtem-
“ pers, that they preſs'd into the Temples to beg for Charities. There dy'd great
“ Numbers of them of contagious Diſeaſes: Upon which there follow'd a Famine in
“ *Ægypt*. *Bocchoris* in this Diſtreſs, ſent to conſult the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* a-
“ bout this Dearth: And the Anſwer was this, that he ſhould purifie the Temples by
“ ſending away all unclean and impious Perſons out of them into the Deſert, and
“ drowning thoſe that were ulcerated and leprous; for the Sun it ſelf had a Horrour
“ for ſo abominable a Sight; and this being done, the Earth ſhould bring forth Fruit
“ again, and Nature return to her Courſe. *Bocchoris*, preſently upon this, calls his
“ Prieſts and his Diviners about him; and by their Advice, orders the ſick People to
“ be ſorted together, and deliver'd up to the Soldiers: The Lepers and Scorbuticks to
“ be lap'd up in Lead, and caſt into the Sea; and the others to be carry'd into the
“ Wilderneſs, and there expos'd to be ſtarv'd. The Night now coming on, theſe
“ poor People began to think what to do with themſelves: So they made Fires,
“ ſet Watches and Guards, and the next Night kept a Faſt, to reconcile them-
“ ſelves to the Gods whom they had offended. On the Day following, there was
“ one *Moſes*, *he ſays*, that adviſed them to decamp, and march on all together
“ till they met with better Accommodation: With a Charge to do no good Offices
“ upon the Way; nor ſo much as to give any Man good Counſel that ſhould deſire it;
“ and likewiſe to break down all the Temples and Altars they found in the Way.
“ Theſe Propoſals were no ſooner approv'd and the Reſolution taken, but the Multi-
“ tude preſently put themſelves upon the March over the Wilderneſs; and after many
“ Hardſhips, came at laſt into a Countrey that was both dreſs'd and peopled. They
“ treated the Inhabitants cruelly to the higheſt Degree; burnt and pillag'd their Tem-
“ ples; and came in the End, to a Place that they now call *Judæa*, and built a City
“ there by the Name of *Hieroſyla*, (according to the Occaſion) being as much as to
“ ſay *the Spoil of holy Things:* But coming afterwards into Power and Reputation,
“ they were aſham'd of their own Name, and changed *Hieroſyla* into *Hieroſolyma*;
“ and call'd themſelves after their City.”

We have here a third King quite different from the two former Kings of *Manetho* and *Chæremon*; who, without one Word of the *Dream* and the *Ægyptian* Prophet, went to aſk Council of the Oracle about the *Lepers* and other unclean Perſons. He ſays, *that the* Jews *gather'd together in Multitudes about the Temples.* Does he mean the *Lepers* by the *Jews?* As if the *Jews* were only tainted with that Diſeaſe; for he ſeems ſo to reſtrain it in calling them the People of the *Jews*. But why does he not tell us alſo whether he means Natives or Strangers? If *Ægyptians*, why does he call them *Jews?* Or if Strangers, why does he not tell us whence they came? And then again, if there were ſo many of them drown'd, and the reſt thrown out into Deſerts, how came there to be ſo many left; and how came they likewiſe to paſs the Wilderneſs, poſſeſs the Country, erect a City, and to build the moſt glorious Temple in the World?

How comes he now again to give us only the bare Name of our Law-giver, without any Thing of his Country, his Perſon, or his Family? And how came he to make ſuch extravagant Laws in his Paſſage, to the Diſhonour both of Gods and Men? Either theſe Exiles were *Ægyptians* or not. If the *former*, they would hardly caſt off their Country's Laws on a ſudden. Or if they came from elſewhere, they had undoubtedly certain Meaſures and Cuſtoms of their own, that they could not eaſily part with. It is likewiſe to be conſider'd, that if they had joyn'd in an Oath of Confederacy againſt thoſe that drove them out, they might have had a plauſible Colour for it: But for a Company of miſerable friendleſs Wretches, as they own themſelves, to engage in a mortal Feud and Defiance againſt all Mankind; what greater Folly could there be in the World, bating only the Fiction of ſo ridiculous a Story! And yet the Conceit of the *Name*, with an Alluſion to the City, and afterwards changing it, makes the Foolery all of a Piece. But how came the *Name* now, which was at that Time, as he ſays, ſo great a Scandal to the City, to be accounted afterwards ſo great an Honour to the Inhabitants? Now this angry Author was ſo intent, I ſuppoſe, upon Spite and Miſchief, that he took *Hieroſolyma* for the ſame Thing in *Hebrew*, that it is in *Greek*. But what need many Words, for the expoſing of an Impoſture that has the Confidence to contradict and to diſprove it ſelf. Beſide that it is high Time to put an End to this Book, and paſs to the next; wherein I propound to make good my Undertaking.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

IN

ANSWER to *APION* about the ANTIQUITY of the *JEWS*.

BOOK II.

HAVING already given ſufficient Proof of the *Antiquity* of our Nation, upon the Credit of ſeveral *Phœnician*, *Chaldæan*, and *Ægyptian Hiſtorians*, together with other *Greek* Authors, in my Reflections upon *Manetho*, *Chæremon*, &c. After this Right, I ſay, done to the common Cauſe, in the foregoing Treatiſe, I ſhall now (my deareſt *Epaphroditus*) turn my Diſcourſe more particularly to my perſonal Adverſaries, and to *Apion* the Grammarian, in the firſt Place; (if at leaſt ſuch a one may be worth taking Notice of.) As to his Relations, they are vulgar and fabulous, after the Way of that foul-mouth'd Sort of People; the Air of his Writings flat and heavy; palpable Ignorance over and above, and a Vein of Calumny running from one End of them to the other; a Mixture, in fine, that ſpeaks the Compoſitor to be unmannerly, violent, and troubleſome, to the higheſt Degree. But yet conſidering that there are more Fools in the World than wiſe Men; and that Fools are better pleaſed with Fooleries than with Matters of more Gravity and Weight; and conſidering again, how many there are that had rather hear their Neighbours traduc'd, than well ſpoken of; I find my ſelf under ſome Kind of Neceſſity to call this fond falſe Man to an Account for the Groſsneſs of his Arrogance, in making himſelf Judge of the Cauſe: But then I have this Encouragement on the other Hand, that People are generally well enough content to ſee the Miſchief of malicious Scandals and Clamours turn'd upon the Heads of the Authors.

Apion *a dark, a coarſe, and a fabulous Writer.*

As to his very Manner of Writing, it is ſo dark and intricate, that there's hardly any gueſſing what he would be at; in the Confuſion, Contradictions, and Inconſiſtence of his Stories. One while he miſtakes the Hiſtory of our Forefathers departing out of *Ægypt*, the ſame Way that others have done, whom I have already confuted: Another while, he falls foul upon the *Alexandrian Jews*; and then laſhes out into Outrages againſt the Rites and Ceremonies of our holy Temple and Worſhip.

Now as to the two Points of our Forefathers coming originally out of *Ægypt*, and of their being driven out again, for any foul Diſeaſe, or infectious Diſtemper, or any other Reaſon of that Kind: I have ſaid more than needed, to the clearing of thoſe two Imputations. So that I ſhall only ſum up what *Apion* hath added over and above, and particularly in the third Book of his *Ægyptian* Hiſtory. *Moſes*, he ſays, *was by Birth, of* Heliopolis, *as I have heard from the oldeſt Men upon the Place, of my Time. The People formerly had their religious Meetings in the open Air, till* Moſes *that was well-skill'd in the Worſhip of his Country, brought their Congregations out of the Fields into private Houſes in the City, enjoining the People to addreſs their Prayers ſtill toward the Sun. Now with a Reſpect to the Situation of the Place, there were, inſtead of* Obeliſques, *certain* Pillars *advanc'd upon the Figures of Baſins with Engravings upon them; and the Shadow falling upon theſe Baſins, (for all was open above) ſtill as the Sun mov'd, the Shadow mov'd along with it.*

Joſeph's *Remarks upon* Apion's *Follies and Miſtakes.*

This was the rare Conceit of our wonderful Grammarian. But I ſhall rather leave the Confutation of him to the Writings of *Moſes*, than take it upon my ſelf. As for *Moſes*, he gives no Account, either of any ſuch Form preſcrib'd, or made Uſe of, at the firſt erecting of the *Tabernacle*; or that he ever order'd Poſterity to do any thing like it; neither was *Solomon* (afterward the Founder of the *Jeruſalem-Temple*) ever aware of any ſuch fantaſtical Curioſity, as *Apion* ſpeaks of.

The whole Story ridiculous from one End to the other.

As to the Authorities he cites, of the old Men that told him *Moſes* was an *Heliopolitan*; he was too young, it ſeems, to know it himſelf, and therefore conſulted ſome of his Co-temporaries, which, he ſays, were well acquainted with him. Was there ever ſo rank or ſo ridiculous a Contrivance! *Apion* could not find out what Countryman either *Homer*, or *Pythagoras* was; though the latter but of Yeſterday in Compariſon. How comes he then to be ſo poſitive in the Caſe of *Moſes* that liv'd ſo many Ages before them; and all this upon the Credit of what he had heard old Men ſay?

And theſe Hiſtorians are no leſs divided about the Time of *Moſes*'s leading the *Lepers*, the *Lame*, and the *Blind* out of *Ægypt*. *Manetho* makes it to be in the Reign of *Tethmoſis*, ſome three hundred ninety three Years before the baniſhing of *Danaus* to *Argos*. *Lyſimachus* will have it in the Reign of King *Bocchoris*: That is to ſay, ſeven hundred Years before *Molon*, and ſeveral others reckon according to their own Fancy. But *Apion*, that ſets up for the Oracle of the whole Party, pitch'd the Time preciſely upon the firſt Year of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, the very Year, he ſays, of the Building of *Carthage*. He makes Mention of *Carthage*, as a Token that would infallibly confirm the Truth of his Computation. Whereas, at the ſame Time, without conſidering what he does, he furniſhes Arguments and Evidence againſt himſelf; at leaſt if any Heed may be given in this Caſe to the *Phœnician* Records; for we find in that Hiſtory that *Hiram* liv'd at leaſt a hundred and fifty Years before the Building of *Carthage*, as we have proved already out of the *Phœnician Annals*; and that he had a particular Friendſhip and Veneration for *Solomon*, the Founder of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, and contributed Materials in Abundance toward the perfecting of that Work. But *Solomon*, in fine, laid the Foundations of the Temple ſix hundred and twelve Years after the *Jews* went out of *Ægypt*.

As to the Number of the *Exiles*, *Apion* agrees in the ſame falſe Account with *Lyſimachus*, of a hundred and ten Thouſand. But then the Original he gives of the Word *Sabbath*, is childiſh even to Admiration. “When the *Jews*, *ſays he*, had been ſix Days upon the Way, they were ſeized with Ulcers, and Inflammations about the Groin; and for this Reaſon they reſted the *Seventh-Day*. And being now ſafely arriv'd in the Country, called at preſent *Judæa*, they gave the Day the Name of the *Sabbath*; from the *Ægyptian Sabbatoſis*; which is as much as to ſay, *the Diſeaſe of the Groin*, as aforeſaid.” Was there ever ſo ſenſeleſs, and ſo odious a Rabble of Fooleries patch'd together, and impos'd upon the World under the Face and Countenance of a Hiſtory? A hundred and ten thouſand Men all labouring under the ſame Diſtemper! And if they were blind likewiſe, lame, and languiſhing, as *Apion* elſewhere reports them; how was it poſſible for ſuch an infirm Multitude of Men to hold out, but ſo much as one Day's Journey in the Deſert! And this was not all neither, for they were to cut their Way thorough all Oppoſition over and above. Is it not an unlikely Thing, I ſay, that a hundred and ten thouſand Men ſhould all fall ill at the ſame Time, of the ſame Diſeaſe? This could never be according to the ordinary Courſe of Nature; and it would be the groſſeſt of Blunders to impute it to Chance.

And is it not an admirable Fancy of *Apion*'s, the bringing of a hundred and ten thouſand ſick and weak Men, ſafe and ſound, every Soul of them, to *Judæa* in ſix Days! And then what a Story does he tell you of *Moſes*'s advancing up to Mount *Sinai*, between *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, and lying cloſe there for *forty Days*; till coming down in the End, he deliver'd the Law to the *Jews*. I would fain know now how it is poſſible for ſuch a Body of Men to march over ſo vaſt a Deſert in ſix Days; or to ſubſiſt forty Days in a Place that affords neither Bread nor Water.

His trifling with the grammatical Reaſon of the Word *Sabbath*, is frivolous to the laſt Degree of Impertinence and Folly; for there is a mighty Difference betwixt the two Words *Sabbo* and *Sabbatum*: By the latter, we underſtand *the Jews Day of Reſt*; and the other he expounds himſelf, to be only the Name of the *Ægyptian Diſeaſe*. This may paſs for a Supplement of certain *new Fables*, that *Apion* has ſuperadded to the Story of *Moſes*, and ſo for the *Jews* going out of *Ægypt*, that were never heard of before. But where's the Wonder for a Man to bely other People, that firſt claſhes with himſelf? He was born at *Oaſis* in *Ægypt*, but renounces the Place of his Nativity to be thought an *Alexandrian*; which ſhews what Opinion he hath of the *Ægyptians*; for that's the Name he gives to all People, whom he would repreſent for the worſt of Men: And this is it that makes him take ſuch Pains to diſguiſe his Extraction, and ſhuffle off his Original. They that glory in the Dignity of their Country, reckon it a Point of Honour to make good their Title, and to maintain the Rights and Privileges belonging to it, againſt all Violence and Intruſion. Now this is the Caſe of the *Ægyptians*, with a Reſpect to us. Either they claim Country and

Kindred of us, on the one Hand; where they pretend to value themſelves upon that Relation: Or where they take themſelves to lye under a Scandal, they are willing, on the other Side, that we ſhould bear our Part in the Reproach. But *Apion* manages all his outragious Paſſions againſt us, as if his Buſineſs were to gratify the *Alexandrians*, for allowing him the Freedom of their City: Well underſtanding the mortal Feud there was at that Time betwixt them and the *Alexandrian Jews*; and ſtill though he pretended to expoſe only one Sort of *Jews*, the Venom of his Calumny and Malice extended to the whole Race.

But what were the grievous and intolerable Indignities all this while, that he charges with ſo much Bitterneſs upon the *Alexandrian Jews?* The Jews, ſays *Apion*, upon their coming out of *Syria*, ſettled themſelves along the Coaſt, at a Place within the Waſh of the Tide; but no Port at Hand for a Veſſel to ride in. Well! And was not *Apion* much to blame now to caſt a Scandal upon ſo famous a City; and a City he ſo much glory'd in (how vainly and falſely ſoever) as the Place of his Nativity! For that Quarter is a Dependency upon *Alexandria*, and univerſally reputed a moſt commodious Habitation. If the *Jews* took it by Force, and ſo maintain'd it againſt all Oppoſition, ſo much the more to their Honour.

The Jews *had ſeveral eminent Benefactors.*

But to deliver the plain Truth of the Matter, it was *Alexander the Great* that put the *Jews* into Poſſeſſion of it, and granted to them the ſame Freedoms and Immunities with the *Macedonians* themſelves. But what would *Apion* have ſaid now, if inſtead of an Eſtabliſhment in this royal City, they had had their Reſidence allotted them at *Necropolis:* And if their Tribes were yet call'd *Macedonians* to this very Day? But either *Apion* hath read the Epiſtles of King *Alexander*, *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and the ſucceeding Kings of *Ægypt*; the Inſcriptions that *Cæſar* cauſed to be engraven upon the Pillar at *Alexandria*, in Memory of the Privileges by him granted to the *Jews: Apion*, I ſay, hath either read theſe Memorials, or he hath not; if the former, he muſt needs be a very ill Man to write Things ſo contrary to his Knowledge; and the other Way, he has forfeited his Credit, as well for his Ignorance as for his Spite.

A nonſenſical Cavil.

And he is as much out again too in his Wonderment at the *Jews* calling themſelves *Alexandrians*; for it ſpeaks him very little ſkill'd, either in common Senſe, or in Practice. Do we not know that all Colonies take their Names from the firſt Founders? And we ſhall not need to look out for foreign Inſtances, having ſo many nearer Home. The *Jews* of *Antioch* we call *Antiochians*; our Forefathers being made free of that City by King *Seleucus*; and ſo the *Jews* of *Epheſus*, are called *Epheſians*; and thoſe of *Ionia*, *Ionians:* To which Right they ſtand entitled by the ſucceſſive Privileges of former Grants. And this is a Grace that the State of *Rome* hath vouchſafed, not only to particular Perſons, but to whole Provinces and Nations. How came the ancient *Iberians*, the *Tuſcans*, and the *Sabines* to be called *Romans* elſe? Now if *Apion* will not allow the Benefit of this common Liberty to others, why does he claim it to himſelf, in taking upon him the Name of an *Alexandrian?* What Pretence hath any Man (according to his Rule) that was born in the Inland Part of *Ægypt* to write himſelf an *Alexandrian*, and eſpecially an *Ægyptian*; thoſe People being the Men of the whole World to whom the Maſters of it, the *Romans*, refuſe this Liberty? But our envious Hiſtorian lying under an Incapacity of pretending to this Advantage himſelf, turns his Diſpleaſure againſt thoſe that are in a rightful Poſſeſſion of it.

The Jews *highly in Favour with* Alexander.

In the erecting of this City, *Alexander* made Uſe of the Aſſiſtance and Service of the *Jews*; not for Want of Men, but in the Teſtimony and Approbation of their Faith and Integrity, and with a Reſolution to do them farther Honour and Reſpect. *Alexander*, ſays *Hecatæus*, had ſuch a Tenderneſs for the Modeſty and Loyalty of the *Jews* that beſide other ſignal Bounties, he gave them the Province of *Samaria*, over and above, Tax-Free.

And ſo with Ptolemy *the Son of* Lagus.

After *Alexander*, came *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*; who had every Jot as good an Opinion of the *Alexandrian Jews*, as his Predeceſſor, and into their Hands he committed the Truſt of all the Forts and ſtrong Holds in *Ægypt*. And for his better Security he planted *Cyrene*, and other Cities of *Libya*, with theſe People.

Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus ſucceeded *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*; who did not only ſet all the *Jewiſh* Priſoners at Liberty that he had in his Country, but remitted them ſeveral Duties, and other Sums of Money: And which was more than all the reſt, he contracted a paſſionate Inclination to be inſtructed in our Laws and Cuſtoms and in the holy Myſteries of the ſacred Scriptures: Inſomuch that he preſs'd earneſtly for Interpreters to be ſent him in Order to his better Information. Now for the more ſpeedy Advance of the Work, the Care of it was committed to *Demetrius Phalereus*, *Andreas*, and *Ariſteas* (no common Men): *Demetrius* the Miracle of his Age for Learning and Virtue; the other two, Captains of the Guards of his Body; to whom was committed the Care of the Work. It is not to be thought now that this Prince could ever have had ſuch a Veneration for the *Jewiſh* Laws and Cuſtoms, and for the Piety and Wiſdom of our Forefathers, without a ſuitable Reverence and Affection for the Profeſſors of theſe holy Rules and Methods. But *Apion* muſt be very little read in that Hiſtory if he did not know that the *Jews* were highly in Favour with almoſt the whole Race of the *Macedonian* Kings.

Ptolemy Euergetes.

The third *Ptolemy* (called *Euergetes*) having made himſelf Maſter of *Syria* by Force, paid no Solemnity of Acknowledgments for his Victory, to the *Ægyptian* Gods; but ſacrific'd, and gave God Thanks in the Temple at *Jeruſalem* after the Manner of the *Jews*.

Ptolemy Philometor.

Ptolemy Philometor and the Queen *Cleopatra* committed the Charge of the whole Government to *Onias* and *Doſitheus*, which were both *Jews*. *Apion* meanly derogates from the Action; whereas he ſhould rather have thank'd them for preſerving that *Alexandria*, whereof he very falſely pretended himſelf to be a Citizen. For when *Ægypt* was up in a Rebellion, and upon the very Brink of being irrecoverably Loſt, theſe two *Jews* ſet all right again. Soon after this, *Onias* enter'd the Place (ſays *Apion*) with a ſmall Army, in the Preſence of *Thermus* the *Roman* Embaſſadour: And this is all he ſays of the Exploit, though it cannot be deny'd to have been a brave and a generous Action.

Ptolemy Phyſcon *ſucceeds* Ptolemy Philometor. Phyſcon *makes War upon* Cleopatra, *and* Onias *engages in her Defence.* * *This Part of the* Greek Copy *is Loſt, and the Vacancy ſupply'd out of the* Latin. *A miraculous Providence in Favour of the* Jews.

Upon the Death of this *Ptolemy Philometor*, *Ptolemy Phyſcon* the Son, marched out of *Cyrene* with a Deſign to force *Cleopatra* * and the King's Sons out of *Ægypt*, and uſurp the Kingdom to himſelf. Upon this Ground it was that *Onias* made War upon *Phyſcon*, in Defence of *Cleopatra*, like a true Friend to a crown'd Head, as well in Adverſity as in Proſperity. But there never was a more remarkable Inſtance of God's Power and Juſtice than upon this Occaſion. For when *Ptolemy* was ready to joyn Battle with *Onias*, he caus'd all the *Jews* in *Alexandria*, Men, Women and Children to be ſtript and bound, and ſo thrown naked to the *Elephants* to be trampled to Death: And the Beaſts were made drunk too, to inflame their Fury. But in the Concluſion, and beyond all Expectation, the *Elephants* quitted the *Jews*, and turning their Rage another Way, they deſtroy'd a great many of *Ptolemy*'s beſt Friends. In this Inſtant of Time, there appeared to him a hideous Figure, with a menacing Precaution to him to leave perſecuting the *Jews*: And the favourite Miſtreſs of all his Concubines, (ſome call'd her *Ithaca*; others, *Hirene*) joyning in the ſame Office of Mediation; the Interceſſion wrought ſo effectually upon him, that he not only granted the Requeſt, but heartily repented himſelf of all the Cruelties that he had either actually committed or intended. This is a Truth ſo notorious, that the *Jews* of *Alexandria* keep to this Day an anniverſary Feſtival in Memory of their Deliverance. And yet ſuch is the ſpiteful Malevolence of *Apion*, that Enemy of Mankind, that he takes upon him to reproach the *Jews* for joyning in this War againſt *Phyſcon*, as an impious Action; whereas he ſhould rather have extoll'd it as a laudable Piece of Juſtice.

Feaſt and Celebration all over.

Apion *celebrates the laſt* Cleopatra *though the lewdeſt of Women.*

And ſo for the laſt *Cleopatra* that reign'd in *Alexandria*, how does *Apion* celebrate that Queen, and lay all the Blame at our Door: Only becauſe ſhe was ungrateful to us? Why does he not expoſe her in the Lewdneſs of her Life and Manners? In her Iniquity and Falſeneſs to the tendereſt of Husbands, Friends and Relations: to the *Romans* in general, and to her imperial Benefactors? Did ſhe not cauſe her own Siſter *Arſinoë* to be put to Death in the Temple without a Crime? Did ſhe not as treacherouſly murder her Brother? Did ſhe not rifle the Temples of the Gods of her Anceſtors, and the Sepulchres of her Forefathers? Did ſhe not receive her Kingdom, as a Bounty from the Hand of the firſt *Cæſar*, and afterwards rebel againſt his adopted Son and Succeſſor? What was it but *Cleopatra*'s Charms and *Philtres* that debauch'd *Anthony*, and made him a Traytor both to his Country and to his Friends? Some Princes ſhe dethron'd; others again ſhe made the paſſive Inſtruments of her Iniquity.

To paſs now from her Ingratitude, Lewdneſs, Inhumanity and Avarice, to that infamous Meanneſs of Spirit that ſhe ſhew'd at the naval Battle of *Actium*, where ſhe abandon'd even her belov'd *Anthony himſelf*; and the Father of many Children by her; and her forcing him to deliver up his Army and his Honour, and all this to follow her. Could any Thing be meaner, or more contemptible! In Fine, upon *Cæſar*'s taking *Alexandria*, ſhe was tranſported to ſuch a Degree of Rage, that ſhe valu'd her ſelf upon the Merit of a mercileſs Barbarity: Inſomuch that it would have made ſome Amends for the Loſs of the Town if ſhe could but have put all the *Jews* that were in it, to Death with her own Hand. Now if it be again, as *Apion* reports, that *Cleopatra* refus'd Corn to the *Jews* in a Time of Famine, why does he charge that upon us as a Diſgrace, which in Effect redounds to our Honour? But *Cleopatra* receiv'd the juſt Reward of her evil Doings.

The Jews *appeal to* Cæſar himſelf *in Juſtification of their Loyalty.*

And what can we do better now for our own Juſtification, than to appeal to *Cæſar himſelf*; the publick *Decrees* of the Senate of *Rome*, and the *Teſtimonials* of *Auguſtus Cæſar*? Which will all bear us Witneſs of the Faith and true Allegiance we have ever paid to the Empire; and particularly in the War againſt the *Ægyptians*.

Now theſe are the Pieces and the Authorities that *Apion* ſhould have conſulted, if he would have done us Right. He ſhould have examin'd what Opinion *Alexander* himſelf and other great Princes had of us; all the *Ptolemies*, the *Senate*; and ſo to the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman Emperours*. If *Germanicus* could not ſupply all the *Alexandrians* with Corn, that wanted it; this was no Fault of the *Jews*, but the Infelicity of a barren Seaſon, or a hard Year. For no Body ever doubted the good Affection of the *Emperours* toward the *Alexandrian Jews*: Neither were they deny'd Wheat any more than their Neighbours. But, on the contrary, they found Credit upon all Occaſions; as in the Command of the River and other conſiderable Paſſes: And they were truſted, in Fine, in all Places and Matters of Moment beyond other People.

Apion'*s Objections anſwer'd.*

But then ſays *Apion*, if the *Jews* be Citizens of *Alexandria*, how comes it that they do not worſhip the ſame Gods, and embrace the ſame Religion with the reſt of their fellow Citizens? Now to anſwer you in your own Way; how come you that are all *Ægyptians*, to claſh and ſquabble one with another about Diverſity of Opinions in the Matter of Worſhip? Shall we pronounce you preſently to be no *Ægyptians* for this? Or ſhall we doubt, on the other Hand, whether you are, in Truth, *Men* or no? For taking ſo much Pains to breed up Beaſts, even contrary to Nature, and then for worſhipping them when you have done? Whereas our People live in Union and Agreement. Now if you your ſelves are ſo divided among your ſelves, what Wonder is it if the *Alexandrian Jews*, that came thither from abroad, ſtick to their old Laws ſtill, how differing ſoever from yours?

Apion *imputes all the State Factions to the Diviſions among the* Jews.

Joſeph *turns them upon* Apion *and his Party.*

But *Apion* will have it again, that all the Broils and Commotions in the State there were long of theſe Diſagreements in Matters of Religion betwixt the *Alexandrian Jews* and *ancient Inhabitants*. Now if this Imputation holds good againſt the *Alexandrian Jews*, why not as well againſt all other *Jews* elſewhere too? For whereſoever we are diſpers'd, we are nevertheleſs all of a Piece. So that he that looks narrowly into theſe turbulent Revolutions, will find them to be only ſuch as *Apion* himſelf, that were the Occaſion of them: For ſo long as the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* were in this City, the *Jews* had the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and the People lived all quietly and happily together. But as the *Ægyptians* more and more encreaſed, ſo the Times in Proportion grew more and more troubleſome. But the *Jews* all this Time continu'd the ſame, throughout all Changes; while the other, having neither the Conſtancy of the *Macedonians*, nor the Prudence of the *Greeks*, ſtirr'd up all theſe Broils: And being, over and above poiſon'd with the ill Habits and Practices of the *Ægyptians*, and irritated by the Averſion they had for the *Jews*. Theſe were the People, I ſay, that gave the Riſe to all our Confuſions: So that we are only charg'd for the Errours and Miſcarriages of our very Accuſers. *Apion* is likewiſe pleaſed to vilify us as Strangers, though qualify'd to all Purpoſes with the Rights of *Freemen*, and yet our Adverſaries at the ſame Time ſet up for Citizens, without the leaſt Colour of a Pretence or Title to that Privilege. We do not read that any Prince in the Hiſtory of former Times, or that any of the late Emperours ever granted Letters of Freedom to the *Ægyptians*. But the firſt that introduc'd us to a Right to that Claim, was *Alexander the great*, and the Grant hath been ſince enlarged with Additions by other Kings; and ſince that again, continu'd and confirm'd to us by the *Romans*.

The Jews *vilify'd by* Apion; *and vindicated by* Joſeph.

The Caſe of graven Images.

Apion takes Occaſion to lay great Blame upon us alſo, for not ſetting up Images and Statues in Honour of the Emperours; as if they could not have taken Notice of this themſelves, without his Intermeddling on their Behalf. Now inſtead of arraigning us, he ſhould rather have celebrated the generous Courteſy of the *Romans*, in allowing their Subjects the Freedom of their own Religion, without extorting from them ſuch Honours as they could not pay them with a good Conſcience; ſo that they contented themſelves with thoſe Reſpects, which might be honeſtly render'd them. It is the good Will that ſtamps the Obligation, and ſets a Value upon the Benefit, without the Intervention either of Neceſſity, or of Violence. Well! But it is a common Practice, you will ſay, both with the *Greeks* and other Nations, to ſet a high Eſteem upon the Pictures or Images of their Fathers, Mothers, Children: Nay, and of Strangers ſometimes, and ſo to their very Servants, *&c.* And ſhall Men grudge a Deference of the ſame Kind and Quality to their Lords and Maſters? My Anſwer is, that ours is a quite different Caſe, with a Reſpect to our venerable

Lawgiver; who hath poſitively forbidden us the Uſe of all Images, and of any Creature whatſoever, either animate or inanimate. And he did not this in any Proſpect of derogating from the Dignity of the *Roman* Empire: But he would not ſuffer any corporeal Image or Repreſentation to be made of an inviſible and an incomprehenſible God. But we are not yet forbidden the paying of a Reverence to good Men, in the next Place to God himſelf: As in the Caſe of the Emperours and the People of *Rome*, for whoſe Welfare and Proſperity, we offer daily Sacrifices, at the Charge of the Publick, and for no other Mortals under the Sun.

This may ſerve for any Anſwer to *Apion*'s Extravagancies about *Alexandria*; but not without Admiration at the Confidence of *Poſidonius* and *Apollonius Molon* that furniſh'd the Materials, and charge us for not worſhipping the ſame Gods with other People. To ſay nothing of a World of ſcurrilous Stories upon that Subject, even to the Degree of blaſpheming and ridiculing our very Temple it ſelf, and without any Check of Conſcience for what they do. Not but that a Falſity of any Sort is one of the moſt unmanly of Vices; but eſpecially where the Scandal of it falls upon a holy Temple, ſo famous all over the World for the exemplary Solemnity of an orderly Devotion.

A ſenſeleſs Tale of an Aſs with a golden Head.

In this holy Place, ſays *Apion*, *the* Jews *had the golden Head of an Aſs of very great Value; which Head the* Jews *worſhipp'd, and it was a Deity anſwerable to their Religion; the Image*, he ſays, *was depoſited in the Treaſury, and there found, and ſo carry'd away by* Antiochus Epiphanes, *upon the Riſling of that ſacred Place.* Now my Anſwer to *Apion* is this; that ſuppoſing the Story to have been a Truth, it would not yet look well out of the Mouth of an *Ægyptian* to reproach us with it; for an *Aſs* is not one Jot more ſcandalous than a *Goat* or a *Weezle*, or ſeveral other Beaſts that the *Ægyptians* adore. How could any Man be ſo beſotted now as to believe himſelf, in ſo incredible an Impoſture, with twenty groſs Contradictions in the Face of him! Have we not ſtill govern'd our ſelves from Time to Time by the ſame Laws and Cuſtoms, without ever ſhifting or changing? And though *Jeruſalem* hath born her Part in the common Fate of other Cities, and fallen into the Hands of Enemies over and over, as *Theos*, *Pompey the great*, *Licinius Craſſus* and of *Titus Cæſar* now at laſt, Temple and all; there was no Talk of an *Aſſes Head* found there, nor of any Thing extraordinary, but the pureſt Piety, and the Enſigns of it, which will not be properly a Subject for this Place.

The Treachery and Sacrilege of Antiochus.

As for *Antiochus*; his Pillaging of the Temple was a faithleſs and a perfidious Action. He did not maſter it, as a fair Enemy, but as a treacherous Friend, and a Traytor to his Allies. He wanted Money; and thus he ſupply'd his Neceſſities, like a common Thief by Robbery: But in Short, we have many grave Hiſtorians to bear us Witneſs, that there was nothing found, as he pretends, upon the Riſling of it, to make the Party or the Cauſe ridiculous. As among others, I may reckon *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, *Strabo* the *Cappadocian*, *Nicolas* the *Damaſcen*, *Timagenes*, *Caſtor* the Chronologer, and *Apollodorus*: who do all agree, that *Antiochus* being very neceſſitous, brake Faith with the *Jews*, and robb'd the Temple of a prodigious Maſs of Gold and Silver. Now if *Apion* had not had the Heart of an *Aſs* and the Impudence of a *Dog*, two of the Gods they worſhipp'd, he would have taken theſe Circumſtances into Conſideration. But we are not yet come to have that Veneration for our *Aſſes*, that the *Ægyptians* have for their *Aſps* and *Crocodiles*; wherein they are ſo ſuperſtitious, that whoſoever is ſtung by the one, or ſnatch'd away by the other; they reckon he goes immediately to the Gods. But Aſſes are to us the very ſame Thing they are to other wiſe Men. We make Uſe of them to carry our Burdens, and do our Drudgery: But if they ſpoil the Corn, or will not do as they ſhould do, we reclaim them by Blows.

Now after all this Spite and Calumny, *Apion*'s Inventions have been either ſo ill laid, or ſo ill put together, that he could never get Credit enough in the World yet to do us any Hurt. But there is another malicious Story ſtill behind, that paſſes all the reſt; and he borrow'd it from the *Greeks*: We ſhall not need to ſay more of it than this; that they know little of what belongs to Piety or holy Things, who do not underſtand, that the prophaning of a Temple by walking through it, is a much more pardonable Offence, than the raiſing of Scandals againſt religious Men and reflecting Indignities upon thoſe that ſerve at the Altar: But it was their Buſineſs rather to palliate a ſacrilegious and a perfidious Prince, by imputing what he did to his Neceſſities, than to do Right to us, and our Temple.

A fantaſtical Encounter between Antiochus *and a* Grecian.

Apion ſays farther, *that* Antiochus, *upon entring the Temple, found a Man in Bed there, with a Table before him ſet out with all the Delicacies that either Sea or Land afforded. This Man was ſo ſurpriz'd at the Encounter, that looking upon* Antiochus *as his good Angel, and one that came to reſcue him, he threw himſelf at his Feet; and in a*

Poſture of Adoration, implor'd his Aſſiſtance. The King bad him ſpeak freely, and tell him what he was; how he came thither; what he did there; and finally what was the Meaning of that Treat there upon the Table. The poor Man, upon this, burſt out preſently into a Paſſion, and with Sighs and Tears gave him this Anſwer.

I am, ſays he, *a* Greek; *and as I was wandring up and down this Country for a Livelyhood, I was taken up at unawares by ſome outlandiſh People; who brought me to this Place, and ſhut me up here; with Order not to let any Creature come at me. I was at firſt well enough pleaſed with an Entertainment ſo much beyond my Expectation: But upon ſecond Thoughts, finding my ſelf a little ſuſpicious and uneaſy, I ſounded ſome of my Keepers to know what might be the Meaning of this Way of proceeding; and the Reſolution they gave me was this; that the* Jews *had a Law or Cuſtom among themſelves once a Year, upon a certain Day prefix'd, to ſeize upon a* Græcian Stranger: *And ſo when they had kept him a fattening for one whole Year, to take him out into a Wood, and offer him up for a Sacrifice according to the Solemnity of their own Forms: Taking a Taſte of his Blood, with a horrid Oath at the ſame Time, to live and die mortal Enemies to the* Greeks: *After which, they caſt the Remainder of this miſerable Carcaſs into a Ditch. The* Greek *told* Antiochus *likewiſe, that his Time was out within a few Days; adjuring him by the Veneration he had for the* Græcian Gods, *to deliver him from that inhumane Treachery of the* Jews.

This tragical Invention was carry'd on to the higheſt Pitch of ſhameleſs Cruelty; but not ſo far yet, as to diſcharge *Antiochus* of the Sacrilege in any Sort, as thoſe Paraſites would have had it, that trump'd up this Story in his Favour. For it was not upon the *Greeks* Account that *Antiochus* enter'd the Temple: But he found him there after he was in, without any Foreknowledge of the Matter; ſo that it was a Wickedneſs in his Heart not to be warranted upon any falſe Pretence whatſoever, as will appear manifeſtly from the Thing it ſelf. Now the Difference is much greater betwixt our Laws and the *Ægyptians*, and thoſe of ſeveral other Nations, than betwixt us and the *Greeks*; or where is the Country, in Fine, that has not People of all Religions ſome Time or other to paſs thorough it? And how comes it now at laſt, that this phantaſtical Barbarity ſhould be exercis'd only upon the *Greeks*? Or how is it poſſible that the *Jews* ſhould all joyn in the ſolemnizing of theſe Sacrifices; and ſo many thouſands, as *Apion* numbers them, have every one a Morſel out of the Carcaſs of one miſerable Wretch? And then how comes it that we have not the Name of this perſecuted *Greek*, whoever he was; and that *Antiochus* did not ſend him back again in Pomp and State, into his own Country; which would have given him the Reputation of a Prince of Piety and a true Lover of his People, beſide the making a ſtrong Party againſt the Power and Hatred of the *Jews*?

No convincing of a Fool but by Demonſtration.

A Deſcription, and a Diviſion of the Temple.

But there's no working upon Fools by Argument, without the demonſtrative Evidence of Senſe and Fact. Now there is not any Man that ever ſaw this Temple of ours, but can witneſs the Care that was taken by inviolable Laws and Proviſions, to order every Thing in Purity and Perfection. It was divided into four Partitions, and a Guard appointed for each of them apart. The *firſt Diviſion* was open to all Comers, Strangers and all, without any Reſerve; only Women excepted in their monthly Courſes; *Jews* and their Wives (that is to ſay, *clean* and *purify'd*) were admitted into the *ſecond*, and *Male Jews*, purify'd in like Manner, into the *third*. The *fourth* was only for the *Prieſts* in their ſacerdotal Habits: And none but the High-Prieſt in his pontifical Robes peculiar to his Dignity, to enter the *holy Sanctuary*: Nay, ſo ſtrict and punctual were they in all the Niceties of Form and *Decorum*, that the very Prieſts themſelves could not have Admittance but at ſuch certain Hours.

The Rules and Methods of the Jewiſh *Worſhip and Diſcipline.*

Upon the opening of the Temple in the Morning, the Prieſts that were to officiate, attended and enter'd; and ſo at Noon, upon the ſhutting of it up again. There was in the Temple an *Altar*, a *Table*, a *Cenſer* and a *Candleſtick*, according to the Direction of the Law; neither was it allow'd to carry into it any other Veſſel. There was no Eating or Feaſting, nor any Thing at all done in Myſtery, but in the Face of the whole Congregation: And all Things in ſuch Method too, that though there were four Tribes of Prieſts, and every Tribe upward of five thouſand Perſons, they took their Turns yet of Attendance upon their ſet and certain Days; and ſo ſucceſſively, as one went off, another came on: And then about Noon Meeting all together in the Temple, they deliver'd up their reſpective Truſts one to another: Some diſcharging themſelves of the Keys, others of the Veſſels, and without bringing any Thing at all into that holy Place that belongs to Meat or Drink: For it is not lawful to offer any Thing upon our Altars, but what is provided for the Sacrifice. But what ſignifies all this Scribling now at a Venture, without any Conſideration whether it be true or falſe; which is certainly the fouleſt Thing can

Nothing ſo foul as Partiality in an Hiſtorian.

be ſaid of any Man that ſets up for an Hiſtorian, or a Lover of Letters! Beſide that at the ſame Time, when *Apion* publiſhes his ſpiteful Invectives againſt us, without any Foundation on the one Hand, he ſuppreſſes all the good Things of us, that he certainly knows to be true, on the other. Now for the Fancy of his *Greek* Priſoner; his luxurious Entertainment, and the People's paſſing through the Temple as a Thorough-Fare, where it is notoriouſly known that none but Prieſts durſt preſume to ſhew their Heads: This is all a Forgery and a Contrivance of prepenſe Malice, to ſeduce thoſe that will not give themſelves the Trouble to ſearch out the Truth. At this Rate are we to be juggled out of our Senſes, and out of our Credit.

A ridiculous Faction of one Zabidus.

Apion purſues the Humour ſtill with one Fable upon the Back of another, to make us yet more and more odious: And ſo furniſhes another foppiſh Story out of the Mouth of the *Græcian*, in theſe Words. “ While the *Jews* and the *Idumæans*, ſays he, were engaged in a long and an obſtinate War, there came a Man over to the *Jews* out of ſome City or other of *Idumæa*, where they worſhipp'd *Apollo*, and this Man's Name was *Zabidus*; who promis'd them to put *Apollo* the God of the *Dorians* into their Hands, if they could but get the *Jews* to gather all together into the Temple in a Body. *Zabidus*, upon this, contriv'd a certain Machine of Boards; and conveying himſelf into it, ſet up three Rows of Lights upon it, which appear'd at a Diſtance like a Comet upon the Ground.

“ This Apparition was ſo great a Surprize to the *Jews*, that they ſtood gazing at it a far off, without ſo much as one Word ſpeaking *Zabidus*, in the mean while ſlipt into the Temple; and without any Difficulty ſeiz'd *the Aſſe's golden Head (as he pleaſantly renders it,)* and carry'd it *away* to *Dora* ”.

Reflections upon Apion's *Fooleries.*

The Sillineſs of this Invention ſpeaks *Apion* the greater Aſs of the two; together with an incomparable Impudence, over and above the Folly of it; for there are no ſuch Places to be found as ſeveral that he mentions. He does not ſo much as know where *Idumæa* lies; or that there is no ſuch City in it as *Dora* There is a Place indeed of that Name in *Phœnicia*, not far from Mount *Carmel*; but this is four Days Journey from *Judæa:* And none of *Apion's Dora*.

He is much in the Right ſure to condemn us for not worſhipping other People's Gods; if, as he ſays, our Forefathers were ſo credulous as to believe that *Apollo* would come over to him, and that he look'd like a walking Comet. It was a Wonder again that the *Jews* ſhould not know a Lamp or a Torch, when they ſaw it, from a Star, that had ſo many of their own: And the Miracle was little leſs, that *Apollo* ſhould go off clear with his *Aſs*'s *Head*, thorough ſo many thouſands of People, without ſo much as being queſtion'd about it: And no Guards to ſtop him, either in Town or Country; and this in the Heat of the War too.

Here are more Words already about a ridiculous Hiſtory than the Thing is worth: And yet I cannot but wonder again, over and over, how the Temple Gates of ſixty Cubits in Height, twenty in the Breadth, plated all over, and within a little of maſſive Gold; two hundred Men every Day to ſhut them; and a Crime unpardonable to leave them open:——How theſe Gates, I ſay, ſhould be manag'd by one ſingle Man; and *Zabidus*, according to the Story, to keep the *Aſs*'s *Head* to himſelf. Wherefore it may be a Queſtion whether *Zabidus* brought the Head back again or elſe gave it to *Apion* to be laid in the Temple on Purpoſe for *Antiochus* to find it, and ſo to furniſh Matter for another Flam Story.

Apion *forgeth an Oath and chargeth it upon the* Jews.

It is as falſe again, what he ſays of the *Oath:* That is to ſay; that the *Jews* do ſolemnly ſwear by the Maker of Heaven, Earth and the Seas; that they will never do Good to any Strangers; and above all others, not to the *Greeks*. Now if this Falſifier had ſaid, (eſpecially not to the *Ægyptians)* he might better have conſiſted with himſelf, at leaſt if our Predeceſſors were driven out of *Ægypt*, not for their ill Manners, but for their Misfortunes. As to the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they were at ſo great a Diſtance one from the other, that there was not the leaſt Colour for Envy or Hatred, betwixt them. Nay, on the contrary, they came ſeveral of them over to our Religion: Some perſiſted in it; others went off again: But for this pretended Oath, *Apion* is the only Man that ever heard of it; and no otherwiſe neither, than as a Project of his own Contriving.

But the next is an admirable Crochet. He brings it as an Argument againſt the Juſtice of our Laws, or Manner of Worſhip, and the Truth of our Religion, that we are under the Burden of Servitude and Oppreſſion; not only in our Perſons, but in our capital City it ſelf: A City, that how free and powerful ſoever it hath been formerly, is at preſent no better than a Tributary to the *Romans*; and where are the People now that are able to contend with them? Or who but *Apion* would reaſon

A Diſcourſe upon Government and Subjection,

the Caſe at this foppiſh Rate; as if Dominion were an Entail? Whereas Government and Subjection take their Fortunes in the World by Turns. Only the *Ægyptians* pretend an Immunity from all Services to the Rulers of *Aſia* and *Europe*; which they ground upon the Gratitude of the ſtrange Gods, that fled from abroad into their Country for Sanctuary, and there ſecur'd themſelves in the Shape of Beaſts. Was ever ſo ſenſeleſs a Vanity as this heard of, from the Mouth of a Sort of People who never enjoy'd one Day of Liberty in an Age, either at Home, or Abroad? How often have the *Perſians* had the *Ægyptians* at their Feet; raſing their Cities; ravaging their Temples; deſtroying their Idol Deities; and vilifying their Worſhip! But I am not for writing after *Apion*'s Copy, and turning a Miſfortune into a Reproach. Where was there ever a braver People than the *Lacedæmonians*; or a Nation of more exemplary Piety than the *Athenians?* And yet neither the Virtue of the one, nor the Courage of the other was ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the Chances of War, and the common Fate of Kingdoms and States. To ſay nothing of the miſerable Diſaſters that have attended the beſt of Kings; as *Crœſus* for one: The laying of the Tower of *Athens*, the Temples of *Epheſus* and *Delphi*, and ſeveral other illuſtrious Places and Palaces, all in Aſhes. Now the Scandal in ſuch Inſtances as theſe, falls in Courſe upon the Actors of theſe tragical Devaſtations, not upon the Sufferers of them; however our Accuſer *Apion*, has found out a new Way of Crimination, without ſo much as dreaming how far *Ægypt* it ſelf is concern'd in the Parity of the Caſe. But he had the Fancy of *Seſoſtris* in his Head, and was ſo taken up with the Freak of his being King of *Ægypt*, that he knew not what he did. Now if we were given to be vain on the other Hand, we might find Kings of our own to boaſt of; as *David* and *Solomon*, with the Hiſtory of the Princes and Nations that were ſubdu'd by their victorious Arms. But we ſhall rather keep to our Text. What were the *Ægyptians*, but firſt, Slaves to the *Perſians*, with other Princes of *Aſia*, and ſo to the *Macedonians?* While we all this while liv'd in a State of Freedom, with the Command of all the neighbouring Cities for the Space of a hundred and twenty Years: That is to ſay, to the Time of *Pompey the great?* And then at laſt, when the *Romans* had over-run all the other Kings they had to do withall, our Forefathers were the only People they treated like Friends and Allies for their Faith and Valour. But *Apion* it ſeems, knew nothing of all this, and makes himſelf a Stranger to Things as clear as the Sun to all the World beſide.

The Jews *Miſfortunes turn'd to their Reproach.*

The Lacedæmonians *and the* Athenians, *brave but unfortunate.*

No Fence againſt the Chances of War.

The Jews *the only Favourites of the* Romans.

Apion has now another Blow at us, for an obſcure ignorant Sort of People. “The “ Jews, *he ſays*, have no famous Men among them for Arts and Sciences, or for the “ political Wiſdom of managing Governments and States: Such I mean, as *Socrates*, “ *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and the like. Nay, he does not forget himſelf neither in the Liſt of his famous Men; but bleſſes *Alexandria* in the Honour of having *Apion* for a Citizen. As to this Character of *Apion*, all People have ſo mean an Opinion of him for the extravagant Corruption of his Life and Manners, that it would never have been believ'd, but from his own Mouth: So that *Alexandria* is rather to be pity'd than envy'd for valuing it ſelf upon ſuch a Supporter. As to the Point in Competition betwixt the two Nations, which of them ſhould have the Preference for Men of Art and Learning, the Reader has no more to do, but to conſult our Antiquities for his Satiſfaction. And then for that Part of the Scandal that remains unanſwer'd, we cannot do better than to refer him to his own Contradictions, wherein he accuſes himſelf and other *Ægyptians*.

The Calumnies of Apion *laid open.*

His Vanity and Self-Conceit.

He takes great Offence at our ſacrificing ordinary Beaſts; the Scruple we make at the eating of *Swine*'s *Fleſh:* And then for the Ceremony of our *Circumciſion*, he makes a downright Mock of it. As to our killing of Beaſts, it is no more than what all the World does as well as we: And then for our Sacrifices, he diſcovers himſelf before he's aware, to be an *Ægyptian*, by ſpeaking againſt them; for a *Greek* or a *Macedonian*, that makes Profeſſion of offering whole *Hecatombs* to the Gods themſelves without any Difficulty, would never have ſtumbled upon that Block. They ſhare alſo with their Prieſts in the Fleſh of their Oblations, and no Danger all this while of deſtroying the Species of thoſe Animals, as *Apion* ſeems to apprehend: Whereas if all other People were of the *Ægyptians* Humour, the World would come quickly rather to want Men, and a ſtock of ravenous wild Beaſts to fill their Places: For thoſe are the Gods they train up and worſhip.

If the Queſtion were now put to *Apion*, what Sort of *Ægyptians* he takes to be the holieſt and the wiſeſt Men; his Anſwer undoubtedly would be the *Prieſts:* For they have theſe two Precepts tranſmitted down to them in a Tradition from their firſt Kings, *i. e. to worſhip the Gods*, and *to apply themſelves to the Study of Wiſdom*. And this they all make Profeſſion to do: They are all of them *circumcis'd*, over and above; forbear *Swine*'s *Fleſh*, and joyn with no other Sort of *Ægyptians* in their *Sacrifices*. So that *Apion* did wonderfully miſtake his Meaſures, when inſtead of gratifying the *Ægyptians* with Invectives againſt us, he advanced a direct Accuſation

The Precepts of the Ægyptian *Prieſts.*

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" This Apparition was ſo great a Surprize to the *Jews*, that they ſtood gazing at it " a far off, without ſo much as one Word ſpeaking *Zabidus*, in the mean while " ſlipt into the Temple; and without any Difficulty ſeiz'd *the Aſſe's golden Head (as he " pleaſantly renders it,)* and carry'd it *away* to *Dora* ". The Sillineſs of this Invention ſpeaks *Apion* the greater Aſs of the two; together with an incomparable Impudence, over and above the Folly of it; for there are no ſuch Places to be found as ſeveral that he mentions. He does not ſo much as know where *Idumæa* lies; or that there is no ſuch City in it as *Dora* There is a Place indeed of that Name in *Phœnicia*, not far from Mount *Carmel*; but this is four Days Journey from *Judæa*: And none of *Apion's Dora*.

Reflections upon Apion's *Fooleries.*

He is much in the Right ſure to condemn us for not worſhipping other People's Gods; if, as he ſays, our Forefathers were ſo credulous as to believe that *Apollo* would come over to him, and that he look'd like a walking Comet. It was a Wonder again that the *Jews* ſhould not know a Lamp or a Torch, when they ſaw it, from a Star, that had ſo many of their own: And the Miracle was little leſs, that *Apollo* ſhould go off clear with his *Aſs's Head*, thorough ſo many thouſands of People, without ſo much as being queſtion'd about it: And no Guards to ſtop him, either in Town or Country; and this in the Heat of the War too.

Here are more Words already about a ridiculous Hiſtory than the Thing is worth: And yet I cannot but wonder again, over and over, how the Temple Gates of ſixty Cubits in Height, twenty in the Breadth, plated all over, and within a little of maſſive Gold; two hundred Men every Day to ſhut them; and a Crime unpardonable to leave them open: —— How theſe Gates, I ſay, ſhould be manag'd by one ſingle Man; and *Zabidus*, according to the Story, to keep the *Aſs's Head* to himſelf. Wherefore it may be a Queſtion whether *Zabidus* brought the Head back again or elſe gave it to *Apion* to be laid in the Temple on Purpoſe for *Antiochus* to find it, and ſo to furniſh Matter for another Flam Story.

Apion *forgeth an Oath and chargeth it upon the* Jews.

It is as falſe again, what he ſays of the *Oath*: That is to ſay; that the *Jews* do ſolemnly ſwear by the Maker of Heaven, Earth and the Seas; that they will never do Good to any Strangers; and above all others, not to the *Greeks*. Now if this Falſifier had ſaid, (eſpecially not to the *Ægyptians)* he might better have conſiſted with himſelf, at leaſt if our Predeceſſors were driven out of *Ægypt*, not for their ill Manners, but for their Misfortunes. As to the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they were at ſo great a Diſtance one from the other, that there was not the leaſt Colour for Envy or Hatred, betwixt them. Nay, on the contrary, they came ſeveral of them over to our Religion: Some perſiſted in it; others went off again: But for this pretended Oath, *Apion* is the only Man that ever heard of it; and no otherwiſe neither, than as a Project of his own Contriving.

A Diſcourſe upon Government and Subjection.

But the next is an admirable Crochet. He brings it as an Argument againſt the Juſtice of our Laws, or Manner of Worſhip, and the Truth of our Religion, that we are under the Burden of Servitude and Oppreſſion; not only in our Perſons, but in our capital City it ſelf: A City, that how free and powerful ſoever it hath been formerly, is at preſent no better than a Tributary to the *Romans*,; and where are the People now that are able to contend with them? Or who but *Apion* would reaſon the Caſe at this foppiſh Rate; as if Dominion were an Entail? Whereas Government and Subjection take their Fortunes in the World by Turns. Only the *Ægyptians* pretend an Immunity from all Services to the Rulers of *Aſia* and *Europe*; which they ground upon the Gratitude of the ſtrange Gods, that fled from abroad into their Country for Sanctuary, and there ſecur'd themſelves in the Shape of Beaſts. Was ever ſo ſenſeleſs a Vanity as this heard of, from the Mouth of a Sort of People who never enjoy'd one Day of Liberty in an Age, either at Home, or Abroad? How often have the *Perſians* had the *Ægyptians* at their Feet; raſing their Cities; ravaging their Temples; deſtroying their Idol Deities; and vilifying their Worſhip! But I am not for writing after *Apion*'s Copy, and turning a Miſfortune into a Reproach. Where was there ever a braver People than the *Lacedæmonians*; or a Nation of more exemplary Piety than the *Athenians?* And yet neither the Virtue of the one, nor the Courage of the other was ſufficient to ſecure them againſt the Chances of War, and the common Fate of Kingdoms and States. To ſay nothing of the miſerable Diſaſters that have attended the beſt of Kings; as *Crœſus* for one: The laying of the Tower of *Athens*, the Temples of *Epheſus* and *Delphi*, and ſeveral other illuſtrious Places and Palaces, all in Aſhes. Now the Scandal in ſuch Inſtances as theſe, falls in Courſe upon the Actors of theſe tragical Devaſtations, not upon the Sufferers of them; however our Accuſer *Apion*, has found out a new Way of Crimination, without ſo much as dreaming how far *Ægypt* it ſelf is concern'd in the Parity of the Caſe. But he had the Fancy of *Seſoſtris* in his Head, and was ſo taken up with the Freak of his being King of *Ægypt*, that he knew not what he did. Now if we were given to be vain on the other Hand, we might find Kings of our own to boaſt of; as *David* and *Solomon*, with the Hiſtory of the Princes and Nations that were ſubdu'd by their victorious Arms. But we ſhall rather keep to our Text. What were the *Ægyptians*, but firſt, Slaves to the *Perſians*, with other Princes of *Aſia*, and ſo to the *Macedonians?* While we all this while liv'd in a State of Freedom, with the Command of all the neighbouring Cities for the Space of a hundred and twenty Years: That is to ſay, to the Time of *Pompey the great?* And then at laſt, when the *Romans* had over-run all the other Kings they had to do withall, our Forefathers were the only People they treated like Friends and Allies for their Faith and Valour. But *Apion* it ſeems, knew nothing of all this, and makes himſelf a Stranger to Things as clear as the Sun to all the World beſide.

The Jews *Miſfortunes turn'd to their Reproach.*

The Lacedæmonians *and the* Athenians, *brave but unfortunate.*

No Fence againſt the Chances of War.

The Jews *the only Favourites of the* Romans.

Apion has now another Blow at us, for an obſcure ignorant Sort of People. "The Jews, *he ſays*, have no famous Men among them for Arts and Sciences, or for the political Wiſdom of managing Governments and States: Such I mean, as *Socrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and the like. Nay, he does not forget himſelf neither in the Liſt of his famous Men; but bleſſes *Alexandria* in the Honour of having *Apion* for a Citizen. As to this Character of *Apion*, all People have ſo mean an Opinion of him for the extravagant Corruption of his Life and Manners, that it would never have been believ'd, but from his own Mouth: So that *Alexandria* is rather to be pity'd than envy'd for valuing it ſelf upon ſuch a Supporter. As to the Point in Competition betwixt the two Nations, which of them ſhould have the Preference for Men of Art and Learning, the Reader has no more to do, but to conſult our Antiquities for his Satisfaction. And then for that Part of the Scandal that remains unanſwer'd, we cannot do better than to refer him to his own Contradictions, wherein he accuſes himſelf and other *Ægyptians*.

The Calumnies of Apion *laid open.*

His Vanity and Self-Conceit.

He takes great Offence at our ſacrificing ordinary Beaſts; the Scruple we make at the eating of *Swine*'s *Fleſh:* And then for the Ceremony of our *Circumciſion*, he makes a downright Mock of it. As to our killing of Beaſts, it is no more than what all the World does as well as we: And then for our Sacrifices, he diſcovers himſelf before he's aware, to be an *Ægyptian*, by ſpeaking againſt them; for a *Greek* or a *Macedonian*, that makes Profeſſion of offering whole *Hecatombs* to the Gods themſelves without any Difficulty, would never have ſtumbled upon that Block. They ſhare alſo with their Prieſts in the Fleſh of their Oblations, and no Danger all this while of deſtroying the Species of thoſe Animals, as *Apion* ſeems to apprehend: Whereas if all other People were of the *Ægyptians* Humour, the World would come quickly rather to want Men, and a ſtock of ravenous wild Beaſts to fill their Places: For thoſe are the Gods they train up and worſhip.

If the Queſtion were now put to *Apion*, what Sort of *Ægyptians* he takes to be the holieſt and the wiſeſt Men; his Anſwer undoubtedly would be the *Prieſts:* For they have theſe two Precepts tranſmitted down to them in a Tradition from their firſt Kings, *i. e. to worſhip the Gods*, and *to apply themſelves to the Study of Wiſdom.* And this they all make Profeſſion to do: They are all of them *circumcis'd*, over and above; forbear *Swine*'s *Fleſh*, and joyn with no other Sort of *Ægyptians* in their *Sacrifices.* So that *Apion* did wonderfully miſtake his Meaſures, when inſtead of gratifying the *Ægyptians* with Invectives againſt us, he advanced a direct Accuſation

The Precepts of the Ægyptian *Prieſts.*

The miſerable Death of Apion.

againſt thoſe he pretended to favour; in charging the ſame *Ceremonies* upon them, that he blames us for: And likewiſe adviſing and encouraging *Circumciſion* in others, as we have it upon the Credit of *Herodotus*. It ſeems to me now that *Apion*'s Puniſhment (as it follows here) was very juſt upon him, for ſpeaking ſuch bitter Things againſt the Laws of his Country. He was forced, by Advice, upon a *Circumciſion:* The Wound putrify'd, and the Part cancerating upon it, the Diſtemper carry'd him off in miſerable Torments. This may ſerve for a warning to thoſe that, like *Apion*, abandon all the Rules and Duties of Life and good Manners themſelves, and then employ their Wits in defaming of their Neighbours. This was *Apion*'s Caſe. He *apoſtatiz'd* from the Laws of his own Country, and he bely'd ours. We are now come to the End of *Apion*'s Life; and it is Time to put an End to this Book too.

Moſes *defended againſt* Apollonius *and others.*

The Excellency of Moſes's *Laws.*

But ſince ſo it is that *Apollonius Molon*, *Lyſimachus* and ſeveral others have caſt out ſome Words, like Fools, or Madmen, to the Diſhonour of *Moſes*, our excellent *Lawgiver*; aſperſing him for an Impoſtor and a Magician, and repreſenting his Laws as peſtilent and dangerous, it will not be amiſs to give the World ſome ſhort Account, as well particular as general, of our Converſation and Government: And I doubt not but to make it appear that there was never ſuch a Body of Laws fram'd for the common good of Mankind, as theſe of *Moſes*; either for the advancing of Piety, Juſtice, Charity, Induſtry, the Regulation of human Society, Reſignation, and Patience, to the very Contempt of Death it ſelf: Never the like, I ſay, if People would but impartially conſider them: For I am not here upon a *Panegyrick* to the Honour of our Anceſtors, but doing a neceſſary Right to the Cauſe, againſt Calumny and Subornation.

Apollonius *his Way of defaming the* Jews.

Now *Apollonius* does not carry on his Malice like *Apion*, in a continu'd ſet Diſcourſe; but now and then by Snaps as the Humour takes him: One while he makes *Atheiſts* of us, and a hateful Sort of People both to God and Man. In one Fit he will have us to be Cowards; and then our Fault is at the next Word that we are too forward and fool-hardy, and arranter Sots than the moſt ſtupid of *Barbarians*; for the *Jews* never invented any Thing (he ſays) that Mankind was the better for. Now there needs no more to the confuting of theſe ſpiteful Suggeſtions, than to examine the Conſtitution of the Laws by which we are govern'd, and the ſtrict Conformity of our Lives and Practices to thoſe Precepts. But now if we ſhall be forc'd in our own Juſtification to rip up the Imperfections of other Polities, they may thank themſelves for provoking us to it by an opprobrious Compariſon, and making the Reproach we caſt upon them, neceſſary to our own Defence.

Two main Points in the Caſe.

There are, in ſhort, but two Points in the Caſe. Firſt; are the Laws we pretend to, good, and profitable, or not? Secondly; are we ſtrict Obſervers, or not, of our own Laws? If they ſhould deny the former, we are ready to make it out from an undeniable Abſtract of the very Laws themſelves. And then the ſecond Part is ſo clear, that it will not bear ſo much as a Queſtion. But to carry it a little farther yet. It is without Diſpute, that the firſt Founders of Laws for the Eſtabliſhment of Order and Diſcipline, out of a good Will to the publick, are to be preferr'd infinitely before thoſe that live without any Rule or Method at all; for they all appeal to Antiquity, and take it for a greater Honour to teach others what they ought to do, than barely to imitate what they ſee done before them. Now this being given for granted; it is the *Law-givers* Part in the firſt Place, to make ſuch a Proviſion of Laws, as may ſerve to promote the good of the Community, by the very Convenience and Reaſon of them; while the People, on the other Side, ſtand firm to the Eſtabliſhment, in Deſpite of all Tryals and Temptations.

Moſes *undoubtedly the firſt Law-giver.*

Homer *himſelf wanted a Word for a Law.*

As to the Antiquity of our *Law-giver*, he has undoubtedly a Right to a Precedence before all others: For *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and *Zaleucus* of *Locris*, with the reſt of the eminent *Greeks* they ſo much boaſt of, were all but Novices and Upſtarts compar'd with *Moſes*. The very Name of *Law* was not as yet ſo much as heard of and *Homer* himſelf wanted a Word for it. The People in thoſe Days were not govern'd by written Precepts, but by the abſolute Will and Pleaſure of Kings, and ſo it held a long Time by authoritative Orders and Proviſions to anſwer the Occaſion. But our Law-giver having his Claim of Priority granted him by his very Enemies, acquitted himſelf likewiſe to Admiration, in all the Offices of Adminiſtration and Council. Firſt in compoſing ſuch a Body of Laws as might anſwer all the Neceſſities of human Life: And after that, in getting them receiv'd among the People, with a Declaration that they would maintain and obey them. But we ſhall the better judge of the Man by his Works.

The Hiſtory of Moſes.

When our Fore-fathers, to the Number of many thouſands, march'd out of the Land of *Ægypt* into the Country that God had appointed for them, thorough a barren ſandy Deſart without Water; and ſeveral Encounters with the Enemy by the Way, in Defence of themſelves, their Wives and their Children: Who was their Guide all this while to carry them off through theſe almoſt inſuperable Difficulties, but our careful *Law-giver* ſtill, in the Quality both of a valiant General, a wiſe Councellor, and their common Protector! A Perſon of ſo exemplary a Modeſty, that tho' the People were every Man of them at his Command, to do what he would with them, he never took upon himſelf to act any Thing by his own Power: But in Caſes where other Men pretended to tyrannize and domineer, and to indulge a general Licence and Debauch; *Moſes* on the contrary, walk'd in the Fear of God, and by his Example encourag'd the People in the Exerciſe of Piety and Juſtice, as their beſt Security, together with the Improvement of all Accidents.

Moſes was the Peoples Guide, and God himſelf was Moſes's.

Moſes was much in the Right to look upon God as his Oracle and Adviſer: And then being ſatisfy'd in himſelf that he could not do amiſs, ſo long as he committed himſelf to the Conduct of divine Providence, he did his uttermoſt to poſſeſs the common People alſo with the ſame Thing: For nothing puts ſuch a Check upon us in all our Iniquities, as to conſider that God ſees us: So that, in Fine, *our Law-giver* was not a *Seducer* or a *Magician*, as he is falſely repreſented; but ſuch another as *Minos* and others after him were reputed among the *Greeks:* Some aſcribing the Original of their Laws to *Jupiter*; others to *Apollo*, or the Oracle at *Delphi*; but whether theſe Men believed this themſelves, or only gave it out to have the People believe it, may be a Queſtion: But we ſhall beſt judge of the Excellency and Sacredneſs of theſe Laws by comparing them; which is the next Thing we are to do.

The Original of the Grecian *Laws.*

Several Nations have their ſeveral Forms of Government, and their Diverſities of Laws. Some Governments are committed to a ſingle Perſon; others to the People: But *our Law-giver* was neither for the one, nor for the other; but betwixt both, for that which he calls a *holy Common-wealth*; aſſigning God himſelf for the Head of it, with a Reſpect both to Worſhip and Power, as the Fountain and the Author of all good. To him it is that we fly for Succour in our Diſtreſſes, who hears our Prayers, and ſearches the very Secrets of our Hearts. He inculcates to us the Doctrine of one God; one uncreated, unchangeable and eternal Being; infinitely glorious and incomprehenſible, any further than what we know of him by his Works. Now this is no more than what we have in a great Meaſure from the wiſer Sort of the *Greek Philoſophers* themſelves; even by the Light of Nature, for they do all unanimouſly agree upon the Congruity of theſe Principles to the Majeſty and Excellence of God: As there's *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, *Plato*; and after them, the *Stoicks*, who are almoſt wholly of the ſame Mind as to this Subject. But the Multitude being engag'd in a violent and a ſuperſtitious Prepoſſeſſion againſt theſe Opinions, the Philoſophers durſt not venture too far in the promoting of them. But *our Law-giver* was the only Man that liv'd as he taught; both to the Satisfaction of the preſent Age, and to the eſtabliſhing and confirming of Poſterity in the Truths that he deliver'd; governing himſelf alſo by this conſtant Rule, that he made the publick Good the End ſtill of all his Laws. He gave to underſtand, that God's Worſhip was but one Part of a holy Man's Duty, and ſo caſt in the other Branches of it, as Fortitude, Juſtice, and a conſtant Interchange of good Offices toward Mankind over and above: Inſomuch that all his Precepts and Preſcriptions terminated in the Advancement of Piety, to the Honour and Glory of God: This being a Point that he had thoroughly ſtudy'd and examin'd.

Several Forms of Government.

Moſes's holy Common-wealth.

What Thoughts the Greek *Philoſophers had of a Deity, by the Light of Nature.*

The Difference betwixt Moſes *and other* Law-givers.

As to what concerns Religion and good Manners, it was his Way to joyn the *Theory* with the *Practice*; whereas other *Law-givers* commonly took one Part of the Diviſion, and left the other. As for Example: The People of *Lacedæmon* and *Crete*, were nevertheleſs inſtructed in Morals, tho' not by Rule and Precept: But the *Athenians*, and well nigh all the other *Greeks*, had their Laws for every Thing, tho' they fell ſhort in the Practice. Whereas *our Law-giver* provided for both in one; attending at the ſame Time, the cultivating and the perfecting of our Morals, with the adapting of proper Proviſions in Writing to anſwer all Occaſions. He begins upon the Subject of Meats and Diet; what we may be allow'd to eat, and what not, and with whom; and reducing all People indifferently to the Order of that Method. He takes the ſame Care alſo for a Regulation in the Matter of Labour and Reſt, to the End that no Man may be ignorant of his Duty: For what the Law bids us to do, is the Dictate and Command of our Maſter, and it puniſhes only wilful Offenders. But to leave us wholly without Excuſe now, in Caſe of tranſgreſſing any of theſe holy Laws; it is not enough to hear them read over and over; (once, twice, or oft'ner perhaps) but we are poſitively commanded (all other Work or Buſineſs apart) to meet conſtantly once a Week in a full Congregation, expreſly to attend the Reading of the Law, and the getting of it by Heart; which was never practis'd

Of Morality and Religion.

The Jews *are all train'd up to the ſame Laws and Government.*

They keep one Day of the Week Holy according to the Law.

practiſ'd by any other *Law-givers!* Nay ſo far are the Generality of the World from living in a Conformity to their own Laws, that they do not ſo much as underſtand what they are: But upon committing a Fault, they are fain to ask other People what Law they have broken. This is, in ſhort, the very Caſe even amongſt Men of the firſt Quality too; who are not aſham'd, tacitly to confeſs their Ignorance; in the taking of Men learned in the Law to their Counſel and Aſſiſtance: Whereas our People have the Laws at their Fingers Ends, as ready as their own Names; having been train'd up to them from their very Cradle, till they are imprinted in their Hearts: And this makes Men the more wary of offending, when they find themſelves ſure to be detected and puniſh'd.

A wonderful Agreement in Life and Manners.

This is the Foundation now of that admirable Agreement we find among our ſelves. We have all of us the ſame Thoughts of God; the ſame Forms of Diſcipline and Worſhip; our Way of Life and Manners, the very ſame too. It is not with us, as it is with other People that entertain various Opinions of one and the ſame God: And thoſe, not only the common Sort of Men, that talk at Random, and bolt out whatever comes next; but the Philoſophers themſelves: Some of them deny the very Divinity of God; others, his Providence, upon an impious Suggeſtion, that all Men are equal, and that all Things are in common. Now we ſay, on the contrary, that God ſees and diſpoſes of all Things. Nay our very Wives and Children are of the ſame Perſuaſion; and that all the Actions of our Lives ought to be directed to the Honour and Service of God.

Antiquities ſacred and of divine Authority.

Qualifications for the Prieſthood.

To ſpeak now to that Reflection upon us, as Men of no Induſtry or Invention, either in Arts or Letters, for keeping ſtill (as they ſay) to the dull plodding Train of the ſame over and over again: Whereas Men of Wit and Spirit value themſelves rather upon making old Things look new, and refining upon the Wiſdom and Cuſtoms of their Fore-fathers. Now for our Parts, we make it a Point of Conſcience not to depart, either in Word, Thought or Deed, from the Eſtabliſhments of former Times: The very Antiquity it ſelf being an infallible Mark of a good and a well grounded Law, which neither Time nor Argument, will be ever able to deſtroy. But for us now that firmly believe theſe Laws of ours to be of divine Inſtitution, we have nothing more to do than to preſerve them ſacred and inviolate. For who ſhall dare to offer at the removing of thoſe Foundations which God himſelf hath laid? Or but to think of mending them; tho' by transferring the moſt beneficial Proviſions out of the beſt of other Governments, to the Service of our Common-wealth? Can any Conſtitution be more agreeable, firm or juſt, than that whereof the King of Kings hath vouchſafed to be the Author. As to the Prieſts, they are qualify'd in common for ſeveral ſpecial Services, and the *High-Prieſt* in an Order of Power and Superiority above all the reſt. And they are not promoted by the *Law-giver* to that Dignity, for Ambition, Wealth, or any corrupt Intereſt, but for the ſignal Teſtimony they have given of their Piety, Temperance and Wiſdom; and to them is committed the Care of Religion, and God's holy Worſhip. They ſerve alſo as Judges in Controverſies betwixt Man and Man, with a Power to puniſh thoſe that do amiſs. What Government now, or what Form of Government can be more ſacred or venerable than this; or what greater Honour can we do to Almighty God, than to ſpend our Lives in a daily Attendance upon his Service; and under the Inſpection of the Prieſts, to ſee that all Things be done with Order and Reverence? The Solemnity of this Devotion makes every Day look like a Feſtival. And whereas other People have much ado to hold out, tho' but for ſome few Days, in the continu'd Celebration of their Myſteries or Sacrifices as they call them, we are yet as firm, chearful and vigorous in the Diſcharge of our Duties at this Hour, as we were ſo many Ages ſince, upon the very firſt Inſtitution of them.

Of God's Power and Providence. Of God and his Works.

Among other known Precepts of our Religion, we are taught in the firſt Place, that God is all in all; perfect, happy, and ſelf-ſufficient: The Beginning, the Middle, and the End of all Things; glorious in all his Actions and Works; nothing ſo manifeſt as his Power and Greatneſs, or at the ſame Time ſo incomprehenſible. It is not for the Tongue of Man to expreſs, or for the Heart of Man ſo much as to conceive any Reſemblance of that divine Majeſty. He is, in Fine, incomparable in all his Excellencies and Attributes, infinitely beyond Art or Imitation: So that it is impoſſible to ſee, or to imagine any Thing like him; for being a Spirit, he is alſo inviſible. But we are allow'd to read him however in his Works; as in the Light, the Heavens, the Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Rivers, the Sea; ſeveral Sorts of Animals, various Plants, *&c.* Which were all the Work of God, and created without either Labour or Hands, or any Second to his Aſſiſtance: But his Will, and his Word gave them their Being. He made every Thing by the Word of his Power; and in the ſame Inſtant looking upon it, he pronounc'd it to be good. This is the Almighty Sovereign that we are all bound to love and adore, in the Study and Exerciſe of Virtue, which is the only Way to pleaſe him.

One God, one World, and one Temple.

The Office and Authority of the Prieſts.

As there is but one God, and one World, in common to all Mankind, it holds in the *Analogy* that there ſhould be but one Temple too; for God takes Delight in the Congruities of Order and Proportion. In this Temple, the Prieſts offer up their daily Devotions. The firſt in Quality, is the firſt that ſacrifices. He takes Care that the Laws be duly obſerv'd, hears Cauſes, and puniſhes thoſe that the Law condemns: And it is in Effect as penal to diſpute the Authority of the Prieſt, as to appeal from the Judgment of God himſelf.

An Abſtract of Moſes's *Laws and Precepts.*

The Sacrificers are to be temperate and ſober.

In eating the Fleſh of our Sacrifices, we muſt have a Care not to extend that Liberty, to the Degree of Gluttony and Exceſs; for God that is a Lover of Sobriety, and all Manner of Temperance, can never be pleas'd with the Extravagancies of Violence and Profuſion.

The Prieſt begins his Office with Prayers for the general Good of Mankind; and after that, every Man for himſelf, as a Part of the whole; being well aſſured that nothing is ſo acceptable in the Sight of God, as a mutual Charity and Tenderneſs among Men, one for another.

What to pray for.

When we offer up our Prayers and Vows to Almighty God, we are not to petition for Wealth, Honour, and the good Things of this World; for theſe are Bleſſings which he is pleaſed to beſtow in common upon Mankind; but our Prayer muſt be for the Grace to make a right Uſe of what we have.

Of Purifications.

The Law hath alſo preſcrib'd us certain formal *Purifications*, in the Caſe of Women, and under other Sorts of Limitation and Reſtriction, too many and too tedious for this Place. This is what the Law ſays of God, and of the Ways of pleaſing him, and he himſelf all this while is effectually that very Law.

Of Marriages.

But now to the **Point** of *Marriage*. If it be purely for the Sake of Children without any By Regard to the Fortune, and not to gratify any looſe Appetite: If there be no Force or Fraud in the Caſe, and provided it be done with the Conſent of Parents, our Laws approve of it. But as for the Sin of unnatural Luſts, the very Attempt is puniſh'd with Death.

The Wife to be ſubject to her Husband.

Penalties in Caſes of Incontinence.

The Law ſays further, that the Woman ſhall be ſubject in all Things to her Huſband; which muſt not be taken for a Diſpenſation to abuſe her under that Cover, but as a Proviſion for the upholding of Decency and good Order: For God hath given the Man Power over his Wife. The Woman is to have no carnal Knowledge of any other Man, upon Pain of Death without Mercy; and he that abuſes a betrothed Virgin, incurs the ſame Penalty. It is the ſame Thing alſo in Caſe of corrupting a married Woman, or a Mother of Children. This is all according to our Law, which is likewiſe no leſs ſevere upon thoſe Women that do either conceal their Children when they are brought into the World, or otherwiſe deſtroy them. For the Soul ſuffers with the Body; beſide, that it is in ſome Degree an Unpeopling of the World. Whoever accompanies with a Woman, is look'd upon by our Law to be unclean; and the Woman alſo is obliged to waſh and purify herſelf after that Congreſs with her Husband: To which End, there is purifying Water ſtill at Hand for ſuch an Occaſion. So near is the Communication in this Caſe betwixt Soul and Body.

Corporal Purifications.

As to the Cuſtom of Feaſting, or Merry-making at the Birth of Children, this Law doth not upon any Terms approve of it; partly, to train them up to Sobriety betimes, and in Part, for Fear it might prove a Temptation to Intemperence and Debauch. It is alſo provided that Children ſhould be brought up to the Knowledge of Letters, both in Law and Hiſtory, for an Encouragement to them on the one Hand, to do great Things in Imitation of great Examples, and to fortify them on the other Side, in a perfect Underſtanding of their Duty.

Care taken to moderate the Pomp of Funerals.

There was Care taken alſo for moderating the vain Pomp and Expence of *Burials*, in Monuments, and Funeral Solemnities. But yet for the Decency of an Office ſo humane and neceſſary, it was committed to the *Domeſticks* to ſee Right done to the Memory of their Maſters; and all People were permitted upon the Death of any Man, to come in, and lament, and condole over the Deceaſed; but the Houſe was ſtill to be purify'd ſo ſoon as the Funeral was over, and the Family to keep at a Diſtance as Men reputed unclean.

Neither is the Law ſilent in Caſes either of *Willful Murder*, or of *Chance-Medley*; but it directs a diſtinguiſhing Puniſhment according to the Quality of the Crime.

The Duty of Children to Parents, and of the Younger to the Elder.

Of Friendſhip.

We are enjoined Reverence to *Parents*, next to the Veneration we pay to God himſelf; and the Law appoints the Ungrateful and the Diſobedient to be ſton'd to Death. The younger Sort are commanded to pay a Reſpect to their *Elders*; for God was before all Things. There muſt be no ſuch Thing as a Secret among Friends, for

Friendſhip implies an entire Confidence without any Reſerve. Nay, where a Friendſhip is diſſolv'd, we muſt not yet be falſe to a *former Truſt*.

Severe Laws againſt Bribes, Fraud, Extorſion, &c.

The Judge that takes a *Bribe* is to be puniſh'd with Death, for ſiding with the Guilty, and oppreſſing the Righteous. Every Man is reſtrain'd from touching any Thing wrongfully of his Neighbours, from taking away what does not belong to him, or lending his Money upon Uſury. And ſo let this ſuffice as to the Regulation of our Dealings one with another.

How to treat Strangers.

It will be worth our while in the next Place to ſee how we are to behave our ſelves toward Strangers, and to ſhew that our *Lawgiver* hath been wanting in nothing toward the advancing of the publick Good; either by keeping us firm to our own Laws, or by communicating the Benefit of them to others that have a Mind to partake of them. For he receives with open Arms all that come over to us, of what Nation ſoever, indifferently, provided they agree in the ſame common Principles of Life and Manners. But for thoſe that come to us only as by the bye, and without any Intent to join with us; thoſe People are not ſuffer'd to intermix with us in our Solemnities. But we are obliged however to do them the beſt Offices we can to all other Purpoſes. As for Example; If they ſhould want Fire, Water, Food, or the like; we are commanded to ſupply them, or to ſet any of them right that are out of their Way; and ſo to give a dead Body a decent Burial. Now theſe are all Duties of Humanity abſtracted from Religion.

How to behave our ſelves towards our Enemies.

He preſcribes Rules of Moderation alſo to be obſerv'd toward their Enemies without forcing War to the Extremities of Fire and Sword. Nay our Lawgiver's Charity extends to the very eaſing of Priſoners, Women eſpecially; and ſo for the dead Bodies that fell in Battle, he would not ſuffer them to be ſtripp'd.

Duties of Humanity apart from thoſe of Religion.

Such, in fine, was the Paſſion he had for the encouraging of Tenderneſs and Good Nature among Men, that he recommended the Practice of it, even towards unreaſonable Creatures, in allowing us no other Power over them, than for the lawful and the neceſſary Uſe and Service of Mankind. As for domeſtick Creatures that are brought up tame in our Houſes, they are to be ſpar'd: Neither in other Caſes are the Dam and the Young to be deſtoy'd together. Beaſts of Labour and common Uſe, are likewiſe to be forborn, tho' in ſome Reſpects miſchievous.

Theſe were the Conſtitutions and Proviſions of our *Lawgiver* upon this Topick, both for the promoting of tender Inclinations by inſtructive Doctrines, (as aforeſaid) upon that Subject; and likewiſe for the deterring of Tranſgreſſors by an exemplary and an inexorable Rigour. For the Puniſhment in many Caſes is no leſs than Death; for Inſtance, in Adultery, Rape, and unnatural Practices, as well in the Agent as in the Patient, and the Penalty reaches all Conditions too, whether Bond or Free.

Duties of common Juſtice between Man and Man.

We have our Laws alſo concerning *Weights* and *Meaſures*, and all Sorts of Frauds in buying or ſelling, taking away another Man's Good, or appropriating to our ſelves what is not our own. Now Offenders of this Kind, are puniſh'd with much more Severity, under our Laws, than elſewhere.

The Reward of well doing.

He that blaſphemes God, or but attempts any Thing of Indignity upon his Divine Majeſty; and he that behaves himſelf contumaciouſly toward his Father and his Mother, they are all doom'd to Death upon the Place. But what is the Reward at laſt that theſe People pretend to for what they do and ſuffer, in the Obſervance of theſe Laws. Not Gold and Silver, imperial Crowns, and precious Stones, but the Comfort and Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, with an Aſſurance of eternal Happineſs; an Aſſurance grounded not only upon the Predictions of the *Lawgiver*, but upon the Promiſe alſo of the God of Truth to thoſe that keep his Laws. And in this Truſt and Confidence, they look upon Death it ſelf only as the bleſſed Means of tranſporting them from this Life to a better.

The Jews firm in all Extremities.

I ſhould have made a Conſcience of ſaying thus much, if the Matter of Fact were not as clear as the Sun in the Hiſtory of our Fore-fathers, what Torments they have undergone, and with what Reſolution they have born them, rather than let fall one Word to the Diſhonour of their Profeſſion. But let us make it the Caſe now that the *Jews* were a People never ſo much as heard of upon the Face of the Earth, and no Witneſſes to the Veneration we have conſtantly paid to our Laws: What would the *Græcians* think of it, if any Body ſhould but tell them a Story of what they had heard, or read, of a People in ſome imaginary unknown Land, that had ſtood true and firm for ſo many Ages, to the Religion, Laws, and Cuſtoms of their Predeceſſors? Would they not all wonder at it, eſpecially thoſe that are ſo fickle and changeable themſelves?

As for their modern Writers that treat of State and Government, how are they ridicul'd for their impracticable Stories? To ſay nothing of ſeveral other Philoſophers, that

Plato, *a great Man, and yet ridicul'd for his Politicks.*

that have handled the ſame Subject: There is *Plato* himſelf, the very Oracle of the *Greeks*, and a Man in ſingular Eſteem for his Wiſdom, Piety and Manners; and a Philoſopher of the firſt Rate over and above. How is this great Man, banter'd and buffoon'd upon a publick Theatre, by ſome Self-Conceited Pretenders, for his wild Notions of Government, as they call them! When yet upon a ſtrict Examination of his Writings, they will be found agreeable both to Reaſon and Nature. But to take him upon his own Confeſſion; "It is not ſafe *(he ſays)* for a wiſe Man, to tell "what he thinks of God, for Fear of the impetuous Ignorance of the common Peo-"ple. But *Plato* (they ſay) writes like a Man of Vanity and Licence: *Lycurgus* indeed was a Man celebrated for a *Law-Giver* in Perfection, out of a Reverence they had to the Duration of his Laws under the ſame Adminiſtration. Now if ſo it be, that Laws, the older they are, the better they are, with what Face ſhall the *Lacedæmonians* ſet up for Competitors with us, in the Point of Antiquity, who have been now upward of two thouſand Years in Poſſeſſion of our Claim! To which I muſt add this over and above, that the *Lacedæmonians* kept up their Laws to the Height, no longer, than while they were free and eaſy themſelves: But ſo ſoon as *Fortune* abandon'd *them, they* fell off, and abandon'd their *Laws*.

Lycurgus *famous for the Reputation and Continuance of his Laws.*

The **Jews** *Stand all Tryals.*

But for our Parts, after all the Broils and Changes in *Aſia*, and our ſelves brought to the laſt Extremity, it cannot be ſaid that we ever departed from the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of our Forefathers: Neither can it be objected againſt us, that we ever conſulted, either our Eaſe or our Pleaſure, in preſerving them as we did. For whoever compares the Condition of both Parties, will find the *Jews* to have been upon much harder Duty than the *Lacedæmonians*. For they were put to no Offices of Drudgery, in digging and delving, or to any other Handicraft-Labour; but liv'd in the City, at their Eaſe, fat and fair, and all Manner of Neceſſaries provided them to their Hand: So that they had nothing more to do, but now and then upon Occaſion, to encounter the publick Enemy. And what if I ſhould ſay now that they fail'd in that too? For they went over in frequent Deſertions, not only here and there one, but in whole Troops together ſometimes; who contrary to Law and Duty, and the common Obligation of Citizens and Soldiers, deliver'd themſelves up with their Arms tamely to the Enemy. Can any Body ſay the ſame Thing of us now? I cannot call to Mind above two or three at moſt of our People, that ever betray'd their Cauſe for Fear of Death. I do not ſpeak of a Soldiers Death with his Sword in his Hand, and in the Field of Battle; but of a Death of exquiſite Cruelty and Torment: A Miſery that many of our People have been expos'd to; not out of a bloody Malice, as I verily perſuade my ſelf, but to try the Experiment of ſo heroical a Conſtancy; and to ſee if there be any ſuch Men in the World, as will rather be torn to Pieces, than be guilty of any one Word or Action derogatory to the Dignity of their Laws.

The Severity of the **Jewiſh** *Diſcipline.*

Now this Conſtancy of the *Jews* above all other Nations is no great Wonder neither; for the very ordinary Way of our living would be a Kind of Severity to any other Sort of People: That is to ſay, in the Fatigues of Labour; hard Fare; Days of indiſpenſable Abſtinence and Reſt; coarſe lodging, cloathing, and the like. I would fain know now how theſe People, in the Heat and Freedom of a military Life, would behave themſelves at the ſame Time in the Forbearance of forbidden Meats, and in the Caſe of other Reſtrictions? Whereas the Thing that we glory in is the giving of our ſelves up to an unchangeable Conſtancy and Reſignation, in Obedience to our Laws and Duties.

Wherefore let the *Lyſimachus's*, and the *Molons*, and all that ſcribbling Crew of cenſorious Pretenders, and Perverters of Youth: Let them all go on, I ſay, in their uncharitable Way of repreſenting us for the worſt of Men.

Moſes *makes a Conſcience of Irreverence, even towards falſe Gods.*

The **Greeks** *fabulous Deities.*

It is not our Buſineſs to traduce other People's Laws, but to keep ſteady to our own. Nay, ſuch was the Tenderneſs of our gentle *Law-giver*, that he would not ſuffer ſo much as the leaſt Indignity or Contempt to be put upon the reputed Gods of other Nations: And this he did, out of a Reverence to the very Name of a Deity. But it will not become us yet to be altogether ſilent, in a Caſe where it is both ſo eaſy, and ſo neceſſary, to ſtop the Mouths of our Adverſaries: And where, in Truth, the Work is done by other Authorities ready to our Hands. As for Inſtance. Where is that wiſe Man among the *Greeks*, that does not heartily exclaim even againſt the moſt celebrated of their Poets, and eſpecially their *Law-givers*, for poyſoning the common People with the impious Doctrine of a Plurality of Gods; and advancing the Account to what Number they think fit, and deriving their Original from what Age and Country they pleaſe: Nay and allotting them their proper Stations and Places like other Creatures! As they have their ſubterranean Gods, their Sea-Gods; and the eldeſt of the Race, or Family, they keep up in Chains in Hell. As for their celeſtial Gods, they give *Jupiter* ('tis true) the Name of Father, but with the Heart and Practice of a Tyrant: Inſomuch that his Wife, his Brother, and the Daughter of his own Brain, enter'd into a Conſpiracy, according to the Fiction, to deſtroy him, as he himſelf had ſerv'd his Father. This was the Value, in Fine, that all wiſe Men had of theſe fabulous Deities; the Fancy being ſo ridiculous, that they could not ſo much as think of it without Scorn and Deriſion. Some of their Gods they make to be Striplings; others in the Prime of their Youth and Strength, and others again they repreſent to be grave Seniors with long Beards. They have their Gods likewiſe (or Patrons) of mechanical Arts and Trades; as Smiths, Weavers, *&c.* Pilgrims, Champions, Harpers, Archers. They have their Feuds and Factions alſo among themſelves, and ſide with *Mortals* againſt one another. They receive Wounds in the Quarrel; grieve and pine away under the Anguiſh of them. Nay, theſe pretended Gods and Goddeſſes go farther yet ſtill, even to the horrible Licence of Amours, and Embraces, indifferently with Men and Women. And what's the Caſe of their Almighty *Jupiter* himſelf: The *Father*, as they call him, and the *Prince* of their whole Train of Gods! But after the whoring and corrupting of his Miſtreſſes, he has not the Power at laſt to ſave either them, or their Baſtards; but with an aking Heart, he ſees them all ruin'd before his Face, becauſe the *FATES* will have it ſo.

What a Train have we here of lew'd and execrable Debauches; and of worſe Conſequences in Probability yet to come! Adulteries in Heaven, open and bareface'd; and not only *committed* by the God's, but by them alſo *celebrated* and *proclaim'd*; to to the Degree of envying the Proſtitutes. Now if their ſovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, *Jupiter* himſelf, could not hold out againſt the Charms of a laſcivious Strumpet; what are we to expect from the Paſſions and Weakneſſes of other ſubordinate and inferior Deities! And what ſhall we ſay again of Gods turn'd into Shepherds, and *Maſons*, and made cloſe Priſoners in Hell? Of Gods in Liveries, and Serving-Men for Wages! Can any Man now with Brains in his Head, do leſs than abhor and deſpiſe the Inventors, the Encouragers, and the Believers of theſe blaſphemous Stories? In ſome Caſes again, they make Gods of their Paſſions, as Frights, Fears, and the like; and then worſhip them in the worſt of Forms; ſo that, there can be nothing ſo ſcandalous among Men, but may do well enough in the Character of one of their God's. And yet all this is not ſufficient to deter the People from ſacrificing to the more tolerable Sort of theſe Monſters. But they look upon their Gods as the Authors of good and evil, and conſequently as their Friends, or their Enemies, in Proportion to the one or the other. Upon this Conſideration they do by their Deities as with Ill-natur'd Men: They worſhip and preſent them, for Fear they ſhould hurt them.

The Ground of ſo many groſs Miſtakes concerning God.

But how comes Mankind all this while to labour under ſo many deſperate and dangerous Miſtakes concerning God? Unleſs either from the *Lawgiver's Ignorance* of the divine Nature from the Beginning, or elſe for want of *communicating* to the World the Notions they had of Things, as Matters of little Moment perhaps in their Opinions; and ſo left the Poets and the Orators betwixt them to make their own Gods; and by this Means confounding their Politicks with idle Tales and Amuſements of uncouth Deities and ſtrange Worſhip?

Painters and Statuaries create Deities.

Painters and Statuaries contributed alſo in a great Meaſure to this Abuſe, by the Liberty the *Greeks* took in dreſſing up their Gods in what Shape and Figure the Workman pleas'd, every Man according to his particular Fancy. And they had their Varieties for Matter alſo as well for Form: Some working in Plaiſter; others (of the better Sort) in Gold and Ivory: Some in Sculpture; others in Colours: And the laſt Piece, for Noveltie's Sake, was ſtill reputed the beſt. As the old Gods fell off, and went out of Faſhion, they were ſucceeded inſenſibly by new: And upon the failing of one Religion, another ſtarted up. It was the ſame Thing with their Temples too; as one was laid in Rubbiſh, another was rais'd out of the Ruines of it: According to the Humour of the preſent Age; whereas the Worſhip of God out to be as unchangeable as God himſelf.

A divine Worſhip is as unchangeable as God himſelf.

The Greek *Sages had the ſame Veneration for a Deity, with the* Jews *themſelves.*

We may reckon *Apollonius Molon* in the Number of the overweaning Fools. But for thoſe among the *Greeks* that deſerve the Name of Philoſophers, they are no Strangers to the Truth of what I have deliver'd; but entertain the ſame reverent Thoughts of God that we do, and with as ſenſible a Contempt for the Fables and Fooleries on the other Hand, as they ought to have. It was not for nothing that *Plato* would ſuffer no Poets in his Common-wealth: Nay, he diſcharg'd *Homer* himſelf too, though with all the Honours of a Poet Laureate, for Fear the fabulous Religion ſhould deſtroy the true. This great Man of all others comes the neareſt to the Example of *Moſes*, in the Model of his Common-wealth; where he charges all his Subjects to ſtudy their Laws, and to get them by Heart, and not to inter-

Plato's-Common-wealth *in ſome Sort after the Model of* Moſes's.

mingle Cuſtoms with Strangers; but to preſerve their Government in its original Purity, and to pay a ſtrict Obedience to their Ordinances and Decrees.

Apollonius Molon never thought of this, when he fell ſo heavily upon the *Jews* for not joyning and communicating with Men of a differing Way and Perſuaſion, as if this were our Caſe alone; whereas all People (generally ſpeaking) do the ſame Thing; the *Greeks* themſelves, and the ſobereſt Men of the Party too.

The *Lacedæmonians*, we ſee, would not admit any Mixture of Strangers among them: No, not ſo much as ſuffer their Citizens to travel abroad, for Fear of contracting ill Habits either Way: And degenerating into a Liking of ill Cuſtoms and Manners. Now this was a Severity liable enough to a Cenſure, to debarr them the common Privileges of Society and Commerce: But ſo far are we from this unmerciful Rigour, that though we do not thruſt our ſelves into other People's Matters, we are yet ready and open to entertain all Proſelytes, and to receive thoſe that have a Mind to joyn with us; which muſt not be deny'd to be a generous and a charitable Diſpoſition.

The Lacedæmonians *admit no Strangers.*

But to paſs now from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*; who, on the other Hand, make it their Glory to give Admittance to all Strangers: But this was more, I ſuppoſe, than *Apollonius* was aware of. The *Athenians* were ſo inexorably zealous for the Honour of their Gods, that it was made Capital to let fall ſo much as one irreverent Word upon that Subject. What was it that *Socrates* dy'd for? Not for betraying the Common-wealth, or burning their Temples; not for Treaſon or Sacrilege; but for framing new Oaths by the Direction, as he ſuggeſted, of a divine Spirit. Whether this was jeſt or earneſt, it remains a Secret to this Day: But for this it was however that *Socrates* was try'd, condemn'd, and put to Death by Poyſon. He was likewiſe charg'd for injecting falſe Doctrines into the Heads of the People, and endeavouring to ſupplant the Religion and the Laws of his Country. This was the End, in Fine, of *Socrates*, a Citizen of *Athens*.

The Athenians *open to all Proſelytes.*

The Athenians *made it Death to act or ſpeak againſt their Religion.*

I ſhall now produce another Inſtance of *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, who was put to Death for affirming, the *Athenians God*, the *Sun*, to be only a red hot Stone. And then there was a Talent offer'd by Proclamation to any Man that ſhould bring in the Head of *Diagoras* the *Melian* for ridiculing the Myſteries of their Religion. And they would have gone the ſame Way to work with *Protagoras* too, if he had not gotten away in Time. His pretended Crime was the writing of a Tract, wherein he delivers himſelf doubtfully of the *Athenian* Gods. But what Wonder is it to ſee *Men* treated at this barbarous Rate, where even the *Women* themſelves found no better Quarter. As for Example; did they not put a *Prieſteſs* to Death, upon an Accuſation of worſhipping ſtrange Gods? And was it not made Death alſo for any Man to introduce a foreign Religion? What can be more evident now, than that ſo far as theſe Laws were in Credit, the People could have no Faith in other Gods? Beſide that undoubtedly if they had, they would never have barr'd themſelves the Comfort and Benefit of their Favour.

Nay, the *Scythians* themſelves, though the moſt brutal and blood thirſty People upon the Face of the Earth, made ſo great a Scruple yet of preſerving the Myſteries of their Profeſſion, that they butcher'd the famous *Anacharſis*, only for ſpeaking too reverently of the *Grecian* Gods. We read likewiſe of ſeveral of the *Perſians* that ſuffer'd Death upon the ſame Account. Now for *Molon*, he was a known Friend to the *Perſian* Laws, and one that had them in Admiration as well as the *Greeks*, for their Firmneſs and Agreement in the Matter of Worſhip (I ſpeak of their Conſtancy upon the Burning of their Temples.) Yet *Molon* had not only a good Opinion of their Ways, but was alſo in ſome Sort an Imitator of them, in the extravagant Liberties he took of abuſing other Men's Wives, and putting out the Eyes of their Children: Inhumanities that are declar'd Death without Mercy by our Laws, though committed but upon unreaſonable Creatures.

The barbarous Scythians *themſelves have a Tenderneſs for Laws and Cuſtoms.*

Such is the Veneration we have, in Short, for the Obſervance of theſe Laws, that neither Power, Profit, Fear, or any other Conſideration under the Sun, can ever divert, or deter us from the conſcientious Diſcharge of our Duty. And we do not put our ſelves upon theſe Hazzards and Experiments, in a Proſpect of picking a Quarrel, and making an Advantage of it, but for the Support and Maintenance of our lawful Rights. We have ſubmitted to all other Sorts of Outrage, with Patience and Reſignation; but whoever pinches upon our Laws, touches us to the Quick: In which Caſe the Senſe of that Oppreſſion hath made us daring and obſtinate to the laſt Degree. But what have we to do, to envy the Laws of other Nations, which we ſee abandon'd by the very Founders of them? What have the *Lacedæmonians* to ſay for themſelves in Excuſe of their hard hearted Inhoſpitality; and the Liberties they take in an unmarry'd Life? And ſo for the People of *Elis*, and

The Conſtancy of the Jews, *and the Grounds of it.*

and *Thebes*, in the Impudence of their unnatural Luſts? A Practice that a ſhameleſs Connivance hath almoſt turn'd into a legal Allowance: And it hath ſo far prevail'd among the *Greeks* alſo, that they have intitled their very Gods to the Abuſe; who in the Heat of an unbridled Appetite, coupled with their own Siſters, and compounded for the Tranſgreſſion.

The Practices of lewd Law-givers.

What ſhall we think of thoſe Law-givers now, that take more Pains to *ſave* the Criminals than to *puniſh* them; by commuting for a pecuniary Mulct in the Caſe of Adultery, and atoning for Fornication by marrying the abuſed Virgin? It would be endleſs to ſum up all the deſperate Temptations to the renouncing of Piety and Virtue, that are thrown out to unwary People, in theſe Compoſitions and Expedients; even to the total Subverſion of their Laws: Nay, the Reſolution is often taken beforehand of trampling all that is ſacred under Foot. But this can never be ſaid of us, whom neither Diſtance, Abſence, Tyranny, nor Death it ſelf, the ſaving of Life, Liberty, or Fortune could ever remove from the Rule of our Obligation. Now if it be for the *intrinſick Excellency* of our Laws, that our Hearts are ſo ſet upon them, it muſt be granted, that our Affections are well plac'd, and that the Laws themſelves anſwer the End they were made for: But if it ſhall be ſaid, that they are void of all Goodneſs, how much more to blame are they that pretend to have better Laws of their own, and will not maintain them?

The Antiquity of a Law, proves the Goodneſs of it.

But Time tries all Things, and no ſuch Proof of the Goodneſs of a Law as the Antiquity of it. So that we ſhall caſt the Cauſe upon that Iſſue for the Honour both of our Law-giver, and of the Laws themſelves, with a Regard to God's holy Worſhip. It will be granted us beyond all Controverſy, that *Moſes* was the firſt Lawgiver we read of, by many Ages; and that as our Laws had their Original from thence, ſo they were follow'd and imitated, more or leſs by all other Nations. The ancient *Greeks*, as to the Generality of them, had in Appearance, I muſt confeſs their Laws apart; but their Philoſophers had all this while the very ſame Perſuaſion of God that we have, and inculcated the ſame Doctrines of Life and Manners.

All Nations imitate the Jews, more or leſs.

Nay, ſuch is the Reputation we have had a long Time in the World, for our Piety and good Government, that there is hardly any Nation, either *Greek*, or *Barbarian*, that does not live in ſome Sort of Conformity to our Example: Either in the Obſervance of our *ſeventh Day's Sabbath*; the Uſe of *Lamps*; the Celebration of *Faſts*; *Abſtinence* from ſuch and ſuch certain Meats: And ſo in Matter of Humanity; charitable Agreement and Society; indefatigable Labour and Induſtry, and an invincible Conſtancy in ſuffering for the Truth. In all theſe Obſervations, I ſay, they do but write after our Copy.

But the moſt wonderful Thing of all is yet to come: That is to ſay; how this ſingle Body of Laws ſhould of it ſelf work ſo powerfully upon all Mankind, without any other Authority for the putting of it in Execution; and influencing Men's Minds, in ſome Proportion as the Almighty influences the Univerſe. Now whoſoever looks but into his own Country, or into his own Family, will find all this to be true that I have ſaid.

Will any Man adviſe us now, that does not hate us, to change our old Laws for new ones; and the better for the worſe too? Or if it be otherwiſe, let the People give over reproaching us. We do not eſpouſe this Cauſe out of ill Will to any Man, but out of the Veneration we have for the Memory of our Prophet; and in a full Perſuaſion that God himſelf ſpeaks to us by the Mouth of *Moſes*. Or make it the Caſe now, that we did not ſufficiently underſtand the Value of our own Laws, purely upon their own Account; the mighty Number of Profeſſors and Admirers, would be enough to give us a high Eſteem of them. I have handled this Subject more at large in my *Antiquities*, being forc'd upon what I have ſaid at preſent, by a Kind of Neceſſity, for the Vindication of Truth againſt Calumny and Injuſtice, without any Deſign of advancing our own Credit upon the Diſparagement of others.

The Jews no Upſtarts.

Several malicious Scandals diſprov'd.

To draw towards a Concluſion, I reckon now that I have been as good as my Word to every Point of my Undertaking; for I have abundantly prov'd the *Antiquity* of a People that were calumniated for *Upſtarts*; and I have likewiſe produc'd ſeveral eminent Authorities, that make honourable Mention of us in their *Annals*. They will have it that our Anceſtors came originally out of *Ægypt*; which I have undeniably diſprov'd. They have trump'd up another Story of our being expell'd *Ægypt* for corporal Maladies and contagious Diſtempers: Whereas I have made it evident on the other Hand, that they cut out their Way thorough the Troops of their Enemies into their own Country. There are others again, that repreſent *Moſes* for one of the worſt of Men, in Contradiction to the concurrent Teſtimonies of ſeveral Ages to his immortal Honour.

As to the Vindication of our Laws from ſcandalous Tongues there needs no more to convince any Man of the Piety and Wiſdom of them, than barely to read and to underſtand them. Theſe Laws are in the firſt Place, declar'd Enemies to Iniquity, Luxury and Faction; and Promoters of Peace, Charity, Induſtry and Juſtice. They allow of no War, either of Ambition or Avarice: Neither do they approve of returning Evil for Evil. They encourage Boldneſs and Reſolution in the common Defence. They precaution People againſt being circumvented with fair and falſe Pretences; and teach Men to make their Actions ſpeak more than their Words.

The Deſign and Intent of the Jewiſh Laws.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, I may confidently affirm, that we have the beſt Laws under the Sun. For what is there in Nature beyond an inviolable Piety? What more reaſonable than to be under the Government of Laws? What more agreeable and beneficial than Union in Proſperity, and a true Friendſhip in Adverſity? A fearleſs Bravery in the Hazards of War; a ſedulous Application to Arts and Husbandry in Times of Peace: And finally; whatever we do, or wheresſoever we are, to have it conſtantly in our Minds, that an allſeeing God overlooks us, and a divine Providence governs all Things. Now if theſe Laws were either written elſewhere, or lodg'd in other Hands before they came to us, we are to acknowledge the ſame Obligation to them that had them firſt in Poſſeſſion, that the Pupil owes to his Tutor. But if they were never ſeen or heard of any where elſe before: And if from Time to Time, we have made them conſtantly the preciſe Rule of our Practice and Profeſſion (as we have moſt certainly done) let the *Apions* and the *Molons* and all that ſnarling Faction, ſay and do the worſt; I have my End in the Account I have given to the generous *Epaphroditus*, and other curious Inquiſitors into the Truth of our Story.

The Original of the Jewiſh *Laws.*

The Jews *make their Laws the Rule of their Lives and Manners.*

The End of the ſecond Book of Joſephus *againſt* Apion.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS

HIS

DISCOURSE of the *MACCABEES:*

OR,

Concerning the governing Power of REASON.

Chap. I.

MY Deſign in this Diſcourſe being to ſhew, that Reaſon is the Perfection of Wiſdom, as will appear, if it can be proved, that this, duely improv'd by Study and Religion, is Maſter of the Paſſions; it is very fit I exhort my Readers, to apply themſelves to the attaining of Wiſdom with all poſſible Attention. For Reaſon is a neceſſary Preliminary to Knowledge, and in giving the Commendation of excelling in this, we evidently imply the Character of excelling in the nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of all Virtues, which is that of Prudence. The Caſe will be the ſame with Regard to the reſt, if Reaſon may be ſhewn effectually to reſtrain and maſter thoſe vile Affections of Gluttony and Exceſs, Laſciviouſneſs and Senſual Appetite, which obſtruct and are oppoſite to Temperance: And ſo again, to correct that Malignity of Nature, and all thoſe corrupt Inclinations, which hinder the Practice and Love of *Juſtice:* And after the ſame Manner, laſtly, to ſubdue the Paſſions of Anger, and Fear, and Grief, and whatever elſe emaſculates the Mind, or is contrary to that generous and ſteady Temper of Soul, which makes the fourth cardinal Virtue, and is known by the Name of *Fortitude.*

To all this it may perhaps be objected, that they who aſcribe to Reaſon the Dominion I am contending for, are eaſily confuted from common Experience. For, were it thus ſuperiour to the Paſſions, it would have the ſame controuling Sovereignty over Ignorance and Forgetfulneſs, which yet it manifeſtly hath not. But this, I muſt needs ſay is a ridiculous Objection, and miſtakes the State of the Queſtion. For when we affirm Reaſon to be Maſter of the Paſſions, we mean, ſuch Defects of Nature only as are oppoſite to Juſtice, and Temperance, and Fortitude; all which are of a diſtinct Kind, and belong to the ſenſitive Soul; but not ſuch as are Defects peculiar to it ſelf, and ſtick to the rational Soul. Again, the Nature of this Sovereignty is quite miſtaken by the Objector; for by it we do not mean, that Reaſon takes thoſe Affections it governs clean away (as it muſt do, if Ignorance and Forgetfulneſs were the Objects of its Power) but only that it does not tamely yield to, nor ſuffer it ſelf to be vanquiſh'd by them.

Now that it is in the Power of Reaſon to command and ſubdue the Paſſions, I could by great Variety of Arguments demonſtrate; but ſhall at preſent chuſe to confine my ſelf to that moſt popular and undeniable one, Matter of Fact: The Examples, I would ſay, of Perſons who have ſignaliz'd themſelves by couragiouſly aſſerting and dying in Defence of Truth and Virtue; among which, none I think are more conſpicuous, none more deſervedly admir'd than thoſe of our own Country, *Eleazar* and the ſeven Brethren martyr'd with their Mother. For, all theſe deſpiſing the moſt exquiſite Pains and Tortures, and perſevering even unto Death, have put it paſt a Doubt, how abſolute a Command Reaſon hath over the Paſſions. So that my preſent Buſineſs ſhall be, to give theſe brave Men, and that incomparable Woman, the Praiſes due to their immoveable Conſtancy, and to congratulate the Honours, which all ſucceeding Ages muſt acknowledge to belong to their ſtedfaſt Adherence to Virtue and their Duty. Theſe Men, indeed, excited the Admiration not only of all others that were indifferent and unbiaſs'd Spectators or Readers of their Sufferings, but even of thoſe very Enemies and moſt prejudic'd Tormentors, who ſtood aſtoniſh'd, at that Courage and Patience, which their own implacable Malice exercis'd after ſo inhumane and barbarous a Manner. They thus became the Occaſions of releaſing their Nation from Oppreſſion, conquering the Rage of a Tyrant by their Sufferings, and becoming a Sacrifice of Expiation for their Country.

The Method, then, which I intend to take, ſhall be, firſt, to ſay ſomething in general concerning the Point in Debate, and then to ſpeak to this Inſtance in particular;

cular; giving as is fit due Glory to that all-wiſe God, who hath been pleaſed to leave us ſo pregnant and uncontroulable an Evidence of this Truth, in the Perſons whoſe Virtues I am now about to celebrate.

The Queſtion to be reſolved is plainly this, whether Reaſon can controul and govern the Paſſions; and, in Order to this Reſolution, 'tis fit we explain what we mean by Reaſon, what by Paſſion, how many diſtinct Species of Paſſions there be, and whether this Dominion of Reaſon, which we aſſert, extend to all, or but ſome Sorts of Paſſions. By Reaſon then, I mean the intellectual Faculty improved and rightly guided by Conſideration, and making a Life of Wiſdom it's Choice and chief Concern. By Wiſdom again I underſtand the Knowledge of divine and humane Affairs, and the true Cauſes and Grounds of each: Such as we attain to by the Diſcipline and Inſtruction of the Law: Which teacheth us, to embrace thoſe Truths which relate to God with Reverence, and thoſe regarding Man, as Things directed to, and uſeful for the Benefit of the World. Wiſdom again is commonly branched into, and allowed to conſiſt of four principal Virtues; to wit, *Prudence*, *Juſtice*, *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. The nobleſt and moſt comprehenſive of theſe is *Prudence*; and to this it is chiefly, that Reaſon is beholding for the Dominion it attains to over the Paſſions.

Thoſe Paſſions again may be reduced to two ſo general Heads, as ſhall include them all. Pleaſure, I mean, and Pain: Each of which acts upon the Soul as its proper Object. And each again hath ſeveral other Affections coupled as it were in Pairs to attend it, and diverſified by Time and other Circumſtances from its maſter-Paſſion. Thus in the Caſe of Pleaſure, that which goes before it, is Deſire; that which follows after it, is Joy: And ſo for Pain too, Fear goes before and Sorrow comes behind it. But Anger, I think, will not fall under any ſuch Diſtinction, being rather a mixt Paſſion, adminiſtring ſomewhat of Pleaſure and Pain both, to them who are ſenſible when it comes upon them and nicely obſerve how they are affected with it. Under the Head of Pleaſure, again, there appears to be included a moſt vile and fruitful Malignity, the moſt various and complicated of any Paſſion whatſoever; ſo ſcandalous is it's Product, ſo manifold its Forms: The Mind is chiefly vitiated by it, when it appears in Arrogance and Avarice, Envy and Contention: And the Body more immediately concerned, when it breaks out in Greedineſs and Sordidneſs; for Pleaſure and Pain grow out of the Soul and Body, like Branches out of a common Stock, and each of theſe Branches, have Abundance of other under Affections, which ſprout out of them like little Shoots and Suckers. Now all theſe it is the proper Province of Reaſon, like a skilful Vine-Dreſſer, to prune and purge, to correct and manage, and by all poſſible Ways to tranſplant and ennoble, by ſweetning all the wild and ſowre Kinds, and ſo cultivating and improving that ſubject Matter of Paſſions and Habits, that even that which is by Nature refuſe and vitious, may by Art and Management be made generous and good. For Reaſon leads us on to, and advances Virtue, by Reſtraining and Over-powering the Vehemence of thoſe Paſſions which carry us away into Vice. And that this is not affirmed without Ground, convince your ſelf what a mighty Effect it hath in Matters where the Virtue of Temperance is obſtructed. Now Temperance is nothing elſe, but the Maſtery obtained over a Mans Deſires: And this is attained by Reaſon. Of theſe Deſires ſome are more peculiarly concern'd with the Soul, and others with the Body; and of both theſe Sorts Reaſon ſeems to have the Command; for I cannot but conclude, that when our Appetites ſtand very ſtrongly to ſuch Fiſh and Fowl and other delicious Food as are forbidden by our Law, and we, notwithſtanding ſuch Inclinations, do abſtain from them upon that very Account, that we ought not to indulge the Uſe of them; this is a very plain Inſtance how high a Hand Reaſon carries over theſe Paſſions; which thus does in the temperate Man, not only ſuſpend, but wholly tame and turn into another Courſe, the moſt eager Deſires of the lower of theſe Diviſions, and perfectly tie up all the Motions of the Body, that it ſhall not make any ſtrong Effort or Struggle, in Oppoſition to the Word of Command given by this Governour above.

CHAP. II.

But this perhaps will not deſerve to be thought any great Matter, in Compariſon of thoſe moſt furious Deſires of the Soul which Luſt and Beauty kindle; and yet for abſolutely quelling theſe, even when invited to gratifie them, and urged by all the Fire of Youth to comply with ſuch Invitation, *Joſeph* hath got himſelf immortal Renown. Nor is even this allaying the Fury of vehement Purſuits after Pleaſure, and abſtaining from the impure Act the uttermoſt which Reaſon may or ought to do; for it is plain our very Inclinations are under it's Juriſdiction. Otherwiſe the Law would have been moſt abſur'd in laying upon us a Command ſo impracticable as that, *Thou ſhalt not covet thy Neighbours Wife, or any Thing that is thy Neighbours.*

Gen. xxxix.

Exodus xx. 17.

Now it is plain, that when the Law forbids us ſo much as to deſire at all, it much more ſtrongly implies, that Reaſon is able to curb and conquer our Deſires. And thus it is, not only in thoſe Things which are oppoſite to the Virtue of *Temperance*, but that of *Juſtice* alſo. For otherwiſe, what Remedy could there be for reforming the gluttonous and greedy, the niggardly and ſordid Man? But now, as ſoon as any Man orders his Converſation, according to the Precepts of our Law, though he be of never ſo covetous a Diſpoſition, yet does he find himſelf obliged to lend to the Poor without taking Uſury for his Money, and to remitt the Debt at the Year of Jubilee; and though he be never ſo frugal, yet is he conſtrained by this Law, neither to gather in the Fruits of his Field or his Vineyard in the ſabbatick Year.

See *Levit.* xxv. *Exod.* xxii. 25.

Several other Inſtances I could likewiſe produce, whereby it will appear, that Reaſon governs our Paſſions. For the Law does in ſome Caſes exerciſe Dominion over the natural Affection to our Parents, forbidding us for their Sakes to betray the Cauſe of Truth and Virtue; ſo does it over the Tenderneſs to our Wives, commanding us to puniſh them for the Tranſgreſſion of their Duty; ſo again over the Love to our Children, by ordering us to make them Examples when they do amiſs; ſo laſtly over the Kindneſs to our Friends, by directing us to reprove their Vices. And to confirm this Truth yet more, and ſhew it practicable, Reaſon, when acting by the Law, does overcome our Hatred to our Enemies too; for it prohibits the cutting down their Fruit Trees; it orders us to reſtore to our Enemies the Things which they have loſt, and to help their Cattle when fallen and in Diſtreſs.

Deut. xx. 19. *Exod.* xxiii. 4, 5.

Further yet, Reaſon, it is evident, bears ſway over even the moſt violent Paſſions, ſuch as Ambition, vain Glory and Envy: For all theſe evil Diſpoſitions the ſober and conſiderate Mind ſubdues and drives away, as it does Anger alſo, which, though the moſt ungovernable of all Paſſions, is yet ſubject to Reaſon. Were it not ſo, how could our wiſe Anceſtor *Jacob* ſo ſeverely condemn that Fact of his Sons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, when they, contrary to Reaſon, did utterly deſtroy the whole Race of the *Sichemites?* Saying in Abhorrence of their intemperate Rage, *Curſed be their Anger for it was fierce, and their Wrath for it was cruel*; which Words are plainly the Voice of Reaſon getting the better of Reſentment.

Gen. xxxiv. *and* xlix. 7.

In a Word, when God created Man, and endued him with a Power of Conſideration, and free Choice, he did at the ſame Time implant in his Nature Variety of Paſſions and Diſpoſitions, and ſet his intellectual Mind in the Throne, to exerciſe Government over all the ſenſual Appetites within. Which being done, he gave this Law, as a Rule whereby the Man might exerciſe that Government, and lead a Life of Temperance, Juſtice and Goodneſs. What Ground then can there be for that Objection, which makes a Doubt whether Reaſon can maſter the Paſſions, becauſe it does not appear, that it attains to an abſolute Maſtery over Forgetfulneſs and Ignorance?

CHAP. III.

This, as I ſaid, is a very ridiculous Exception, for Reaſon does not appear to have an abſolute Power over ſuch Defects as belong to the intellectual Soul; but ſuch as are ſenſitive and bodily. Nor is its Power over theſe pretended to be ſuch, as ſhould extirpate and quite take away our Deſires, but only ſuch as preſerves Men from being enſlaved to their Deſires. No Man can utterly cut off the Paſſion of Anger, but he may by Reaſon find Remedies againſt it, and prevent his being born down by the Violence of it.

We are not to expect that Reaſon ſhould ſet us clear from all evil Diſpoſitions; but it will ſuccour us in our Conflicts with, and enable us to ſtand our Ground againſt ſuch Diſpoſitions: For the proper Office of Reaſon is not to change, but to aſſiſt Nature; not to be a Deſtroyer but an Auxiliary.

2. *Sam.* xxiii.

This Matter may receive ſome Illuſtration from the Example of *David*. We read, that he, after having engaged a whole Day with an Army of *Philiſtines*, and made a great Slaughter of them, did in the Evening retire into the Royal Tent, fatigued and ſpent, where all the Forces of our Forefathers were encamped round about him. The reſt of the Company refreſhed themſelves contentedly; but the King, being exceeding thirſty, could not ſatisfie his Appetite, with any Water drawn out of thoſe Springs of which they had Plenty at Hand. An inconſiderate Deſire ſeized him to drink of the Water fetched from the Enemies Garriſon. Hereupon ſome of the King's Mighty Men, being deeply concerned to ſatisfie the Kings longing, armed themſelves, took a Pitcher, broke through the Enemies Trenches, paſs'd their Guards, ſought out the Well of *Bethlehem*, and brought from thence to the King the Water which he ſo vehemently long'd for. But he, though parched with Thirſt and eager Deſire, recollected how dangerous and ſinful a Thing it would be, to gratifie his Appetite at the

Hazard of his Servants Lives; and thought the drinking that Water would be in Effect to drink their Blood: And therefore, oppoſing his Reaſon to his Inclination, he poured it out ſolemnly to the Lord. Thus a Mind ſtrictly temperate and wiſe, is able to overcome the ſtrongeſt Paſſions, to quench the Burnings of the moſt furious Deſires, to contend with the moſt exquiſite bodily Pains, and vanquiſh all the Force of Paſſion, by a ſteady Principle of Virtue and Goodneſs. And now I think it ſeaſonable to confirm this Argument by demonſtrative Proofs of this Power of Reaſon exemplified by Practice; of which our Fathers have given undeniable Inſtances: For, after that by their ſtrict Obſervance of the Law, and ſingular good Lives, they had won upon the Hearts of foreign Princes, and prevailed upon *Seleucus Nicanor* the King of *Aſia*, ſo far, that he ſet apart a Portion of his publick Revenues to defray the Expence of the Sacrifices, and did highly approve their Conſtitution; it happened, that, after this profound Tranquillity, ſome of them were brought under various and ſevere Tryals, by the ill Offices of wicked Men, who diſturbed the publick Peace, in ſuch Manner as the following Chapter ſhall relate.

2 Mac. iii. 1, 2, 3.

CHAP. IV.

One *Simon*, who had a Quarrel to *Onias*, the then High-Prieſt, and ſo conſtituted for Life; after having tried in vain, and to the great Prejudice of our Nation, to blacken this excellently good Man with all Manner of Calumnies; finding himſelf not able to leſſen him in the Affections and Eſteem of his own People, fled to a foreign Court with wicked Intent to betray his Country. This wicked Wretch applying himſelf to *Apollonius*, who was then Governour of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, told him, that out of his great Zeal for the King his Maſter, he was come to make a Diſcovery to him, which might be of conſiderable Advantage to his Majeſty's Affairs. It was, that in the Treaſury at *Jeruſalem* there lay concealed ſeveral Millions of Money, not appropriated to the Temple, or employed to any publick Uſe, but Wealth hoarded up by private Men, and ſo of Right belonging to *Seleucus*. *Apollonius*, having received this Account, commended *Simon*'s Zeal for the King's Service, waited upon *Seleucus*, and imparted to him the Secret. Upon this Information he ſoon obtained a Commiſſion from the King, and ſtraight marched into our Country, bringing along with him the curſed Traytor *Simon*, and a very powerful Army.

The Cauſe of this Expedition he declared to be, that he might execute [a] the King's Command, who had ordered him to ſeize upon all the Money reſerved in the publick Treaſury for the Uſe of private Men. The Nation taking an Alarm, and complaining of it, as a horrible Injuſtice, to take away the Treaſure which had for greater Security been depoſited in the Temple, did all they could to divert him from his Purpoſe. But *Apollonius* with Menaces and Force made up to the Temple. There might you ſee a Multitude of Prieſts and Women and Children, all proſtrating themſelves before the holy Place, earneſtly begging God that he would defend his own Temple from Profanation and Contempt.

But *Apollonius* ſtill perſiſting, and entring the Place with a Body of armed Men, as he was about to ſeize upon the Treaſury, behold Angels from Heaven ſuddenly appeared mounted on Horſes, clad in ſhining Armour, and ſtruck the Men immediately with Fear and Trembling. As for *Apollonius* himſelf, he fell down to the Ground in the Court of the Gentiles, half dead, ſtretching out his Hands to Heaven and ſupplicating the *Hebrews* with many Tears, that they would pray for him, that he might not be deſtroyed by that Hoſt from Heaven. The High-Prieſt *Onias* moved with Compaſſion, and fearing beſides leſt *Seleucus* the King ſhould impute the Death of *Apollonius* to the Treachery and Contrivance of Men, granted his Requeſt, and prayed to God for him. So this Man, being miraculouſly ſaved, returned back to the King, and made a faithful Relation of all that had befallen him.

But after the Death of *Seleucus* the King, his Son [b] *Antiochus*, a Man of a proud Spirit and ſavage Diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Throne. This Man, having deprived *Onias* of the Prieſthood, put into that Office his Brother *Jaſon*, upon Conſideration of a yearly Tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty Talents, which he had covenanted to pay him; him therefore the King conſtituted Superintendant, not in Eccleſiaſticals only as High-Prieſt, but in civil Affairs alſo. He then began to put our Nation under ſevere Tryals, and, by introducing of new Cuſtoms contrary to the Law, ſeduced them to foreign Uſages and all Manner of Wickedneſs. He did not only inſtitute *Græcian* Games in the Metropolis of our Nation, but drew off the Prieſts from the Service of the Temple. With which Im-

2 Mac. iv.

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[a] *This Expedition and all that followed upon it is expreſly attributed to* Heliodorus. *2 Mac.* iii.

[b] Seleucus Nicanor *was ſucceeded by* Antiochus Soter, *but* Seleucus Philopator *by* Antiochus Epiphanes.

2 Mac. v.

2 Mac. vi.

piety the Juſtice of God being provoked, ſtirred up *Antiochus* to make War upon them. For, while he was engaged in an Expedition againſt *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*, being informed, that ſome of the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, had expreſſed great Joy at a Report of his being dead; he preſently turned his Forces that Way, and made miſerable Havock of them; publiſhing withal a Decree, that all they ſhould be put to Death, who perſevered in the Cuſtoms of their own Country, and lived according to the Law of *Moſes*; and finding, that this Decree had not its intended Effect, but that all his ſevereſt Threatenings and Puniſhments were ſo far deſpiſed, as that even the Women, who continued to circumciſe their Children, were caſt down headlong from the Walls of the City; and ſtill perſiſted in ſo doing, notwithſtanding they knew what would follow: Perceiving, I ſay, how little Regard the People paid to his impious Decrees, he came in Perſon, and by Torments compelled thoſe that were brought before him, to eat of Meats forbidden and unclean by the Law, and ſo ſolemnly to abjure the *Jewiſh* Religion in his Preſence.

CHAP. V.

It happened about this Time, that *Antiochus* the Tyrant, ſeating himſelf upon an eminent Place, and ſurrounded with his Councellors and Rulers, and a ſtrong Body of armed Men, commanded many of the *Hebrews* to be brought by Force before him, and there to be compelled to eat of Swines Fleſh, and Meats offered to Idols: Which if any refuſed to pollute themſelves with, they were immediately put to the Torture and ſlain before him. When many had been thus barbarouſly treated, at Length one *Eleazar* a principal Man of the City, of the Prieſts Family, a Lawyer by Profeſſion, far advanced in Years, known and well eſteemed by many that retained to *Antiochus* by Reaſon of his Age and Character, was brought before him. *Antiochus*, beholding the Man, ſpake to him in the following Manner. "Before I proceed to uſe any Severity, let me adviſe thee, reverend old Man, to ſave thy own Life by ſubmitting to eat of Swines Fleſh, for I pay great Reſpect to thy Age and gray Hairs, and am ſurprized, that the Experience of ſo many Years ſhould not have made thee wiſer, than ſtill to perſevere in the *Jewiſh* Superſtition. It ſeems to me a moſt unreaſonable Thing for Men to abridge themſelves of any *innocent* Pleaſures, and great Injuſtice to themſelves and Ingratitude to Nature, to refuſe any of thoſe Enjoyments which her Bounty hath provided for us. Why ſhould'ſt thou then expreſs ſuch Adhorrence of that moſt delicious of all Meats, which ſhe ſeems, in the Fleſh of Swine, to have deſigned as our beſt Entertainment, and a ſingular Favour? This may in others ſeem ſomewhat more excuſable, but in you, who are a Perſon of better Judgment, it would be a moſt unaccountable Folly, to be prejudiced by a falſe and empty Notion of Religion, and for an idle Fancy to contemn my Authority, and draw a needleſs Puniſhment upon your own Head; wilt not thou then ſuffer thy Eyes to be opened, and be awakened out of this Dream of thy peculiar Perſuaſion, and ſet thy ſelf free from the Bondage of ſo moroſe and ſingular a Notion? Will this friendly Expoſtulation prevail for no Deference to be paid my Kindneſs; and the Compaſſion I have for thy Age, move thee to no Compaſſion upon thy ſelf? Methinks it ſhould; for though what I have ſaid does not convince thee of the Vanity of thy Opinion in this Point, yet you muſt needs allow, that if there be a Power above, which does, as you ſuppoſe, require the Obſervance of this Religion, that Power hath ſo much Goodneſs, as to pardon the Tranſgreſſion of his Laws, when this is not the Offender's own Act and Choice, but the Effect of Force and pure Conſtraint.

Eleazar having heard theſe Words, begged of the King Liberty to ſpeak for himſelf: Which being granted, he did in the Preſence of all the Aſſembly, deliver himſelf to this Effect. "Be pleaſed to underſtand, royal Sir, that we, who are fully convinced, that it is our Duty, in all Things to behave our ſelves according to the Law given us by God, are perfectly perſuaded, that no Neceſſity can more oblige us, no Force be ſtronger upon us, than that by which we ſtand bound to obey his Law; and for this Reaſon we think our Acting contrary to it, cannot be diſpenſed with on any Terms whatſoever. Nay though our Law were not, as you are pleaſed to ſuggeſt, really divine; yet, Sir, I muſt crave Leave to ſay, that ſo long as we continue to believe it divine, that very Perſuaſion ought to be an effectual Reſtraint upon us, from violating, or thinking meanly of any religious Ordinances eſtabliſhed by it. Do not therefore imagine, Sir, if we ſhould ſubmit to defile our ſelves by unclean Meats, that this would be reckoned a ſmall and pardonable Fault. For the Preſumption of the Offender is the ſame, and the Authority of the Law equally inſulted, be the Inſtance in which a Man tranſgreſſes greater or leſs. The Fact it ſelf makes no Difference in Point of Guilt. Next you were pleaſed, Sir, to ſpeak contemptuouſly of our Religion, as an Inſtitution unbecoming Men of Reaſon, and Philoſophy. But I muſt be bold to ſay, it is the beſt and moſt conſummate Philoſophy; for it teaches us Temperance, the Conqueſt of our Paſſions and Deſires, and ſets

“ us above all our Pleaſures. It trains us up in the Exerciſe of Fortitude, and commands us to undergo all Manner of Pain willingly and chearfully. It teaches us the moſt exact Juſtice, and orders us to confine our Worſhip and abſolute Reverence, to the one true God, where alone they are of Right due. Upon this Account we dare not eat Things prohibited and unclean; for we are fully perſuaded, that God who created our Nature, had due Regard to it; that the very Inſtitution of this Law was ſo far from a Hardſhip, as in it ſelf to be an Act of Goodneſs and Mercy, and that the Things forbidden are hurtful to our Souls; whereas thoſe allowed for Food, are uſeful and convenient for us. It is therefore the very Extremity of Tyranny, to force us, not only to ſin againſt our Law, but to eat that which is therefore not allowed us, becauſe of a Quality not fit to be eaten. But this, Sir, is a Sort of Triumph which I ſhall never give you over me. Nor muſt I falſify the ſolemn Oaths, and holy Engagements, whereby our Anceſtors have bound themſelves and their Poſterity to the faithful Obſervance of this Law; not though you ſhould command my Eyes to be bored out, and my Bowels to be burnt. No, Sir, old Age hath not ſo impaired my Mind, or enfeebled my Body, but that when Religion and Duty call me to it, my Reaſon can yet approve it ſelf youthful and vigorous. If this Reply provoke you, prepare your Inſtruments of Torture and heat your Furnace hotter ſtill; all that ſhall not move me to ſpare my old Age, ſo as for the ſaving my Perſon, to violate the Law of my Country, and my God. No, holy Law to which I owe my Inſtruction, I will never deſert ſo excellent a Maſter; no, thou deareſt of all Virtues, Temperance, by which we preſerve our native Sovereignty over our Appetites, I will never abjure thee; no, thou beſt of all Philoſophy, I will never diſgrace thee; no, holy Order of Prieſthood, and Study of the Law, I will neither forego, nor be a Blemiſh to you. My Anceſtors ſhall find me come to you pure and conſtant, a Soul as free from ſuch a Stain, as undaunted under all Manner of Torments even unto Death.”

CH. VI.

When he had made this noble Reply to the Tyrant's treacherous Exhortations, the Soldiers that ſtood by, handled him very roughly, and dragged him in Rage to the Place of Execution. There firſt of all they ſtripp'd off his Clothes; then having pinioned him, they laid him on either Side with Whips, till they had perfectly flaied him; an Officer on each Side crying at every Stroke, Obey the King's Commandment. But the brave *Eleazar* was no more moved by their Scourgings, than if all he endured had been but a Dream. The good old Man ſtood with his Eyes lift up to Heaven, his Fleſh torn off from his Sides, to the very Bone, the Blood ſtreaming down from his Body to the Ground, till at laſt, being no longer able to bear up againſt ſuch Wounds and Pains, and Loſs of Blood, he fell down upon the Pavement: But this was an Infirmity confined to his Body, for ſtill his Mind was as erect, as far from being bent as ever. Hereupon one of the mercileſs Soldiers ſtamped upon his Belly, and ſpurned his Sides and Stomach to raiſe him up again. Still he ſuſtained their barbarous Inſolence, deſpiſed the Force they would have put upon him, and bore his Pains with ſo much Magnanimity, that even he who lay under the Torment, vanquiſh'd the hard-hearted Wretches that inflicted it, and moved their Admiration by ſo reſolute and noble a Soul, in a Body ſo aged and infirm.

Some of theſe therefore, partly in mere Pity to his Years, and partly upon the Account of former Acquaintance with him, though they were Servants to the King, drew near and ſaid, “Why doſt thou thus, for no Manner of Reaſon, expoſe thy ſelf to all theſe Sufferings? Permit us *Eleazar*, to ſet before thee ſome lawful and clean Meats, and do thou make as tho' thou didſt eat Swines Fleſh according to the Kings Command; ſo ſhalt thou ſave thy Life, and yet commit no Wickedneſs. But *Eleazar* anſwered, “Far be it from us, who are Children of *Abraham*, to be guilty of ſuch Cowardice and wicked Subtilty, by ſo much as ſeeming to do an Act that does not become us. How abſurd would it be for me who have led a Life of Sincerity and Truth hitherto, and preſerved my Reputation free from Blemiſh, by a ſtrict Obſervation of the Law, to change my Courſe now in extreme old Age, and ſet an ill Example to others; to purchaſe a little Remainder of Life at the Expence of foul Diſſimulation, and live that little while a Scorn and Laughing-Stock to all the World, for my Fear and baſe Compliance? When they perceived him thus reſolute and inflexible, and that their Pity could have no Manner of Influence upon him, they changed their Diſpoſition, and brought him to the Fire. There they applied new Inſtruments of Torture, threw him upon the Fuel, and as he burnt, poured ſcalding and ſtinking Liquors up his Noſtrils. He in the mean while, burnt to the very Bone, and ready to expire, lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and ſaid, “Thou ſeeſt, my God, the Miſeries I endure, and that I chuſe to die by Fire and Torment, for the Sake of thy Law, when it was in my Power to preſerve my Life by tranſgreſſing

“ it; be thou therefore gracious, O Lord, to thy own People, and let the Vengeance “ executed on me, ſuffice for what they have deſerved; make thou my Blood a Pu“ rification for them, and accept my Life inſtead of their Lives.” And with theſe Words the holy Man gave up the Ghoſt.

This Example ſure will put it paſt Diſpute, that Reaſon improved by Religion, is Maſter of Men's Paſſions; for if the Paſſions were ſuperiour to Reaſon, it is to them that the Praiſe of this noble Teſtimony to Truth and conſtant Virtue ought to be aſcribed. But ſince this Inſtance makes it plain, that the Conflict lay between Reaſon and the Paſſions, and that the former was victorious, we cannot without great Wrong deny, that Reaſon is the governing Principles in every Man. And ſure it would argue a very perverſe Obſtinacy to pretend the contrary, after ſo full a Demonſtration, not only of bodily Pains, but likewiſe of Pleaſures too, reſiſted, and vanquiſhed, as hath been produced, ſince it is evident the Tendency of our Paſſions, is conſtantly no other, than to indulge Pleaſure, and to decline Pain.

Ch. VII. For in the Caſe of this Reverend Father *Eleazar*, we may imagine Duty, and a good Conſcience to be like a Ship toſt in a tempeſtuous Sea of Paſſions, while Reaſon, like a wiſe and good Pilot, ſate ſteering at the Helm, the Man blown hard and beaten about with a Storm of Menaces and barbarous Uſage, driven down and almoſt ſunk by the ſwelling Surges of Racks and Fires, but ſtill maintaining his Poſt, and not letting the Rudder go, till he had brought his Veſſel into the Haven of a bleſt Immortality. Never did beſieged City make ſuch a Defence againſt the Stratagems and furious Aſſaults of the Enemy that attacked it, as this holy Perſon, when defending his Soul againſt the Attacks of Stripes, and Tortures, and Death, and routing all that laid Seige to him by Reaſon engaged in the Cauſe of Religion. The good Father ſet his Mind like a Promontory in the Waters, which ſtood unſhaken, and broke the Waves of Paſſion when beating moſt furiouſly againſt it.

O Prieſt moſt worthy of that holy Function, who didſt refuſe to defile thy conſecrated Mouth, and wouldſt not ſuffer that Belly which was a Veſſel of God, and always fed with hallowed Sacrifices, to receive ſo impure a Mixture, as Meats, unclean by Law, and offered to falſe Gods! O Preacher of the Law, and Maſter of that beſt Philoſophy, which God's own Word hath taught us! O noble Pattern ſet to all that ſacrifice with their own Blood, and ſtand up in Vindication of the Law, defending it againſt the Inſults of Paſſion, with generous Sweat and toilſome Conflict! Thou, holy Father, haſt brought Glory to our excellent Conſtitution by thy Sufferings and Patience, and convinced the World, what mighty Efficacy the Philoſophy which came down from Heaven hath, upon Minds well reſolved not to reproach, but to reflect Honour back upon their holy Profeſſion! O wonderful old *Num.* XVI. Age ſtronger than Torture! O Zeal hotter than Fire, O thou moſt glorious of all Conquerors, who thus haſt led thy Paſſions in Triumph, as heretofore our Father *Aaron*, armed with a Cenſer, ran into the Midſt of the People, and vanquiſhed the deſtroying Angel who conſumed our Anceſtors by Fire from the Lord: So did *Eleazar*, deſcended from the ſame *Aaron*, hold faſt the Dictates of his Mind, and conquer in the Midſt of thoſe Flames that devoured his Body round about. And, which is moſt aſtoniſhing, when Age and Infirmities had enervated his outward Man, his inward exerted a moſt youthful and invincible Vigour. O happy old Age! O venerable gray Hairs! O Life of Integrity and Sanctity unqueſtionable, when conſummated and atteſted by the Seal of ſuch a Death.

What fuller Evidence can be deſired of the Sway Reaſon bears above the Paſſions, than a Man in Years, deprived of his natural Strength, more apt to fear, leſs able to encounter ſevere Trials, enduring ſo much with ſuch undaunted Courage? But leſt the Objector ſhould have it to ſay, that this in Age is leſs to be wonder'd at, becauſe as Strength and Courage, ſo the Paſſions and Love of Life too, may then be ſuppoſed to be conſiderably abated; I ſhall proceed to ſhew that even young Men, whoſe Reaſon have been well fixed upon true Principles have undergone, and overcome, Tortures yet ſharper and more amazing than theſe. Ch. VIII. For, after the Tyrant had made this Experiment to his Loſs, and found himſelf and all his barbarous Stratagems out-done by one poor old Man; enraged at this Defeat, he gave Orders to bring ſome others of the *Hebrew* Captives before him; promiſing to releaſe them immediately, upon Condition they conſented to eat of unclean Meats; but in Caſe of Refuſal, threatning them with greater Cruelties, than any he had yet inflicted.

In Purſuance of this Order, there were brought before him ſeven Brethren with their ancient Mother. The Men were beautiful and well-faſhioned, ſo charming in their Perſons and Behaviour, that the Tyrant, fierce as he was, could not forbid himſelf being taken with them. And therefore after viewing them with a ſenſible Delight, he ſmil'd upon them, and, commanding that they ſhould draw near to his Throne, he accoſted them as follows.

“Young Men I own my ſelf to be an Admirer of your Beauty, and have upon that Account kind Intentions towards you: Nor can I but pay a more than ordinary Reſpect to your Family, which hath the unuſual Bleſſing of ſo many ſuch Brothers as you. To adviſe therefore, that you would not be guilty of the ſame mad and moſt abſurd Zeal, with that poor old Bigot, whom you ſaw periſh in the Midſt of Agonies and Tortures, is a Kindneſs far below what I deſign for you. No, I invite you to comply with me, with an Aſſurance of my particular Friendſhip. For I have it in my Power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a Manner, as I have (you ſee) to puniſh thoſe that ſtand it out againſt my Commands. Take my Word then, you ſhall not fail of Preferments, but have Places of Honour, and Profit, and great Truſt in my Affairs, provided you will renounce your Country's Cuſtoms, and be content to live after the *Greek* Manner, laying aſide the fooliſh Diſtinction of Meats, and indulging thoſe Appetites and Pleaſures freely, in which Youth, never fond of Reſtraint, muſt needs find a Delight now deny'd you by the Tyranny of your own Superſtition. Conſider too, that if ſuch advantagious Offers be rejected, you muſt expect that your Obſtinacy will be the more provoking, and I ſhall be oblig'd to make every one of you Examples, by a Death as full of Pain and Horrour, as the Anger of an incenſed King can inflict. Be perſuaded to pity your own ſelves, when I, a Stranger, and an Enemy, have ſet you an Example of Pity. Throw not laviſhly away ſo much Youth and Beauty, which I am very loath ſhould periſh; but periſh it muſt, unleſs you will ſave it, and for that there is but one Way. Therefore conſider well; methinks you ſhould conſider, and not reſolve too raſhly, when I aſſure you, that in Caſe of Diſobedience, you have nothing to expect but Racks, and Fires, and Death.

Having thus ſpoken, he call'd for the Inſtruments of Torture; that by Produceing theſe he might work more ſtrongly upon their Fear, than Words and Menaces, he thought, would be able to do. When the Soldiers had ſet before them Wheels, Pullies, Screws, Racks, Winches, Wedges, Iron Gantlets, Boots, Caldrons, Frying-Pans, Bellows, combuſtible Matter, and other ſuch like Engines of Horrour and Execution; the Tyrant taking the Advantage of the Impreſſion he ſuppoſed theſe Spectacles would make, applied himſelf to them once more to this Effect: “Young Men, be wiſe in Time, and dread the Weight of an angry King's Hand; your Compliance is no longer now a wilful Offence, and you need not doubt, but the Juſtice, of that Being you worſhip, will conſider the Hardſhip of your Caſe, and allow for the Conſtraint you lie under.” But neither could his treacherous Allurements flatter them; nor the Sight of theſe diſmal Inſtruments of Vengeance affright them out of their Duty. They were ſo far from yielding through Fear, that their Reſolution grew ſtronger, and by the Power of Reaſon they triumphed over his Barbarity; for what can we ſuppoſe would have been the Meaſures taken upon this Occaſion, had there been but any one Perſon timorous, or inordinately fond of Life in that Number? Would not ſuch a one preſently have addreſs'd himſelf to the reſt in a Reply like this? What ſtupid and Fooll-hardy Wretches are we, thus to continue deaf to the Invitations and kind Advice of a King, who calls us to Gain and Promotion upon our Obedience? Why ſhould we ſupport our ſelves with vain Imaginations, and perſiſt in a fatal Obſtinacy which can get us nothing but Death? Shall we be ſo inſenſible as to have no Regard to theſe dreadful Engines of Cruelty? None to the Menaces of an unrelenting Tyrant, brutiſh enough to put in Execution all that he hath threatened? Shall we not rather abandon this empty Point of Honour, and that falſe Pride of Conſtancy that is certain to prove our Deſtruction? Sure it can be no Crime, to have ſome Reſpect to our Youth, which may ſtill ſee many happy Years; ſome Pity to our poor aged Mother, whoſe gray Hairs muſt be brought down with unſpeakable Sorrow to the Grave, to ſee ſo many Sons cut off at once, and her ſelf made childleſs in an Inſtant by our Diſobedience! What the King ſays is very rational, that God is too juſt and good not to make Allowance for the hard Circumſtances we lie under: Why ſhould we then throw our ſelves out of Life, at a Time when we are beſt fitted to taſte the Sweets of living? Why hurry our ſelves headlong out of a World where every Thing conſpires to delight and entertain us moſt agreeably? Let us not ſtrive any longer with our Fate; nor buy Applauſe ſo dear as at the Expence of Racks and Death. The Law it ſelf is not ſo ſevere as to condemn for involuntary Offences; and the more juſt our Fears are, the leſs there is of Will in the Compliance. What Pretence can we have then for this Reſtiffneſs? Or why ſhould we be ſo fond of a miſtaken Courage, which is indeed no better than Deſpair and Obſtinacy, cy, when nothing but Death is before us, if we ſtand out; and Life and Security, Plenty and Pleaſure are as ſurely ours, if we ſubmit.

Chap. IX. But theſe brave Youths, though then in Sight of Death, and Tortures worſe than Death, let no ſuch Words fall, had no ſuch diſhonourable Thoughts; the Reaſon is, becauſe they had attained to a Maſtery over their Paſſions, and were above Terrour and Pain. So far above them, that as ſoon as the Tyrant had admoniſhed them, (as you have heard) to eat of his forbidden Meats, they all with one Voice, as if all had been animated with one and the ſame generous Soul, made him the following Reply.

"To what Purpoſe, O King, is this Delay? If with Deſign to know our final Re-
"ſolution; be aſſured we are ready to encounter Death in it's moſt frightful Shape,
"rather than tranſgreſs the Laws of our Fathers. For, beſides the Reverence due to
"the Examples of our Anceſtors upon other Accounts, this is what our Obedience
"to the Law, and the Precepts of *Moſes* require from us. Do not then attempt any
"more to perſuade us to Apoſtaſy; do not put on a counterfeit Pity for them who
"know you hate them; even Death it ſelf is more ſupportable, than ſuch an inſul-
"ting, diſſembling Compaſſion, as would ſave our Lives with the Loſs of our Innocence.
"Thou thinkeſt to terrify us by Threatnings of Death and Torture, notwithſtanding
"the ſame Experiment made upon the old Man, hath ſo lately taught thee, how in-
"effectual all ſuch Methods are upon the Servants of the true God; and if the old
"Men of our Nation endure ſo courageouſly ſuch exquiſite Pairs for their Religion;
"is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the young ones will ſuffer the Reproach of coming
"behind them in Conſtancy and Patience? As we have been educated under his Inſtru-
"ctions, ſo we ſhall conquer after his Example. Try us therefore, ſee if it be in thy
"Power to deſtroy our Souls, when we ſuffer in the Cauſe of God and Religon. No
"Sir; this is impoſſible, your Cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the Effect our Pains
"can have will be to ſecure us the glorious Rewards due to unſhaken Patience and
"injured Virtue. But upon you the Conſequence will be very different and dreadful,
"for by the Murder of ſo many innocent Men, you arm the divine Vengeance a-
"gainſt your ſelf, and for the temporal which you inflict, will become obnoxious
"to everlaſting Torments.

This Anſwer ſo enraged the Tyrant, that he reſolved to proceed againſt them, not only as diſobedient, but unthankful Men: And therefore gave the Word, that the Executioners ſhould bring the eldeſt to the Torture; which they immediately did, binding his Hands, ſtripping off his Clothes, and faſtening his Arms in a Poſture for receiving the Scourge. But finding that they wearied themſelves in vain, and that all their Stripes were to no Manner of Purpoſe, they clap'd him upon the Wheel. The noble Youth lying extended here with his Bones broken, and every Limb of his Body out of Joint, reproached his Tormenter thus, "O Monſter of Wickedneſs,
"Enemy of God and Juſtice, and abandon'd to Cruelty and Rage, thou doſt not treat
"me thus inhumanly for Murder or Villany, or for any Breach of divine or humane
"Laws, but purely for my Zeal to God, and his holy Ordinances; the Soldiers hereupon exhorted him to conſent, and eat of the King's Meat, that he might deliver himſelf from any farther Sufferings. But he returned; "No: You miſtake in ſuppo-
"ſing your Wheel to have gotten the better of me; no, with the crueleſt Inſtru-
"ments of Barbarity you cannot ſtrangle my Mind, nor diſlocate my Reaſon; cut this
"Body piecemeal, burn my Fleſh in the Fire, and ſtretch my yielding Limbs till they
"crack and fly aſunder; the exquiſite Malice of your Tortures ſhall convince you,
"by this Tryal made upon my Perſon, that it is the peculiar Glory of the *Hebrew*
"Nation, to be invincibly firm in their Sufferings for Virtue and a good Conſcience.
Then they put Fire under him; and, drawing the Pullies ſtreighter, turned his Body thus miſerably extended to the Flames. Inſomuch that all the Wheel was beſmeared with Blood, the Coals underneath were put out by his Bowels dripping into them, and all the Spokes and Pins of the Engine were cover'dwith clotted Blood, and Pieces of Fleſh torn off from the Body, till nothing was left of humane Form; but a Skeleton of broken Bones.

Still this brave Youth and true Son of faithful *Abraham*, was never heard to utter one Complaint or Groan; but ſuſtained the Rack with ſuch Magnanimity, as if the Fire had only ſerved to refine him into a Creature immortal and impaſſible. At laſt he cried out, "Be ſure, my Brethren, that you follow this Pattern, do not
"deſert me in this noble Conflict, nor diſclaim that Relation of generous Conſtancy,
"by which we are allied in Soul, more nearly than in Blood. When you engage in
"Defence of Religion, it is a holy and a glorious Warfare; and never doubt but
"that the tender Providence of that Father above, juſt and gracious, whom we
"worſhip, will not only reward us, but be propitious to our whole Nation, and

“ certainly humble this haughty bloody Tyrant, with Puniſhments as uncommon and amazing as his own Pride and Cruelty. And thus the holy Youth ended his painful Life.

While the Spectators ſtood aſtoniſh'd at this undaunted Courage, the Guards advanced with the ſecond Brother. Him they bound faſt to the Pully, and drew on the Iron Gantlets with ſharp Nails: Then enquiring whether he would accept the Conditions of Eſcape before they began the Torture; and finding by his Anſwer, that he was in the ſame noble Reſolution with his Brother, the furious wild Beaſts fix'd their Iron Gantlets into his Neck, and drew off all the Fleſh from his Muſcles, quite up to the Chin, and flay'd off all the Hair and Skin of his Beard, Face, and Head. But he bearing this terrible Pain with great Temper, ſaid, “How welcome is Death in any Shape, when a Man ſuffers for Truth and Religion? Art thou not ſenſible thou brutiſh Tyrant, that thou art now thy own tormentor more than mine? The Indignation thou conceiveſt for having thy wicked Deſigns defeated, and all thy Barbarity vanquiſh'd by my Conſtancy in a good Cauſe, frets and gnaws thy Soul more than all theſe Pains do me. For the Pleaſures of Virtue and the Comforts of a clear Conſcience, ſoften my Sufferings and ſupport my Spirits. But thou art rack'd indeed, with all the cutting Apprehenſions of a guilty Mind. What I now ſay thy own Breaſts tells thee, that ſo wicked a Wretch cannot poſſibly eſcape the terrible Vengeance of a juſt and angry God.”

CHAP. X.

When this Man too had undergone a Death ſo much to his Honour, the third was brought, and preſs'd hard with Arguments and Entreaties from ſeveral Hands, that he would eat and live. To which he anſwer'd with great Vehemence, “You ſeem not to know how nearly I am related to thoſe that have died here before me: Alas, the ſame Father and Mother brought us into the World, and the ſame Maſters form'd our Minds; and we always acted upon the ſame Principles: And ſhall I then in this laſt Scene of Life renounce the Honour of that ſtrict Alliance, to them, whom I have never yet given Occaſion to be aſham'd of calling me Brother?” This Anſwer, deliver'd with ſuch an Air of Reſolution and Firmneſs, enrag'd the Executioners; who, to expreſs their Malice and Reſentments, clapp'd his Hands and Feet preſently into the Screws, and with a violent Wrench put out all the Joints of his Fingers and his Toes at once; this done, they ſtill continu'd to draw the Engine yet higher, till they had twiſted his Arms and Legs and Shoulder-bones out of their Sockets; and finding him ſurvive all theſe Diſtortions, dragg'd off his Skin at the Ends of his Fingers and flay'd him from the very Crown of the Head. Not content to have mangled his Body after this mercileſs Manner, they dragg'd him to the Wheel, where being yet more diſtended upon the Pins and Screws, he ſaw his ſeveral Parts burſt aſunder, his Fleſh drop off by Piece-Meals, and his Bowels and Blood guſh out. When he was at the Point of Death he cry'd, “O thou moſt wicked and inhumane of all Tyrants, we ſuffer thus for the Religion and Law of a God who is able to reward us; but thou ſhalt ſuffer Pains much more inſupportable, much more inexpreſſible, for thy Impiety and barbarous Cruelty.

After this Perſon had endured as became a Brother of that renowned Family, the fourth was haled to Execution; but perſuaded firſt, *That he would bethink himſelf, and be wiſer than thoſe that had gone before him.* His Anſwer was, “You cannot heat your Fires ſo much hotter for me, as to make me a Coward after ſo noble Patterns of Martyrdom already before my Eyes; nor will I ſtain the Honour of my Blood. Try me, thou Tyrant, and let all thy Tortures prove, whether I be not a Branch of the ſame Stock, and animated with the very ſame Soul, with thoſe whoſe Blood thy impious Hands have ſpilt and torn them Limb from Limb; but all in Vain, with all the Horrour and Pain, that Malice and deviliſh Rage could contrive.” The ſavage and moſt profligate *Antiochus*, incens'd at this, commanded immediately to cut out his Tongue. Whereupon he proceeded, “Ah, how impertinent a Cruelty is this! 'Tis to great Purpoſe that you take away the Organ of Speech, from one who truſts in a God that ſeeth the Heart, and hears the inward Motions of them that are ſilent. Here, it is ready for your Inſtruments, looſe to your Hand; but know, when you have cut it out, you cannot do the ſame Execution upon my Reaſon, nor make my Mind dumb. O that I could be ſo happy to loſe my Life by Inches, and glorifie God with every Member and Joint of my Body, by having them maim'd, and lopp'd off one by one for his Cauſe and Glory. But as for thee, Guilt and Vengeance will quickly overtake thee, who cutteſt out theſe inoffenſive Tongues, that are employ'd in making Melody and ſinging Praiſes to the God who form'd their Speech.

CHAP. XI.

No ſooner had this Brother exhauſted with Pain, and miſerably mangled, finiſhed his Courſe, but the fifth ſprung forward of his own Accord, crying out: “To ſhew thee Tyrant, what Impreſſions theſe Tortures make upon me; ſee here I come, not content to wait thy tedious Orders, offering my ſelf to the Tryal, and deſirous to loſe no Time in ſo noble an Exerciſe of Virtue. The ſooner thou diſpatcheſt me, the ſooner ſhall my Bliſs, and thy Iniquities be full; and I ſhall help to make thee ripe for Vengeance, by adding one more to the Number of them whoſe innocent Blood thou haſt ſhed. Tell me, thou Devourer of Mankind and Enemy of all Goodneſs, what could provoke, what poſſeſs thee to deſtroy us after this mercileſs inſulting Manner? Is it become a capital Crime for Men to devote themſelves to the Service of the great Creator of the World, and make a Conſcience of governing their Actions, by an excellent Law of his Preſcribing? No ſure, this Conduct ought not to expoſe Men to Tortures, but entitle them to Rewards and Honours." While theſe Words were yet in his Mouth, the Soldiers dragg'd him down, and bound him to the Pullies; to which, when they had ſcrew'd in his Knees, they clapt on Iron Footlocks, and drawing the Screws, diſlocated his Loins, ſo that he lapp'd round the Wheel like a Snake; and being disjointed all over, had his Bones broken in an Inſtant. Thus being almoſt ſtrangled, and in unſpeakable Anguiſh by the Stoppage of his Breath and bodily Pain, he ſaid, "Full ſore againſt thy Will thou conferreſt on us Favours, which were never intended: For the more exquiſite our Torments are, the nobler Proof thou giv'ſt Occaſion for of Patience invincible, and Steadfaſtneſs in our Religion."

When he was dead, the ſixth Youth was preſently brought forward; and, being aſk'd by the Tyrant, *Whether he would accept Deliverance?* he reply'd, "Though I in Years come behind them that ſuffered before me, yet is my Soul of equal Maturity with theirs. For in Regard our Deſcent and Education was the ſame, 'tis fit, that ſince the Cauſe we are call'd to aſſert is the ſame, our Death ſhould likewiſe be the ſame. If then thou art diſpos'd to put me upon the ſame Tryals, know, that I will take Care to die innocent, and keep the Support of a good Conſcience under my Torture." Hereupon they faſten'd him to the Wheel, and, after having broken and diſtorted all his Bones, put Fire under him; then did the Soldiers heat Spits and Spears red hot, and thruſt them into his Backs and Sides, till his very Bowels and Intrails were burnt up. While he cry'd out, "O glorious Conflict, in which ſo many Brethren have engag'd for their Religion, and all come off with Conqueſt. For a Mind rightly inform'd in the Truth, and arm'd with ſteady Principles of Virtue muſt ever be impregnable. I will bear my Brethren Company in ſo noble a Death, and add to the Number of the Plagues due to thee, O wicked Inventor of artful Cruelty, and implacable Foe of all that adhere to the true Religion. Six of us now have baffled thy Malice and Rage; for I muſt needs account thee baffled, when ſo much hath been done without any Succeſs, to force us to forego our Duty and comply with thy wicked Propoſals. Thy Fires, methinks are cold, thy Racks eaſie, and thy Guards are now no longer Tormentors and Executioners, but Defenders and Promoters of our Law and its Honour; ſince they aſſiſt us in giving Teſtimony to it, and contribute to the Triumphs of the Religion they are not able to ſuppreſs.

Chap. XII. When this Man had made ſo bleſſed an End, being diſpatch'd at laſt, by caſting him into a Cauldron of boyling Liquor, the *ſeventh* and *youngeſt* appear'd; whom, when the Tyrant ſaw fetter'd and pinion'd, though ſo implacably outragious againſt the reſt of his Brethren, his hard Heart began a little to relent. Calling him therefore up near to the Tribunal where he ſate, he began to try him by ſoft Words and fair Means. "You ſee (*ſaid he*) young Man, the miſerable End, which the reſt of your Family have by their own obſtinate Folly brought themſelves to: For all theſe Tortures and tragical Spectacles of Death, are indeed the Conſequences of their own Wilfulneſs and Diſobedience; and the ſame will be thy Fate in a very few Minutes, if their Examples have not made thee wiſer. But I hope better Things, and for an Encouragement of thy better Behaviour, do make thee here a generous Proffer of my Love and particular Friendſhip, and promiſe to promote thee in my Kingdom to Places of very great Eminence and Profit." Not content with theſe Perſuaſions to the Son, he addreſs'd himſelf to the Mother alſo, with a ſeeming Compaſſion for her Loſs, and entreating her to prevail upon her Child, in Pity to her at leaſt, to ſave this ſmall Remnant of the Family, and not to give her the Affliction of having all her Off-ſpring ſo ſadly torn away at once. But he, receiving from his Mother in the *Hebrew* Language, the Advice which I ſhall mention hereafter, cry'd out all on the Sudden, "Well then, unbind me, and let me have Liberty to apply to the King and his Friends that attend about the Throne." The Company was overjoy'd at this Propoſal, and immediately let him looſe; which he taking the Advantage of, ran haſtily to the Side of the Cauldrons and Frying-Pans, and ſaid; "Thou moſt ungodly Tyrant, and unparallell'd Monſter of Baſeneſs and Villany; that haſt receiv'd from the Hand of God a Kingdom, and ſo

" many Bleſſings of this World; and yet, without the leaſt Degree of Shame or Re-" morſe, murdereſt the Servants and Friends of him who thus advanced thee. Is " this the Requital thou makeſt to a bountiful God, to rack and torture thoſe that " worſhip him; and for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they worſhip him as he him-" ſelf hath directed? Be well aſſur'd, this ſhall not be forgotten; but Juſtice will " purſue and find thee out; and in the mean while lays up in Store for thee Tor-" ments and Fires, not like thine here, that quickly conſume the Body, and the more " fierce they are the ſooner they end our Pain; but thoſe ſhall be a Treaſure of Fire " inexhauſtible, of Pains which whole Ages will not end, but freſh and fiercer conti-" nually, till Time ſhall be no more. Art thou a Man, thou Wretch, more ſavage " than the wildeſt of Brutes! And haſt thou no Regard, no Manner of relenting for " theſe moſt exquiſite and ſtudied Pains, of them, who have the ſame Nature, the " ſame tender Senſe of Sufferings with thy ſelf? Is it poſſible a Creature of like Mat-" ter and Form, ſhould take Delight in mangling, burning, flaying, ſcourging, killing " his fellow Creatures? Yet ſuch it ſeems art thou, unlike indeed to us in Diſpoſiti-" on, and as unlike in thy Fate and Portion. For we who dye to feaſt thy Malice, " have done our Duty, and ſhall find Favour and Happineſs with God; but thou, " whoſe Cruelty hath put theſe ſtout Champions of the Truth upon vindicating it " with ſo much cauſeleſs Pain, ſo undeſerved a Death, ſhalt howl for ever in Deſpair; " and, when too late, curſe and be plagu'd with the bitter Reproaches of this guilty " Day's Tranſactions. So dreadful, and ſo infamous is thy Caſe; ſo bleſſed, ſo glori-" ous my martyr'd Brethren; whoſe Honours and Rewards, think not, that either Flat-" tery or Fear ſhall exclude me from; for know, I aſpire to an Equality with the beſt " of them, and think it long and loſt Time, till we meet again in the ſame Suffer-" ings here, and the ſame Bliſs above". With that he caſt himſelf into the Pans, and expir'd in the hotteſt of the Fire.

CH. XIII. And will it now admit of any Diſpute, whether Reaſon guided and ſupported by Religion have the Superintendency over the Paſſions, when we ſee ſeven Brothers, in perfect Agreement, and upon the ſame Principles, vanquiſhing and deſpiſing the moſt exquiſite Pains and Death? Is it not manifeſt, that, had theſe Men been govern'd by their Paſſions, they had ſubmitted to pollute themſelves with unlawful Meats; refuſed no Conditions to procure Eaſe and Safety; and been (what all the World muſt have call'd them) ſubdu'd? But now the Face of Things is quite otherwiſe; they ſhine and reign triumphant; their Paſſions were abſolutely quell'd, Reaſon aſſerted its Dominion, and for ſo doing receiv'd Praiſe of God. Nor is it poſſible to conſider this whole Proceeding without ſeeing and acknowledging the Superiority of the Mind, and the entire Defeat of all the Attempts made upon it, by Paſſion and Pain. How great a Wrong would it be, to deny theſe Martyrs the Trophies of this bloody Field, and not allow them the Character of Men proceeding magiſterially by the Rules of right Reaſon, when they had their Paſſions in ſuch perfect Subjection, that even the Extremity of Fires and Racks could not give theſe Paſſions Strength enough to rebel? For as the Moles and Forts upon the Shore break all the Force of the Waves and Weather, and render the Harbour commodious and ſafe to ride in; ſo did this ſeven-fold Fortification of Reaſon protect the Port of Duty and Religion, from all the Storms and boiſterous Inundations of Paſſion.

How moving, how noble a Sight was ſuch a Company, encouraging and aſſiſting each other in the Exerciſe of their Piety, like the Voices which contribute every one by his diſtinct Part to make up a perfect Melody? With ſuch a Harmony of Hearts, did they call out; *come, my Brethren, let us remember who we are, and in what Cauſe we fight, and let us ſtand it out for our God and his Law, by dying like true Brothers. Did not the three brave Youths in* Aſſyria *defy the Furnace of the King of* Babylon; *and to what Purpoſe have we thoſe Examples, if they do not provoke us to a generous Imitation?* Dan. iii.

When Religion and a good Conſcience are at Stake, let us abandon all ignoble Fears, and act with Reſolution becoming ſo glorious a Cauſe. One cry'd out, *Courage, my dear Brother*; another, *perſevere bravely*; a third, *remember who you are, and from what Anceſtors you ſprung*; Abraham *was your Father, who was content with his own Hand, to ſacrifice his Son; and* Iſaac, *who as willingly ſubmitted to be ſlain by that Father's Hand.* And all in general, looking on each other with Countenances ſerene and highly pleaſed; all ſtout and recollected in their own Minds, cry'd out, *come and let us chearfully conſecrate our Souls to our God. Let us thus pay him back the Lives he lent us for his Service; and give up theſe Bodies for the Uſe and Defence of his moſt holy Law. Why ſhould we ſtand in Fear of one, who only ſeems to kill the Body? The only Danger worthy of our Dread is that of Souls abandon'd to*

Torments everlaſting, and that can never be the ſad Fate of ſuch as keep and honour, but of them only who tranſgreſs and forſake the Truth. Let us then arm our ſelves with a holy Fortitude; ſo ſhall Abraham, *and* Iſaac, *and* Jacob *receive us when we die: So ſhall all our pious Anceſtors congratulate and applaud our Conſtancy.*

And as they were dragg'd one by one to Execution, they whoſe Turn was not yet come, encourag'd thoſe that went before them thus: *Take Heed, my Brother, how thou demeaneſt thy ſelf, and be ſure to do nothing that may diſgrace either thoſe of our Number that have gone before thee, or us who are about to tread in the ſame Steps.* Theſe muſt needs have been very engaging Exhortations: For none of my Readers can be inſenſible, what Charms, what powerful Influence ſo near a Relation carries with it; what tender Affections the all-wiſe Providence hath infus'd into their Hearts, who have deriv'd their Subſtance from the ſame Father, and lay in the Womb of the ſame Mother, where every Brother found the ſame Receptacle, dwelt the ſame Term of Time, and was form'd into Man by the ſame Proceſs of Nature; Perſons nouriſh'd by the ſame Blood, and brought to due Maturity by the ſame informing Soul; afterwards ſucking the ſame Milk, ſuſtained at one common Table, converſing perpetually under the ſame Roof, educated by the ſame Care, inſtructed by the ſame Teachers, and initiated in the ſame Religion. And ſuch was the Affection, ſuch the Endearments, and conſequently, of ſuch Weight and Efficacy the Admonitions and mutual Encouragements, of theſe ſeven Brethren to one another: For they were brought up in the ſame Faith, train'd up in the Exerciſe of the ſame Virtues; and, the better Men they were, the better ſtill muſt they needs love each other. For natural Affection is never ſo happily improv'd, as by perfect Agreement in Goodneſs and united Zeal in the Love and Service of God: And as each of theſe would love the reſt more tenderly in Proportion as himſelf was more religious, ſo would he neceſſarily, in the ſame Proportion, and upon the ſame Account, become more worthy to be belov'd by all the reſt. And yet we may obſerve in this very Caſe a mighty Conqueſt of Reaſon over Paſſion; for though theſe Brethren had all the tender Concern, that Nature and Blood, Birth and Education, Acquaintance and perſonal Worth could inſpire them with; yet were theſe manifold Endearments ſo vanquiſh'd and born down, when Religion and their Souls lay at Stake; that in a Cauſe ſo noble, the very Tortures and Agonies, and Deaths of their deareſt Relations, gave a ſenſible Satisfaction to thoſe of the Number, who yet ſurviv'd, and were the undaunted, nay, even pleas'd Spectators of them

Ch. XIV. Thus did they, by theſe Exhortations to endure the Torture, not only work themſelves up to a Contempt of Pains, but ſubdue brotherly Affection, and the Tendereſt and moſt prevailing Part of human Nature it ſelf. O Minds more abſolute than the moſt ſovereign Princes, more free and noble than the nobleſt Birth could make them! Not one of theſe generous Youths expreſs'd the leaſt Fear, not one made the leaſt Demurr; but without ſhrinking back at Death and all its moſt horrible Pomp, they made the beſt of their Way to Racks and Fires, as Men that were running the Race of Immortality, and impatient, with the utmoſt Speed poſſible, to come up to the Goal. And as the Hands and Feet, and other Members of our Body do with all Alacrity and Eaſe imaginable move as the Soul dictates and directs; ſo ready, ſo perfectly agreed and uniform in all their Motions towards Death, were theſe heroick Youths, puſh'd on by the Principle of Religion, which like one common Soul animated them all. O heavenly Conſtellation of ſeven conſenting Brethren! For, as the ſeven Days in which the World was created, give us the Idea of God, and ſhew the Perfection of his Majeſty and Goodneſs; ſo do theſe ſeven renowned Martyrs, by running the whole Circle of Pains and Tortures, compoſe one finiſh'd Piece of Conſtancy and Courage, and teach us that Perfection of Fortitude, which baniſhes the ſlaviſh Fear of Death. But alas! How far Short of this Pattern do we ſtop, we, who cannot now ſo much as read or hear without Trembling and Amazement what they not only heard, not only ſaw, but felt and bore it all without the leaſt Diſorder of Mind?

What can be more inſupportable than Fire, that pierces and ſeparates, and conſumes in an Inſtant? Yet the acuteſt Pains, apply'd to their Parts moſt tender and of quickeſt Senſe, did theſe ſtout Champions conſtantly endure.

Nay, to encreaſe our Wonder more, and abate that Notion of Fortitude, which Men too partial to themſelves are apt to boaſt of as the peculiar Glory of their own Sex, I ſhall make good my Aſſertion concerning the Sovereignty of Reaſon over the Paſſions, by a moſt aſtoniſhing Inſtance of a Woman: One exercis'd by Sufferings more ſharp, more complicated, than any of thoſe hitherto mention'd. For who can conceive the Extremity, the Variety of that pious Mother's Pains, who her ſelf was tortur'd and put to Death in every one of her ſeven Sons? Do but reflect how the Bowels and natural Affection of Parents does terminate, and draw them, as it were, to their Children, as to the proper Center of all their Care and Concern. This is what we obſerve even in brute Beaſts, which ſeldom or never fail to expreſs a Tenderneſs to their Young, equal to that among Men. But why do I ſpeak of Beaſts, when all Nature is full of it, and even the ignobler Species of Creatures want not a viſible and ſtrange Kindneſs for their own Breed: For even the Bees themſelves, when intent upon the Buſineſs of Waxing, guard and defend their Hives, and as oft as the Drones invade them, know how to make their Stings do the Office of Swords and other military Weapons, in Revenge of the Wrong done by thoſe that would attack their little ones.

CH. XV.

But ſo true a Daughter of *Abraham* was the Mother of theſe gallant Youths, that even Compaſſion for her own Children, could not break in upon her Duty. Such was her noble Zeal, that when two Things were offer'd to her Choice, Religion and the preſent Safety and great Preferment of ſeven Sons, ſhe wiſely gave the Preference to Religion, took God's Word before the King's, and choſe to have them live for ever with him in Heaven, rather than enjoy a ſhort Proſperity with *Antiochus* upon Earth. What Words ſhall I find to deſcribe thoſe tender Paſſions of Parents, that ſtrange Union between them and their Children in Nature, which, after a wonderful Manner, draws upon their Offſpring the ſame Lines and Features of Body, and impreſſes the ſame Diſpoſitions of Soul? How ſhall I tell the Concern they feel for theſe Images and Parts of themſelves, when in any Manner of Diſtreſs? How, eſpecially, that of Mothers, whoſe weaker Minds, and natural Exceſs of Fondneſs, render them ſtill more ſenſibly touch'd with whatever affects their Children, than Fathers are wont or expected to be? And even this Mother was not leſs, nay, ſhe was much more under the Influence of this Affection than common Mothers; ſeven painful Births had made as many Additions to this Love, and every Time her Travail was repeated, it was a freſh Exerciſe of it, a freſh and ſtronger Endearment to all ſhe had endured the ſame Pangs for.

But all this notwithſtanding the Fear and Love of God, overlook'd the preſent Eaſe and Advantage of her Children. And never did ſhe love them ſo tenderly, ſo deſervedly, as when their ſteady Virtue, and Conſtancy in the Truth, charm'd her Affections, and endear'd them to her; for they were juſt and wiſe, temperate and magnanimous, affectionate to each other, and dutiful to their Mother to that Degree, that they even died in the Cauſe of their Law, in Obedience to her. For ſhe was ſo far from allowing any one of theſe manifold Engagements to betray her into an undue Tenderneſs, or ſuffering any of the yet more manifold Tortures inflicted upon her Children to ſhake her Reaſon; that, Mother tho' ſhe was, ſhe earneſtly exhorted each of her Children ſingly, and all of them together, not to decline any Sufferings or Death for the Sake of Religion.

O Nature, common Mother of us all, O Parents Love unaccountably engaging our Souls, O anxious Care of tender Infants, O Sympathy of Mothers irreſiſtible, ſee here a Prodigy, ſeven Children one by one, rack'd, burnt, fry'd, a Mother ſtanding by, and looking on, and yet ſo firm her Piety, not chang'd by the killing Spectacle; ſhe ſaw the Fleſh of her own Sons broiling in the Fire; the Joints of their Hands and Feet torn off, and ſtill trembling and panting on the Ground, when rent from the Body; the Skins of their Heads and Faces drawn off like Vizards, and caſt down at her Feet; all this the wondrous Woman ſaw unmov'd. O Mother, now in Agonies and racking Pains for thy Children, compar'd with which thy bearing Throws were eaſy! O Woman, who of all thy Sex ſeemeſt alone to have brought forth conſummate Virtue: Thy Firſt-born when expiring did not ſhake thee, nor thy ſecond Son, when caſting upon thee a pitious languiſhing Look; nor thy third, when groaning out his Soul; nor the Eyes that ſtarted out of every one of their Heads with Extremity of Pain, and ſetting in Death. Thou didſt not let one Tear fall, when one Hand was cut off after another, one Head flayed after another, one Corpſe fell upon another, and Heaps of thy own Fleſh lay before thee. The Songs of *Syrens*, and the dying Notes of *Swans*, make not ſo melodious Muſick, as did in thy Ears the laſt Accents of thy own Off-ſpring, calling to thee in the Midſt of their Torments unconceivable, and dying Agonies. For in thy Soul when warm Debates aroſe, and Nature and Affection pleaded ſtrongly, and the Pains and unparallell'd Sufferings of thy Children added Weight to their Arguments; yet ſtill thou turnedſt the deaf Ear; and when thou wert urged moſt vehemently to give Sentence for thy Childrens Life; wouldſt not accept a ſhort Deliverance with Guilt, but gaveſt them up to Death in Proſpect of a more laſting Bliſs. Then didſt thou approve thy ſelf a true Daughter of *Abraham*, an Heireſs of all his Faith and Fortitude. O Mother of a Family, zealous for the Law, Bulwark of true Religion, and laden with the Conqueſts won by thy own Bowels! O Woman of Generoſity and Patience more manly than the ſtouteſt of Men!

Glory of thy own Sex, and Exceller of ours! For, as the Ark of *Noah*, which then contain'd all the ſurviving World, rode triumphant upon the Waters of the general Flood; ſo thou, whoſe Breaſt included all true Piety, wert toſt upon the Waves of all Manner of contending Paſſions, and beaten upon with the boiſterous Winds of Torments that blew hard from every Quarter, and yet didſt bravely weather out the Storm, ſupported by thy Zeal for God and Religion.

Ch. XVI. Now then (to return to the Point I am all this while aiming at,) if an old Woman, and the Mother of ſeven Children, could not only ſuſtain, but ſee thoſe Children dying in ſuch Miſery, in Conſideration of the Cauſe they ſuffered, and died for; the Conſequence is unavoidable, that Reaſon, ſupported by Religion, hath a Power ſuperiour to our Paſſions. And that this is the Caſe of humane Nature in general, I have made it plain, becauſe not only Men have conquer'd their Paſſions, but a Woman hath perfectly ſubdued and deſpiſed the moſt exquiſite Sufferings. The Lions, into whoſe Den *Daniel* was caſt, were tame; the Furnace of *Miſael*, tho' heated ſeven Times hotter than uſual, was cool, in Compariſon of thoſe fierce Paſſions, that Fire which natural Affection and Pity had kindled in her Breaſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeven Sons ſucceſſively expire in Agonies inexpreſſible. And yet Reaſon and Religion quenched all the Rage of theſe ſo furious, ſo manifold Affections.

For is it not rational to ſuppoſe, that had this Woman had the leaſt Allay of Puſillanimity in her Temper, all the Mother would have burſt out in Lamentations and doleful Complaints, like theſe? *O moſt unfortunate Creature, and expoſed to an unparallell'd Variety of Miſeries, who was lately happy in ſeven Sons, but am now no longer a Mother! O my ſeven unprofitable Travels! O the loſt Cares of Nurſing, which have nouriſhed Children only for Racks, and Fires, and Deaths unexampled! In vain, my Dears, have I been in Pangs for you, in vain endured the many anxious Days and reſtleſs Nights, the Coſt and Labour of a painful Education. O thoſe beloved Children, whoſe Faces I ſhall never ſee more, nor rejoice in their Marriage and Poſterity, nor have the ſo much valued Bleſſing of being eſteem'd happy in my Deſcendants of the ſecond and third Generation. And yet I once was happy, happy above my Neighbours, both in the Number and the Goodlineſs of the Branches that ſprang from this fruitful Vine; but now a wretched ſolitary Widow, deſtitute of ſo much as one out of my many Sons, to comfort and aſſiſt me while living, or to bury me when dead.*

But the Piety of this excellent Mother diſdained ſuch effeminate Complaints, and was ſo far from deſiring any of her Children to live, that it would have been Matter of Grief to her, had they not died as they did. Her Mind firm and impenetrable as a Rock, conſidering that this was to bring forth over again a numerous Off-ſpring, by a new and better Birth to a Life of Immortality. And therefore ſhe herſelf beſought them to fulfil her Joy, and encouraged them in dying for the Cauſe of Religion. O noble Matron, who liſtedſt thy ſelf in the Service of the ſame Cauſe, and didſt aſſiſt in engaging the Tyrant, and approve thy ſelf mighty in Deeds and in Words! For when thou wert apprehended with thy Sons, and an Eye-witneſs of the Tortures and dolorous Death of the good *Eleazar*, then didſt thou in the Hebrew Tongue excite the Courage of thy Sons, by ſaying, *See here, my Children, what a glorious Conflict is this! And if you alſo be called to the like, conſider what a Teſtimony, what an Honour it will be to our Nation, but eſpecially conſider the Law of your Fathers you are to ſuffer for, and be ſure to behave your ſelves in this Encounter valiantly and chearfully. What a Reproach ought you to think it upon the Vigour of your Age, if an old Man, weakened and ſpent by Years and Infirmities already, did yet endure ſuch Variety, ſuch Extremity of Tortures for his Duty, and thoſe who have all the Fire of Youth to excite and ſupport their Zeal, ſhould ſhrink back at, or ſink under the ſame Tryals! Conſider, my dearer Parts of my ſelf, what Life is, and whence you had it. God gave it you at firſt, the Goodneſs of his Providence hath continued it to you ever ſince. It is therefore his Due, and what you ought to pay, when he calls for it again. Can you decline any Sort of Pain for him in Obedience to whom our Father* Abraham *made no Delay to ſacrifice his Son, the promiſed Father of our Nation? Nor did that Son tremble or once give back, when he ſaw a Father's Hand arm'd with the Weapon of Death, and lifted up to give the fatal Stroke. Was not the innocent and pious* Daniel, *by his own Conſent, caſt as a Prey to hungry Lions; and the three Children into a fiery Furnace? Theſe all endured manfully for the Sake of God; and you who are Partakers of the ſame Faith, ought not to ſhrink if you are made Partakers of the ſame Sufferings. For indeed it is moſt abſurd for them who have a true Senſe of Religion, to betray a cowardly Degeneracy of Mind in any Difficulties that it ſhall engage them in.* Thus did the Mother of ſeven Children hearten every one of the Number, and repreſent to them the Reaſonableneſs, the Neceſſity of dying, rather than baſely yield to violate any one Command of their God, eſpecially when aſſuredly perſuaded that they who die for him, continue ſtill to live with *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and all the godly Patriarchs, in Manſions of immortal Felicity.

CH. XVII.

Some of the Soldiers too reported, that when ſhe was about to be ſeized, in order to Execution, ſhe prevented all Attempts upon her Perſon, and without Force caſt her ſelf into the Fire. O glorious Mother, thus defeating the Tyrant's Rage and Violence, diſappointing all his wicked Contrivances, and exerting a moſt vigorous and noble Faith, firm as a ſtrong built Houſe; erected upon her ſeven Pillars, and Proof againſt all Shocks that laboured to overturn it! Take Comfort, holy Matron, whoſe Patience was ſupported by a firm Truſt in God, and well aſſured Hope of future Reward. The Moon encircled with her Retinue of Stars, ſhines not ſo bright in the Firmament of Heaven as doſt thou, reflecting Light upon, and receiving it back again from thy ſeven illuſtrious Sons, fix'd in the heavenly Manſions, and honourable in the Preſence of God. Thy Race were truly *Abraham*'s, and every one a genuine Son of the Father of the faithful. Were it a poſſible Undertaking, to draw this whole Action as in a Picture, and relate every Circumſtance in true and lively Colours, our Paſſions ſcarcely could ſuſtain the mere Repreſentation: Nor would the Mother and her Children, expiring in ſuch cruel Variety of Torments, be ſeen but in ſuch Deſcription without Horrour. And were a Monument, as they well deſerve, to be erected, for a never dying Memorial to the Nation they are ſo great an Honour to, this or ſome like Inſcription might become it: *Here lies a reverend old Prieſt, an ancient Mother and ſeven gallant Sons, put to Death by the Rage of a Tyrant, attempting, but in vain, to overthrow the* Jewiſh *Law and Conſtitution: For theſe brave Champions ſtood in the Gap, aſſerted the Rights and Religion of their Nation, committed themſelves and their Cauſe to God, and perſevered in Deſpight of Torments and Death.* For indeed the Incounter was truly Divine; Virtue was in this Caſe the Judge of the Combate, and Diſpoſer of the Prize, and Patience was the Proof and Exerciſe. To this the Victory was to be adjudged, and Immortality and Bliſs eternal were the Rewards of them that conquer'd.

The firſt that march'd into this bloody Field, was *Eleazar:* The Mother of ſeven Sons offer'd her ſelf likewiſe to the Combat; her Sons ſucceſſively undertook the Conflict; the Adverſary they encounter'd was the Tyrant, the Ring of Spectators was the World, and the Conquerour Religion; who both vanquiſh'd in their Perſons, and crown'd her Champions that fought ſo gallantly in her Vindication. And who indeed could ſee, who can hear the noble Atchievements of theſe heroick Souls, ſo zealous for the Law of God, without (I ſay not Approbation and Praiſe, but) Wonder and Aſtoniſhment? Nay, even the Tyrant and his impious Aſſeſſors, that counſell'd and countenanc'd the barbarous Executioners, could not without Amazement obſerve that invincible Patience which ſuſtain'd them; and in Deſpight of all their Inhumanity and obſtinate Prejudice, rever'd the Piety they labour'd in vain to corrupt.

So true is that of *Moſes*, *all his Saints are in thy Hand*. For theſe Men being ſanctified as an Offering to God, are celebrated with Honour and immortal Renown. Nor was the Benefit of their noble Tryals confin'd to their own Perſons but the Blood of thoſe righteous Men ſhed upon this Occaſion, was accepted by God as a propitiatory Sacrifice, inclin'd him to return to his People in Mercy, and by a gracious Providence deliver *Iſrael* from the heavy Load of Oppreſſion they then groaned under. For even *Antiochus*, conſidering the wonderful Virtue and Reſolution of theſe Men and their inflexible Conſtancy under Hardſhip and Pain, gave Teſtimony to their Valour, and by a publick Officer propounded it as a Pattern fit to be imitated by all his own Soldiers. Not only ſo, but taking his Meaſures of the whole Nation by theſe few, he liſted many of them in his Service, employ'd them both in Sieges and pitch'd Battles, and, having obtain'd many ſignal Victories by their Aſſiſtance, learn'd by his own Experience, that Religion inſpires Men with the trueſt Courage, and that none are capable of ſerving their Prince in the Wars, comparably to thoſe undaunted and generous Contemners of Life, who dare to encounter Death and Tortures for God and a good Conſcience. O Race of faithful *Abraham*, and Inheritors of his Zeal; ye Seed of *Iſrael* the Beloved; ſet your ſelves to obſerve and pay due Reverence to this divine Law, to govern your Affections in all Points according to it and live up to the Perfection of its Dictates and Diſcipline, whoſe mighty Efficacy is ſo undeniable, and its Glory ſo conſpicuous in ſuch unparallell'd Inſtances of Reaſon thus conducted, attaining to an abſolute Maſtery over the Paſſions.

Deut. xxxiii. 3.

CH. XVIII.

Nor does this Maſtery extend only to thoſe inward Diſorders which raiſe a Tumult in our own Breaſts, but as theſe Examples of Men delivering themſelves willingly to the Torture for the Sake of their Religion make it exceeding plain, to Afflictions from without alſo, and the acuteſt bodily Pains. Thus did theſe noble Heroes fight and conquer, and (for acquitting themſelves ſo gallantly) were not only commended and admir'd of Men, but largely rewarded by God. Nor did they vanquiſh Death and Torments only, but alſo the Enemies that inflicted both: By reſtoring Peace to their

Nation, and bringing into Requeſt again, the Regard for that long neglected Law, the Contempt whereof provok'd God to ſcourge the People with, this worſt of all Calamities, the Tyrant *Antiochus*. But while he became an Inſtrument of Vengeance to others, he treaſur'd up yet more againſt himſelf. For finding all his Efforts to no Purpoſe, and that neither Flattery nor Force could draw the *Jews* to abandon their own and conform to foreign Cuſtoms, he drew off from *Jeruſalem* and made War upon the *Perſians*, and long it was not e're the Juſtice of God overtook him, even upon Earth by a moſt miſerable Death.

But ſtill to do all Right to that wonderful Woman, I ſhall add here ſome other of her pious Exhortations to her no leſs wonderful Sons. *Conſider*, ſaid ſhe, *the Converſation of your Mother, who lived a long Time a chaſt unſpotted Virgin; I never wander'd from my Father's Houſe, nor did any luſtful Corrupter of Youth aſſault me in the Field, nor that Serpent which ſeduced* Eve *tempt me into any impure Embraces. The Flower of my Age I paſt in the ſtricteſt conjugal Fidelity to my Husband. When you, my Children were grown up, your Father died, happy in the Eſteem of all that knew him. He had the Satisfaction of many proſperous Children, and eſcap'd the Misfortune of ſeeing himſelf depriv'd of theſe Bleſſings. While he continued with you, no Pains were ſpared to inſtill pious Principles, and furniſh you with Inſtructions proper to prepare you for the trying Difficulties of this important Day. He taught you with great Diligence the Law and the Prophets; he ſet before you the renowned Examples of Patience, and ſuffering Virtue.* Abel *murdered by his own Brother* Cain; *and* Iſaac *deſigned for a burnt Offering; and* Joſeph *impriſoned for his obſtinate Chaſtity; and* Phineas *zealous for the Law of his God. He preached to you the Virtues and the glorious Rewards of* Ananias, Azarias *and* Miſael, *and* Daniel *caſt into the Den of Lions. He frequently put you in Mind of that preſerving Providence to thoſe that are God's; which* Eſaias *magnifies in theſe Words:* *Iſaiah* xliii. 2. When thou paſſeſt through the Waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee; when thou walkeſt through the Fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt, neither ſhall the Flame kindle upon thee. *He taught your infant Tongues that Song of* *Pſalm* xxxiv. 19. David; great are the Troubles of the Righteous, but the Lord delivereth him out of all; *Prov.* iii. 18. *and call'd upon you to obſerve that Maxim of* Solomon *in his* Proverbs, that Wiſdom is a Tree of Life to all that obey and lay hold on her. *He quicken'd up your Faith by that Paſſage in* Ezekiel, *Ezek.* xxxvii. 4. ſhall theſe dry Bones live? *Nor did he forget to teach you that heavenly Song of* Moſes, *who ſays in the Perſon of God;* *Deut.* xxxii. 39, 47. I kill and make alive: *And again pronounces of the Law and the diligent Obſervance of it;* this is your Life and the prolonging of your Days.

O doleful Day, and yet not doleful but glorious rather, when the mercileſs *Græcian* Tyrant kindled his impious Fires, heated his murdering Cauldrons, and with ungodly Rage, more hot and fierce than both, dragg'd and bound to the Engines of Torture, and exercis'd with all Manner of Agonies and Pains, the ſeven-fold Offspring of this Daughter of *Abraham!* When he bor'd out their Eyes, cut out their Tongues, and put them to Death, with all the ſtudied Cruelties that Wickedneſs and Malice could invent. Theſe impious Barbarities the Juſtice of God did then, and always will avenge upon the proud Inflictors; but theſe Sons of *Abraham*, with their victorious Mother, are by a very different Fate, tranſlated from Miſery to Bliſs unſpeakable, admitted into the joyful and triumphant Society of all their pious Anceſtors, and have receiv'd again thoſe unblemiſh'd Souls, which they willingly ſacrificed in his Service pure and immortal, at the Hands of that God, with whom they were ſo chearfully depoſited, and to whom be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

PHILO's Account of his Embaſſy,

FROM THE

JEWS of *ALEXANDRIA*,

To the EMPEROUR

CAIUS CALIGULA.

The Author's Preface *upon the Subject of* humane Frailty, *and the* Power *and* Providence *of Almighty God.*

HOW long are we to act like Boys at fourſcore: Our Heads covered with *Grey-Hairs* and not one Grain of Senſe in them! This is the Condition of all thoſe that ſet up their Reſt upon the *Stability* of Fortune, on the *one* Hand, and at the ſame Time abandon an *infallible Guide*, in the Dictate of *reaſonable Nature*, on the *other*; though nothing ſo *fickle* under the Sun, as the *Former*, or ſo *ſteady*, and *uncheangeable* as the other. At this Rate we confound and invert the Order and the Value of Things, as if there were no more in it than the ſhuffling of Counters, while we take *Certainties* for *Uncertainties*, and *Uncertainties* for the *contrary*. And what's the Reaſon of all this now, but that weak and ſhort ſighted Men ſee beſt at Hand; and give more Credit (right or wrong) to their Senſes, than to their *Judgments?* Whereas *Fore-ſight*, with a Reſpect to Things to *come*, and Things *inviſible*, muſt be the Work of *Argument* and *Reaſoning:* Not but that the Eye of the Soul is much quicker and ſharper than that of the Body; ſaving only where the Point of it is taken off, either by luxurious Exceſſes in eating and drinking, or by a ſtupid unthinking Ignorance; the greater Miſchief of the two.

We ſhall never need to look farther than into the Hiſtory of theſe Times, and the many wonderful Things that have fallen out in this Juncture, for the Proof, of an over-ruling *Providence:* A *Providence*, that takes particular Care of all virtuous holy People, but more eſpecially of thoſe, that with Humility and Reverence give themſelves up as a peculiar Heritage to the Worſhip and Service of the Almighty. Theſe are the People that the *Chaldæans* call *Iſraelites*, or [*Seers of God:*] Which is a Bleſſing more valuable than the Treaſure of ten thouſand Worlds. Now if the Preſence of a Perſon venerable for his Age; as a Governour, a Tutour, or a Father, ſhall have ſuch a Power over us to keep us in Awe, and within the Compaſs of Modeſty and Reſpect, in our Lives and Manners: What Advantages may we propound to our ſelves then in the Elevation of our Thoughts beyond all created Beings, and the inuring of our Souls to the Contemplation of an *uncreated Power!* Even God himſelf, who is *Goodneſs*, Beauty, and *Bleſſedneſs* in the higheſt Degree: And all theſe Excellencies infinitely ſhort yet of his unſpeakable Perfections. For how is it poſſible to expreſs in Words, a Point utterly inexplicable; or to advance, by the Scale of his Attributes, to the Underſtanding of an incomprehenſible Myſtery! A Myſtery, ſo inextricable, that if the whole Creation were but one Tongue, it would not ſerve to explain it: As his Omnipotency in the making of the World; his *Sovereignty*, in the monarchical Form of it; the Wiſdom of his providential Conduct, in the Order and Government of it; and the Juſtice of his Proceeding toward both good and bad, in the Retribution of Rewards or Puniſhments. Nay, and the Vengeance it ſelf is to be reckon'd among the Things that we are the better for: Not only for the natural Equity Sake of dealing by all Men according to their Demerits; but as Chaſtiſement proves many Times the Means of bringing People to a Sight and Senſe of their Crimes, or as it hinders them at leaſt from going on in their Wickedneſs: For the *puniſhing* of *one Man* is frequently the *Saving* of *another*, for Fear of the ſame Severity in Caſe of the ſame Offence.

CHAP. I.

The bleſſed Condition of the firſt Seven-Months-Reign *of the Emperour* Caius Caligula, *after the Death of* Tiberius.

THE Emperour *Caius Caligula*, that ſucceeded *Tiberius*, may ſerve for a lively Inſtance in Confirmation of what I have been ſaying: Never ſo univerſal a Peace and Agreement thorough all the Provinces both by Sea and Land: *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North*, and *South*, all in a profound Quiet; *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; *Soldiers*, and *Burghers*, living together like Brethren, and in the mutual Exchange of all neighbourly Offices of Friendſhip and Commerce. This was a Pitch of Felicity, to the Degree of almoſt incredible, for a young Prince to be welcomed to the Throne with an Affluence of all the good Things that his very Heart could wiſh: A prodigious Treaſure, both in Money and Plate; wrought, and unwrought, and as well for Ornament, as for Convenience: A mighty Power both at Sea and Land, and the whole habitable World contributing, as out of an inexhauſtible Fountain, toward the maintaining of his Armies. His Empire was bounded with the two Rivers, the *Euphrates*, and the *Rhine*, the former bordering upon *Germany* and other barbarous Nations; the other, upon the *Parthians*, the *Sarmatians*, and the *Scythians*, &c. a Sort of People not one Jot better civiliz'd than the other. So that from the *Sun riſing* to the *Sun ſetting*, as well upon the Continent, as in the *Iſlands*, there was nothing but Glee and good Humour: While *Rome*, *Italy*, and all the Provinces of *Europe* and *Aſia* kept *Holy-Day*, as we ſay, in a perpetual Feſtival. Never were People in fine, by the Bleſſing of Providence, ſo free and eaſy under any other Prince: For every private Man had ſo large a Share in the common Welfare that his good Fortune left him nothing more to aſk: There was hardly any Thing to be ſeen up and down the Towns, but *Altars*, *Victims*, *Sacrifices*, *Candidates*, *Garlands*, *chearful Looks*, *Feaſting*, *merry Meetings*, *muſical Conſorts*, *racing*, *treating*, *dancing to the Flute and Harp*, with all other Recreations imaginable: And the Poor all this while as well ſatisfy'd as the rich; common People as Perſons of Quality; Servants as their Maſters; Debtors as their Creditors: Such, in ſhort, was the Felicity of thoſe Times, for Plenty and Pleaſure and the univerſal Satisfaction of Perſons and Families, that it look'd as if the Poets Fancy of *Saturn*'s *Golden Age* were no longer a Fable. And this was the bleſſed State of Things for the firſt ſeven Months of *Caius*'s Reign.

CHAP. II.

The Emperour Caius *fell deſperately ill in the* eighth Month *of his Reign*; *to the great Affliction of the Provinces for his* Diſtemper, *and as great a Joy afterwards for his* Recovery.

CAius, in the Month following, and in the very Glutt of his good Fortunes, happened to fall extremely ill; for having quitted the temperate, and conſequently the healthful Courſe of Life he led under *Tiberius*, gave himſelf up to the Court-Liberties of *Luxury*, and *Riot:* As *eating and drinking* to *Exceſs*; the unſeaſonable Uſe of *Baths*. Nay and a Belly-full would not do his Buſineſs neither, without a Vomit after it to make Way for more. He had plung'd himſelf likewiſe into all Manner of *Uncleanneſſes*, with *both Sexes* indifferently, from common Appetites to the moſt unnatural of Luſts. He did all that was poſſible, in fine, by Senſuality, and Debauch, towards the dividing of Soul and Body: For as Health and Strength are a Bleſſing that naturally attends Sobriety, and good Order, ſo the contrary Way of Government is as certainly followed with Weakneſſes, Sickneſs, and Death.

It was now about the Beginning of *Autumn*, which is the Seaſon when the Return-Ships from all Quarters are upon their laſt Voyage, homeward bound, back again: Thoſe I mean that would not winter abroad. By the Accident of this Opportunity, the Story of the Emperour's Sickneſs was immediately diſpers'd over the whole World, and by that Means the univerſal Contentment and Satisfaction that the People enjoyed before the coming of that News, turned into as univerſal a Mourning. Upon this Change, the Towns and the Houſes were all in Tears and Lamentations, in Proportion to the Meaſure of the comfortable Condition they were in before. The Provinces themſelves were all ſtruck in the very Perſon of the Emperour, vour, and in a more ſenſible Manner too; for *Caius* ſuffered only in his Body, but the *People* in their *Minds*, for Fear of Loſing not only their Peace, but their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates alſo; for which they were ſolicitous, even to the Degree of Deſpair. Beſide that conſidering the fatal Conſequences that commonly attend the Death of Princes, whether by Famine, War, or otherwiſe; as Rapine, Depopulations, Baniſhments, Plunder, Impriſonments, Fears, Dangers, and Death it ſelf: All theſe Things conſidered, they could never think themſelves ſafe, or happy, but in the well-being of their Maſter.

The Emperour was by this Time upon the mending Hand, and the bleſſed News of it diſpatched away in a Trice to the furtheſt Quarters of the Earth; (for Fame flies like Lightning.) The People took this for an Earneſt of better Tidings, and fell into a violent Impatience upon it to hear further, till at Length their Longing was ſaved by ſeveral Expreſſes in Words at length, that the Emperour was perfectly recovered; which was the ſame Thing to the Provinces, as if they had been recovered themſelves, and reſtored to their former State and Humour of Jollity and Eaſe: Thoſe in the Iſles, as well as thoſe upon the Continent. Finally, there was never heard of in the Memory of Man, ſuch a Tranſport of Joy in any one People or Nation, for the Preſervation of any particular Prince, as was ſeen upon this Occaſion, quite thorough the Univerſe, for the Safety of *Caius* when he came to himſelf again. It look'd like a Tranſition (all in a Moment) from a ſavage Life to a ſociable and civil; from Deſerts to political Communities, from Confuſion to Order, and all theſe Advantages owing to the Government and Protection of a generous and a rightful Prince. But People were glad of many Things without ſeeing thorough them.

CHAP. III.

The horrible Ingratitude *and* Cruelty *of the Emperour* Caius, *toward* young Tiberius.

IT was not long before *Caius* gave the World to underſtand, that their Judgments were blinded, their Meaſures miſtaken, and that they governed themſelves more by Gueſs than by Knowledge. For this famous Prince, that was celebrated for the Profuſion of his Bounties and Favours all over *Europe* and *Aſia*, and for the moſt illuſtrious Benefactor to all glorious Purpoſes publick and private that ever was heard of: This Prince, I ſay, proved a Monſter; or rather he took off the Maſk, and owned himſelf bare-faced for what he was.

The Emperour *Tiberius*, had by his Son *Druſus*, young *Tiberius*, and by *Germanicus Caius Caligula*, whom he recommended in Preference to the Succeſſion, provided only, that he ſhould ſhew the Senſe he had of the Obligation, in his Reſpects to his *Grand-child*. But this did not ſatisfy *Caius*, yet to hold that by *Adoption*, which the other had a Right to by *Birth*; ſo that moſt barbarouſly and ungratefully, he cauſed his near Kinſman, the Co-heir of the Empire, and the next Succeſſor to *Tiberius*, to be put to Death, under a Pretext, that this *Tiberius* was in a Plot upon the Life of *Caius*; a very unlikely Project for a Youth of his tender Age to engage in. Beſide that it was generally thought that if the young Man had but had ſome few Years more upon his Back, the Emperour would have declared *Tiberius* his Succeſſor, for he was grown jealous of *Caius* already, and upon taking him out of the Way, the other would have had the Empire to himſelf in Courſe. But *Caius* inſtead of ſharing the Sovereignty with his Kinſman, as in Juſtice he ſhould have done, entered into an execrable Practice upon his Life too; and the Way he took to compaſs his End was this. He ſent for *Tiberius* in the firſt Place, and then calling a Council of his Friends about him, he made them a Diſcourſe much to this Effect.

“ As to this young Man, *ſays he*, (ſpeaking of *Tiberius*) I have not only the Kindneſs of a Couſin-German for him, but the Love and Tenderneſs of a Brother; and there is nothing in this World my Heart is ſo much ſet upon, as to take him in for a Partner in the Government, according to the Appointment of his Grand-Father, in his laſt Will and Teſtament. But Youth, alas, without Experience, ſtands in more Need of a Governour it ſelf, than of a Commiſſion to govern others. If it were not for this Difficulty, how glad and ready ſhould I be to eaſe my ſelf of one Part of the Cares and Troubles of my Office, over ſo many Nations, by dividing the Burden, for Fear of ſinking my ſelf under the Weight. But in the mean while, let him depend upon me for Protection and Advice; not only as a *Gover-*

“ *nour* to his *Pupil*, but as a *Father* to a *Son*, which for the future (and pray take “ Notice of it) ſhall be the Style betwixt us.”

This *Harangue* wrought ſo effectually upon the whole Council, and the young Prince himſelf too, that the very Ground-work, of the Plot was now as good as ſecured by it; for inſtead of confirming the Adoption, and poſſeſſing *Tiberius* of what he had a Title to, it made void the Grant of what was given him already: So that *Caius* was now left at Liberty to treat his Collegue and Co-Partner in the Empire, at what treacherous Rate he pleaſed. For the *Roman Law* gives Parents an abſolute Authority over their Children, and it gives the ſupreme Magiſtrate alſo as unaccountable a Power over the People, acting all Things at Will and Pleaſure; ſo that *Caius* had no more to do toward the gaining of his Point, than firſt to declare *Tiberius* an *Enemy*, and then to treat him like one, whether he were one or no. And this he did, without any Regard, either to his Years, or to an old Acquaintance; or finally, to his Quality, as a Perſon that had been trained up by the Emperour in a Proſpect of the Succeſſion: For after the Death of *Druſus*, *Tiberius* was to be reputed a *Son* rather than a *Grand-child*.

There goes a Report, that *Caius* commanded *Tiberius* to do Execution upon himſelf, and at the ſame Time ſtrictly prohibited ſeveral *Tribunes* and *Centurions* who were then preſent, to aſſiſt him in the Action, upon a Point of *Honour* forſooth, that it was not for the Dignity of the *Blood Royal* to be ſpilt by a *common Hand*. So careful he was of doing Things in Form, that he made a Scruple of the very Murder it ſelf that was not committed according to Law, and covered his Hypocriſy with a Maſk of Holineſs.

This innocent Prince that had never ſeen Blood drawn either in Jeſt or in Earneſt; no not ſo much as in a Mock-Combat, or the Repreſentation of a Battle in a Time of Peace; an Exerciſe well known among Princes and Men at Arms: This Prince, I ſay, what did he do, but firſt offer his Throat to every Man he met, and then when he ſaw no Body would do him the good Office, he took a Poiniard himſelf, and asked the People where he ſhould ſtrike, to make the ſureſt Diſpatch of a miſerable Life. They told him how and where, and he followed their Direction over and over. After this Manner was *Tiberius* taught in his Extremity how to murder himſelf.

CHAP. IV.

Caius *puts* Macro *to Death, to whom he ſtood indebted for his Life and Fortune.*

THis was *Caius*'s *Maſter-piece*, and the great Difficulty of his Life and Reign was now over; for he had no Competitor to fear, nor any Man of Credit that was able to make a Party againſt him. The next Blow was at *Macro*, wherein he ſhew'd himſelf cruel and ungrateful to the higheſt Degree.

This *Macro* had done him many ſignal and faithful Services, not only after his coming to the Crown, when a Paraſite, or a Court-flatterer would have done the ſame Thing; but even before his Advancement alſo, or I might have ſaid in Order to it; for he was look'd upon as the chief Inſtrument that prevailed upon *Tiberius* to make Choice of him for his *Succeſſor*. *Tiberius* was now in Years, and ever crafty, both upon the Account of a natural Sagacity, and a long Experience, and one that underſtood Men, no Creature better. He took up a great many Jealouſies concerning *Caius*, as a mortal Enemy to the whole *Claudian Family*; or if he had any Tenderneſs for his Relations, it was for thoſe he thought by the Mother-ſide. This put a great many troubleſome Scruples into his Head, what would become of the poor Child if he himſelf ſhould die before him. Neither did he look upon *Caius* as a Perſon competent for the Weight of the Commiſſion he pretended to, but as a Man that had neither Brains nor Civility; and one that by the Levity and Inconſiſtence of his Words and Actions, a Body would have judged ſcarce well in his Wits. *Macro* did all however that was poſſible to be done, for the laying of theſe Jealouſies, and the keeping of *Tiberius* quiet and eaſy. He would be often telling him how great a Deference and Veneration *Caius* had for his Perſon and Dignity; and in particular, ſo generous a Friendſhip and Reſpect for his Kinſman, that he would be glad with all his Heart to ſee him the ſingle Lord of the whole Empire, if it might ſtand with the publick Good: And that his Modeſty and Reſerve had the ill Fortune to be miſtaken for Want of Senſe and Reſolution. But this would not do, and when *Macro* perceived it, he offered to become bound Body for Body, that it ſhould be all made good upon the firſt Occaſion. Now *Macro* being a Man of a tried Fidelity to the *Cæſars*, and more expreſly yet to *Tiberius* himſelf in the Conſpiracy of *Sejanus*, (which *Macro* both *detected* and *cruſhed*) there was no Room left for a Doubt upon the Faith and Credit of the Mediator: For to ſhorten the Story, *Macro* was never well but when he was doing *Caius* ſome good Office or other, and commending him to *Tiberius*; at leaſt if it could be called a Commendation to defend a Man againſt dark Surmiſes and Reports, and uncertain Accuſations. But in one Word, he could not have done more for the neareſt Relation he had in the World, than he did for *Caius*. Some would have it that this was done in Conſideration of the good Underſtanding that had always been betwixt *Caius* and *Macro*, who was at that Time highly in Credit with the Emperour. Others aſcribed it to an *Intrigue* with *Macro*'s Wife, that for ſome private Reaſons, beſt known to herſelf, lay perpetually at her Husband on the Behalf of the young Man, to do him upon all Occaſions the beſt Offices he could; and there's no reſiſting the Charms of a wanton Woman that manages with Art and Addreſs.

Now *Macro*, that knew nothing as yet of his Wive's being falſe, attributed all her Fondneſſes and Careſſes to the Force of a conjugal Affection, and was thereby ſo far impoſed upon, that he took the moſt deadly Enemies he had in the World for his trueſt Friends. He was conſcious to himſelf how faithfully he had ſerved *Caius* in ſeveral Extremities, where his Life was at Stake; and in the Confidence of that Merit, he had ſome Sort of Right, he thought, to be plainer with him than another Man; for his Buſineſs was, like a great Maſter, to make his Work perfect, and laſting, by preſerving him both from himſelf and others. As for Example, when he ſaw him ſometimes aſleep at the Table, he would take the Freedom now and then to wake him, with a private Hint, that it was neither *decent* nor *ſafe*; for it laid him open to any Man that had a Deſign upon his Life. And ſo at any Time when *Caius* was playing the Jack-pudding with Buffoons and Tumblers, or laughing out-right at the ſcurrilous Conceits of a Merry-Andrew, like an ill-bred Boy; or perhaps playing a Part himſelf, in a Band of common Fidlers, if it was *Macro*'s Hap to be within Reach of him, it was his Way to give him a private Touch with his Elbow, a diſcouraging Wink, or ſome ſecret Whiſper, and at the End of all, this following Admonition.

“ It is not for you, Sir, to ſee, hear, and gratify your Senſes, like other Men, “ but you are to advance your ſelf as ſuch above the reſt of the World in the Dignity “ of your Mind, as you are in the Elevation of your Perſon. For what could be “ more incongruous, than for the Maſter of the World to entertain himſelf with the “ Amuſements of Singing, Dancing, inſipid Jeſting, and other Fopperies of that “ Kind! Whereas it is his Part, in all Caſes, Times, and Places, to uphold the Ma-“ jeſty of an imperial Prince, as a Shepherd ſet over the whole Flock, and improve-“ ing his Character daily. But *Macro* went further yet.

“ When it ſhall be your Hap, *ſays he*, to be at the *Circus*, the *Theatre*, or any o-“ ther publick Spectacle or Exerciſe, you are not ſo much to attend the Thing in it-“ ſelf, as the Induſtry in the Compoſure, and to reaſon the Matter thus; If People “ take ſuch Care and Pains to pleaſe the Spectators, without any Benefit to Man-“ kind, purely for popular Applauſe, and at laſt reckon it as an ample Reward to carry “ the Cauſe with Credit: What ſhall we expect from the Profeſſion of a much more “ excellent Art? That is to ſay, the Art of Government, which provides for Tillage, “ Planting, Navigation, and the Security of Commerce in the Eſtabliſhment of a “ reciprocal Exchange of Commodities all over the Provinces for the Supply one of “ another. Not but that ſome Perſons and Places have been teinted with a venomous “ Envy for this bleſſed Proviſion and Agreement; but the Malignity never went ſo “ far however, as to poiſon the whole World; no, nor the greater Part of it; here “ and there a Man, or a Family, or perhaps a City or two, might be concerned; but “ for whole Countries, or Nations, there has been nothing of it; eſpecially ſince “ your illuſtrious Family has had the Adminiſtration of the Government: But the “ Monſters that formerly had the Confidence to domineer in the very Hearts of the “ Towns, are now glad to ſhift for themſelves, like wild Beaſts, into Caves, and “ Hiding-Holes, and have left us in Exchange a beneficial Entercourſe of Correſpon-“ dence with all Quarters of the Earth; which is all ſubjected entirely to your good “ Pleaſure and Conduct. This Empire, in Fine, looks like a mighty Ship, and your “ ſelf by Providence ſet at the Helm, where you are left anſwerable for the Safety of “ the Veſſel, as you tender the Good of Mankind. Wherefore pray be ſure to have “ a Care of it, and make it the Buſineſs and Comfort of your Life, to promote the “ Happineſs of your People. Private Perſons may do many good Offices among them-

" ſelves, ſome one Way, and ſome another, both publick and private; but it is from " the Bounty and Wiſdom of the Prince alone, that the People can ever pretend to " be free and eaſy. He muſt have an open Hand, and a large Soul, and no Bar to " his Liberality, but what ſhall be found neceſſary for a Reſerve, to anſwer all the " Ends, the Needs, and the Chances of Government."

Here was a great Deal of Good-will and friendly Advice caſt away to very little Purpoſe; for *Caius* inſtead of being the *better* for't, was the *worſe*; and *Macro* utterly ruined, over and above, for the good Office; his Counſel rejected, and his Perſon treated with Contempt. For *Caius* had taken ſuch an Averſion to him, that when he ſaw him at any Time coming towards him, at a Diſtance, he would be ſaying to thoſe about him:

Look you, good People, here comes my Governour, but I thank my Stars for't it, I am out of my Wardſhip; he ſets up for my Maſter too, but I am paſt a Boy; and ſo likewiſe for a Monitor to one that underſtands the World better than himſelf. The Pedant *takes upon him to inſtruct an* Emperour *how to behave himſelf toward his* Subjects; *and an Emperour that underſtands all the Arts of Court-Politicks at another Rate than he can pretend to. This Man now has the Vanity to act the Part of my Maſter, but I would fain know where he learnt that Skill himſelf that I want. Alas! I have been trained up from my Cradle, to the Myſteries of State, under Variety of Tutors; as Father, Brothers, Uncles, Couſins, Grand-Fathers, Great-Grand-Fathers; beſide a continued Succeſſion of ſo many great Princes in a right Line, both by Father and Mother, to ſay nothing of the Seeds of Royal Virtues that ſhew themſelves commonly in the forming of a Governour. For as Children many Times reſemble their Parents, not in Face and Manners only, but in their very Motions, Humours, Habits, Geſtures,* &c. *ſo does Nature infuſe Royal Abilities into the very Veins of a Governour. And ſhall a Sot take upon him now to inſtruct me in the Myſteries of an Art that I brought into the World with me? And yet here's an obſcure, mean Wretch, that has the Face to lie tutoring me upon a Subject he knows nothing at all of himſelf.*

Caius was by this Time ſo embittered againſt *Macro*, that nothing leſs than his Life would ſerve his Turn; and whether the Charge were true or falſe, it mattered not, provided only that it would bear a Colour to make it plauſible. When his Head was working upon this Thought, he pitch'd upon a certain Expreſſion of *Macro*'s, for the Ground of an Accuſation.

" *Caius*, ſays he, is a Man of my making, and more obliged to me for what he is, " than to him that begot him. It was my Intereſt, that not only once, but thrice, " reſcued him from the Rage of *Tiberius*, when he would have put him to Death. " And then after the Death of *Tiberius*, when the *Pretorian Bands* were under my " Command, I gave up my Guards into his Hands, with this monitory Precaution, " that the Empire could never be ſafe and entire, but in the Hands of a *ſingle Perſon*."

This was all true beyond Contradiction, and not without the Approbation of ſeveral that heard it, who were not as yet acquainted with the dark and ſlippery Ways of *Caius*, and that Diſſembling and Hypocriſy were his Maſter-piece. Briefly, it was not many Days before the unfortunate *Macro*, and his *Wife*, were both taken out of the Way, by a Barbarity anſwerable in the other Extreme, to the Degree of ſo many generous Services. But this is the ungrateful Man's Way of reckoning with his Benefactors, and it was an honeſt Man's Reward too, for ſaving the Life of a Brute, and ſetting a Monſter upon the Throne. There goes a Report that the Man and the Woman were both forced to lay violent Hands upon themſelves, notwithſtanding the Tenderneſs of *Cæſar* for his *Miſtreſs*. But the Gluts and the Loathings of an irregular Love, are unaccountable.

CHAP. V.

Caius *puts his Father-in-Law* M. Sylanus *to Death, and ſeveral others.*

When this treacherous Prince had rid himſelf of the Danger of a Competitor, and cut off *Macro*, with his whole Family to a ſingle Man, in Requital for the ſaving of his Life and Empire, his third Exploit was to be upon his Father-in-law, *M. Silanus*, which he look'd upon as his Maſter-piece.

This *Marcus Silanus* was a Man brave, and nobly born; and his Daughter dying young, the Father paid *Caius* the ſame Reſpects ſtill, if not greater, afterwards than he had done before; not doubting of a reciprocal Return; and not imagining what a Weather-Cock he had to do withal. *Silanus* being a frank plain dealing Man, was much upon the Topick of *Morals* and *Politicks*, as the Offices and Functions

ctions of a Prince, and the Meaſures of good Manners and Government. Now this was a Freedom that he had ſome Sort of Title to, by his Quality and Station: Beſide that the Wound of his Daughter's Death, being yet freſh and bleeding upon him, the Senſe of the Affinity he thought could not be ſo ſoon forgotten. But *Caius* took all Manner of good Counſel for Reproach, and conſequently his beſt Friends for his mortal Enemies: Himſelf being ſo wiſe, ſo valiant, ſo temperate, ſo juſt, and, in Fine, every Way ſo perfect, in his own Conceit, that he reckoned it as a Scandal to be charged with the very Poſſibility of being better: So that whoever pretended to adviſe him, did it at his own Peril. He had a Quarrel alſo to *Silanus* as a Kind of Check upon him in the Courſe of his extravagant Luſts; and in that Fit of Outrage he bad a final Adieu to the Memory of his dead Wife, and followed the Barbarity with a treacherous Practice upon the Life of her own Father, and, at the ſame Time, to the moſt indulgent Father-in-Law under the Sun, in the ſame Perſon. The Fame of this Murder, and others little leſs conſiderable, that followed upon it, ſtruck the whole World with Horrour and Indignation, but they kept their Thoughts to themſelves, for Fear of the worſt. But for the People now, that are eaſily impoſed upon, and firm to nothing; the People, I ſay, were ſo far from believing it poſſible for a Prince to be ſo human, candid and generous one Day, and ſo mercileſs, falſe and bloody the next, that they took upon them the Juſtification of what he had done, and to plead the Equity of the Cauſe in his Defence.

" As to what concerns the Death of young *Tiberius*; 'tis againſt Nature, they ſaid, " to admit a Partner in Sovereignty, and it was only an Act of Prevention, to take " away the Life of a Man that would otherwiſe have taken away his Life, if he had " got him in his Power. Now *Caius*, in this Action, was not ſo properly to be called a Murderer, as an Inſtrument of divine Providence, in removing *Tiberius* out " of the Way, for the common Good of Mankind: For Fear of Factions, and Parties; ſome drawing one Way and ſome another, ſo as to embroil the Empire in the " Miſeries, both of a foreign, and of an inteſtine War. Now Peace is undoubtedly the " greateſt of Bleſſings, and what is it but an orderly Government that keeps People " quiet? That is to ſay, a Government where no Competitions are encouraged by any " Diviſion of the Princes.

They had their Reaſonings likewiſe upon the Caſe of *Macro*: "*Macro* they cried was " a proud haughty Man; and had forgot the *Delphick Oracle*, that bids every Man " [*know himſelf*;] giving to underſtand, that whoever cons that Leſſon well, can never " be miſerable, nor any Man happy without it. What has a Subject to do in the Province of a Prince, or to take upon him to teach his Maſter his Duty? 'Tis the *Sovereign*'s Province to *command*, and the *Subjects* to *obey*. At this Rate it is that the " ſilly People deſcant upon wholſome Counſels and Admonitions; partly for Want of " Senſe to diſtinguiſh one Thing from another; and partly for Want of Honeſty and " Plain-dealing, in the conſounding both of Names and Things.

" They had their Flirts at *Silanus* too: How ridiculous he made himſelf in claiming the ſame Authority over a Son-in-Law that a Father hath over his own Son: " whereas private Citizens make no Difficulty of giving Way to their own Children, " in Caſe of any honourable Charge or Preferment; but this Man had the Confidence, " without the very Pretence of being ſo much as a *Father-in-Law*, to intermeddle in " Matters he had nothing to do withal, for the Affinity died with the Daughter. " Marriage 'tis true, ties Families together for the preſent, but the Death of either " Party diſſolves the Relation.

This was the Talk every where to ſave the Emperour's Credit as far as poſſible: For the high Opinion they had of this Prince's Character above all others, for Bounty and good Nature had ſo far prepoſſeſſed them in his Favour, that they could not think any Thing amiſs of him, eſpecially upon ſo ſudden a Change, from one Extreme to another.

CHAP. VI.

Caius *ſets up for a* demi-God.

THESE three horrid Outrages, were as good to *Caius* as ſo many Triumphs over the Empire, in the Perſons of *Tiberius*, *Macro* and *Silanus*; for now theſe three were gone, he had nothing more to fear, either from the *imperial Family*, the *Soldiery*, or the *Senate*, *Silanus* being the Glory of that illuſtrious Body. But now he had gotten the World at his Feet, an arrogant Freak of Vanity carried him farther yet, and nothing would ſerve him but *divine Honours*, and tranſlating of the Emperour into a *demi-God*. Now the Ground of the Whimſy was this.

He fanſy'd to himſelf, that *as the Maſter and Leader of Troops and Flocks of Beaſts, as Shepherds, Goat-Herds, Herdſmen, and the like, are not Sheep, Goats, nor Oxen, themſelves, but reaſonable Creatures, and infinitely above them; ſo ſhould the ſupreme Governour of Men in Society, be allowed to have ſomewhat in him above the Scale of* humane Nature, *that may deſerve a Place among the* Gods.

This fantaſtical Imagination was no ſooner in his Head, but the Foolery went down with him for a Truth; and ſhew'd it ſelf ſoon after, in the Effects of his blaſphemous Phrenſie; as he went on farther and farther ſtill by Degrees. The firſt Step of his Ambition was to be a *demi God*; ſuch an one as *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Caſtor*, *Trophonius*, *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, and the like. He made himſelf Sport all this while, with their *Oracles* and *Ceremonies*, but ſtill aſſuming to *himſelf* what he took away from *others*.

And then he would be changing *Habits*, and *Perſons*, like a *Comedian* upon the Stage. One while he would act *Hercules*, with his *Lion*'s *Skin*, and his *Club*; another while he would dreſs himſelf with a Cap upon his Head, and perſonate *Caſtor*. Sometime again, he would appear in a *Faun*'s *Skin*, and his *Thyrſus* wrap'd up in *Ivy*, in Imitation of *Bacchus*. But he had this, peculiar to himſelf, that whereas his *Fellow demi-Gods* were well enough content with their ſeveral Enſigns, and Privileges apart, *Caius* engroſs'd them all to himſelf, for his own greater Honour, in the Outdoing even of thoſe that he envy'd

But that which drew the greateſt Train of Followers after him, was not that he had *three Bodies* like *Geryon*; but what was more wonderful, the Turning of one Body into ſo many Shapes, like *Proteus* in *Homer*, that transforms himſelf into *Elements*, *Animals*, *Rivers*, and what not?

But what are you the better, *Caius*, for this Way of reſembling the Figures of the *demi-Gods*, without imitating their Virtues? The Labours and the Hazards of *Hercules*, were all employ'd for the Good of Mankind, in delivering the World, both at Sea and Land, from the Monſters that infeſted it. *Bacchus* planted and cultivated the *Vines*, and drew a Cordial Drink from them in the Juice of the Grape, that cheers both Body and Mind. It lays our Cares aſleep, and at the ſame Time makes us forget our Misfortunes, and hope for better. *Wine*, in ſhort, makes us ſtrong, active and healthful: Private Perſons, Cities and Familes, are all the better for it; and a chearful Cup is but a Tranſition from Labour to Reſt; and when all is done, 'tis a Comfort and Relief, both to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, and their *Feaſts*, *merry-Meetings*, *Muſick* and *Dancings*, are nothing without it. Let this ſuffice now to the Honour of *Wine*.

Now as to *Jupiter*'s *two Twins*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the one of them was immortal, they ſay, and the other mortal; and the immortal Brother had ſo paſſionate a Tenderneſs for the other, that he choſe rather to devolve Part of his own Privilege upon his Brother, and to ſubject himſelf to the Fate of other Mortals, than to outlive ſo dear a Friend; *for*, ſays he, *what will my Immortality ſignify to me*, *after my Brother's Death but an everlaſting Mourning for ſo irreparable a Loſs*. upon this Pinch, he bethought himſelf of an Expedient, to compound the Difficulty, by dividing the Mortality and Immortality of the two Brothers equally betwixt them; and fixing two different Natures upon the ſame Bottom of Equity and Reaſon.

Now *theſe Worthies* were *famous Men*, in their Generations, and ſo they continue to this Day, both for their perſonal Piety, and the good Offices they have render'd to the publick; upon which Account they have made themſelves venerable for their *Virtue*. But now, *Caius*, what great or good Thing did you ever do, to entitle your ſelf to the Honour of a *demi God?* To begin with *Caſtor:* Inſtead of emulating the heroical Bravery of ſo generous a Friend and Brother; your Merit lies in the mercileſs and inhumane Murder of an innocent Prince, your own Fleſh and Blood, and rightful Copartner in the Empire; and that Murder follow'd with the Baniſhment of his Siſters, to ſecure your Uſurpation. Or what have you done after the Precedent of *Bacchus?* What new Invention that the World was ever the better for? Is Mankind ever the eaſier, or the happier, for you? But, to your Praiſe be it ſpoken, you have found out Inventions indeed. Inventions, that like an epidemical Peſtilence turn Joy into Heavineſs and Mourning, and make all People weary of their Lives. And pray what's the Return you make for the vaſt Treaſures that come flowing daily into your Coffers, from the four Quarters of the Earth, to gratify an inſatiable Avarice, but inſupportable Impoſitions, by unheard of Taxes and Tributes, to make the Burden of the Oppreſſion odious and intolerable. Is this a Way of Proceeding now, after the Example of *Bacchus?*

Or what ſhall we ſay in the next Place to the *indefatigable Hercules?* His publick ſpirited Labours and bold Adventures; wholeſome Laws, righteous Judgments; Plenty both at Sea and Land, and all to eſtabliſh Peace and Commerce over the Face of the Univerſe. Here's a ſhort Character of *Hercules*, and let us now compare the Copy with the Original, and ſee what a Picture we have gotten of that *Hero* in *Caius*. A dull ſlothfull Wretch, and ſo far from brave, that he's as timorous as a Hare: Nothing of Order, Quiet or Comfort, but on the contrary, Sedition, Miſery and Tumult, where-ever he comes. And this *Caius* ſetting up at laſt for a *Demi God* in Imitation of *Hercules*.

Now ſpeak *Caius*, is it for thy *Butchery* and *Tyranny*, that thou hopeſt to be made a God? Or is it thy Spite to Mankind, to conſider, that being immortal thy ſelf, all the Plagues thou haſt brought upon the World muſt be likewiſe everlaſting? Now I am of another Opinion, and that if thou wert already upon the very *Liſt* for a *God*, the Lewdneſs of thy Life would bring thee down again, into a State of Mortality; for if Virtue can make a God, Wickedneſs conſequently will degrade him. It is not for the Murderer of his Brother to take Sanctuary under the Protection of the moſt illuſtrious Friendſhip betwixt two Brothers that ever was heard of; neither is it for any Man to entitle himſelf to the Merits of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that lives in a Contradiction to their Principles of Honour and Virtue.

CHAP. VII.

Caius *grows worſe and worſe; and ſets up for a* God *of a* ſuperiour Order.

THE Madneſs of *Caius* was by this Time advanced to ſo extravagant a Pitch, that a *Demi-God's Place* would not now content him, without entring into a Competition with the Gods of the *firſt Rate*; as *Apollo*, *Mars* and *Mercury*. He began with *Mercury*, and ſo dreſs'd himſelf up in all the *Ornaments* and *Enſigns* of his Dignity, as the *Mantle*, the *white Rod*, the *Wings* and *Buskins*; valuing himſelf all this while upon *Order*, in *Confuſion* it ſelf, and *Reaſon* in the Head of a Man that's *Brainſick*. When he had done with *Mercury*, he ſtript himſelf of that Maſquerade, and perſonated *Apollo*, with a *radiant Crown* upon his Head, a *Bow* and *Arrows* in his *left* Hand, and the *Graces* in his *right:* Intimating, that we ſhould be forward and ready to do good Offices, and ſlow to puniſh.

After this, there were holy Songs and Dances exhibited to this *new God*; though well enough ſatisfied but a little before in the Perſon of *Bacchus*, with the Appellations of *Liber*, *Evius* and *Lycæus*. He would then again, by Fits, be taking upon himſelf the Perſon of *Mars*, accouter'd with a coſtly *Head Piece*, *Sword* and *Buckler*; taking his March, with his *Prieſts* and *Bravoes* on each Hand of him, and ſo act *Mars himſelf* to the *Life*, in the Execution of his Blood-thirſty Cruelties. This horrid Spectacle ſtruck an aſtoniſhing Terrour into all that beheld it; to ſee a *Counterfeit* uſurp upon the Honours of theſe *Heroes*, though a perfect Enemy to their Virtue, and reſembling them in nothing but their Habits; which have no further Meaning than as Intimations of the Bounty and Goodneſs of the Gods to thoſe that truly love and fear them. And what's the *Moral* now of *Mercury's winged Buskins?* But that being the *Meſſenger* or *Embaſſadour* of the *Gods*, as the *Greek* Word imports, and the *Bearer* of good Tidings, (as neither God nor Man would be the Author of ill News) 'tis fit he ſhould be quick in his Diſpatches where Haſte is ſo requiſite. And what again does his Wand or white Rod ſignify? But the Enſign of a League or a Peace-maker: For 'tis the Herald that puts an End to the War either by Agreement or Truce; and without the Mediation of this good Office we ſhould lie tearing one another to Pieces without either End or Meaſure. But what did *Caius's* Wings ſerve him for ſaving only to publiſh the execrable Lewdneſs of his Life and Manners over the Face of the whole Earth; a Scandal that on the contrary ſhould rather have been bury'd in Silence? Neither was there any Occaſion for the Figure of a ſpeedy Paſſage to a Wretch that might have ſtood ſtill in the ſame Place, and like an unexhauſtible Fountain have laid the World under Water. And what Uſe had he again for the Figure of a Wand or a Peace-maker that was never the Author of one temperate Word or Action? For there was nothing where he had to do, whether among *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, in private Houſes or in Cities, but civil Wars, Heart-burnings and Sedition: Wherefore our imaginary *Mercury* ſhould do well to quit a Name and a Pretence he has ſo little Colour of a Title to.

Neither is he one Jot liker *Apollo* than he was to *Mercury*. He wears a ſparkling Crown, 'tis true, and the Beams of the Sun artificially wrought upon; but what's the Sun to Deeds that would not bear the Light? An honeſt and a virtuous Action cannot have too many Eyes to look upon it, no not the Sun it ſelf in his Meridian Glory, and the brighter the better. But for foul, impious and diſhonourable Practices that will not ſtand the Teſt, as they were Works of Darkneſs in the very Conſcience of them, ſo let them remain condemn'd to the Regions of Darkneſs, and never ſee the Light. But let him change Hands now, and take the *Bow* and the *Arrows* in his right Hand, and deſtroy Men, Women and Children, Cities and Families according to his Cuſtom, and then let him cover the Graces in his left Hand, unleſs he had rather throw them away: For he is evidently guilty of horrible Oppreſſions, out of an immoderate Love of Money: And then follow his Rapines, with the Murder of the Proprietors; by which Means he turns the very Bounties of Providence into a Snare, by making it a Crime to be wealthy. And it is much the ſame Caſe with our mock *Apollo* in the Matter of Phyſick; who inſtead of being the Inventor of ſalutary Remedies, and of a good natur'd Readineſs to aſſiſt People, either in the preventing or in the curing of Diſeaſes, infects the ſound, makes Criples of Men in perfect Health, diſpatches Men before their Time, and enter'd ſo far into the Art of poiſoning, that if divine Juſtice had not given him a Check in the Courſe of his Wickedneſs, there would hardly have been one honeſt or ſubſtantial Man left, eſpecially in *Italy* and other populous Places; for there was more Gold and Silver hoarded up within that Compaſs of Ground than in the whole World beſide. But he began at Home, and ſhew'd himſelf the Scourge, the Plague, and the Ruine of the People. *Apollo* was as famous alſo for his *Predictions*, as for his *Phyſick*; but all ſtill for the Good of Mankind. For when People were in the Dark and doubtful, and in Danger of taking Good for Evil; he never fail'd with his *Oracles* to ſet them right, and to keep them from wavering. Nay, his Fore-knowledge of the Future was ſo certain, that Men believ'd it as if they had ſeen it with their Eyes. But what if we ſhould compare the doughty Oracles of *Caius* now with thoſe of *Apollo?* His *Prognoſticks* of *Infamy*, *Confiſcations*, *Exiles* and *Executions* to all Men of *Quality* and *Merit?* Where's the Affinity betwixt our *new Apollo* and the *other*, that never did the like? Wherefore let us have no more mock Songs of Joy and Triumph, to the Tune of true ones; for if the Counterfeiting of a Princes Image upon his Coin, be reckon'd a Crime, a *falſe Worſhip* is worſe certainly than *falſe Money*.

But the greateſt Surprize of all the reſt, is the taking upon him to perſonate the Strength and Bravery of *Mars*, with a broken Carcaſs that has not the Soul in it of a Woman, and then making no more Difficulty of putting the Cheat upon the Spectators, than as if it were but a Scene of a Play upon a Stage. But without any more adoe, take them Body and Mind, and no two Things can be more unlike. I do not ſpeak of the *Fabulous*, or the *Phantome Mars*; but of the *other*; by which we underſtand the Force of a natural Courage in the Protection of the Innocent, and for the Relief of the Oppreſſed, according to the *Etymon* of the *Greek Word*, Ἄρης from *ἀρήγειν*, to help. *Mars*, in Fine, has two Names; one of them a Lover of Peace, ſo far as it conduces to the Good of the Publick; and the other, as much a Friend to War, that is ſure to be attended with Blood and Confuſion.

CHAP. VIII.

Caius's *Rage againſt the* Jews, *for Refuſing to pay him* divine Honour.

HERE's enough ſaid to ſhew, that *Caius* had no Pretence to liſt himſelf upon the Roll of the *Gods*; no, not ſo much as upon that of the *Demi-Gods:* For there was no Sort of Agreement betwixt them, either in their Nature, or in their Eſſence; or more particularly, in their Inclinations and Manners. Men are blinded with their Luſts, eſpecially when they are ſeconded by Ambition, Obſtinacy, the Love of Contention, and the licentious Impotency of unbridled Appetites. But Men do not know when they are well, and this was our Ruine. Now *Caius* had nothing under the Cope of Heaven to fear, but the *Jews* to croſs him in his Deſign; being a People train'd up from their Cradle under the Care of *Parents*, *Tutors* and *Maſters*, the Doctrine of *holy Writ*, and the *Law* of *Nature*, to the *Belief* only of *one God*, the *Father* and *Creator* of the World. I ſpeak this of the *Jews*, for as to the *reſt*; Men and Women, Cities, Nations, Countries, Provinces; or I might have ſaid, well nigh the whole Univerſe, how much ſoever againſt the Grain, they join'd nevertheleſs with the Faction; cry'd up *Caius* to the Skies, and conſequently gave his Pride and Vanity ſome Sort of Reputation.

Nay, there were certain *Romans*, that deſcended ſo low, as to introduce the barbarous Way of Worſhip into *Italy it ſelf*, to the Scandal of their Liberties. But the

Jews, I ſay, were the only Nation from whom they apprehended any Oppoſition; a People, that rather than part with the leaſt Scruple of their *Country's Rites*, would embrace Death as cheerfully, as if it were but entering into a State of Immortality: For 'tis in this Caſe as it is in Buildings, take out one Stone, and though the reſt may ſeem to ſtand firm at preſent, Time will moulder it by Degrees, till it falls all to Pieces. And the Point in Queſtion was no Trifle neither, but a Matter on the contrary, of the higheſt Importance imaginable; and no leſs than the transforming of *Fleſh and Blood* into a *Deity*; and turning a *mortal Man* into an *immortal God*. A moſt execrable Blaſphemy; and the Fancy would have been more tolerable, if it had been the turning of a *God* into a *Man*, inſtead of a *Man* into a *God*. Beſide the Gap that it would open into all Manner of Wickedneſs, as Infidelity and Ingratitude to the Author of all Mercies and Bounties, in the Diſtribution of his Bleſſings and Graces to the common Good and Comfort of Mankind.

This was it that involv'd our Nation in ſo deſtructive and mercileſs a War. For what greater Miſery can befall a Servant, than to lie under the mortal Hatred of his Maſter? Now the *Subjects* of *Emperours* are *Servants*; but how eaſily ſoever they liv'd under *former Emperours*, the Government of *Caius* made their Condition inſupportable: A Prince without any Bowels of Humanity or Compaſſion: One that knew no other Law but his own Will, and abrogated all other Proviſions, as ſuperfluous. But ſtill of all other People under the Sun, ours were certainly the moſt deſpicable of Slaves and Drudges, under the arbitrary Rigour of a tyrannical Monſter, inſtead of a Father of his People.

CHAP. IX.

The horrid Outrages of the Alexandrians *againſt the* Jews, *upon this Occaſion of* Caius's Perſecution.

THE *Alexandrians* had no ſooner got Notice of the ſpiteful Practices of *Caius* againſt the *Jews*, but the Rabble immediately laid hold of the Occaſion to revenge themſelves upon them, for an old Grudge; and ſo enter'd into a Conſpiracy to put all in a Tumult. The Work went on ſo unanimouſly, that it look'd as if the Emperour himſelf had been a Party to the Uproar, or that we had been all Priſoners at Mercy: So brutal and bloody was the Execution they did upon us; breaking up of Houſes, turning Man, Woman, and Child out of Doors, and then rifling and carrying away all they could lay their Hands on that was precious. And this not done under any Awe neither, or in the Dark; like common *Night-Thieves*, that are afraid of being taken up and brought to Juſtice; but they committed theſe Robberies in the very Face of the Sun: Shewing what they had gotten to every Body they met, with as much Confidence as if it had been an Inheritance or a Purchaſe. Nay, they had Companies and Societies among themſelves, that went Sharers in the Booty, dividing the Spoil, even in the Market-Place, and the Proprietors themſelves, as it fell out ſometimes looking on; and not without Scorns and virulent Railings over and above.

This was a hard Caſe, at leaſt, if it may paſs for one, to have Men of Quality and Eſtates turn'd out of all in a Moment, and made Scoundrels and Beggars without ſo much as knowing their Fault. But ſo it is, that they were forc'd from their Habitations, and expos'd like Vagabonds to the wide World, and no Proviſions along with them to keep Life and Soul together. And this was all nothing yet, to that which follow'd. For after the cooping up of ſo many thouſands of Men, Women, and Children in a narrow Place, like Beaſts in a Pound; and nothing along with them to keep them from ſtarving, they made no Doubt of finding them in a few Days a Pile of Carcaſſes; for Want either of Food or of Breath, the Place being cloſe and ſmothering, and the Air corrupted with malignant Vapours from the vitiated Lungs of a confus'd Crowd of People: Which in this Caſe is but adding Fire to Fire. Now the Body is hot in itſelf, and that Heat requires a refreſhing Air from without to aſſiſt Reſpiration; but *Hot upon Hot* puts all out of Order.

Such, in fine, were the Difficulties of this Place, that there was no longer any living in it for Want of Air, ſo that the poor People were forc'd abroad in this Extremity; Some withdrew toward the Sea-ſide, others betook themſelves to ſome remote burying Places; ſome one Way, ſome another, and all gaſping for Breath. As for thoſe that ſtay'd behind, in any other Part of the City, or came into't afterward while this Outrage was a Foot, without knowing any thing of the Matter, theſe miſerable Wretches were batter'd with Tiles and Brick-batts, their Limbs broken, and their Brains beaten out with Cudgels, and thoſe Parts of the Body principally aim'd at, where the Wound or the Bruiſe was moſt likely to be mortal. And it far'd not much better with thoſe neither, who were coop'd up, as I ſayd, into that narrow Corner of the City, where they were beſet with Spies, in Caſe any of them ſhould venture upon an Eſcape; which was reaſonably to be expected, not ſo much for their own Sakes, as to ſave their Families from periſhing by Hunger. The *Alexandrians* kept a ſtrict Guard upon that Quarter; and ſo many as they found attempting to get away, they put them firſt to the Torture and then to Death; and no Cruelty was thought too much for them. There was another Body of theſe Brutes that planted themſelves upon the River-ſide, to lie in Wait there for the *Jewiſh Merchants*, and their Effects, which they took away in Sight of the Owners, and then burnt them alive; making Uſe of the Cabins, Oars, and the Timber of the Veſſel for the Fuel. Others were burnt in the Middle of the City, and in a Way much more terrible; for they made Uſe of *Bruſh-wood* inſtead of Billets, and when they had kindled it, they threw the miſerable Wretches into the Fire; but the Branches being moiſt and green, the Smoak was ſtronger than the Flame, and left no Coals behind. There were ſeveral drawn alive too, with Ropes and Cords through the Streets, and croſs the Market-Place; the Multitude inſulting over their Bodies even when they were dead: For after the quartering, and cutting of them Piece-meal, they trampled them under Foot, and with more than brutal Cruelty would not let one Bit of them appear to entitle them to a Burial.

Now the Governour of the Province, that might have put a Stop to the Courſe of this popular Fury, with a Word ſpeaking, if he had had a Mind to't: This Governour, I ſay, pretended a downright Ignorance all this While of the very Things he ſaw and heard, which was as good as a Commiſſion to them in what they did, and an Encouragement to worſe. There were Meeting-Houſes, or Places of Prayer up and down the City in Abundance; and there it was, that the People in vaſt Bodies, diſcharg'd their Venom next: In ſome Places by grubbing up their Groves and Trees; in others, they demoliſh'd the Houſes from Top to Bottom: In ſome again, they committed all to the Flames; but in ſuch a Tranſport of Rage and Madneſs, that the Fire took the adjoyning Buildings; as 'tis hard putting a Stop to a Conflagration where there's combuſtible Matter to work upon. To ſay nothing of the monumental and illuſtrious Memorials, that were ſet up by ſeveral of the *Roman Emperours*, in Honour of the *Jews*, and were all conſum'd at the ſame Time; as *Bucklers*, *Crowns*, and *Garlands*, *gilt Statues*, with their *Titles*, and *Inſcriptions*, &c. Which all People had a Veneration for. But the Faction was at that Time ſtark Mad.

And now to fortify themſelves yet more in the Prince's Favour and to ſecure *Caius* likewiſe, all that was poſſible , in the Execution of his bloody Deſigns; they apply'd themſelves to new Arts of Flattery, and Inſinuation, and this was the Way they went to Work.

There were a great many *Oratories*, where the *Jews* would have been too ſtrong for the Rioters if it had come to a Scuffle; and theſe they durſt not venture on, either to burn, or to pull down; ſo that they bethought themſelves of another Way of Proceeding, and how they might deſtroy their *Worſhip* and their *Manners*, *both in one*; that is to ſay, they erected *Caius*'s *Statue* in all the Meeting-Places that they could not demoliſh; and in the Chief of them, a Chariot with four Horſes of Braſs; an Invention that ſeveral officious Zealots were ſo fond of, as for Want of others, to make Uſe of old ruſty Jades, without either Ears, Tails, or Legs; being taken out of the *Gymnaſium*, or *Place of Exerciſe*, and, as they ſay, dedicated of old to *Cleopatra*, the great Grandmother of the laſt Queen of that Name. Now whether this was well or ill done, let any Mortal judge: I mean the Dedication of that to an *Emperour*, that had been firſt dedicated to a *Woman*: Beſides that it was old, and out of Faſhion, over and above, and in that Reſpect below the Acceptance of an imperial Patron: How ſhould they imagine, that a vain, a haughty, and a violent Prince, ſhould ever be pleas'd with any Thing ſo like a Mockery, under the Cover of a reverential Reſpect! And yet they had the Face to value themſelves upon the Merit of what they had done, and to expect a Reward for't. But the Service they laid the greateſt Streſs upon, was the Turning of ſo many *Oratories* into *new Temples*, and encreaſing the Number of them; wherein they did not ſo much conſult the Honour of their Maſter, as the gratifying of their own Paſſions, in wreaking their Spite all Manner of Ways upon the *Jews*. Now this is all as clear as the Sun. As for Example: There were a Matter of *ten Kings*, in the Space of *three hundred Years*; and not ſo much as *one Image* or *Statue*, *conſecrated* to *any* of them; notwithſtanding that they treated them at the ſame Time, in the Style and Title of *God's*. 'Tis true they knew them to be but *Men* all this while, when they made *Gods* of them. And why not a *God* of a *Man*, as well as a *God* of a Serpent, a *Crocodile*, a *Bird*, a *Beaſt*, a

Fiſh and the like? As we find in the *Ægyptian Temples*; *Altars*, and *Groves* that are conſecrated to the Honour of thoſe Creatures.

But as theſe People are the groſſeſt Flatterers under the Sun; and court Princes for their Fortunes, rather than for their Perſons and Virtues; they will be anſwering perhaps, that as the *Emperours* are greater, and more conſiderable than the *Ptolemies*, ſo 'tis but reaſonable they ſhould have more Honour done them than the other. A moſt ridiculous Pretence. For at that Rate, why had not *Octavianus* the ſame Honours done him before *Caius*, to whom *Caius* ſtood indebted for the *Empire*: A Prince, that after a Reign of three and forty Years, both at Sea and Land, did not leave ſo much as the leaſt Spark or Proſpect of a War, either in *Greece* or *Barbary*; but lived in the conſtant Poſſeſſion of a Peace, and in the Enjoyment of the Bleſſings of it to his dying Day. And yet *Octavianus*, after all this had none of theſe Honours done him. Was it for Want of *Blood* and *Family*, to entitle him to this Preferment? No, no; there was no Defect that Way, for he was much ſuperiour to *Caius* both by Father and Mother. Or can it be ſaid that he did not underſtand Men and Buſineſs? No Man of his Time certainly made a truer Judgment of Things, or diſcourſed Matters better. And for his Years then, never any Prince or Emperour had the Reputation of being Wiſe ſooner or of growing old more to his Honour: Inſomuch that he was celebrated for the early Pregnancy of his Underſtanding, by the diſtinguiſhing Character of *the old young Prince*.

And yet this incomparable Prince muſt be paſſed over, to make Way for *Caius*; a Prince, that by his Virtue, has in a Manner ſurmounted the very Frailties of humane Nature; and entitled himſelf by the Bravery, Conduct, and Juſtice of his Adminiſtration, to the venerable Name of *Auguſtus*: Not as an hereditary Honour tranſmitted to him from his Anceſtors, but a glorious Title, that began in himſelf and will deſcend to his Poſterity.

The whole World was in a Flame both at Sea and Land when this mighty Prince came to the Government. The Quarrel in ſhort was *Empire*; the *Maritime*, and the *Mediterranean Provinces* engaged in it under the Command of the braveſt Men among the *Romans*, Party againſt Party, and the greateſt Part of the World concerned in the Diſpute; Nation againſt Nation, and People againſt People, to the Degree of endangering a total Devaſtation, in the Conſequences of ſo bloody a Conteſt: For not only the Happineſs but the very Being of Mankind was at Stake upon the Iſſue, if Providence, in the critical Nick of this Juncture, when their Hearts were ready to ſink under the Burden, had not raiſed up a Prince of an illuſtrious Family, like a Guardian Angel to their Deliverance. And this Prince was *that Cæſar*, that by charming the Winds and the Waves, and laying the Storm, ſettled the whole Race of Mankind in an univerſal Peace: The Prince that brought a Remedy for all Sores, that had ſpread themſelves *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North* and *South*, thorough all Quarters: This was he, that in his own ſingle Perſon, ſet all the Provinces at Liberty, and put an End both to Wars and Robberies; and when he had cleared the Seas of Pirates, he repleniſhed them again with Veſſels of Trade and Commerce; and brought Order out of Confuſion, reducing the moſt barbarous and inhoſpitable of Nations, to a Temper of Society and good Nature; and making all the Towns as eaſie as if they had been perfectly free. He maintained Peace, and adminiſter'd Juſtice, and ſcatter'd his Bounties and good Graces among the People, in ſo generous a Way of Profuſion, that they wanted for nothing: And this was his Courſe and Practice to the End of his Days. And yet after all theſe Obligations, to ſo great and glorious a Benefactor, and the three and forty Years Government of *Ægypt* over and above, there was no Talk of *Statues*, or *Images* to his Honour in any of their *Oratories*. But yet if any Mortal could pretend a Title to a Reſpect ſo new and extraordinary, this Prince of all Men living had certainly the faireſt Right to it; not only, as the Author of the *Auguſt imperial Family*; and the beſt deſerving from all Mankind: But for taking the Power out of many Hands into one, and aſſuming the Care of it to himſelf, as a Prince perfectly skilled in the Art of Government: It was well ſaid, that *Sovereignty is not to be divided*, for many Voices are the Cauſe of many Miſchiefs. And this is not all neither, for the whole World had decreed him divine Honours, as Temples, Groves, Portico's, and ſuch Pieces of Curioſity and State, that new or old, ancient or modern, the World does not afford the like: Eſpecially that Temple of *Cæſar's* in *Alexandria*, under the Name of *Sebaſte*, a Piece incomparably above all others. It ſtands Situate over againſt a moſt commodious Harbour; wonderful high, and large in Proportion, and an eminent Sea-mark; full of choice Paintings and Statues, with Donatives and Oblations in Abundance; and then it is beautified all over with Gold and Silver; the Model curious, and regular in the Diſpoſition of the Parts, as Galleries, Libraries,

ries, Porches, Courts, Halls, Walks, and conſecrated Groves, as glorious as Expence and Art could make them, and every Thing in the proper Place: Beſide that the Hope and Comfort of Sea-faring Men either coming in or going out. Shall any Man think now that in ſuch a Caſe as this, and in ſo univerſal a Conſent and Concourſe of Nations, any Thing was wanting, that was juſtly due to the Honour of *Cæſar*, without ſetting up the *Statues* in the *Jews Oratories*. No Man in his right Wits can ſay there was. But why was it omitted then? Hear, and I'll tell you.

They underſtood the Generoſity and Juſtice of *Cæſar* ſo well, that they knew he would be as tender of the Rights and Privileges of the ſeveral Provinces, as of the Ceremonies of *Rome* it ſelf: But he did not think fit however to reject the good Will of his blind Flatterers; not that he approved of the Thing, but the Dignity of the Empire required it, as an artificial Way of creating a Veneration for the Government. Neither was he one Jot puffed up with the complemental Offers, as it appears by this, that he would never ſuffer himſelf to be treated in the Style of *God* or Maſter; ſo great an Averſion he had to ſo ſervile a Way of Adulation. Nay he would not ſtick to declare himſelf well ſatisfied with the *Jews* Refuſal to comply with this abominable Practice: He would never have ſuffered ſo conſiderable a Part of the City beyond *Tyber* elſe, to continue in the Poſſeſſion of the *Jews*, the greater Part of them being *Freemen* too, that is to ſay, Men that having been Priſoners of War, were ſet at Liberty by their Maſters to live according to the Laws of their Country and Profeſſion. He was no Stranger to the Nature of their *Oratories*, and their *Worſhip* there on the *Sabbath Days*, eſpecially, according to the Practice of their Fore-Fathers. He knew well enough too, of the *Collections* they made, and the ſending of them up to *Jeruſalem*, under the Name of *firſt Fruits*; and of *Miniſters* they had to offer *Sacrifice* for them; and yet he neither turned them out of the City, nor puniſhed them otherwiſe, as he might have done. Nay, and in *Palæſtine* it ſelf, the *Jews* were allowed the Liberty of their Country's *Worſhip*, without putting any Check or Reſtraint upon them, either in the Matter of their *Oratories*, or in the *Freedom* of their *Legiſlative-Aſſemblies*. Neither did he ſhew any Diſlike to the ſolemn Cuſtom of Offering up of *firſt Fruits*; but on the contrary, he had ſo great a Reverence for our *holy Worſhip*, that we have the Preſents yet to ſhew, of almoſt all his Domeſticks in that Temple of ours, in Token of his Approbation: Beſide his expreſs *Order for the Offering up of daily Sacrifices to the moſt high God, at his own Charge*, which Cuſtom is in Practice to this Day, and will continue ſo for ever as a Monument to the everlaſting Honour of this pious Emperour. And then upon any Occaſion of a Monthly Diſtribution of Money and Corn to be made among the People, he took Care that the *Jews* might have their Proportion of the Charity: Or if the Day for the diſpoſing of it happened to fall out upon the *Jews Sabbath*, when our People were not allowed either to give or take, or to do any Sort of Work, eſpecially for Profit, the Officers were commanded to reſerve their Share apart for them till the next Day. This generous Tenderneſs gave the *Jews* ſo great a Reputation in the World, that it kept their very Enemies in Awe, from breaking in upon the Sacredneſs of their Privileges.

The *Jews* were as eaſie alſo, under *Tiberius*, as under *Auguſtus*, though *Sejanus* did what he could to irritate him againſt them, and to embroil *Italy* in new Troubles. Now *Tiberius* quickly found, after the miſerable Death of *Sejanus*, that the Stories he had told him were only Calumny and Malice; and that *Sejanus*'s Buſineſs was only to clear the City of the *Jews*, as the Men the moſt likely of all others to oppoſe his impious Deſign upon the Life of the Emperour: Who, upon this, ſent Orders immediately to all the Governours of Provinces, to be kind to the *Jews* wherever they found them; ſome very few excepted, but for preſſing any *Innovations* upon them in Matters of *Worſhip*; that was not to be endured, for he looked upon them to be a peaceable, and a good Sort of People, and found nothing in their *Laws*, *Lives* and *Manners*, but what was very agreeable to the Meaſures of a well ordered Government.

CHAP. X.

One Helico *an* Ægyptian, *formerly a Slave, and at preſent a Favourite, exaſperates* Caius *againſt the* Alexandrian Jews.

CAius was now ſo puffed up with Pride and Vanity, that he really *took* himſelf for the *God* he *pretended* to be: And no People ſo forward, either *Greeks* or *Barba-*

Barbarians, to countenance the Phrenſy, as theſe *Alexandrians*; who are certainly the moſt artificial Diſſemblers, Flatterers and Hypocrites under the Cope of Heaven. They have ſmooth Tongues, Words at will, and the beſt qualified Men in Nature for the overturning of a State and laying all in Confuſion. He that would be well informed of the Veneration that theſe religious People have for the dreadful Name of *God*, needs but conſider that they treat their *Ibes*, their *Aſps*, and ſeveral other Animals in the ſame Style, whereby Men are eaſily impoſed upon, that are not well aware of the horrid Impiety of the *Ægyptians*; but for thoſe that underſtand their Humour, and make a right Judgment of Things, they lie as open to them as the Day. Now *Caius* was ſo beſotted, as to think that the *Alexandrians* believed him to be a *God* in good earneſt: For they acted their Part ſo well, that there was no Difference in Appearance betwixt a *falſe Worſhip* and a *true*; the Acclamations, and the external Formalities being the very ſame. This groſs Miſtake made him reflect upon all the Extravagancies of a ſacrilegious Zeal, together with the late Affronts upon the *Oratories* in particular, as an Impulſe of Conſcience and Affection. He had an Account ſent him daily from *Alexandria* of theſe Tranſactions, and no Poem or Hiſtory could have been ſo welcome to him: Nor any Intelligencers ſo fit for his Turn, as his own Domeſticks, to gratifie the Humour of their Maſter in the ſame Likings and Diſlikes. The greater Part of them were *Ægyptians*; an abject, vile Sort of People, train'd up in the Worſhip of *Serpents* and *Crocodiles*, and corrupted Body and Soul. The Head of this abominable Troop was one *Helico*, a mean and a wicked Wretch, that by lewd Arts had wrought himſelf into the *Court*. He had ſomewhat of the *Scholar* in him, that he got under his firſt Maſter, whoſe Slave he was, and he afterwards made a Preſent of him to *Tiberius Cæſar*. But the Prince's *Genius* leading him to what was *grave* and *ſerious*, and *Helico*'s Talent lying altogether upon the Buffoon, he took no Pleaſure in him at all. Nay, on the contrary, he had a natural Averſion, even in his Youth, for all Things that were trivial and light. But upon *Tiberius*'s departing this Life, and *Caius* ſucceeding to the Empire, *Helico* conſidered with himſelf, that he had now another Game to play with his new Maſter, who he ſaw was a Prince wholly abandoned to all Manner of vicious Licence.

“ Well, *ſays Helico to himſelf*, the bleſſed Hour is now at Hand, wherefore rouze,
“ and beſtir thy ſelf. Thou haſt a Maſter to thy very Heart's Wiſh; and thou haſt that
“ Maſter to thy ſelf at Pleaſure: A Turn of Wit agreeable enough, and a Faculty of
“ Droll and Banter, no Man better; to ſay nothing of pleaſant Conceits, Mirth,
“ Jokes and Raillery, peculiar to thy ſelf. Thou art equally the Maſter of Arts,
“ *liberal* and *illiberal*. Thy Tongue is well enough hung too, to cut a Hair betwixt
“ Satyr and Flattery; eſpecially when thou haſt a Prince in thy Power that takes delight
“ in Calumny and Reproach: For his Ears are always open, thou knoweſt, to foul
“ and falſe ſpeaking. And then never trouble thy Head to look further for *Matter*, ſo long
“ as thou haſt the *Jews Laws* and Ceremonies to work upon: And this is a Point of
“ Skill that thou haſt been inſtructed in from thy very Cradle; not from any one Maſter,
“ but from the Clamours and bawling Part of the *Alexandrian Rabble*. This is
“ the Caſe; and prithee let us ſee what thou art the better for thy Learning.”

Helico's Head was ſo ſet upon this whimſical Freak, that he would never let *Caius* be quiet for him Night nor Day, but be breaking in upon him ſtill in the very Privacy of his Receſſes; entertaining him with ſquinting, double-edged Stories, betwixt Jeſt and Earneſt, and the ſharper the pleaſanter. But his Way was not to play the Informer bare-faced, or to own himſelf for what he was, but he did the *Jews* more Miſchief by a Side-wind, and under the Diſguiſe of a Hint or an Alluſion, than he could have done in the Quality of a profeſſed Enemy.

When the *Alexandrian Ambaſſadors* came to underſtand the Menage of this *Intrigue*, they made it their Buſineſs to bring *Helico* over into their Intereſt; ſome ſay, by great Sums of Money in Hand, or at leaſt by large Promiſes, both of Treaſure and of Honour, ſo ſoon as *Caius* ſhould come to *Alexandria*. It ran mightily in the Head of *Helico* to think of the Reſpects he was to receive in the Preſence, not only of his Maſter, but of ſo many eminent Perſons as would be ſure to appear from all Quarters upon ſo ſolemn an Occaſion, and in Veneration to ſo great a Prince. So that *Helico* promis'd fair in the Concluſion.

We had been hitherto ſo taken up with the Thought of our kown and open Enemies, that we never ſo much as dreamt of the Danger of a *ſecret one*, in the Perſon of *Helico*. But when we came to find our Miſtake, we made a Tryal to work upon him by Flattery and fair Words, as the Man of the whole World we had the moſt Reaſon to dread, for he was in with *Caius* at all his *Exerciſes*, *Liberties* and *Entertainments*; as *Balls*, *Wreſtling*, *Bathing*, *Feaſting*, beſide all Manner of ſenſual

Pleaſures. And which is more than all the reſt, he was the firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, ſo that upon all Occaſions he was ſure of the Emperour's Ear. His Diſcourſes were much at the Rate of a *ſcurrilous Buffoon*, and yet ſo temper'd betwixt ſweet and ſour, that they were at the ſame Time the ſharpeſt, and the moſt agreeable Mixture that could be imagin'd; it being his principal Deſign to *pleaſe Caius*, and at the ſame Time to *ruine us* by Scandal and Subornations; though the former fell in only by the Bye, and the other was in Truth his main Buſineſs. But in the End, out comes Story upon Story ſo artificially put together, and improv'd with ſuch Aggravations, that the Impreſſion was never to be forgotten or defac'd.

CHAP. XI.

The Jews *of* Alexandria *ſend* Deputies *to* Caius, *with an Account of their Grievances, and* Philo *the chief of their Embaſſie.*

WHEN we had done all that was poſſible toward a better Underſtanding with *Helico*, and found him ſo intolerably proud and inacceſſible, that there was no ſpeaking to him, we let that Project fall, and bethought our ſelves of another Expedient, which ſeem'd no leſs neceſſary, and yet more likely to take Effect, not knowing all this while, but it might be ſome perſonal and particular Pique againſt the *Jews*, that made him fall ſo ſpitefully upon *us*. Now the Courſe we took was this: It was thought reaſonable to preſent *Caius* with a *Petition*, in the Nature of a *Remonſtrance* of all our Grievances, and a Prayer for Relief. This *Petition* was, in Truth, but the Abſtract of a longer Addreſs, that was deliver'd a little before to *King Agrippa*, when he call'd at *Alexandria* in his Way to *Syria*, to take Poſſeſſion of a Government the Emperour had conferr'd upon him. We were thus far advanced in our Way toward *Rome*, under a great Miſtake it ſeems; for whereas we made no Doubt of finding *Caius* a Prince of Honour and Juſtice, he prov'd on the contrary, the moſt implacable Enemy we had to do withal; but with the Words and Countenance, and under the Mask ſtill of a generous Friend. It was in the Field of *Mars*; (a Field near *Tyber*) that he ſaluted and received us, and ſo he gave us to underſtand by a Sign of his right Hand, that we were heartily welcome; he ſent *Homulus* alſo the *Introducer of Ambaſſadours*, to tell us, he would take Cognizance of our Cauſe at Leiſure: Which made all People conclude, both *Jews* and *Strangers*, that our Buſineſs was as good as done. But *Wiſdom* and *Experience* taught me better Things, than to judge by Appearances, and ſo that which pleas'd the reſt of the Company troubled me, and gave me a Jealouſie upon the main; whereupon I reaſoned the Matter thus with my ſelf. "Here are Ambaſſadours from
" all Parts of the World; and what's the Meaning of it, that the *Jews* are only to
" be heard; beſide that they are known to be *Jews*, and a People that will content
" themſelves to ſtand upon the ſame Level with the reſt. But for us, in Fine, to ex-
" pect a Privilege from a Stranger, a young and a free Prince, would be next Door
" to Madneſs. He is partial to the *Alexandrians* without Diſpute, and it is for their
" Sakes, that he preſſes the Matter to an Iſſue. I ſhould be glad to ſee him an indif-
" ferent Arbitratour betwixt Party and Party, but I dread the Thought of finding
" him an *Advocate* for *them*, and an *Enemy* to *us*."

CHAP. XII.

Caius *orders* Petronius *the Governour of* Syria, *to ſet up his* Statue *in the Temple of* Jeruſalem: Philo *and his* Collegues *are inform'd of it.*

THESE Thoughts kept me waking, and in this Anxiety I was ſurpriz'd with a diſmal Accident not to be foreſeen, and an Accident that boaded Deſtruction to the whole Nation of the *Jews*. There was no Importuning of *Caius* in the Matter, and ſo we only follow'd him out of Town to *Puteoli*, whither he went to take the Air at the *Sea-ſide*, and to divert himſelf from Place to Place, in the Sight of goodly Towns and Palaces, which are thereabouts in Abundance. While we were waiting there in daily Expectation of an Audience, and highly ſolicitous what would become of our Cauſe; up comes a Man to us trembling, and out of Breath; with his Eyes blood-ſhotten; and after ſtanding a while at Gaze, he withdrew a little out of Hearing, for there was Company by. *And hark ye*, ſays he ſoftly, *do you hear any News?* And as he was going to tell ſomething, he guſh'd out into Tears that put a Stop to his Speech. He offer'd at it again and again, and was ſtill prevented. But ſeeing him at laſt ſo frightful a Spectacle, we beſought him to tell us what he came thither for, unleſs he came purely for crying Sake; but if there was any Matter of Moment that was worth the while, we begg'd our Parts of it, for Mourning was our daily Exerciſe: But in the End, after many a Sigh and Sob, *our Temple*, ſays he, *is utterly ruin'd*; *for* Caius *has commanded his Image to be ſet up in the Sanctuary, with* Jupiter's *Name upon it*. This dreadful News ſtruck us all ſenſeleſs that heard it; and the Truth of it was quickly confirm'd by ſeveral others. Upon this, we all withdrew together into a Cloſet, where we ſhut up our ſelves, and there condol'd our Misfortunes publick and private; as Grief is talkative, and will never want Matter to work upon.

Little did we think, when we committed our ſelves to the Hazards of raging Seas, and a tedious Winter Voyage, to deliver us from our perſecuting Oppreſſors; little did we think, I ſay, of a Storm at Land, and that the ſaddeſt Part of our Calamity was yet to come; for Winter Blaſts are but according to the Courſe of Nature, in the Diſtinguiſhing of the Seaſons; and the Works of Nature, are but in other Terms, the Operations of Providence, in Order to the common Good of Mankind. But the Author of this Tempeſt has nothing either of humane or prudent in him; a turbulent and an ambitious young Man; and ſo much the more dangerous, for having the Power of the whole Empire to ſupport him. For who ſhould dare to intercede in Caſe of Need, or but ſo much as open his Mouth upon the Temple's Behalf, to the moſt ſacrilegious Enemy of all Men living; for it would be againſt common Senſe, to expect Mercy out of Cruelty; and to depoſite the Hopes of our Preſervation, in the Hands of our Perſecutors? A Temple as venerable all over the World as the Sun in the Firmament; and we may be ſure, that he that refuſes to ſpare that Temple will ſpare nothing.

“ Well! and why ſhould not we die then; eſpecially when he that lays down one “ Life for the Laws and Religion of his Country, is ſure of a Life more glorious in “ Exchange. But he muſt be a Madman at laſt however, that caſts away a Life at “ this Rate, which no Body is the better for. So that ſuch an Inſtance as this would “ but be the Addition of one more to the Roll of our former Calamities: Eſpecially, “ we being here under the Character of *Ambaſſadours*; and in a Point where the Prin- “ cipals are more concern'd than the Deputies. Nay; we ſhall not want envious and “ malignant Spirits over and above, and of our own People too, to make the worſt of “ Things, and to impute any glorious Reſolution to a wrong Cauſe. The Ambaſſa- “ dors, *they'll ſay*, found themſelves at a Plunge, and ſo quitted their Station, deſert- “ ing the Common-wealth when they found it in Danger, in Order to the promot- “ ing of their own private Intereſt. But the leſs muſt give Way to the greater: Pri- “ vate Matters to Publick, and where-ever this Order is broken or confounded, the “ whole Government is at Stake and out of Frame; and in one Word, where the “ Polity of the *Jews* comes once to be ſubjected to the Queſtion, 'tis a Step toward “ the Aboliſhing of the very Name of the Nation, where there is an Agreement of “ Power and good Will in the doing of it. We cannot, in Fine, abandon the *Alex-* “ *andrian Jews*, for the whole Nation of the *Jews* is at Stake upon it, being falſe to “ our ſelves; and it is to be fear'd, that this cruel Oppreſſor will extirpate us all from “ off the Face of the Earth. It will be ſaid, perhaps, that if we can make nothing “ of it either Way, we are at Liberty to come off at laſt, in Caſe of the worſt. To “ which I anſwer; he that makes ſuch a Propoſition, has neither Courage nor Scrip- “ ture in him. Generous Natures will hope the beſt, and holy Writ lays the Foun- “ dation of that Hope, to all thoſe that heartily embrace the Doctrine; and who knows “ now at laſt, but this may be for a Tryal of our *Conſtancy* and *Virtue* in the worſt of “ Fortunes? *Adieu* then to all worldly Comforts and Supports: They are falſe and “ fickle, and leave us when we have moſt Need of them. *Adieu*, I ſay, to vain Con- “ fidences, and let us caſt our ſelves in a firm and lively Faith upon the Goodneſs of “ God; who hath ſo often deliver'd us already, and will never forſake us.” After this Manner we comforted our ſelves, and one another in all Caſes of Surprize, and in the Hopes of better Times.

When we had gone thus far, and after a ſhort Pauſe, we apply'd our ſelves to the Bearer of this diſmal News. “ You do not conſider, *we told him*, that what you have “ ſaid as yet, is but as ſo many live Coals thrown into our Ears as you have utter'd “ Words; for you have only told us the Matter of Fact, which ſignifies nothing “ to our Satisfaction without the Reaſon of it, and without Knowing what it was “ tranſported the Emperour into this horrid Reſolution.”

“ Why then, *ſays the other*, to tell you that which every Body knows, *Caius* has “ a Mind to paſs for a *God*; and looking upon the *Jews* as the only People likely to “ oppoſe him in his blaſphemous Pretence; he reſolv'd, if poſſible, to remove that

“ Obſtacle out of the Way, toward the facilitating of the Work. And this could not be better done, he thought, than by beginning with a Contempt and Indignity upon the holy Temple, which was allow'd at all Hands to be the moſt glorious Piece in the Univerſe, both for Ornament, and a vaſt Treaſure in Preſents and Oblations which had been ſo many Years a gathering, and which *Caius*, in the Concluſion, had the Face and Confidence to aſſume to himſelf. Beſide that he was now further exaſperated by *Capito* the *Quæſtor*; which *Capito* was alſo the Receiver of the *Tributes* in *Judæa*, and a Fellow that by his Actions and Oppreſſions, had made himſelf odious to all the Provinces. He came thither poor, and when he had ſo enrich'd himſelf by Fraud and Corruption, that he was afraid of being call'd to an Account for't, he found it his beſt Way to complain firſt; and to prevent an Accuſation with a Calumny, by the Improvement of an Opportunity that lay fair for his Purpoſe.”.

“ *Jamnia* is a City of *Judæa*, wonderfully populous, and the Inhabitants, all *Jews*; ſome few Strangers excepted, that to our Coſt came thither out of the bordering Countries to make Acquaintances, or as we ſay, to ſee Faſhions: Over and above that they are never without ſome Plot or other againſt the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*. So ſoon as ever theſe People came to underſtand the extravagant Ambition of *Caius* after *divine Honours*, and his deadly Malice to the whole *Jewiſh* Nation: Matters being now ripe for a Plot, they preſently cauſed an *Altar* to be erected, of Clay wrought into Bricks out of pure Spite to the Citizens: For they knew well enough, that this Violation of our Laws would prove the Ground of a Quarrel, and ſo they found it: For the *Jews* gather'd together preſently, and demoliſh'd the *Altar*, the other Party applying themſelves to *Capito* for Redreſs. Now *Capito* was the Author and Contriver of the whole Tragedy, and bleſſing himſelf to ſee every Thing ſucceed ſo to his Wiſh, he ſent an Account of it immediately to *Caius*, with inflaming Aggravations to make the Matter look worſe than it was. This arrogant hot headed Prince, had no ſooner receiv'd the Intelligence, but he preſently gave Order for the erecting of a glorious *Coloſſus* in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, in Revenge of the *Brick Altar* that was pull'd down in *Jamnia*; and this was done by the Counſel of his two doughty Adviſers, *Helico*, the *Court Buffoon*, and *Apelles* the *Tragedian*; who from a Proſtitute in his Youth, went over afterwards to be an Actor upon the Stage; a Sort of People that are look'd upon in their *theatrical Liberties* to be the *looſeſt* and the moſt *ſhameleſs* of all Profeſſions. And theſe were the Men that *Caius* pitch'd upon to inſtruct him in the Arts of *Singing* and *Raillery*, without ſo much as ever thinking of the Duties of Juſtice, and the Care of maintaining the publick Peace. Thus did *Helico*, like a Scorpion attack the *Jews* with an *Ægyptian Venom*, and *Apelles* at the ſame Time as an *Aſcalonite*, that is to ſay, as a Member of a Nation that's never to be reconciled to the bordering *Jews*.”

Every Word of this Relation, with the very Names of the Perſons that were mention'd in it, went to the Hearts of us; but the learned Counſellors liv'd in a ſhort Time after, to receive Rewards according to their Deſerts. *Apelles* was taken up, laid in *Chains*, and put to exquiſite *Tortures*, and ſo conſequently to a lingring Death: And *Helico* was afterwards put to Death by *Claudius* the Succeſſor of *Caius*.

CHAP. XIII.

Petronius *finds great Difficulty to execute the Order of* Caius *for erecting his* Statue *in the Temple of* Jeruſalem.

AND now came *Caius*'s *Order* for the conſecrating and erecting of his *Statue*; which was drawn with all the Caution in the World to ſecure the Execution of it. As particularly, *Petronius*, the Governour of *Syria*, was expreſly commanded to draw out one Half of the Army that lay upon the River *Euphrates*, as a Guard of Defence againſt any Inroads and Incurſions of the *Eaſtern* Kings or Nations; and with theſe Troops to attend the *Statue*, not for the Solemnity of the Dedication, but for a Terrour to any that ſhould dare to oppoſe it. *Ah cruel Prince!* ſays *Petronius* to himſelf, *when thou thy ſelf knoweſt before-hand, that theſe People will rather die a thouſand Deaths, than ſubmit to ſuch an Impoſition. And then what ſignifies the calling of an Army, but in Order to the conſecrating of the Villany, with the Blood of ſo many thouſands of Innocents.*

Petronius was miſerably divided within himſelf upon this Commiſſion. There was *Danger* in *refuſing*; *Danger* in *delaying*; and *Danger* again in the very *ſhuffling* *of it off*: Beſide the infinite Difficulties on the other Hand in Caſe of a Complyance; for he made no Doubt at all of the *Jews* ſtanding out all Extremities, at what Hazzard ſoever. All Nations are tender and jealous of their Privileges and Cuſtoms, but the *Jews*, above all others; they look upon their *Laws* to be no leſs than *divine Oracles*, and they are train'd up to the Love and Study of them, from their Cradles. They bear them in their Hearts, and the more they think of them, the greater Reverence they have for them. They treat all their *Proſelytes*, with the Privileges of *Free-Citizens*, and the Veneration they have for the Dignity of their Profeſſion, is ſo ſacred, that they would rather part with any Thing, than the leaſt Scruple of their Duty. But the high Eſteem they have for their *holy Temple*, ſurpaſſeth all the reſt: Witneſs the Law that makes it *Death without Mercy*, for any Man to ſet Foot within the Sanctuary, whereas the reſt is open indifferently to all of their own Nation from what Province ſoever they come.

This was a Matter of ſo great Importance, that *Petronius* bethought himſelf over and over upon it, without coming to a Reſolution; but in Concluſion he call'd a Kind of a Council upon the Queſtion, and upon ſumming up all Arguments and Opinions the Reſult was this. *That there muſt be no* Innovations *in Matter of* Religion. Firſt, *Becauſe Nature and Equity are both againſt it: And*, Secondly, *for fear of unhappy Conſequences, not only from God himſelf, but from the Paſſions of violent and revengeful Men.* He took into his Thought alſo, the prodigious Extent of this populous Nation: A People, not coop'd up in this or that Quarter, like other Men, but diſpers'd over the World; the *Iſlands* as well as the *Continent*. So that upon the Computation, the *Jews* are reckon'd to be well-nigh as numerous as all the reſt. *Now*, ſays *Petronius*, *how far it may ſtand with the Reaſon of the Caſe, to provoke ſo many* Myriads *of Men into one common Confederacy, may deſerve a farther Conſideration; for all theſe Multitudes united into one Maſs, would be able to drive the whole Earth before them. To ſay nothing of the vaſt Numbers in* Judæa *it ſelf; a brave, hardy, and a Well-diſciplin'd Sort of People, that had much rather undergo a generous Death, than outlive the Laws and Religion of their Country: How barbarous ſoever in the Opinion of their Enemies, yet in Truth and Effect, moſt generous and noble.*

The Governour had another Jealouſy alſo, of the Troops on the other Side of the *Euphrates*; as *Babylon*, and ſeveral other Provinces, that to his certain Knowledge were in the Intereſt of the *Jews: For*, ſays he, *they ſent their* yearly Contributions *of holy Treaſure, as they call it, up to the Temple under the Name of the* Fruits, *and they all came ſafe, though the Ways were difficult and dangerous; as what is it, that Piety and Reſolution will not make eaſie? But the main Difficulty is yet behind; which was, that upon the firſt Tidings of this* new Dedication, *they would immediately take the Field, march directly up to them, beſet and ſurround them, and then cut them to Pieces.*

When *Petronius* had been thinking a while at this Rate, back and forward, he paſs'd a ſhort Reflection or two upon the Humour and the Character of his Maſter. *The Perſon*, ſays he, *under whoſe Command I am now to act, is a young Prince. His Will is his Law, and whether it be juſt or not, Right or Wrong, 'tis equally dangerous to oppoſe, either the one or the other, or to diſtinguiſh one from t'other, but by this Meaſure. If he ſays he's a* God, *who ſhall* dare *to ſay the* contrary? *So that in this Caſe, 'tis as much as a Man's Life is worth, either to* obey, *or* not. *The one Way a Man is liable to the Chance of* War; *(which in Truth is but doubtful:) and the other Way the* Diſobedience *is certain* Death.

CHAP. XIV.

Petronius *ſets People at Work upon the* Statue; *the* Principals *of the* Jews *refuſe to receive it. They get Leave to ſend their* Deputies *to the* Emperour *about it.*

THE *Roman Officers* that ſerv'd under *Petronius* in the Government of *Syria*, were all of them for a *War*, giving for granted, that in Caſe of declining it, the firſt Fury of the Emperour's Diſpleaſure would fall upon them as the Heads of a Sedition. So that it was ſo much Time clear gain'd, as was ſpent in Deliberations and Put-offs, till the *Statue* might be got ready; for there was none brought out of *Italy*; nor ſo much as any Order taken for the beſt that might be found in *Syria*, which was a ſpecial Act of Providence in Favour of God's People; for the Tumult would have broken out elſe before they could have made any Proviſion againſt it: For a Man is not half himſelf in the Hurry of a Surprize.

Wherefore *Petronius* gave Orders for a *Statue* to be made; and ſent for the greateſt Maſters of *Phœnicia*, to adviſe withal about it, ſupplied them with all Materials, and *Sidon* was the Place appointed for the Work. He ſent Notice likewiſe of the Emperour's Pleaſure to the high Prieſts and eminent Officers of the *Jews*, adviſing by all Means to ſubmit cheerfully to their Maſter's Pleaſure, for fear of worſe Conſequences. For the *Syrian Troops*, he told them, had their particular Orders to lay the whole Country waſt with Fire and Sword, in Caſe of Diſobedience. Now *Petronius* went this Way to work, upon an Opinion that if he could but mollifie the great ones, the reſt would follow in Courſe. But he was wonderfully out in his Conjecture; for the very Mention of the Thing ſtruck them into ſuch a Conſternation, that they burſt out into ſo profuſe an Exceſs of Weeping, as if their Eyes had been Fountains of Tears, and all this without one Word ſpeaking: And from thence they paſſed into frantick Violences of tearing their Hair, and their Beards, and ſo by Degrees into Lamentations in Words at Length.

“ And have we lived now, they cryed, to ſee, at this Time of Day, that which
“ none of our Fore-Fathers ever ſo much as thought of! But what do we talk of
“ ſeeing any Thing without Eyes to ſee withal? For, rather than entertain thoſe
“ Eyes we have, with a Spectacle ſo impious and execrable, that a Body cannot ſo
“ much as hear or think of it without Horrour: Rather than ſo, *I ſay*, we'll part
“ with our Eyes and our miſerable Lives together.

The Fame of this Reſolution was no ſooner gotten into *Jeruſalem* and ſo up and down into *Judæa*, but the *Jews*, all as one Man, quitted their Towns, Caſtles, and Dwellings, and drawing into a Body, as by Conſent, they took their March directly toward *Phœnicia*, to look for *Petronius*, who was then at his Command. Upon the firſt Sight of this prodigious Multitude, ſeveral of *Petronius*'s Friends adviſed him to look to himſelf, for there was a mighty Army advancing againſt him, and ſo they took it to be, as believing it impoſſible for the *Jews* alone to furniſh ſuch a Body.

As the *Jews* advanced ſtill nearer and nearer, they came at laſt to cover the whole Country as with a Cloud, but without either Arms, all this while, or any Thing of Guards, only the Air was filled with Ourcries and Lamentations, to deafen a Body, and when the Noiſe was gone, the Echo ſtill continued. When the clamorous Part was over, they entertained themſelves with Diſcourſes and Ejaculations ſuitable to the Occaſion. The People marched in *ſix Diviſions*, *old Men*, *young Men*, and *Boys*, *old Women*, *young Women*, and *Virgins: Three* on the *one* Hand and *three* on the *other*.

When they came within Sight of *Petronius*, who was mounted upon a Seat of Eminence, they caſt themſelves upon the Ground before him, all in their Ranks, as Supplicants, and in ſo moving a Manner, in the Harmony of their Ways and Actions, as if they had been all govern'd by one Spirit: Neither were they leſs tender upon the Scruple of Modeſty in their Behaviour, for though *Petronius* called to them to riſe and draw near, it was ſome Time before they could be perſuaded to it. But at laſt up they got, and in Sack-Cloth and Aſhes, with their Hands bound behind them like condemned Priſoners, they advanced up toward the Governour, where one of the *Senators* addreſſed himſelf to *Petronius* in theſe Terms.

“ Here, we are, *ſays he to Petronius*, without Arms, to ſhew that we bring
“ no hoſtile Intention along with us; but thoſe Hands that Nature gave us
“ for the Uſe of Arms are put out of Condition to ſerve us in that Capaci-
“ ty. We bring our very Bodies at Mercy too, our Wives, Children, and
“ Families, in the Quality of Petitioners, firſt to *Petronius*, and then by thy
“ Means to *Caius*. We have not left one Soul at Home, and our Prayer is
“ either that we may be all preſerved, or all deſtroyed. We are naturally Lo-
“ vers of Peace, and it is our Intereſts as well as our Inclinations ſo to be, in
“ Regard of the Benefits we receive from it. When *Caius* came to the Empire,
“ and the Notice of it to *Vitellius*, your Predeceſſor in the Government, and at
“ that Time living among us, we were the firſt of all *Syria* to gratulate his Acceſſion
“ to the Sovereignty, and to ſpread the joyful News of his Elevation thorough o-
“ ther Cities and Places. Was it not *our Temple* alſo that firſt offered up Vows and
“ Sacrifices for the Happineſs of his Life and Reign? And are we now to be the
“ *firſt*, if not the *only* Temple that is to be deprived of the Exerciſe and Enjoy-
“ ment of our *religious* Worſhip? If the quitting of our Houſes, Privileges, and Poſ-
“ ſeſſions publick and private, may be worth your Acceptance, we are ready to lay them
“ all at your Feet. And ſo for the Matter of Plate, Houſhold-ſtuff, or what's
“ more precious, you may have it all for the asking: And with ſo good a Heart too,
“ that we ſhall reckon our ſelves upon the *receiving* Hand, even in what we *give*.
“ And all upon this ſingle Condition, that the Temple may ſtand as it did, and

“ continue inviolate, as we received it from our Fore-Fathers. Grant us this ſingle
“ Requeſt, and we'll aſk no more. But if nothing leſs than our *Religion* will content
“ you, pray take away our Lives too, without forcing us upon a Life of Torment,
“ worſe than a thouſand Deaths. We are threaten'd here with armed Troops and military
“ Executions, if any of us ſhall preſume to obſtruct the intended *Dedication.*
“ Why, no Man is ſo mad, as to ſet himſelf up in Contradiction to his Maſter; but
“ let them ſtrike, cut and hack us to Pieces, and do all that a victorious Enemy can
“ pretend to, ſo long as they may do it ſecurely, without any Danger of their own
“ Blood. But what needs an *Army* be drawn out for ſuch an Execution: Where there's
“ only a *Butchery* on the one Side, and not ſo much as a *Defence* on the other? As
“ for *Sacrifices,* we may do the Work of our own Prieſts, our ſelves, upon the *Victims*
“ of our own *Wives, Brothers* and *Siſters, Sons* and *Daughters*; and content our
“ ſelves with the Denomination of *Men, Women* and *Children Slayers,* for hard Caſes
“ muſt have hard Names. And what have we to do now after ſpilling ſo much
“ innocent Blood of other People, but to lay violent Hands upon our ſelves and mingle
“ our own with it too in one common Maſs! Ending our Days at laſt, with
“ this Prayer in our Mouths, that God will not be offended with us for an Action
“ that carries along with it ſo great a Deference to the Authority of the Emperour,
“ and at the ſame Time to the Sacredneſs of our *holy Profeſſion.* This will
“ be the Caſe, if we have the Hearts to contemn a Life that a good Man would be
“ aſhamed to lead. There is an old Story among the *Greek Fables* of *Gorgon's Head,*
“ that turned every Thing to Stone that did but look upon it. The Report, 'tis true,
“ is but a Fiction, and yet not without ſome emblematical Reſemblances of Truth,
“ eſpecially in many Accidents of Aſtoniſhment and Surprize. The Diſpleaſure of a
“ Maſter is mortal, or ſomewhat elſe that comes near it. And now *Petronius,* do but
“ you imagine, if ſome of our People ſhould ſee ſuch a *Statue* brought into the Temple,
“ as you have here before you (which Heaven forbid;) would they not look, do
“ you think, like Men turned into Marble at the Spectacle! Their Eyes ſet in their
“ Heads, and Nature it ſelf out of Condition for all the Offices of Life? But to come
“ to a Concluſion, we do not deſire an abſolute Diſcharge of our Obedience, but Time
“ and Leave only to addreſs our ſelves by our Deputies, to his imperial Majeſty for
“ Relief. Who knows but he may be wrought upon to grant us a Toleration of our
“ holy Laws and Worſhip, and a Liberty in common with the reſt of the World; for
“ we aſk no more, than what all other Nations enjoy without Exception, in the Preſervation
“ of thoſe Rites and Traditions that we have received inviolate from our
“ Fore-Fathers, in Favour both of our Cuſtoms and Manners. Who knows, I ſay,
“ but ſuch a Remonſtrance as this may mollifie him? The Hearts of Princes are variable,
“ like thoſe of other People, neither is their Diſpleaſure immortal. We are
“ wounded here with Calumnies, and there's no Remedy like Truth; which is all we
“ have to offer, and that we may not be condemned without a Hearing, or, to put it
“ at worſt, what if we ſhould find the Prince inexorable, the Cauſe is but where it
“ was, for he may ſtill do the ſame Thing afterward, that he would have done before.
“ And now for our laſt Requeſt, *Petronius,* and in the Names of this vaſt Multitude,
“ be but ſo good and generous we beſeech you, as not to oppoſe an Embaſſy that has
“ ſo many thouſands of Lives depending upon it: And pray be pleaſed to know that
“ we do not contend for Profit, but for Piety, in any other Senſe than as *Godlineſs is*
“ *the greateſt Gain.*

CHAP. XV.

Petronius *writes to* Caius *about the* Jews; *and gains Time by it.* Caius *enraged at* Petronius, *but diſſembles the Matter.*

THIS Remonſtrance was received by great and ſmall, with all the Tenderneſs and Compaſſion imaginable, as appeared by their Looks, Actions, Geſtures and Behaviour upon the Hearing of it. And it wrought likewiſe upon *Petronius* among the reſt. Now *Petronius* was a ſoft good natured Perſon, a moderate Man, and a Lover of Truth and Juſtice. And he was ſo far a Friend to the *Jews* too, that he thought they had hard Meaſure, and diſcovered his Inclinations in his very Countenance. He obſerved upon ſome Diſcourſe he had with his *Fellow Commiſſioners,* that the People were mightily come about, and from violent Prejudices againſt him, to manifeſt Partiality in his Favour. Thus it was, and *Petronius* was highly pleaſed with that Change of Humour. He was no Stranger all this while to the implacable Spirit of the Emperour, and to the Bitterneſs of his natural Cruelty; but he ſeemed to act yet in ſome

Meaſure, under a *philoſophical Conduct*, and under the Government of a *Jewiſh Piety*. Whether he did this upon the old Foundation of a Man trained up to Letters, or of what he had pickt up ſince his coming to the Government of *Aſia* and *Syria* where they had *Jews* in Abundance in all their Towns; or whether he acted as a Man whoſe *Genius* led him to the Study and Knowledge of uſeful Things: Or whether it be, that God puts good Things in the Heads of good Men, for the common Benefit, both of themſelves, and of the Publick, as it fell out upon this Occaſion. The *Statuaries* had their Orders to provide as perfect a Figure, as Art and Hands could make; but for Fear of the worſt, to take Time and Care about it, for the longer the Piece was under the *Chizel* in the *making*, the longer would the Reputation of it laſt in the *World* after it ſhould be *finiſhed*. *Petronius* however would not agree upon any Terms to the *Jews* ſending of an *Embaſſy* for fear of a greater Miſchief, in leaving them at the Mercy of a powerful, a cruel, and a fantaſtical Prince. And ſo for either granting or refuſing, he found it dangerous both Ways. But the Way, at laſt, that he pitched upon, was a Letter to *Caius*, ſetting forth the pretended Supplications of the *Jews*, and without any Reflexions upon them, by way of Accuſation and Complaint. The *Delay* of the *Dedication* was imputed to the very Nature of the Caſe, and laid at the *Workmens* Door; who muſt of Neceſſity have ſome certain Space of Time allowed them for the Performance of Covenants: So that Step after Step, one Obſtruction was made the Ground and Pretence of another; and in this *interim*, who knew but *Caius* himſelf might find it reaſonable to change his Mind. For Harveſt being juſt now begun, and the *Jews* in a moſt outragious Fit of Deſpair for the Profanation of their Laws and Religion: What if they ſhould have puſhed on this Violence to the Contempt of their Lives, and laid the whole Country waſte, by ſetting Fire to their own Corn in Revenge! This was no idle Apprehenſion, and there was early Care taken by *Petronius* for the reaping of the Grain, and the gathering of the Fruits; partly by Way of Prevention, and partly for a publick Supply in Caſe of Need. For it was at that Time in every Bodies Mouth, that *Caius* had ſome Thought of a Voyage for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, though it ſeemed not very likely yet, that ſo great a Prince ſhould expoſe his Perſon to the Difficulties of a long Sea, and ſo prodigious a Train of People along with him; when the *Way about* by the Coaſts of *Aſia* and *Syria*, would have been ſo much a more commodious Paſſage: Where he might have embarqued or diſembarqued at Pleaſure having at Command two hundred long Boats, for the Uſe and Service of the Coaſts, beſide Veſſels of Burden for the Ocean. Now it was an abſolute Neceſſity, to ſtore *Syria* with all Manner of Proviſion from one End of it to the other; eſpecially the Towns that lay upon the Sea; and all little enough to anſwer the Neceſſities of the Time and Place. For there never was ſuch a Multitude of People gotten together from all Places, and of all Conditions, as upon this Juncture: Men of Honour, civil and military, Land and Sea Officers, and Servants almoſt as many as Soldiers: And all at laſt to be provided for, not as we ſay to keep Life and Soul together, but in a Proportion of State and Plenty, anſwerable to the Dignity of ſo illuſtrious a Prince.

There was no Body doubted, but that the Emperour, upon the reading of this Letter, would be highly pleaſed both with the Prudence and the Conduct, even in the very Point of the Delay it ſelf; not for the *Jews* ſake, but for the Advantage of ſecuring the *Fruits* and the *Corn*. This Letter, in Fine, was approved and tranſcribed, and a Meſſenger ſent away in all Poſt Haſte with a fair Copy of it. *Caius* looked as pale as Death upon the reading of it, and ſo ſoon as that conſcious Hint was a little over, he clapt his Hands, and brake out into a furious Violence of Words as well as Geſture.

Well, Petronius, *ſays the Prince, why thou art the better Man of the two ſure, and if* Petronius *will not hear the Emperour, the Emperour muſt hear* Petronius. *But thou art ſo puffed up with the Vanity of a ſplendid Commiſſion and a full Employment, that it looks as if there were not ſuch a Thing as* Caius *in Nature, but it will not be long before thou art given to underſtand the contrary. The greateſt Enemies I have in the World are the* Jews; *and yet* their Laws *are more to thee than the Commands of thy* Prince; *and what's all this at the Bottom; but that thou art afraid of the Multitude? And what ſignifies that; when thou haſt a Power in thy Hands to encounter the Strength of the Kings of* Parthia *themſelves and the Force of the whole* Eaſt. *Well but there's* Pity *in the Caſe too, and at that Rate, thy* Compaſſion *does more with thee than thy* Duty. *But what's to be ſaid to the Providence of ſaving the* Harveſt? *That frivolous Pretence will coſt you your Head before you are aware; and ſo for your pretended Care of having* Stores *in Readineſs for my Voyage, 'tis all of the ſame Batch: For ſuppoſing a* Scarcity *in* Judæa, *even to the Degree of a* Famine, *the neighbouring Provinces*, *upon ſuch a Pinch, would be able to ſupply the Want. But what do I ſtand* talking *for, when I ſhould be* doing? *Wherefore let this Fellow feel what he has deſerv'd, without any more Words, and ſo I have done menacing, but my Indignation burns on ſtill.*

Caius, upon this, made a ſhort Pauſe, and dictated to one of his Secretaries an Anſwer to *Petronius*, which was in Appearance very much to the Honour of the Governour's Providence and Foreſight. For there were ſome of the Governours he ſtood in Awe of, for Fear of their tampering the People into a Revolt, eſpecially in large and populous Provinces, with mighty Armies in them, as in that Tract of Ground along the *Euphrates*. When he had cajol'd *Petronius* for a while, with Formalities of Reſpect, and fair Words, (but an implacable Venom under that Cloak) he gave him a poſitive Command, all other Buſineſs apart, to ſee the *Image dedicated*, the firſt Thing he did: *For*, ſays he, *Harveſt being now over, there is no longer any Colour for a further Delay.*

CHAP. XVI.

King Agrippa *comes to* Rome, *and upon hearing that the* Image *was to be* conſecrated, *he falls into a* Swoon; *and then coming to himſelf again, he writes to the Prince about it.*

SOON after this, came King *Agrippa* to *Rome*, to pay his Duty to the *Emperour*, after his uſual Manner; but without knowing any Thing as yet of what had paſs'd betwixt *Caius* and *Petronius*; only ſomewhat he gather'd however, from an angry Cloud he ſaw in the Face of *Caius*, that there was a Storm a coming, though he could not gueſs where it would fall; ſo that he put himſelf to the uttermoſt Scrutiny of Thought, Word, and Deed, to try if he could find himſelf conſcious of any Thing that might give Offence: But upon ſtanding that Teſt, he concluded, that the Emperour's Diſpleaſure look'd ſome other Way, as in Truth it did: But then conſidering afterwards, that the Emperour's Eye was much fiercer when it was intent upon him *alone*, than when he look'd another *Way*, he fell again into his former Apprehenſion. He was thinking many Times to ask the Emperour the Reaſon of this Alteration; but then the Curioſity he thought would be ſo raſh and unmannerly, that he did not know what Miſchief he might draw upon himſelf by't.

Caius, that was as well read in Faces as any Man, obſerving *Agrippa* to be troubled and uneaſy, laid hold of this Occaſion to break the Ice of the Difficulty. Agrippa, ſays he, *you are in Doubt, I perceive, and I am now about to tell you the Thing you ſo much deſire to know. You have not been ſo long about me ſure, as to be now ignorant, that I diſcourſe with my* Eyes, *as well as with my* Tongue. *The good People of your Nation are the only Men under the Sun, that refuſe to own* Caius *for a* God; *and in the Contumacy of their Diſobedience, plunge themſelves beyond Redemption into a certain Death. It is my poſitive Command to have the* Image *of* Jupiter *ſet up in* their Temple, *and ſee what Multitudes are gathered together now from all Quarters, under the Pretext of Supplicants and Petitioners, but in Effect to trample my Authority under their Feet.*

As he was going forward, King *Agrippa* was obſerved to change Colour all on a ſudden, a violent Horror ſeizing him from Head to Foot, a Trembling all over his Body, and his Legs failing him to that Degree, that if By-ſtanders had not ſupported him, he muſt have fallen at his Length upon the Ground. He fell, in ſhort, into a fainting Fit, and in that Condition they carry'd him Home, without any Senſe or Knowledge of what paſs'd.

This Accident, inſtead of working upon the Emperour's good Nature, ſerv'd only for a further Incentive to his Rage againſt the *Jews*. *Well*, ſays *Caius*, *if* Agrippa, *my familiar Friend, and one that has received ſo many good Offices from me:——— If* Agrippa *himſelf, I ſay, has ſo great a Veneration for his Country's Rites and Cuſtoms, as not to endure, ſo much as one Word to their Prejudice, without falling into a* Swoon, *what Good am I to look for from others, that have none of theſe Conſiderations to work upon them in my Favour?*

Agrippa lay all that Day, and Part of the next, dozing and ſenſeleſs, till toward Evening, and then he began to raiſe his Head a little, and with much ado to open his Eyes, dazling as they were, toward the Company, without knowing one Face that was there preſent. He fell then into ſomewhat a ſounder Sleep, as appeared by the Drawing of his Breath, and the Temper of his Body. When he had lain thus a while, he awak'd, and call'd out to know where he was. *Am I with the Emperour, or no; and is he preſent? Have a good Heart*, they cry'd, *for you are at Home, and* Caius *is not here: You have e'en ſlept long enough, wherefore ſit up a little, and ſee if you know*

know us: Here are none but your own People, Friends, Freed-men, Servants, and thoſe that wiſh you well. In fine, the Tenderneſs they expreſs'd to him in his Diſtreſs, brought him in ſome Meaſure to himſelf again. Upon the Phyſicians ordering the Company to withdraw, that the Patient might be quiet, and at Liberty for Remedies and Refreſhments: *Never trouble your Heads*, ſays Agrippa, *with Delicacies for my Palate; a coarſe Diet, and a good Stomach, is all I ask, and more yet than I ſhould make Uſe of, if it were not for the Hopes I have yet left me, of living to be ſerviceable, even at the laſt Extremity, to my miſerable Country.* Theſe laſt Words were accompany'd with Tears, and ſo he took a Repaſt of what was juſt neceſſary to keep him alive, and no more. His Food was plain and ſimple, and his Drink, Water, without one Drop of Wine. *And now*, ſays he, upon the finiſhing of his Meal, *I have paid a Debt to Nature, ſo that I have nothing more left me to do, but moſt dutifully to ſolicit* Caius *about the preſent State of Things.* And ſo he call'd for a Tablet, and wrote this following Letter to the Emperour.

SIR,

“ BEtwixt the Fear, and the Reverence I have for your Imperial Majeſty, in the Dread of your high Diſpleaſure, on the one Hand, and in the Veneration I have for the Dignity of your ſacred Character, on the other; I have rather preſum'd to lay my humble Duty at your Majeſty's Feet, in *Writing*, than to venture upon it in an Addreſs by *Word of Mouth*.

“ It may be laid down for a *Maxim*, that all Men living have a natural Affection for the Place were they were born, and an awful Reverence for the Laws they were brought up in; which is a Truth that hath been abundantly aſſerted in the Piety, great Prince, of your Profeſſion and Practice. And it is as natural again for every Man to like his own Way beſt, whether it be ſo or no, becauſe we are govern'd in particular Caſes more by *Paſſion*, than by *Reaſon*.

“ As to my *ſelf*, I ſhall not need to inform you, Sir, that I am by *Nation* a *Jew*, by *Birth* of *Jeruſalem*, the Seat of the holy Temple that ſtands there dedicated in a moſt peculiar Manner to the Honour of the moſt high God. As to my *Predeceſſors*, ſome of them have been *Kings*, others *High-Prieſts*, upon which Dignity they valu'd themſelves more than upon the Authority Royal; computing upon it, that as *God* is above *Man*, ſo the *Sacerdotal Character* is above the *Civil*; the one exerciſing it ſelf in *Divine Matters*, and the other only in *Humane*.

“ Now ſuch is the Nearneſs of the Relation I have, and of my manifold Obligations to this *Nation*, *Country*, and *Temple*, that I cannot but implore your Royal Grace and Favour on their Behalf. And firſt for the *Nation*, that they may not be forc'd over from the Profeſſion of their own Religion to the contrary; eſpecially conſidering how true and loyal they have ever been to your illuſtrious Family: No People under the Heavens ſo frank of their Vows and Prayers for the Welfare and Proſperity of your Empire; or ſo free of their Sacrifices and Oblations, not only upon ſolemn Feſtivals, but daily; and this not only in plauſible Words and Forms, but with a Piety of Reverence and Affection, that came from the very Hearts and Souls of them; and without any Exception, ſaving only in Caſes of Inconſiſtence, with their Laws and Religion.

“ And I have this to ſay further now for the *holy City*, and the Place of my *Birth*: which is not to be look'd upon as the *Metropolis* only of *Judæa*, but of many other *Colonies* that have been planted from thence; as *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Upper* and *Lower Syria*; *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, and ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*, as far as *Bithynia*, and *Pontus*; and ſo in *Europe*, there's *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Macedonia*, *Ætolia*, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Corinth*, and the better Part of *Peloponneſus*: And not only the *Continent*, but the *Iſlands* alſo of moſt eminent Note, are filled with *Jewiſh Plantations*; as *Eubœa*, *Cyprus*, *Crete*; to ſay nothing of thoſe beyond the *Euphrates*: For, in ſhort, bating only a ſmall Part of *Babylon*, and ſome other Governments, there is hardly a City that is good for any Thing, but in the Poſſeſſion of the *Jews*. So that if this be the Caſe, I am not a Suitor for my own Country alone, but for the Common Good of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*; *Sea* and *Land*, *Iſlands* and *Continent*, all under one: For the Intereſt of the Whole depends upon the ſame Act of Clemency; and I hope my Confidence will be the more pardonable, for the Zeal I have to be an Inſtrument in a Mediation ſo much to the Honour of *Cæſar*. For what can be more agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of ſo glorious a Prince, than the miniſtring ſo fair an Occaſion of obliging the whole World at once; and conſequently, the Perpetuating of your Name and Memory to all Ages, as the *Guardian-Angel of Mankind*.

“ You have been pleas'd, at the Requeſt of ſome particular Friends, to make whole Towns *Free Citizens* of *Rome*, and Maſters of thoſe that were but Servants before; and in ſo doing, your Kindneſs was as great to the *Procurers* of this Bounty, as to the *Receivers* of it. I am ſenſible of being under the Command of a *Maſter*, and yet give me Leave to value my ſelf upon the Title of a *Friend* too; and a *Friend* not inferior to many in Dignity; but above all others in *Good-will* and *Reſpect*; for it has ever been ſo, and in Honour and Gratitude it muſt ever ſo continue. And yet after all this, I have not the Confidence to open my Mouth for my Country-men, for Grants and Privileges; no not ſo much as for the common Freedom, or Immunity from Taxes. The Grace that I have to beg would be of high Advantage to them, 'tis true, and of no Sort of Inconvenience to *Cæſar*: For what greater Bleſſing can a Subject deſire than the Favour of his Prince? Was it not *Jeruſalem* that firſt gratulated the Acceſſion of *Caius* to the *Empire*? And was it not *Jeruſalem* again, that ſent the joyful Tidings of it into all the neighbouring Provinces? The very Providence of making the *Jews* ſubſervient to ſuch a Revolution, may deſerve ſome Sort of Acknowledgment. As the eldeſt Son of the Family is reputed the moſt honourable, becauſe it was he that firſt entitled his Parents to the reverend Names of Father and Mother: So that City, one would think, that firſt ſaluted *Caius* by the Name of *Emperour*, ſhould be treated as well, at leaſt, if not better, than any of the reſt.

“ I have been thus far an Advocate for my *Country*, but my laſt Prayer muſt be for our *Temple*. This *Temple*, *Caius*, is the Houſe of God, and there was never any Image made with Hands admitted into't. The Works of *Painters* and *Statuaries* are the Figures only of *ſenſible Gods*; but for a *Picture-drawer* or *Engraver* to offer at any Sort of *Repreſentation* of the *inviſible God*, was looked upon as an Abomination. *Agrippa*, your *Grandfather*, had a mighty Reverence for this Temple. *Auguſtus* provided expreſly for the ſupplying of it with the *Firſt-Fruits* from all Quarters, and the Offering of *daily Sacrifices* in it. Your *Great Grandmother* had likewiſe a high Veneration for it. Neither *Greek*, in fine, nor *Barbarian*; neither *Prince* nor *Potentate*; no nor the deadlieſt Enemies we had, *Sedition*, *War*, *Bondage*, *Deſolation*, or the moſt deſtructive of other Calamities could ever prevail upon us to receive the *Idol* of an *Image* into the Temple. Not that it had no *Enemies*, but its *Religion* was *ſafe* ſtill; for being dedicated to the Father and Author of all Things, it ſtruck People into a Dread of the Judgments that frequently attend ſuch Violations; ſo that they durſt not venture to ſow the Seeds of Wickedneſs, for Fear of reaping the Fruits of it themſelves. We ſhall not need to look Abroad for Inſtances, having ſo many nearer Home.

“ In the Reign of *Herod*, my *Grandfather*, your *Grandfather*, *Marcus Agrippa* paſs'd the Complement upon him of a Viſit into *Judæa*, where he coaſted along the *Sea-ſide* up to *Jeruſalem*. Upon the View of the *Temple*, he was ſo tranſported with the *Glories* of the *Fabrick*, the *Solemnities* of the *Sacerdotal Rites* and *Ceremonies*, the *Simplicity* of the *People's Manners*, and in fine, with the Delight of ſo curious and wonderful a Spectacle, that he was never well, but with ſomething or other in his Mouth to the Honour of that illuſtrious Structure; inſomuch, that for the Time he ſtaid there, he never miſs'd ſo much as one Day's Attendance, but ſtill paid his conſtant Viſits, entertaining himſelf all the while, in the Contemplation of the *holy Veſts*, the *Order* of the *Sacrifices*, and the awful Majeſty of the *High-Prieſt*, in his rich *Pontifical Robes*, as he ſat mounted above the reſt. In fine, when he had preſented his *Donatives* to the *Holy Temple*, and ſhew'd himſelf as indulgent to the Citizens as was poſſible, ſaving only an Exemption from *Taxes*; *Herod* accompany'd *Agrippa* to the *Sea-ſide*, upon his Return, where they exchang'd mutual Acknowledgments of the high Obligations they had the one to the other; the People ſtrewing the Paſſage all the Way he went, with *Boughs* and *Flowers*, in Token of the Veneration they had for his *Piety* and *Bounty*.

“ And ſo, Sir, for your *great Uncle Tiberius*; was not he manifeſtly of the ſame Principle and Judgment? Did not our *Religion*, and our *Temple* ſtand *firm* and *ſafe*, *thorough the whole three and twenty Years of* Tiberius's *Reign*, without any Sort of Innovation? Nay, there is ſomething that I both can and muſt ſay to *Tiberius's Honour*; though I my ſelf had very hard Meaſure from him. But Truth is Truth, and I am ſure you will have the Patience to hear it.

“ When *Pilate* was Governour of *Judæa*, we dedicated to *Tiberius* certain *gilt Bucklers*; not ſo much out of *Reſpect* to the *Emperour*, as in pure *Spite* to the *Jews*; and they were erected in the *Palace* of *Herod* in *Jeruſalem*. They had no Sort of *Figure* upon them, nor any Thing that was prohibited, but barely the two Names of the *Dedicator*, and the Perſon to whom they were *dedicated*. When this Story came

“ to be nois'd among the People, they made Application preſently to *the King's four Sons*, with ſome other Branches of the *royal Family*, and ſeveral other Perſons of eminent Condition, to employ their Intereſt with *Pilate* to have theſe *Bucklers* remov'd, as a Violation of the *Laws* and *Religion* of their Country; which former *Kings* and *Emperours* had ever reputed *Sacred*. *Pilate*, that was harſh and croſs-grain'd in his own Nature, made the Mediators ſo rude and churliſh a Reply to the Motion, that it put the Multitude into wild and diſorderly Exclamations.

“ Let People be quiet, *they cry'd*, that would be quiet; without enflaming Men to War and Sedition, and to the embroiling of the publick Peace, as if the *Honour* of the *Emperour* depended upon the *Violation* of the *Law*; never think of covering an Injuſtice with ſo weak a Pretext. If you have any Thing to ſhew in your Juſtification, from *Tiberius*; whether *Edict*, *Letter*, or any Thing like it, do but ſhew us the *Warrant*, and we have no more to do, ſave only to addreſs our ſelves, with *humble Petitions* and *Remonſtrances*, to our Lord and Maſter, for *Redreſs*, without taking any further Notice of *Pilate*; for *Tiberius*, we are ſure, will never approve of this Oppreſſion.

“ This Fancy of applying themſelves to *Cæſar*, by *Remonſtrance* or *Deputation*, ſtartled *Pilate* more than any Thing elſe, for Fear of laying him open to the World in the Hiſtory of his other Iniquities, as *Corruption*, *Juſtice* expos'd to *Sale*, *Rapine*, *Violence*, *Ruine*, *Torments*, *innocent Blood*, and the moſt barbarous of *Cruelties*. This cholerick angry Man was yet ſo divided within himſelf, that as he had no Mind to gratify the Subject, ſo he had not the Confidence neither, to *withdraw* any Thing that was made *ſacred* by a *Dedication*, being well acquainted with the Humour of *Tiberius* in ſuch Caſes over and above. When the great Men found Matters in this State, and that *Pilate* repented himſelf of what he had done, however he diſſembled it; they repreſented the Caſe to *Tiberius* by Way of *Letter*, in the moſt tender dutiful Manner that could be devis'd. *Tiberius* had no ſooner Notice of *Pilate*'s Language and Behaviour, but he brake out into a violent Paſſion, though a Man not eaſily mov'd neither. But this will do better in the Story it ſelf, than in a bare Deſcription.

“ The firſt Thing he did was, without any Delay, to write to *Pilate* about it, with a ſevere Rebuke for his Impudence, and a poſitive Command, immediately to remove the Bucklers, and to have them tranſported into the Temple that was built at *Cæſarea*, (a *Sea-Port*) in Honour of *Auguſtus*. This Expedient was as good as a *Salvo* to the Honour of the *Emperour*, and the *ancient Cuſtoms* of the *City*. Theſe *Bucklers*, in thoſe Days, had no *Gravers Work* upon them; and the Point now in Queſtion is the *graven Image*. It was then only in the Governour's Palace, but it is now to be erected, as I am inform'd, in the *Sanctuary*; a Place ſo *venerable* and *ſacred*, that only the *High-Prieſt* is allow'd *Entrance*, and that but upon one Day in the Year too; and after a *ſolemn Faſt*, to burn *Incenſe* to the Glory of God, and to offer up *Prayers* to the Almighty, according to Cuſtom, for a happy Year, and the common Peace of Mankind.

“ If any other of our own People, either Prieſt, or Layman, ſhall preſume to enter this holy Place contrary to the *Law*, it is made *Death without Mercy*. As for Example, if the *High-Prieſt* ſhall dare to enter above *one Day* in a *Year*, or *three or four Times over*, for the Purpoſe, upon that *Day* of his *Entrance*, it will moſt certainly coſt him his Life: So tender was our *Lawgiver*, of preſerving the Reverence of that *holy Place*, *ſacred* and *inviolate*. Now if the Rigour was ſo ſtrict and capital, in theſe nice Caſes, you may eaſily imagine, Sir, what an Uproar it would create to have an *Image* ſet up there, where the *High-Prieſt himſelf* was not to be *admitted* but upon certain *Limitations*. How many of our *Prieſts* would ſacrifice *themſelves*, their *Wives* and *Children*, in one *common Pile* of Carcaſſes, rather than outlive the Sight and Sufferance of ſuch an Abomination.

“ This was the Caſe in the Days of *Tiberius*. And now for *Auguſtus*, the *beſt* and the *greateſt Prince* that ever ſat upon the *imperial Throne*; his very *Name* being given him out of a Deference to his *Conduct* and *Virtue*; a Prince, to whom the whole World was indebted for the Bleſſing of an *univerſal Peace*: This illuſtrious Prince, upon ſome Diſcourſe he had concerning our *Temple*, was given to underſtand, that no *carved Image* was ſuffer'd to be brought into't, and for this very Reaſon, that the *inviſible God* was not to be repreſented by a *viſible Figure*. Upon which he was highly pleas'd with the *Reaſon*, and the *Piety* of the Thing; and being a Prince moreover of profound *Literature* himſelf, he paſs'd ſeveral Reflections upon what had been ſaid; partly recollecting what he had heard from the learned Men he had conſtantly about him, and partly agitating the Matter in his own Thoughts. He was, in fine, ſo great a Lover of *Letters*, that his very

“ *table Diſcourſes* were as good as *Philoſophy Lectures*, and his feſtival Entertainments were accommodated to the Relief and Satisfaction both of *Body* and *Mind*. Not to multiply Inſtances, in Proof of this Prince's *Generoſity* and *good Will* toward our People, I ſhall make Uſe only of two.

“ Firſt, upon Notice that there was not ſuch Care taken for the Return of our *Firſt-Fruits* as the Matter requir'd, the *Emperour* wrote to the *Governours* of the Provinces in *Aſia*, not to give any Sort of Interruption to the *Jews Meeting* in their *Synagogues*, (but this Liberty was not to be extend to any other.) For the *Jews Meetings* are not like the *Feaſts* of *Bacchus*, to encourage *Drunkenneſs* and *Sedition*, but *Schools* rather, of *Piety* and *common Juſtice*. And ſo for their *yearly Firſt-Fruits*, they were only intended for *Sacrifices* to be offer'd up to God in the *Temple*. This was followed with an expreſs Command, not to put the *Jews* to any Trouble about their *Meetings* or *Collections* after the Manner of their *Country*. I may miſtake the *Words* of the *Order*, but the Subſtance of it I am ſure of, as your Majeſty will find in a Letter from *Norbanus*, whereof this is a true Copy.

C. Norbanus Flaccus, *Proconſul* to the Magiſtrate of *Epheſus*, Greeting.

“ Cæſar *has ſignify'd unto me by Letter, that whereas the* Jews *continue their old Way of* religious Meetings, *and of* gathering Monies *to be ſent to* Jeruſalem, *under the Name of* Firſt-Fruits, it is his imperial Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, *that they be all left at* Liberty *ſo to do. Of this you are to take Notice, and to pay your Obedience accordingly.*

“ What clearer Evidence under Favour, can there be in the World of *Cæſar's Opinion of our Temple*, than the indulging of the *Jews* in the publick Exerciſe of their *Worſhip*; the Freedom of their *Collections* for *holy Uſes*, and the Countenancing of them in other Offices of Piety.

“ And there is yet another Argument of the Good-Will that *Auguſtus* bare us: That is to ſay; he order'd the *daily Sacrifice* of a *Bull* and *two Lambs*, out of his own Revenue, to be offer'd up to the Honour of *our God*: And the Practice of it hath been kept up ever ſince to this very Day, without any Diſcontinuance. This *Oblation*, *Cæſar* deſign'd for the *Altar*, and yet he very well underſtood that there was no *Image* in the Caſe, either within or without. But this wiſe and learned Prince was nevertheleſs convinc'd of the Neceſſity of having ſome glorious *Temple* upon *Earth*, dedicated in a peculiar Manner to the *inviſible God*; where Men might offer up their Devotions in Hope of having their Prayers heard and granted, and without any *viſible Figure*.

“ And now, with your Majeſty's Leave, yet once again. What did your *great Grandmother* the *Empreſs Julia*, but write after the Copy of her great Maſter and Husband, *Auguſtus*, in the Profuſion of her royal Bounties upon this *Temple*; as *Veſſels of Gold and Silver*, with other *Ornaments* and *Preſents* to an ineſtimable Value. But to what End was all this without *Image-work*? For *Women's Minds* are commonly weak, and hard to be wrought upon, ſave only by *ſenſible Objects*. But for this Princeſs however, that was as much beyond other Women, in a maſculine Vigour of *Perſpicacity* and *Judgment*, as in all other *Excellencies*, ſhe ſuppy'd the Failings of the Sex, by *Study* and *Meditation*, and gave her ſelf up ſo entirely to *Thought* and *Speculation*, that ſhe look'd upon the practical Part to be only a Shadow of the other.

“ And now, great Sir, after ſo many glorious Inſtances of Tenderneſs and Clemency out of your own Family, and thoſe of your Anceſtor in particular, from whom you have receiv'd both your Life and Government, be but ſo gracious towards our People, as your Predeceſſors have been, every Man of them before you. Here are *Emperours* interceding for our *Laws* to an *Emperour*; *ſeveral auguſt Princes*, to *one*; *Grand-fathers* and *great Grand-fathers*, to a *Grand-child*; *many* to a *ſingle Perſon*, &c. And what's the Requeſt at laſt, but this? They do all humbly beg of you, not to make void thoſe *Laws* and *Cuſtoms*, that from their firſt Eſtabliſhment have been kept ſacred to this very Day. Theſe Acts, 'tis true, may be vacated, and theſe Innovations wrought perhaps without any judicial Vengeance to tread upon the Heels of the Tranſgreſſion: But whoever conſiders the Uncertainty of the future, and that divine Juſtice is nevertheleſs *ſure* for being ſometimes *ſlow*; it will make his Heart ake to think of the Conſequences, if at the ſame Time he believes there is a God.

“ If I ſhould take upon my ſelf now to enumerate the infinite obligations I have to your Majeſty, my Time would not ſerve me to recount them; neither would it become me to handle ſo ſacred a Subject, as *by the Bye*. But the Thing ſpeaks it ſelf without telling the Story. It is no Secret, Sir, that I was in *Irons*, and that I ſtand indebted to your ſelf for my *Liberty*; but I hope you did not eaſe me of *thoſe Chains*, to load me with *heavier* inſtead of them. In that Caſe, my Suffering was only in

“ *one Part* of my *Body*; but in this, my very Soul ſinks under the Burthen. You did firſt deliver me from the *Dread* of *Death*, and you *received* me afterwards out of *Death it ſelf*, ſo that *Agrippa* deſires no more now than that *Cæſar* would preſerve the Life he has reſtor'd: For otherwiſe, I have only out-lived a leſs Calamity to periſh by a greater.

“ It is to your royal Bounty that I am a Debtor for the Gift and Dignity of a Crown; and after that, for the Addition of another and a greater Command, in *Trachonitis* and *Galilee*. But after the Multiplying of ſo many extraordinary Favours upon me, do not deprive me, I beſeech you, of Things the moſt neceſſary of all others. I am not ſolicitous for Fear of either loſing my Commiſſion or of being degraded into my former Station, but my Requeſt is, once for all, that the *Laws* of my *Country* may be *protected* and *maintained*. For what will the World ſay of me elſe, either *Jews* or *others?* Now one of theſe two Things muſt neceſſarily follow: Either I ſhall be look'd upon as a Betrayer of my Country, or as a Perſon utterly loſt to the Honour of your Friendſhip: And and what could make me more miſerable than either of them? For ſuppoſing my ſelf to be ſtill in the Number of your Confidents, and at the ſame Time to ſuffer my Country to go to Wrack, I muſt certainly incurr the Character of a falſe Man, for employing my Intereſt no better upon a Preſumption that Emperours and Princes deny no ſuch Boons to their Favourites. Or if I ſhould be ſo unhappy now, as to have loſt the Bleſſing of your Tenderneſs, and good Graces, do not lay me in Chains I beſeech you, as *Tiberius* did; but inſtead of my *Liberty*, pray take away my Life this very Moment, and that's all I ask. For what ſignifies *Life* to me after the Loſs of your *Friendſhip:* Which is the only Hope and Comfort I had in this World?

CHAP. XVII.

Caius, *upon* Agrippa'*s Letter, orders* Petronius *to make no Alteration in the Temple of* Jeruſalem. *He repents of it, and countermands his own Order. He goes to* Alexandria, *and claims* divine Worſhip. *The* inhumane Cruelties *of this Prince.*

A*Grippa* ſeals up and ſends away his Letter to *Caius*; and after that keeps cloſe in his own Houſe expecting in great Pain the Iſſue of that Paper, and under an anxious Apprehenſion for Fear the Importunity might be unſeaſonable; for the Liberty and Safety not only of *Judæa*, but of all the *Jews* over the Face of the Earth, were at Stake upon it.

Upon the Reading of this Letter, *Caius* diſcover'd in his Countenance ſeveral Motions and Changes of Thought and Humour: One while he was vexed that he had not gone thorough with his Work; another while he ſeemed to be moved with the Juſtice of the Pretence, and the Modeſty of the Application. And then again, he would be deſcanting by Fits upon *Agrippa's Conduct*; ſometimes commending and ſometimes blaming him. He did ill he ſaid, in being ſo zealous for his Country-men, whom he knew to be the greateſt Enemies in Nature to the *Conſecration* that was then in Queſtion: but then it was frank and generous, he ſaid, to own his Opinion and to act according to his Judgment. Theſe Deliberations brought *Caius* into a better Temper, and drew this Anſwer from him. *That upon the Inſtance of* Agrippa, *he was prevailed upon to countermand the* Dedication; writing at the ſame Time to *Petronius* the Governour of *Syria*, not to ſuffer any Innovations in the *Jews Temple*. But leaſt the Prohibition ſhould be more effectual than he intended it, there went a Menace along with it in the ſame Letter to qualify the Obligation: And it ran in theſe Words. Always provided *that if any Perſon whatſoever ſhall preſume to obſtruct or oppoſe the Dedication of any* Altars, Temples *or* Images, *to the Honour of our* royal ſelf *or* Family, *in any Town, City, or other Place whatſoever, the* Metropolis *of* Jeruſalem only excepted, *every ſuch Perſon ſo offending, ſhall be either puniſh'd upon the Place, in the very Act of his Inſolence, or otherwiſe remitted to our imperial Will and Pleaſure to be dealt withal according to Juſtice.*

This Clauſe was effectually an Abrogating of the Grant; and no other than the doing and undoing of a Thing, by a Side-wind, in the ſame Breath: Beſide that it tended naturally to the drawing on of a civil War, for every Body expected that the Enemies of the *Jews* would fill the whole Country with their *ſacrilegious Abominations*, not ſo much out of *Reſpect* to *Caius*, as out of *Malice* to us: And then the *Jews* themſelves, they thought on the other Hand, would never have the Patience to endure the Sight of theſe Prophanations: So that upon the leaſt Provocation of a Tumult, the *Image* would have been commanded up again. But divine Providence had ſo ordered it, that the People were all quiet beyond Expectation; and without giving the leaſt Occaſion for ſuch a Broyl. They were quiet, 'tis true; and little the better for it, ſo long as *Caius* continued as buſy and troubleſome as ever he was, repenting himſelf of his very Charity and Complyance, and reviving the Violence of his former Rigour. There was now no longer any Talk of the Statue at *Sidon*, for fear of enflaming the Multitude: But there was another beſpoken at *Rome*, of *Copper gilded*, and Care taken for ſending it away by Sea ſo privately, that it ſhould be ſet up in the Temple before People were aware. But this was to be done as by Chance upon the Occaſion of *Caius*'s *Voyage* into *Ægypt*.

Now *Caius*'s Heart being mightily ſet upon a Viſit to *Alexandria*, he ſpared for no Coſt for the Convenience of his Paſſage, upon a Fancy that this was the propereſt Place in the World for the advancing of his ridiculous Deſign; in Reſpect both of the Authority and Example of that leading City, and likewiſe in Regard of the Situation of it, for an univerſal Commerce: For 'tis commonly with *Towns*, as it is with *Men*, the *leſs* take their Meaſures from the *greater:* Beſides that he was in his own Nature, fickle and malicious over and above.

He ſet ſome Priſoners at *Liberty* once, and ſoon after clapt them up again; without the leaſt Colour of any other Reaſon for it, than to make their Condition twenty Times more miſerable and hopeleſs than it was before.

Others, that expected to die, were only baniſhed, and they took it for ſo much clear Gain to come off ſo; not that they were conſcious of any Crime to deſerve it, great or ſmall; but they found themſelves in the Hands of an unjuſt and an unmerciful Judge. Theſe People, in Fine, went into Baniſhment with as good a Will as others commonly return out of it, and behaved themſelves with as much Honour and Bravery in their *Exile*, as if they had been at *Freedom in their own Houſes*. But it was not long yet, before *Caius* cut them off every Man of them by a military Execution, without ſo much as aſſigning any Cauſe of Offence; which put all the noble Families in *Rome* into *Mourning*, for the Loſs of their Friends and Relations by ſo ſurpriſing an *Aſſaſſination*.

And if he parted with *Money* at any Time, he would neither own it as a *Gift*, nor as a *Loan*, upon Conſideration of *Intereſt*, but ſtill find ſome Way or other to recover it, as a *Fraud*, or as a *Theft*, to the utter Undoing of him that received it. And it was not enough neither to force back what he had given, unleſs the whole Eſtate hereditary and acquired went along with it.

But for thoſe more particularly that valued themſelves upon the Honour and Reputation of his Favour, he found out Ways to undoe them with Complements and fair Words, under the very Pretext and Countenance of that Friendſhip. And this was done by putting them upon vaſt Expence in Treats and Entertainments, and ſquandring away their Fortunes in Luxury and Riot, to the Degree ſometimes of devouring a conſiderable Eſtate at a Meal, and a deſperate Debt at the End on't never to be repaid. This way of Proceeding made all his plauſible Appearances look liker Baits and Snares, than Obligations, and People were ſo far from courting his good Graces, that they were directly afraid of them.

This was his Temper and Conduct, variable and violent; toward the *Jews* eſpecially, who of all Mortals were the moſt his Averſion. He began his Freak at *Alexandria*, with the *Seiſure* of their *Oratories*, where he erected *Statues* and *Images* to his own Honour inſtead of the other, and not one Soul to diſpute the Authority and the Violence of the Action. The *Temple* of the *holy City* was now the only remaining *Sanctuary* the *Jews* had left them; and *Caius* had the Confidence to attempt the appropriating, even of that alſo to his own Uſe and Service under the Title of,

The Temple of the new Jupiter, *the illuſtrious* Caius.

Was there ever ſuch a Piece of nonſenſical Arrogance? Here is, in the firſt Place, a *MAN* ſetting up for a *GOD:* And a *MAN*, in the next Place, that has the World at his Feet already, and is not yet ſatisfied, unleſs he may be Maſter of the *Heavens* too. Is the Almighty to have no Part then in a World of his own Creation? Not ſo much as a *Field*, a *City* or a *Temple?* Not the leaſt Print or Foot-Step of any Place ſet apart for the Service of the *true God*. Well *Caius!* Little do you think what Miſeries you are now drawing upon your ſelf and your Empire, in this execrable Project of yours: A Thing impious and impracticable, in the very Nature of it, and not to be ſo much as thought of without Horrour.

CHAP. XVIII.

Caius's *barbarous Treatment of* Philo, *and the other* Embaſſadours *of the* Alexandrian Jews.

WE ſhall come now to ſome Particulars that we both ſaw, and heard, about the Subject of the *Embaſſy*, when we firſt enter'd upon this Commiſſion. We were no ſooner entered the Preſence, but *Caius* gave us to underſtand, in the Fierceneſs of his Looks, Words, and Actions, what we were to expect; and that he was not there, as a *Judge*, but as an *Accuſer* rather and a *Party*. For a fair and an impartial Judge would have examin'd the Matter in Counſel; ſifted it from Point to Point; heard both Sides indifferently in their Turns, and upon Advice with the Commiſſioners, have paſſed Sentence in open Court: All this and more would have been done in Form, eſpecially in a Caſe of this Conſequence, where the Lives and Liberties of ſo many thouſand *Alexandrian Jews* were all at Stake; and the Matter ſo clear, that for four hundred Years it had never been ſo much as called in Queſtion. But ſo far was this unmerciful Tyrant from complying with the ordinary Methods of *Law* and *Juſtice*, that on the contrary he treated us with a paſſionate Brutality of Inſolence and Contempt, below the baſeſt of Slaves.

Mæcenas, and *Lamias*, had *two Gardens* betwixt the *Palace* and the *Town* which for three or four Days now had been *Caius*'s Retreat. This was the Place it ſeems that *Caius* had deſign'd for the Tragedy of the *Jews*, and we our ſelves to be the Spectators. *Caius* ſends for the *Gardeners*, and bids them ſet all the Doors open, for he had a Mind to take the Air, and entertain himſelf with the Curioſities of the Place; ordering them likewiſe at the ſame Time to take us along with them. Upon this, we were introduced, and caſting our ſelves upon our Faces at the *Emperour's Feet*, we made our humble Addreſs to him in the ſtyle of *Emperour* and *Auguſtus*. *Caius* returned the Reſpect in ſuch a Manner, as gave us to underſtand, that not only our Cauſe, but our Lives alſo were in Danger. *Well* ſays *Caius* with a Grin, and have you the Impudence to diſpute a Divinity that all the World acknowledges, and to ſet up a *nameleſs God* againſt *Caius*, like an execrable Race *of Wretches as you are!* With that Word, he brake out into a blaſphemous Violence, and ſtretching out his Hands into the Air, uttered ſuch Words as are not ſo much as to be heard, much leſs repeated by any Creature that believes there is a God. But theſe outragious Indignities were looked upon by the other Side as the Prognoſticks of a certain Victory, and there was not one Attribute ſo peculiar to *God himſelf*, but they aſcribed indifferently to *Caius*.

There was one *Iſidore* ſtanding by then, a crafty inſinuating Fellow. This *Iſidore*, finding *Caius* ſo well pleaſed with theſe execrable and unnatural Flatteries, put in a Word here to his Purpoſe. *If you* did but know Sir, *ſays he*, the mortal Hatred that theſe People, and the whole Body of them have for your imperial Majeſty, you would abhor them ten Times more than you do. When the whole World was offering up their Vows and Prayers for the Safety of your Perſon, and the Proſperity of your Government, theſe were the only Men ſtood out. *When I ſay* [*THESE*] *I mean all the Jews without Exception.* Upon the Hearing of this Calumny, we all cryed out unanimouſly to *Caius*. " Sir, *we are ſlandered and belyed. We have had our Hecatombs* " and our *Sacrifices* in Form, for the Happineſs of *Caius* and the *Empire*, and after the " ſprinkling of the *Altar* with the *Blood* of the *Victims*, we did not carry the Fleſh " Home with us and make a Feaſt of it among our ſelves, as many other People do, " but commit the *Sacrifice whole to the ſacred Fire*. And this we have done upon three " remarkable Occaſions. Firſt, upon your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the *imperial Throne*; " ſecondly, upon your *Recovery* out of that deſperate Fit of Sickneſs when ſo many " Nations were in Tears and Mourning for you. And thirdly, when we offered up " our Vows and Prayers for the Succeſs of your Armies in *Germany*."

'*Tis right*, ſays *Caius* like a hair-brain'd Madman, *you did* ſacrifice, *but it was to* another *not to* me; *and what am I the better for your ſacrificing to another?* This blaſphemous Outrage ſtruck us with a Trembling all over, and chill'd the very Blood in our Veins; but *Caius* went on however in the mean Time, in a formal Way of taking a View of all the Apartments from the common Offices to the treating Rooms, and ſo from Top to Bottom, taking Notice all the while where he found any Thing amiſs, and how he would have it mended. And ſtill as *Caius* went ſauntring up and down, we follow'd him, only to make Sport for the Company, by the Raillery and Contempts they put upon us, to furniſh Matter for a *Farce:* As the whole Contrivance was in Truth but a Scene upon the Stage, where the *Judge perſonated* the *Accuſers*, and the *Accuſers* repreſented an *unjuſt Judge:* And it was all but Faction and Malice, without any Semblance of Truth. But being now at the Mercy of ſuch a Judge, and ſuch an Enemy, both in one, we had no Defence left us but Silence; eſpecially when we had nothing to ſay we could be the better for, on the one Side, beſide the endangering of the main Cauſe on the other.

When *Caius* had now given ſome neceſſary Orders about the Buildings; he put it to us in a grave formal Way; *Pray ye*, ſays he, *how come you to make ſuch a Conſcience about the eating of Swine's Fleſh?* This Queſtion put the Company into another Fit of Laughing, partly as they were pleas'd with the Mockery, partly as they were tickled with the Conceit; and in Part, to curry Favour with their Maſter for liking the ſame Things that he did. Now ſome of the very Family, that were better read in good Manners than their Fellows, cry'd out, *Shame at the Sawcineſs of the Frolick, in the Preſence of the Prince:* For theſe Liberties, they ſaid, *were not either* ſafe *or* warrantable, *but among* familiar Friends *and* Equals.

But now to the Queſtion concerning *Swine's Fleſh*; our Anſwer was, *that ſeveral People and Places have their ſeveral Faſhions and Cuſtoms, and our Adverſaries are prohibited the Uſe of ſome Things, as well as we are the Uſe of others. Well*, ſays one of the Company, *but I have known ſome People that would not eat* Mutton. *Very good*, ſays *Caius*, merrily, *and I cannot blame them neither, for it is an unſavoury Diſh.* This bantering Way of ridiculing us, was but adding Affliction to Affliction; but in the End, *Caius* call'd out to us in a peeviſh Paſſion: *Hark ye*, ſays he, *I would fain know what Title you have among you to the* City Privileges *and* Freedom *you make ſuch a Talk of?* We enter'd immediately upon the Opening of the Cauſe. But *Caius*, finding himſelf already pinch'd in what he had heard, and in Danger to be more put to't in what was to follow, cut the Speech ſhort, and ſtarting up on a ſudden, took a Run into the great Hall, and when he had walk'd a while there, from one Place to another, he order'd the Windows to be ſhut. The Glaſs was as clear as Cryſtal, and ſo fram'd, as indifferently to keep the Wind and the Sun out, and to let the Light in. He came after this to us, upon a gentle Pace, and after a ſober Faſhion, ask'd us, *What we had to ſay.* We were ſtill for ſhortning the Caſe, and away runs *Caius* once again, into another Chamber, where he had a Collection of ancient Paintings of the greateſt Maſters, carefully depoſited. Theſe Interruptions and Diſappointments, one upon the Neck of another, made us ſo ſick and weary of our vexatious and ſervile Attendances, and ſo hopeleſs withal, that we look'd for nothing but Death. In this Anxiety of Thought we betook our ſelves to the *true God* with *Prayers* and *Supplications* to defend us from the Rage and Menaces of the God falſely ſo call'd, who in Compaſſion to his Servants, mitigated the Perſecutor's Fury: So that *Caius*, without any more Outrage, paſs'd only this ſhort Reflection upon us. *Theſe Men*, ſays he, *that will not believe me to be a God, are in my Opinion rather* miſerable *than* wicked; and with thoſe Words *Caius* retir'd, and order'd us alſo to withdraw.

After our Deliverance from this Judgment, or I might have ſaid, this *Priſon* or *Theatre*, we got a little Breathing-while. It makes me think of a *Theatre*, for we were *ridicul'd*, *flouted*, and *hiſs'd at* like ſo many *Buffoons* upon a *Stage*; and treated otherwiſe like *Priſoners*, but with *Torments of Soul* over and above, not to be expreſs'd, in the horrid *Blaſphemies* we were forced to be *Ear-Witneſſes* of, and under the Outrages of a *powerful* and *inhumane Prince*. And what was the Ground of his implacable Rage againſt us, but that the *Jews* were the only People in the World that refus'd to own him for a *God?* We do not ſpeak this as Men afraid of *Death*, for the Love of *Life*; but on the contrary, we ſhould have counted it as the greateſt of Bleſſings, if it might but have advanc'd the common Cauſe of our Profeſſion. But in this Caſe, our Deſtruction would have been evidently the Scandal, if not the Ruine of our whole Party; for the *Miſcarriages* of *Deputies* are commonly imputed to the *ill Conduct* of their *Principals*. This Thought made us the more ſenſible of any Thing that would look like a Deliverance; beſide the anxious Uncertainty we were in, to conſider, what Sentence the Emperour might think fit to pronounce, upon the Iſſue; for what could he ſay to the *Merits* of the Cauſe without hearing the *Particulars?* Would it not have been a hard Caſe for all the *Jews* upon the Face of the Earth to be treated after the Precedent of their *five Emperours?* For if *Caius* ſhould gratify the *Alexandrians*, we ſhould never be quiet any where elſe. We ſhould have had neither *Friends*, nor *Towns*, nor *Oratories* left: Neither *Laws*, *Rites*, nor *Privileges*, but all ſwallow'd up in Ruine and Confuſion, and no Remedy but to ſink at laſt under the Burden of an inſupportable Oppreſſion. We were reduc'd, in fine, to the laſt Extremity of a miſerable Deſpair, abandon'd by our temporizing Friends, and diſown'd effectually by thoſe we moſt depended upon, who knew well enough the Paſſions he had for the Vanity of being taken for a God.

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